The early history of the Roman Catholic schools in Norway 1860-1924

Alan Littlewood

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NORWAY 1860-1924

by

Alan Littlewood.

Thesis for the Degree of Master of Education

March 1983.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The first post-Reformation Roman Catholic parish in Norway was founded in Oslo in 1843 and a school was started soon afterwards. This and most subsequent Catholic schools in Norway were run primarily for the benefit of the Catholic community. With the advent of compulsory education in 1889, Mgr. Johann Fallize, who had taken over the leadership of the Norwegian mission in 1887, published detailed regulations governing the organisation of Catholic education in Norway. The sparseness of the Catholic population led to the founding of small uneconomical parish schools. Lack of investment meant that these had difficulty in keeping pace with the rapidly improving standards in public education. A drift of pupils away from the Catholic schools was partly discouraged by Fallize's policy of publicly excommunicating Catholic parents who sent their children elsewhere. In this Fallize was partly motivated by an over-zealous wish to conform to papal demands for separate schools for Catholics and partly by the danger he saw in the Lutheran denominational character of the Norwegian public schools.

The failure of Catholic schools policy in Norway was due

to the inherent weaknesses in Ultramontane ideas concerning the need for denominational schools for all Catholics, a factor which caused a decline in Catholic education in other countries at a later date. Thus an analysis of the history of the Roman Catholic schools in Norway can cast light on important issues in the more general study of Catholic education and lead to a better understanding of its past, present and future role in a world which is moving towards state monopoly in education.

1. Bishop J.O. Fallize, Leader of the Norwegian Mission 1887-1922.

Nederste afdeling.

1ste klasse.

Katekismus. Hoveddelene efter anvisning i vikariatets katekismus (mundtlig).

Bibelhistorie. De vigtigste stykker fra verdens skabelse til Moses. De vigtigste stykker af Jesu fødsel, barndom og lidelse (mundtlig efter vikariatets bibelhistorie).

Norsk. Læsning efter lydmethoden, lydrigtig deling af stavelserne, øvelse i mekanisk læsning (_____).

Regning. Øvelse i at læse og skrive tal, lægge sammen og trække fra med to ziffere. Smaa øvelser i hovedregning (_____).

Skrivning. Begyndelsesgrundene efter takt (latinske bogstaver).

Haandarbeide. Strikke ret. Sømme paa prøveklude.

Sang. Lette stykker.

2den klasse.

Katekismus. Som i 1ste klasse (udenadlæsning).

Bibelhistorie. Gjentagelse indtil Moses (indenadlæsning). I det nye testament fra 1ste afsnit til 2den paaskefest. (Vikariatets bibelhistorie).

Norsk. Fortsat øvelse i mekanisk læsning; ordforklaring; gjengivelse af det læste. Øvelse i udenadstavning. (Vikariatets læsebog I).

Retskrivning. Afskrift; smaa diktater; retskrivningsøvelser i stavning.

Norgeshistorie. Fra begyndelsen til Olaf den hellige (mundtlig forklaring efter Werenskjolds Norgeshistorie).

Regning. Addition og subtraktion med 3 eller 4 ziffere samt multiplikation med enzifret multiplikator (_____).

Skrivning. Fortsættelse i taktskrivning (latinske bogstaver).

Jordbeskrivelse. Kjendskab til land, fjeld, dal, hav, sø o. s. v., til jordklodens form og omdreining, dag og nat, aarstidernes vekslen, verdensdelene efter skema (_____).

Haandarbeide. Strikning med rette og vrange masker. Linnedsyning.

Sang. Lette sange.

3dje klasse.

Katekismus. Fortsættelse efter anvisningen i vikariatets katekismus.

Bibelhistorie. Fra Moses til rigets deling. Fra 2den til 3dje paaskefest. (Vikariatets bibelhistorie).

Norsk. Læseøvelser med rigtig betoning; gjenfortælling af det læste; lette digte; udenadlæsning. Afskrift, diktat, skriftlig gjenfortælling. Grammatik: ved eksempler gjøres børnene bekjendt med substantiv, artikel, adjektiv og verbum; mundtlige og skriftlige

2. From the Catholic School Syllabus of 1896.

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Preface

The history of the Roman Catholic schools in Norway has, unfortunately, long been neglected and rarely been given the attention it deserves. This thesis is, however, more than an account of the development of the Catholic schools in Norway, or a study of the conditions under which their pupils and personnel worked, as it attempts to examine their problems in terms of a wider, international Catholic context. This is in strong contrast with the normal trend in the study of Norwegian church history, both Catholic and Protestant, which is usually somewhat provincial and such an approach to Roman Catholic studies is unfortunate, given that church's supra-national character and the international nature of the post-Reformation Catholic community in Norway.

This broader view of church history is essential if the work of Bishop Fallize is to be seen in its true perspective. No treatment of any aspect of modern Norwegian Catholic church history can afford to ignore the importance of the aims and personality of this man, who dominated the Catholic scene in Norway for over thirty-five years and who set the pattern of church life within the Norwegian Catholic community for over four decades after his retirement. So much did Fallize dominate the period under discussion in this thesis that a study of the schools must inevitably centre around a discussion of Fallize's methods and ideas. A advantage of this broader view is the possibility it gives for a model for the study of Catholic school systems in other countries and for a examination of the present and

future, as well as the past aims and purpose of Catholic education in general.

Although the aim has been to study the Catholic schools in Norway within a wider context than is usually the case, the author has, nonetheless, provided details of the Norwegian political, social and religious background to the period, where these are essential for an understanding of the general theme, or where these are unfamiliar to English-speaking readers.

Acknowledgements

The writer wishes to thank all those who have helped to make the writing of this thesis possible.

Particular thanks must go to Professor Gordon Batho of the School of Education of the University of Durham. Without his encouragement and generous help, coupled with incisive, but constructive criticism, this thesis would never have been presented. Particular mention should be made of Professor Batho's willingness to support a candidate for the M.Ed., who wished to present a thesis on an unusual subject and who also resided outside the country, as should also his support for the writer's successful application for a Schoolmaster Fellowship in 1981.

The writer wishes to thank Mgr. Peter Cookson and his predecessor, Mgr. Philip Loftus, and the staff of Ushaw

College for their generous support and hospitality during his visits to Durham and particularly during the time of his Schoolmaster Scholarship. Thanks are due to the College librarians, Mgr. B. Paine and Father M. Sharratt for their co-operation and especially to Dr. J. McHugh for his generosity and encouragement. The writer would also like to thank Mr. J. Lowe for information regarding the proposals for mixed-schools in Liverpool and New York.

The writer wishes to offer his grateful thanks to the Bishop of Oslo, Mgr. J.W. Gran for his co-operation in allowing him the use of archive material and for releasing him for the Schoolmaster Scholarship. Particular thanks are due to Sister Clémence Bader Hansen of the St. Joseph Sisters for her help in providing essential information. Thanks are also due to Mgr. F.J. Fischedick and Fathers Olav Wæring, Philip Caraman and Anton Taxt for helping in various ways.

To Father Bernard Müller must go special thanks for gaining the writer access to useful sources in Luxembourg and to Professor Edouard Molitor for his hospitality and for valuable information.

Lastly, the writer wishes to thank Mr. I. Post of Arendal his advice and co-operation with regard to the printing and developing of the photographs.

Alan Littlewood,
Arendal,
Norway,
March 1983.

A Note on Sources

The search for primary unpublished sources has proved to be a frustrating and expensive task. Little survives from the period of correspondence and day to day details of the running of the schools. This is even the case where a school has survived to the present day. In Arendal, for example, no correspondence concerning the school survives from before 1931. Arendal is fortunate in that the school statistics, details of parish expenditure on the school and notices refering to services and special events in connection with the school are still to be found in the archives. In some other parishes even these bare essentials are lacking. In addition to this, some possible important sources of information, such as Bishop Fallize's personal visitation notes, have, for a variety of reasons, not been made available to the author.

The position with regard to printed primary sources is, on the other hand, much better. The two most important of these are St. Olav and Bekjendtgjørelser which contain a large amount of interesting information and are essential for an understanding of Fallize's educational policy. Fallize's books on Norway, mainly written in French, are not reliable historical sources. This is true even of his description of his pastoral journeys in Fallize (1897). This source mentions a few of the schools in passing, particularly those in the north of Norway but gives no more than superficial details. These works are, however, interesting in that they give valuable general insights into the work and character of the man who wrote them.

Apart from a few articles and short accounts in the prospectuses of the three surviving schools, St. Sunniva (1965) is the only secondary source specifically dedicated to the history of a particular school. All other information has to be gained from other works. Kjelstrup (1942) is the only attempt at a general history of the Roman Catholic Church in Norway since 1537. In many ways outdated and, on occasion inaccurate, it is, nonetheless, an essential source of information for the period under consideration. Its treatment of the schools is somewhat uneven and, with the exception of the early period in Alta, rarely touches on more than the bare details concerning the provincial schools. Since the Second World War J.J. Duin, noted as a meticulous and careful historian, has written several short monographs on modern Catholic history in Norway. Unfortunately, only Duin (1980) deals in any more than superficial detail with the schools. This work gives essential information on the schools in Trondheim, Tromsø and Hammerfest but leaves unanswered many tantalizing problems. St. Joseph (1940) is a general history of the St. Joseph Sisters in Norway up to that date. It is, however, for all its many faults, the most valuable secondary source for the history of the schools run by that order.

Three biographies of Bishop Fallize have been published, all in German. The first of these, Bäumker (1924), is more valuable for the insights it gives into Fallize's ideas about himself and his work and into his attitudes to controversial issues, such as the quarrel with the Salettines, than as an objective biography. Guill (1930) adds little to Bäumker.

Molitor (1969) is, however, of a completely different calibre. Sober and objective, based on sources available in Luxembourg and Rome, it is essential reading for the period of Norwegian Catholic history treated by this thesis. Admittedly the work has important drawbacks; it is written from a Luxembourg point of view and is stronger on Fallize's career in that country, than in Norway. Like its predecessors, it mentions the schools only in passing. On the other hand, it is an important corrective to the provincialism of the Norwegian sources for the thesis in that it gives a full account of Fallize's European background. In doing so it helps to answer many otherwise puzzling questions concerning Fallize's educational and other policies.

For the general Lutheran religious background to the Fallize period the author is indebted to Norsk historie, the standard three volume history of the Norwegian National Church written by A. Aaflot and C.F. Wisløff. Molland (1979) is a more recent and highly detailed work on the National Church in the nineteenth century and is regarded as a masterpiece. In conclusion it should be added that the standard work on the history of Norwegian education, Høigård and Ruge (1963), has proved invaluable, as has the more recent Myhre (1971). For the period up to, and including, 1890, Helgheim (1980) and Helgheim (1981) have proved invaluable. These superbly detailed studies of educational history in Norway are highly regarded. Lastly, mention should be made of Tønnessen (1966), a short but surprisingly comprehensive collection of documents relevant to the history of the Norwegian public schools.

A Note on Editorial Policy

A feature of the Norwegian language is the large number of spelling and grammatical reforms which have occurred since the beginning of the century. These have had their effects on place names. Many of the changes have been of a minor kind, for example, Alta was formally known as Alten, Trondheim as Trondhjem. The author has used the modern forms throughout the thesis in order to avoid confusion. This is even the case where there has been a change of name. For example, Oslo was known as Kristiania and Halden as Fredrikshald throughout the period covered by the thesis. With regard to the vexed question of alternative forms the author has consistently used those of contemporary moderate Riksmål, for instance, 'skole', rather than 'skule'.

Luxembourg place names have three forms: the official French version, a German version, and a dialect version used in everyday speech. The writer has used the official French form with the German version of the name in parentheses, if this differs considerably, hence, Clervaux (Clerf) but not Luxembourg (Luxemburg). It should be noted that the majority of the sources for the thesis use the German form.

Bishop Fallize changed his name a short time after his arrival in Norway. The later version of his name, J.O. Fallize, has been used consistently in all references to his written work.

All translations of titles of books, articles and other sources and translations of quotations have been made by the author from the original languages, unless otherwise stated.

Books and monographs have London as their place of publication, unless otherwise stated.

A LIST OF BRIEF REFERENCES

Aaflot (1967)	A. Aaflot, Norsk kirkehistorie, vol.II, Oslo.
AAS	Acta Apostolicæ Sedis.
Andersen (1975)	N.K. Andersen, 'The Reformation in Scandinavia and the Baltic', in ed. G.R. Elton, The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.II, The Reformation 1520-1559, Cambridge, 1975, pp.134-60.
ASS	Acta Sanctæ Sedis.
Aubert (1978)	R. Aubert, The Church in a Secularized Society, 1978.
Bäumker (1924)	F. Bäumker, Johannes Olav Fallize. Ein bischöflicher Pionier des skandinavischen Nordens, Aachen, 1924.
Bekjendtgjørelser	Norges apostoliske præfektur, Kirkelige bekjendtgjørelser. Norges apostoliske vikariat, Kirkelige bekjendtgjørelser.
Bossy (1975)	J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community 1570-1850, 1975.
Derry (1957)	T.K. Derry, A Short History of Norway, 1957.
Derry (1973)	T.K. Derry, A History of Modern Norway, Oxford, 1973.
Duin (1951)	J.J. Duin, Grunnleggelsen av St. Pauls kirke og menighet i Bergen, Oslo, 1951.
Duin (1956)	J.J. Duin, 'Fra bygningstiden for St. Olavs kirke i Oslo', in St. Olavs kirke 100 år, Oslo, 1956.
Duin (1980)	J.J. Duin, Elisabethsøstrenes historie i Norge 1880-1980, Oslo, 1980.
Fallize (1897)	J.O. Fallize, Une Tournée Pastorale en Norvège, Tours, 1897.
Flagestad (1981)	M. Flagestad, Den katolske kirke i Norge, en historisk oversikt, Tromsø, 1981.

Niemi (1976)	E. Niemi, et al., Trekk fra Nord Norges historie, Oslo, 1976.
Ramsøy (1972)	ed. N.R. Ramsøy, Det norske samfunnet, Oslo, 1972.
St. Franciskus (1976)	St. Franciskus Xaverius Søstrene, St. Franciskus Xaverius Kongregasjon 1901-1976, Bergen, 1976.
St. Joseph (1940)	St. Josephsøstrene i Norge, Kronikk over St. Josephsøstrene fra Chambery. Den norske ordensprovins 1865-1940, Oslo, 1940.
St. Sunniva (1965)	St. Josephsøstrene i Norge, St. Sunniva skole 1865-1965, Oslo, 1965.
School Regulations	J.O. Fallize, 'Skolereglement for Norges Apostoliske Præfektur', in Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.4, no.3, 15.04.1890, pp.26-31.
Tønnessen (1966)	H.O. Tønnessen, Tekster og aktstykker til den norske skoles historie, Oslo, 1966.
Wisløff (1966)	C.F. Wisløff, Norsk kirkehistorie, vol.I, Oslo, 1966.

Chapter One — Catholic Nemesis 1537-1845

'For the state sees in religion
a power which enhances the throne.'

Henrik Ibsen: *Brand*

Norway entered the Reformation period economically poor and politically weak. By the Union of Kalmar in 1397 Margrethe I of Denmark had secured the thrones of Norway and Sweden for herself and her successors. Attempts to centralize the government of the whole of Scandinavia on Copenhagen caused great resentment and, after much resistence, Sweden broke away from the Union in 1523. Norway was, however, not in a position to follow Sweden's example, as it was a much poorer country with fewer natural resources, less arable land, poorer communications and a smaller population. Trade, moreover, had, since the end of the thirteenth century, passed increasingly into the hands of the German Hansa merchants to the detriment of local traders, farmers and fishermen. The Hansa refused to pay either taxes or tithes and kept both Church and State in its debt and attempts on the part of the Norwegian kings to limit their power failed. After 1397, when Margrethe I gave the Hansa royal backing, its influence increased and it quickly became a state within the state. The Norwegian national decline was further hastened by the Black Death, which reached the country in 1349. The effects of the plague on the sparsely populated country were catastrophic. The majority of the clergy died and the nobility was all but wiped out. The administration passed into the hands of Danish officials and noblemen and the Norwegians ceased to be consulted even about their own affairs. The towns, with the exception of Bergen, which was controlled by the Hansa, declined and agriculture was ruined by the importation of foreign grain; cultural and literary standards deteriorated and the people gradually ceased to think of themselves as Norwegians. Only the

bishops and clergy were strong enough to stand up to the Danish king and defend the rights of the peasantry. The Church was still respected by the mass of the general population, for the corruption, which was such a feature of church-life elsewhere, had not affected Norway to the same degree. Unfortunately, however, the ecclesiastical structure and organisation was seriously weakened by the national decline, thus making co-ordinated resistance to the Reformation extremely difficult. The Reformation began in Norway with the arrival of a Lutheran preacher in Bergen in 1526, who made many converts among the German tradespeople. In 1529 two Danish ministers were given permission to work among the common people of the town. This development caused much unrest in Bergen but it had little effect elsewhere. In the meantime Lutheranism was becoming popular among members of the nobility and from 1528 onwards, monasteries began to be dissolved and church property seized. These developments caused a strong reaction among the Catholic party, led by the able and learned Archbishop Olaf Engelbriktsson of Nidaros (Trondheim). (1)

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(1) Derry (1957), pp.66-88.

A. Holmsen, Norges historie. Fra de eldste tider til eneveldets innførelse i 1660, Oslo, 1961, pp.331-95.

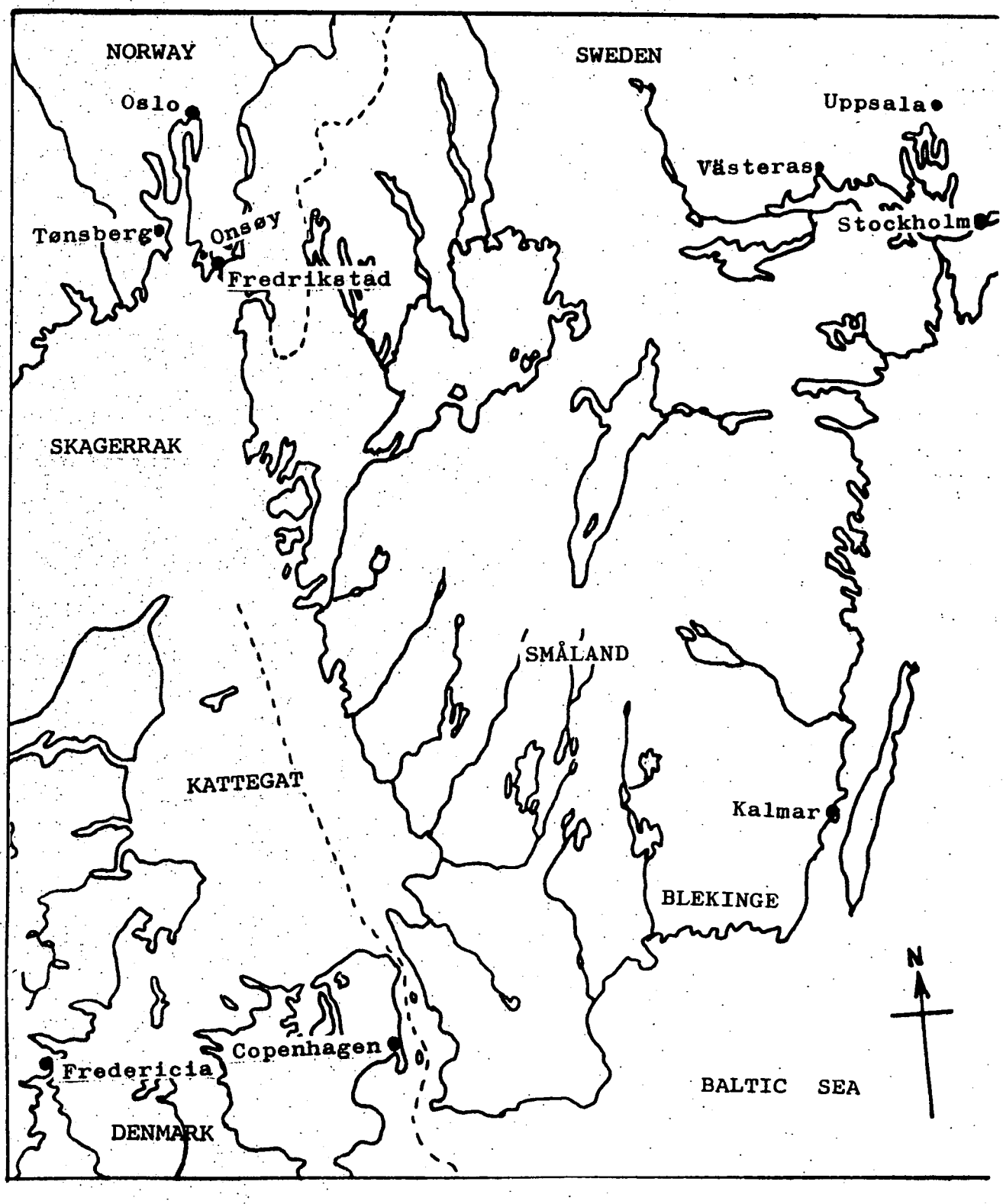
A. Holmsen, 'Den store mannedauen', in ed. A. Holmsen and J. Simensen, Norges nedgang - Senmiddelalderen, Oslo, 1968, pp.230-54.

F. Paasche, Artikler og taler, Oslo, 1948, p.35.

J. Schreiner, 'Hanseatene og Norges nedgang', in ed. A. Holmsen and J. Simensen, Norges nedgang - Senmiddelalderen, Oslo 1968, pp.191-8.

S. Steen, Bergen - byen mellom fjellene, Bergen, 1969. pp.55-74.

Wisløff (1966), pp.260-91, 368-80.



SOUTH-EASTERN SCANDINAVIA

1:3,000,000

0 50 100 km.

When Archbishop Engelbriktsson had taken up office in 1524 he had pledged his support for the exiled King Christian II but later, however, changed his allegience to the de facto king, Fredrik I, until the latter gave his support to the Lutheran party, whereupon Engelbriktsson and his fellow bishops assisted Christian II in his abortive effort to regain the throne in 1531. After this defeat Engelbriktsson tried to have a son-in-law of Christian II installed as king on the death of Fredrik I in 1533. This proved a failure and by 1536 the Lutheran King Christian III was firmly in control in Denmark. A revolt led by Engelbriktsson was quickly surpressed on the arrival of the Danish fleet off Trondheim in 1537 and the archbishop fled to the Netherlands where he died the following year. Christian III was never formally elected to the Norwegian throne. The Norwegians received no charter from him and, according to the Danish charter of 1536, Norway was reduced to the rank of an ordinary Danish province and ceased to be an independent nation, even though Danish kings did style themselves, "King of Denmark and of Norway". At the same time the Lutheran religion was imposed on the people, ecclesiastical property was seized and new bishops, nominees of the Danish crown, were installed. Danish became the language of the liturgy and the new parish clergy, mostly Danes with a sprinkling of Germans, preached and taught in Danish. They had little in common with their peasant parishioners, who often saw them as greedy officials owing allegience to a foreign king. Catholicism took over a hundred years to die out completely and, in the remoter areas, Catholic priests were sometimes retained until they died and continued to say mass as though the Reformation had never happened. Andersen (1975)

sums up the situation very well.

> 'The introduction of the Reformation into Norway did, however, meet with considerable difficulties. In general the priests were untouched by Lutheranism, and consequently many parishes were for a period without an incumbent. The population clung to its traditions, and Catholic customs continued to be observed for a long time. (2) Many complaints were heard of the widespread poverty and low moral standards among both priests and laymen. The Bible, the catechism and the hymnal were not translated into Norwegian. The Reformation was thus preached in a partly incomprehensible language and in every way used to further Danish culture in Norway. It never became a popular movement, and it took years to educate the people in the Lutheran faith.' (3)

In spite of this, however, the Norwegian Reformation resulted in the complete elimination of the Catholic faith. The old religion was completely proscribed for the next three hundred years, apart from occasional concessions for foreigners. No remnant survived, as in England and some other Protestant countries. (4)

The end results of the Reformation in Norway were similar to those in Sweden and Denmark. The causes, however, were completely different. In Sweden the Reformation coincided with the struggle for independence. As Rome had supported the pro-Danish party and Christian II's claim to the throne, it was

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(2) Such as the veneration of the miraculous cross at Røldal.

(3) Andersen (1975), pp.143-4.

(4) Andersen (1975), pp.142-4.
Derry (1957), pp.87-91.
A. Holmsen, Norges historie. Fra de eldste tider til eneveldets innførelse i 1660, Oslo, 1961, pp.396-418.
C. Joys, Hva skjedde i Norge i 1537?, Oslo, 1937.
Wisløff (1966), pp.381-404.

only natural that Gustav Vasa and the victorious nationalists should have favoured the Lutheran party, led by the brilliant Petri brothers. The Diet of Västeras in 1527 gave the Protestants the ascendency, although Catholicism was still officially tolerated. The Catholic position weakened rapidly after the articulate Bishop Brask left the country in 1527. The gradual elimination of Catholic forms of worship and the secularisation of Church property led to unrest and to serious revolts in Blekinge and Småland in 1542. A further Diet of Västeras in 1543 introduced measures to proscribe Catholicism altogether. The Catholic party was now completely leaderless and unable to assert itself. The Reformation was eventually seen as an integral part of the Swedish national revival and the prestige of Gustav Vasa and his able successors ensured its future success. In Norway the situation was very different. There, the Reformation was a direct result of the national decline. When the religious situation settled down, Sweden adopted by the Synod of Uppsala in 1572 a 'high church' Lutheranism, different from that of Germany and Denmark both in liturgical practice and organisation. Thanks to the Petri brothers a form of Lutheranism, which was truly Swedish and could no longer be seen as a foreign introduction, was the eventual result of the Swedish Reformation. No such adaption was attempted in Norway at this time, or even thought desirable. The Reformation was imposed upon Norway by a foreign power in an attempt to eliminate its culture and the last vestiges of its independence. (5)

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(5) Andersen (1975), pp.146-53.

T.H. Aschehoug, 'Grunnene til forskjellen mellem Sveriges og Norges skjæbne', in ed. A. Holmsen and J. Simensen, Norges nedgang - Senmiddelalderen, Oslo, 1968, pp. 213-7.

J. Rosén, Svensk Historia I. Tiden för 1718, Stockholm, 1962, pp.358-407.

In Denmark the Reformation period was marked by considerable religious and political strife. Control over Sweden had been lost. Gustav Vasa was threatening to take over large tracts of Norwegian territory and there was serious unrest in Norway itself. Rome had supported the cause of the brilliant, but inept, Christian II and the de facto king, Fredrik I, had favoured a gradual introduction of Lutheranism. Owing to its considerable German possessions Denmark came into contact with Protestantism at an early date and during the period 1522-26 a strong Lutheran party grew up in Slesvig (Schleswig). On the death of Fredrik I in 1533 the Catholic party made a bid for power and lost. Lutheranism became the sole religion of the country on the accession of Christian III in 1536. Unlike Norway, Lutheranism was not imposed on Denmark from without, but because it had powerful backing within the country. A further advantage for the Lutheran movement was the upturn in the country's fortunes after 1536.(6)

The long-term result of the Reformation in Norway, indeed in Scandinavia in general, was the disappearance of Catholicism. No remnant remained, as in Britain. This was even the case in Norway, where the situation bore a superficial resemblance to that of Ireland. When making comparisons between Norway and

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(6) Andersen (1975), pp.134-142.
E. Arup, Danmarks Historie, Copenhagen, 1961, pp.431-48.
T.K. Derry, A History of Scandinavia, 1979, pp.82-109.
S. Oakley, The Story of Denmark, 1972, pp.93-119.

England it is essential to underline the importance of the timing of the religious changes in Scandinavia. By 1523, only six years after the publication of Luther's 95 theses, the Reformation was being preached in all three countries and the Lutherans had already become politically important in both Sweden and Denmark. By 1526 the gradual introduction of Lutheranism had become official policy. Catholicism was clearly a lost cause throughout Scandinavia by the time of Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534. The last desperate popular revolts, in Norway in 1536, and in Sweden in 1542, have their English parallel in the Northern Rebellion of 1569. The accession of Edward VI in 1547 marks the official change to Protestantism in England. By that time there was little hope that even the smallest Catholic minority would survive in Scandinavia. Time was on the side of the reformers. All that remained for them to do was a final religious 'mopping up operation' to remove the last traces of Catholicism.

A further factor which is important in any consideration of the Reformation in Scandinavia is the confused situation in Germany during that period. Both Luther and Melanchthon were alarmed by the way in which their new doctrines were being used by the princes for political ends. There were attempts at reconciliation between Catholics and Lutherans, the famous Confession of Augsburg being an endeavour on the part of Luther and Melanchthon to show that their doctrines were orthodox. It was not until the attempt by Charles V to impose uniformity on his dominions by the terms of the Augsburg Interim of 1548 that Catholics and Lutherans finally gave up all hope of reconciliation. The many contacts between Germany and

Scandinavia at this time would have made many educated people aware of these developments and would have given them confused notions of the nature of the religious changes. The reign of Edward VI in England came at a time when the religious consequences of the Reformation were becoming clearer and it caused the emergence of a strong Catholic party. The Catholic reaction under Mary I may have been a political failure but it was of paramount importance for the future survival of Catholicism in England. In Scandinavia no such Catholic revival occurred.

Some of the Catholic scholars and ecclesiastics, who left England from 1559 onwards did not, as most of their Scandinavian counterparts had done thirty years previously, simply settle down in their new homes and allow themselves to be absorbed into the local population. The Elizabethan exiles were influenced more and more by the missionary zeal of the Catholic renewal. They founded schools on the Continent culminating in the erection of colleges at Douai and Rome and elsewhere which, from 1572 onwards, were regularly sending priests to England. The Marian interlude also ensured that these priests had bases from which they could operate, for the Catholic reaction had rallied the Catholic nobility sufficiently to make certain that a minority of these, at least, would remain faithful to the old religion. Their houses served as centres for Catholic worship and education, for it is a little known fact that Catholicism was kept alive in England, not only by priests, but also by lay-tutors and schoolmasters, whose lives were often as dangerous as those of the clergy. The early date of the

Reformation in Scandinavia, coupled with the lack of a Catholic interlude, all but precluded such developments. In Norway there was, in any case, no native nobility. (7)

Although the Scandinavian Catholic exiles did not show the same missionary interest as their Elizabethan counterparts, there were some important exceptions. Unfortunately for Norway, Olav Engelbriktsson died shortly after his arrival in Brabant in 1537 but Sweden was more fortunate. Johannes Magnus, the exiled archbishop of Uppsala, made strenuous but unsuccessful efforts to draw Rome's attention to the situation of Catholicism in Scandinavia. On his death his work was continued by his brother, the brilliant humanist and cartographer Olaus Magnus, who gathered a group of exiles in Rome, who pledged themselves to work for the reconversion of Sweden. The death of Olaus Magnus in 1557 deprived Scandinavian Catholics of their most articulate spokesman and the one person who could have become their William Allen. The work of the Magnus brothers was, however, not completely in vain, for in 1561, the Holy See made unsuccessful but useful diplomatic approaches to the kings of both Sweden and Denmark. At about this time a number of young Scandinavian exiles joined the Jesuits and, sometime between 1575 and 1580, the order established a base in Sweden and there is evidence that it had a small house and some kind of school in Copenhagen as early as 1560. (8)

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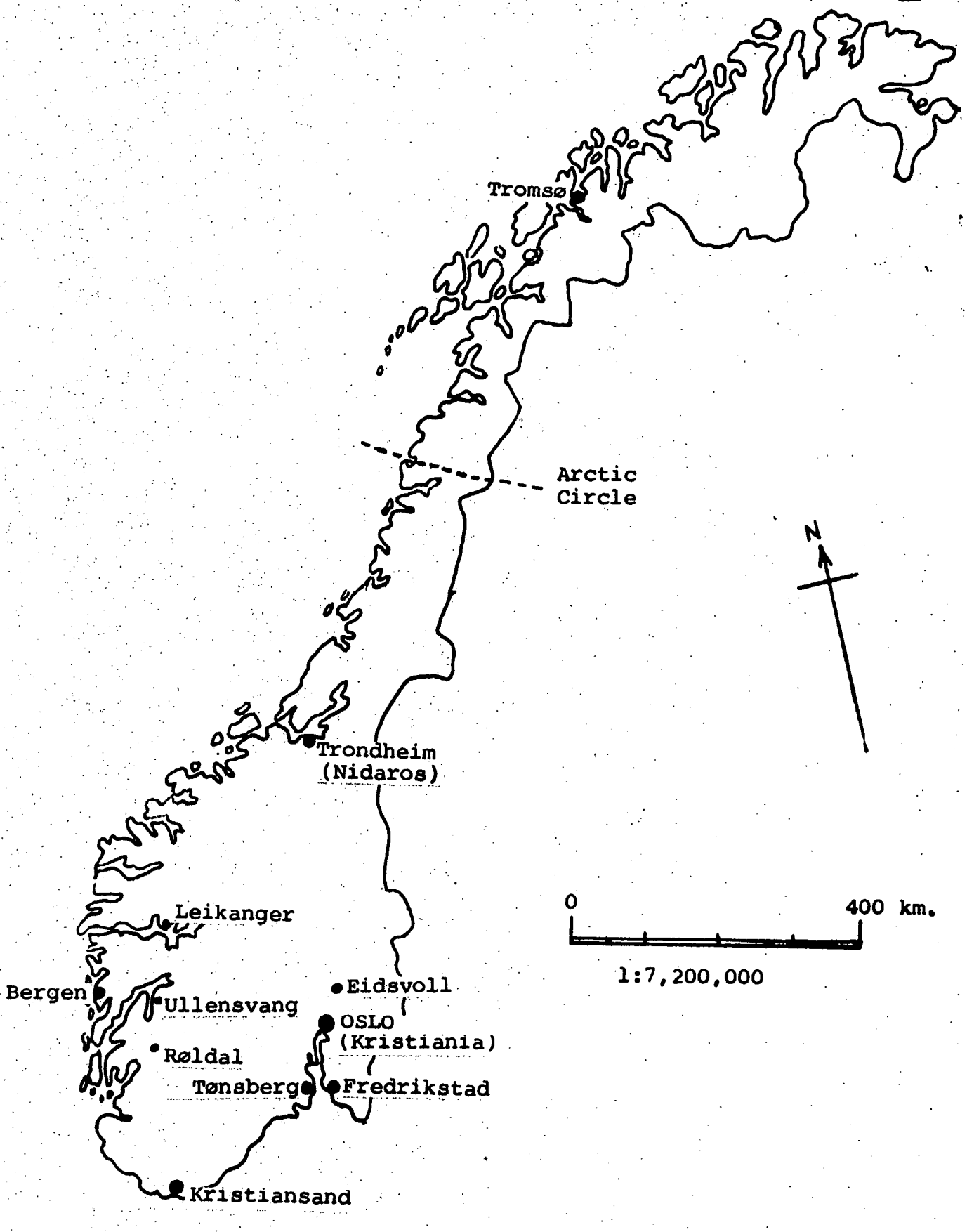
(7) A.C.F. Beales, Education under Penalty, 1963, pp.39-48, 52-57, 72-87.

Bossy (1975), pp.11-19.

O. Chadwick, The Reformation, Harmondsworth, 1973, pp.64-6, 97-136.

(8) Garstein (1961), pp.39-47.



NORWAY BETWEEN THE
REFORMATION AND THE ACT OF TOLERATION (1536-1845)

One of the Scandinavians who joined the Jesuits at this time was a Norwegian, Laurits Nielsen, the legendary 'Kloster Lasse', better known by his Latin name, Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus. He was born in Tønsberg about the year 1538 and appears to have attended the Cathedral School in Oslo before leaving for further studies in Copenhagen about the year 1558. He seems to have made contact with the Jesuits there and left the country for Brabant in order to become a Catholic. In 1564 he entered the Jesuits and studied at the University of Louvain. Norvegus became a zealous and devoted priest, who well deserved his nickname, 'Piscator Animarum'. The Louvain Jesuits decided to send him back to his home town in order to found a college there. Presumably this would have been a clandestine establishment, similar to the one in Copenhagen. Norvegus duly returned to Tønsberg about the year 1570 and worked quietly in the town with moderate success, making a small number of converts and persuading several young men to study with the Jesuits on the Continent. Norvegus kept contact with his converts for some time after he left Tønsberg in 1575, although Jesuit activity must have continued for some time in the area, as it is mentioned in a warning issued in 1581 by the Bishop of Oslo, Jens Nilssøn. A tradition that Norvegus worked in Ullensvang in Hardanger has never been proved and Garstein (1961) feels that it is unlikely and that there has been a confusion with a later attempt to set up a Jesuit mission in Leikanger in Sogn in 1620. From 1570 until his death in 1622 Norvegus was at the centre of most attempts to gain a Catholic foothold in Scandinavia. His initial efforts had led to the building up of small Catholic communities in Oslo, Tønsberg, Stockholm and several other places.

At first there seems to have been a fairly tolerant attitude, both to the converts, and to the practice among certain families of sending their sons abroad for a Jesuit education. This, however, soon changed, particularly in Denmark-Norway, where the Church Ordinances of 1536 and 1539 were gradually tightened up. In 1574 a new law was introduced forbidding the importation of new doctrines into these two countries. This was supplemented by a similar act in 1588 and, in 1606, a law was passed prohibiting association with Jesuits and the sending of students to their colleges. This finally led to the expulsion of Norvegus from Denmark-Norway in 1607. These enactments were confirmed, collected and expanded by the royal decrees of 1613 and 1615. The latter made conversion to Catholicism an offence punishable by confiscation of property, loss of citizenship and permanent banishment from the kingdom. The trial of Jacob Hjort and other converts at Gjerpen in 1613 resulted in even harsher legislation, which forced most of the remaining Catholics into exile.

Of special interest is the list of thirteen dispensations Norvegus wished to gain for his converts, when he sent in his report on the mission to Denmark-Norway in 1600. In sharp contrast with English practice at the time, he asked that converts should be allowed to attend Protestant services on condition that they did not communicate. Even more radical was the proposal that Lutheran pastors, who became Catholics, should be allowed to remain at their posts, while secretly ministering to the converts. Jacob Hjort, the pastor of Onsøy, practiced this kind of bi-denominational ministery until he was exiled

after the Gjerpen trial. He continued as a Lutheran minister, even though he had secretly become a Catholic and had been ordained a Catholic priest on a visit to the Continent. A further point of interest is the reference made in a report, written in 1600, by the English Jesuit superior Robert Persons, where he notes the advantages freedom of religious practice in England would mean for a mission to Scandinavia. The report does not, however, make any mention of the efforts being made by Norvegus and his associates, even though both he and Persons were in close contact with Cardinal Robert Bellarmine at the time.

By the time of his death in 1622 Norvegus must have realised that his missionary efforts had ended in failure. His spirits, however, remained unquenched, as is shown by his brave defence of his faith, when questioned by Gustavus Adolphus after the storming of Riga. The Swedish king, to his credit, allowed Norvegus and his Jesuits safe passage to Vilna, where Norvegus died in the following year. In 1624 an edict was passed forbidding all Catholic priests and religious to enter Denmark-Norway under pain of death. In spite of this, however, a short-lived attempt was made by a Norwegian Dominican, Johan Martin Rhugius, to establish a Catholic presence in Larvik during the period 1637-41. Although Rhugius found twelve secret Catholics in the area he had to give up on account of harsh laws, isolation and lack of support from abroad. This was the last serious attempt to set up a Catholic

mission in Norway during the period between 1537 and 1843. (9)

One of the main reasons for the failure of these missionary efforts was that Rome had waited too long before taking any action. In England, the gap of twelve years between the death of Mary I and the arrival of the first missionary priests had a serious enough effect on the development of the Catholic community in that country. Rome hesitated too long and the possibility of the emergence of a strong Catholic minority was lost. In Norway the gap was even greater, namely thirty-four years. Norvegus had to try to build from scratch without any centres from which he could operate. Harsh laws weakened but could not quench English Catholicism. In Norway they quickly destroyed the fledgling Catholic community before it could grow strong enough to resist the pressures put upon it. A further important factor was that the Scandinavian missionaries were few in number and unable to cover more than a handful of small, scattered areas during their period of activity in the North.

Comparisons are often made between the situation of Norway and that of Ireland at the time of the Reformation. There were, indeed, many superficial similarities. Both countries were being exploited by a more powerful neighbour, which wished to fill the leading positions in government with its own candidates.

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(9) Bossy (1975), p.23.
Garstein (1961), pp.39-47.
Garstein (1980), pp.263-296, 308-338, 402-406.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.15-20, 25-30.
A. Perger, Jesuitpateren Laurits Nielsen saakaldt Klosterlasse, Oslo, 1896.
Wisløff (1966), pp.489-95.

In both cases Catholicism was on the side of patriotism and the Reformation was imposed by a neighbouring power in order to further its own political ends. At first it seems surprising that all trace of Catholicism disappeared from Norway, while the majority of the Irish remained faithful. A closer examination of the situation in the two countries shows, however, that there were fundamental differences between them. Norway was politically and economically much weaker than Ireland at this time. Unlike Norway, Ireland still had its own parliament and also ancient families, who were willing to defend the country's religious and political rights. O'Neill's revolt would, for example, have been impossible in Norway, where the old nobility had been wiped out. The Tudors had to act with far greater circumspection in Ireland in order to make religious changes than was the case with the Danish authorities in Norway, if serious political trouble were to be avoided. An important factor, which cannot be overlooked, is the strategic position of Ireland and its importance to major Catholic powers, such as Spain, and later, France. It was in their political interest to support Irish Catholicism and nationalism and keep the country in a state of unrest. This is well demonstrated by Spanish support for O'Neill's revolt. Norway was, on the other hand, only of strategic interest to either Denmark, or Sweden. Both of these were aggressively Lutheran powers and had not the slightest wish to see any Catholic revival in Norway, as this could only serve to awaken Norwegian national feeling and make domination and integration more difficult. Furthermore, Norway was isolated from the great Catholic centres of Europe, whereas Ireland was much closer to them geographically. Irish Catholics

could more easily receive foreign help and, most important of all, a regular supply of priests could be maintained. Even for English Catholics contact with the Continent was not too difficult and there were powerful foreign interests willing to give support to the English recusants. It needed more than just a few idealistic Jesuits to re-establish a permanent Catholic presence in Norway, for during the latter half of the sixteenth century religious campaigns of this kind had to have solid political support, either national or foreign, if they were to achieve even moderate success. (10)

A more interesting comparison would be between Norway and Wales. The Reformation was not popular in the latter country, any more than it was in Norway, one factor being that it was not preached in the language of the people and was seen as something foreign. There is evidence for much popular support for Catholicism for many years after the accession of Elizabeth I and it is a curious fact that a surprisingly large number of missionary priests sent to England were of Welsh origin. Unfortunately, the possibilities which Wales offered were neglected by the Catholic authorities in Elizabethan times and the Welsh priests were almost exclusively used for work in England. The result was that Catholicism all but died out in Wales. As in Norway a gap grew up between the established church and the ordinary people and this religious vacuum was not filled in either country until the religious revivals of the

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(10) R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors, 1890, pp.398-415, 472.
R. Dudley Edwards, Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1977, pp.15-38, 97, 153-172.

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the early nineteenth century there were only four Catholic missions in Wales proper, serving immigrant communities in the industrial south, again a development which bears a superficial resemblance to that in Norway. (11)

By the early part of the seventeenth century the pattern of Norwegian religious life was set for the next two hundred years. The Danish-dominated national Lutheran Church had a complete monopoly over all religious and educational activity and no dissenters, either Catholic or Protestant were permitted. Lutheran interest in education was stimulated by what was seen as a Jesuit threat and, in 1604, a law was passed demanding the provision of better trained teachers and improved school books. From 1640 onwards, greater efforts were made to educate the public in the Lutheran faith. In spite of the efforts of men, such as Peder Dass, however, many people in the remoter areas remained untouched by this campaign. (12)

The history of modern Norway begins in the eighteenth century, when better exploitation of mineral resources and the increased British demand for timber brought about an improvement in the economy. The Great Northern War marked the rebirth of Norwegian national feeling and the Danish and German officials, who governed the country, began to identify themselves with the

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(11) Bossy (1975), pp.97-100, 309, 410-13.
G. Dyfnallt Owen, Elizabethan Wales, Cardiff, 1962, pp.216-20.
G. Williams, Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales, Cardiff, 1979, pp.19, 159, 190-1.

(12) Myhre (1971), pp.12-18.
Tønnessen (1966), pp.24-6.
Wisløff (1966), pp.490-515.

people, not least because they and the traders were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the way in which the economy was being governed from Copenhagen and the limitations which this imposed on growth. It was during this period that the effects of the Pietist movement were first felt. The movement was encouraged by Christian VI, who was deeply influenced by its spirituality. One of the movement's earliest successes was the Confirmation Edict of 1736. This introduced the ceremony of Confirmation to Norway. Although it was always the intention that every young person should be confirmed, it was only possible for those who had received an elementary education, together with religious instruction based on the Bible and Catechism. Unfortunately, its religious significance became more and more obscured by its social importance. At the same time, in 1739, legislation was enacted to make the establishment of schools in all rural parishes compulsory. This did not, however, have the desired effect, as it was opposed by the peasants. Measures were taken in 1739, 1756 and 1775 respectively to improve the Latin Schools in the main towns. These reforms proved successful, although the new laws caused a number of these schools to close and led to the remainder becoming the preserve of the official and mercantile classes. Pietism gave the Norwegian Lutheran Church its special form of spirituality and, even today, its theology dominates popular religion. It was responsible for making the relationship between Church and school even closer. Today the state schools in Norway are still officially denominational and religion and morals are taught

according to the principles of the National Church. (13)

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 caused little stir in Norway; it was rather the Napoleonic Wars which caused the final break with Denmark. These reduced Norway to economic ruin by cutting off trade with Britain and by causing the seizure or destruction of the merchant fleet by the British. The Danes made attempts to satisfy Norwegian demands by setting up a Norwegian bank and university in 1813. When, however, in 1814 the Treaty of Kiel made Norway part of Sweden the reaction to the news was dramatic. Nobody in Norway, least of all the peasants, wanted Swedish rule. A national assembly met at Eidsvoll in the same year, declared independence and drew up a constitution. A Danish prince, Christian Fredrik, was elected king but his reign was shortlived as, by the end of the year, the Norwegians were forced to accept the Swedish monarch instead. Norway was, however, to have equal status with Sweden and to retain its own parliament and constitution. The latter was based on that drawn up in France in 1797 but with certain modifications, mainly drawn from British and American practice. The constitution provided for a limited monarchy, separation of powers and a restricted franchise. The king could appoint ministers and had a suspensive veto. In religious matters, however, the 1814 constitution was anything but liberal. The

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(13) Derry (1957), pp.109-120.
Høigård and Ruge (1963), pp.38-61.
M. Jensen, Norges historie. Under eneveldet 1660-1814, Oslo, 1962, pp.56-90.
Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, Mønsterplan for grunnskolen, Oslo, 1971, p.80.
Myhre (1971), pp.19-29.
Tønnessen (1966), pp.27-63.

Lutheran Church was confirmed in its position as a state church with a monopoly over the religious life of the country. The right of religious dissent was not recognised and earlier laws against Jesuits, monks and Jews were written into the constitution. (14)

It was at this time that the religious situation in Norway began to change radically, for the country had recently been in the throes of a religious revival led by Hans Nielsen Hauge, who from 1796 until his imprisonment in 1804, preached successfully in many rural areas. In 1814 Hauge was released, having spent the past ten years in and out of gaol for holding illegal meetings. The Haugian revival, pietist in inspiration, gave the peasants a popular form of religion for the first time since the Reformation. It also gave them a sense of religious and political solidarity at a time when the 1814 constitution gave them greater power, for the rural parishes were represented in the new parliament (Storting) and some of the richer peasants had been elected members. It should be stressed, however, that the Haugians remained staunch members of the National Church and never saw themselves as dissenters, even though Haugianism was essentially a lay movement with its own meetings and services. The Danish authorities had harassed the Haugians, because they considered them politically and religiously dangerous. After 1814, however, their movement was tolerated, even though their meetings were illegal and those who attended them liable to arrest and imprisonment, a state of affairs which continued

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(14) Derry (1957), pp.114-40.
Derry (1973), pp.1-16.
Jensen (1963), pp.11-33.

until the Conventicle Proclamation of 1741 was repealed in 1842. The Haugians stressed the importance of Bible-reading, extempore prayer and the puritan way of life. Haugianism became an important influence in education. Previously the peasants had resisted government efforts to get them to send their children to school. Hauge and his followers encouraged them to do so and from that time onwards the peasants began to demand more and better schools. The religious significance of the Haugian movement was tremendous. Aided by the Johnsonite revival later in the century it ensured the eventual triumph of the low-church pietist party within Lutheranism and, furthermore, caused a sharp division between church and chapel within the National Church. The Haugians were no less important politically. Their movement tended to emphasize the difference between town and country, between the peasants, on the one hand, and the official and mercantile classes on the other. This division was to be of paramount importance for the development of nineteenth century Norwegian politics. It was natural that the Haugians should campaign for greater religious freedom and they were instrumental in bringing about the repeal of the infamous Conventicle Proclamation. This not only regularised their position but also made it possible to hold political meetings much more freely than had been the case previously. It should, however, be stressed that the Haugians were only really interested in guaranteeing their own position. Few, if any, wanted freedom of worship granted to those outside the National Church. Pressure for religious toleration came from a different

direction. (15)

Many Norwegian ships were confiscated by the British during the Napoleonic Wars and their crews interned. Little was done for the welfare of these men, who were confined for several years in prison hulks under appalling conditions. Among the few people who ministered to their needs were the Quakers and some of the sailors were so impressed that they became members of the Society. On the final defeat of France they returned to Norway and set up meeting houses in Oslo and Stavanger, making the latter town their headquarters. They suffered much persecution, for not only were their meetings against the law but, unlike the Haugians, they refused to be even nominal members of the National Church. Their plight did not, however, go unnoticed and liberal-minded men, such as Henrik Wergeland, began to espouse the cause of religious liberty and the use their influence to persuade the government to grant full freedom of worship to dissenters. Wergeland was for many years state archivist in Stockholm. A patriot, poet and writer and one of the precursors of the Norwegian literary revival, Wergeland wrote about the countryside somewhat after the style of Cobbett and espoused unpopular causes, such as the toleration of Catholics, Jews and Quakers. The number of Quakers was small but

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(15) Aaflot (1967), pp.231-278.

One of the best modern specialist studies of Haugianism is: A. Aaflot, Tro og Lydighet, Oslo, 1969.

E. Molland, Fra Hans Nielsen Hauge til Eivind Berggrav, Oslo, 1951, pp.9-25.

Molland (1979), pp.15-105, 170-5.

but their existence caused many problems. Tragically most of them had been forced to emigrate to the United States before the Toleration Act of 1845. The Quakers were, however, not the only group that was causing problems, for there were by now an increasing number of Roman Catholics living more or less permanently in the country. (16)

The position of the Roman Catholics was very different from that of the Quakers. By 1845 there had been no native Norwegian Catholics living in Norway for about two hundred years. Throughout the post-Reformation period there were occasional Norwegians, who joined the Catholic Church while living abroad, and even became priests. These, however, could never return to their homeland and they played no part in the eventual granting of religious toleration. Religious freedom for Catholics was granted on account of the growing number of foreign workers, traders and diplomats in the country. Throughout the period 1650-1845 small groups of foreign Catholics had been allowed to reside in Norway on a temporary basis and a number of dispensations had been given allowing them to worship in their own way and even to be visited by a priest. The most important of these were given to the so-called free towns in Norway and Denmark the most significant of which, from the Catholic point of view, was the garrison town of Fredericia in Denmark, where freedom of worship was granted to foreigners as

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(16) Aarflot (1967), pp.497-8.
Derry (1957), p.143.
Molland (1979), pp.175-8.
For a short summary of Wergeland's literary and political significance see:
Ed. Anthony Thorlby, The Penguin Companion to Literature 2: European Literature, Harmondsworth, 1969, p.825.

early as 1682. A Catholic chapel was built in 1767 and there has been a continuous Catholic presence ever since. Norwegian Catholics were, however, less fortunate. The free town of Fredrikstad was granted a similar dispensation to that of Fredericia. Between the years 1677 and 1696 the Luxembourg mercenary general, Johan Caspar de Cicignon was governor of the town, which was garrisoned by his mercenary troops. Some Jesuit chaplains arrived there in 1678 and a royal dispensation giving the soldiers freedom of worship was granted in 1682. A chapel was built in 1685 but this was, unfortunately, destroyed in the Fredrikstad fire of 1690, shortly after which the chaplains returned home. After the withdrawal of the mercenaries there is no record of Catholic activity in the town until after 1845. There is also record of dispensations being given in 1686 and 1738, respectively, for foreigners living in the free town of Kristiansand, although their presence would seem to have been only of a temporary nature. (17)

Further minor dispensations were made from time to time. Freedom of worship was granted in 1789 to foreigners at trading stations in Finnmark and, in 1794, for those in Tromsø. A number of these foreigners were likely to have been Russian Orthodox, although other denominations seem to have been represented among them, including Roman Catholics. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a number of skilled foreigners came to work in Norway, for instance, in the glass industry and in the

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(17) Aarflot (1967), pp.497-8.
A. Dekkers, 'Die katholische Kirche in Dänemark', in Bonifatiuswerkes Priesterjahrheft, 1982, pp.30-3, pp.30-1.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.153-4.

mines. (18) There were even sporadic visits by Catholic priests to minister to them, such as the one which took place in Oslo in 1761. Such dispensations were, however, only of a limited nature and merely gave foreign nationals, who were members of non-Lutheran churches the right to worship according to their own traditions. No Norwegian was allowed to attend these services, nor could any Norwegian change his religion and remain in the country. The importance of these dispensations lies in the fact that they were used as arguments for the granting of freedom of worship to Catholics in Oslo in 1843. Furthermore, had it not been for the presence of these foreign traders and craftsmen, there would have been no reason to have allowed Catholics to benefit from the terms of the Toleration Act of 1845. An additional factor, which led to the granting of toleration to Catholics, was the increasing number of foreign consulates in Oslo. With the repeal of the British Navigation Acts the economic situation in Norway improved, resulting in increasing demands for greater independence from Sweden and for the granting of more comprehensive Norwegian diplomatic representation abroad. Unlike Stockholm and Copenhagen, Oslo did not offer religious facilities for Catholic members of foreign consulates and when the first Catholic parish was set up in the city in 1843 it was the result of the French consul's wish to have his child baptised. (19)

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(18) See, for instance, Sigrid Undset's novel Madame Dorthea for an account of such a colony.

(19) Aarflot (1967), p.198.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.40-2.
Molland (1979), p.178.
St. Joseph (1940), p.5.

Just over three hundred years had elapsed between the Reformation in Norway and the founding of St. Olav's parish in Oslo. In 1536 Catholicism had been on the side of patriotism and the old faith took a long time to die out. Unfortunately, attempts to revive it came too late and it died out completely. In 1842 the Norwegian national and literary revival was just beginning to get under way. Catholicism was to play no part in this movement, for by 1842 it had come to be seen as something completely and utterly foreign and un-Norwegian. Three hundred years of Protestant propaganda had done its work. The majority of the people were woefully ignorant concerning Catholic teaching and practice and regarded that church as one of the most evil institutions on the face of the earth. In 1842 Catholicism was a 'foreign body' in every sense of the word. Not a single Norwegian was to be found among the Catholics who attended the first regular masses in the capital. A new Norwegian Catholic community had to be built from scratch without the help of a remnant, as in England, and without any native tradition. It was in this unpromising atmosphere that Catholic church life and Catholic education were reborn in Norway.

Chapter Two

Pastoral Care or Missionary Zeal? The Growth of an Educational Policy, 1843-1887.

'Suns that set may rise again,
But if once we lose this light,
'Tis with us perpetual night.'

Ben Jonson: Volpone

The history of the modern Roman Catholic community in Norway begins in the year 1842, three years before the passing of the Toleration Act in 1845. The French consul in Oslo wrote to Mgr. Studach, the prefect apostolic in Stockholm, asking him to send a priest to baptise his new born child. Royal permission was sought and granted and Father Gottfried Montz was duly sent to Oslo. The baptism and mass were held in the consul's residence and about sixty Catholics attended, all foreigners. Heartened by this, thirty-seven of these Catholics petitioned the king to be allowed to set up a permanent parish in the Norwegian capital. They also wrote to Mgr. Studach and to Henrik Wergeland, who was a personal friend of Father Montz and by now an influential man of letters. The authorities consulted Christian Sørensen, the Lutheran bishop of Oslo. He agreed to the granting of the dispensation on condition that there was to be no propaganda, no processions and no converts. After consultation with the government's adviser on religious affairs, C. Winter-Hjelm, the Crown Prince, acting as regent for King Carl Johan, granted the dispensation. Curiously enough, all the Bishop of Oslo's restrictions were ignored, except the ban on processions. (20)

The Toleration Act of 1845 gave dissenters freedom of worship but not full civil rights. They could not hold office, either at local, or at national level and the civil and local government

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(20) Aaflot (1967), p.498.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.34-44.
Molland (1979), p.178.
St. Joseph (1940), pp.5-8.

services, as well as the teaching profession, were closed to them. They could, however, make converts and Lutherans could attend their services. On the other hand, toleration did not extend to Jews, Jesuits and orders of monks, who were not allowed to reside in Norway under any circumstances. Father Montz had remained in the capital since 1843 and had set up a small chapel in a private house. About the time of the Emancipation Act he opened a small school for the benefit of Catholic children in the Oslo area. Naturally, he gave a number of the lessons himself but appears to have been assisted by a sister of the Congregation of Les Filles de Marie, although non-Catholics sometimes had to be asked to take some subjects, a situation which was not regarded as entirely satisfactory. Until 1858, when a presbytery was built, the school was housed in hired rooms. Montz visited Bergen in 1845 and made contact with about thirty Catholics, who were living in that area. He also corresponded with a group of Catholics in Trondheim. Montz left Norway in 1848 having given the Catholics of Oslo the benefit of at least some kind of parish life for the previous five years. His work had been concentrated on foreign Catholics who were resident in Norway. He had, however, made at least one Norwegian convert and his contact with Bergen and Trondheim gave hope for some future Catholic activity in those towns. (21)

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(21) Aarflot (1967), pp.296-7, 498.
Duin (1956), pp.6-9, 11-23.
F.J. Fischedick, 'Litt om St. Olavs menighets vekst og fremgang', in St. Olavs Kirke 100 År, Oslo, 1956, pp.42-3.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.43-8.
Molland (1979), pp.178-85, 235.
St. Joseph (1940), p.9.
For the text of the documents concerning the founding of St. Olav's parish see,
'Historiske dokumenter om oprettelsen af en katholsk menighed i Kristiania 1843', in St. Olav, vol.5, no.16, 15.04.1893, pp.142-3, no.17, 23.04.1893, pp.151-2, no.19, 07.05.1893, pp.167-8.

The school that Montz founded in Oslo continued after he had left Norway and in spite of its smallness and poverty received royal visits from dowager Queen Josephine of Sweden-Norway, when she was staying in Oslo. The Redemptorist Fathers, Sigismund Schroth and Johann Jentsch who worked in Oslo between 1848 and 1854 are recorded as having taught at the school. At this time a young Norwegian convert, Christopher Holfeldt-Houen, was studying for the priesthood at Propaganda College in Rome. Mgr. Studach wrote and asked that Holfeldt-Houen should be sent to Oslo as soon as possible, as he was urgently needed to teach at the school and to take charge of youth work. Of interest is Studach's insistence that the school should be able to give a standard of education above that which was general in Norway. Holfeldt-Houen was a well qualified, brilliant and cultivated young man and, most important of all, he was a Norwegian. It is unlikely that Studach was thinking of using him simply for giving an elementary education to a handful of mainly foreign Catholic children. It was more probable that he felt that this former student of Lacordaire would be able to start some kind of educational institution, which would attract non-Catholic pupils. Holfeldt Houen duly returned to Norway in 1854 soon after his ordination. He proved to be a capable apologist but unsuitable as an elementary school teacher and, in 1857, he was transferred to Bergen in order to found a parish there. (22)

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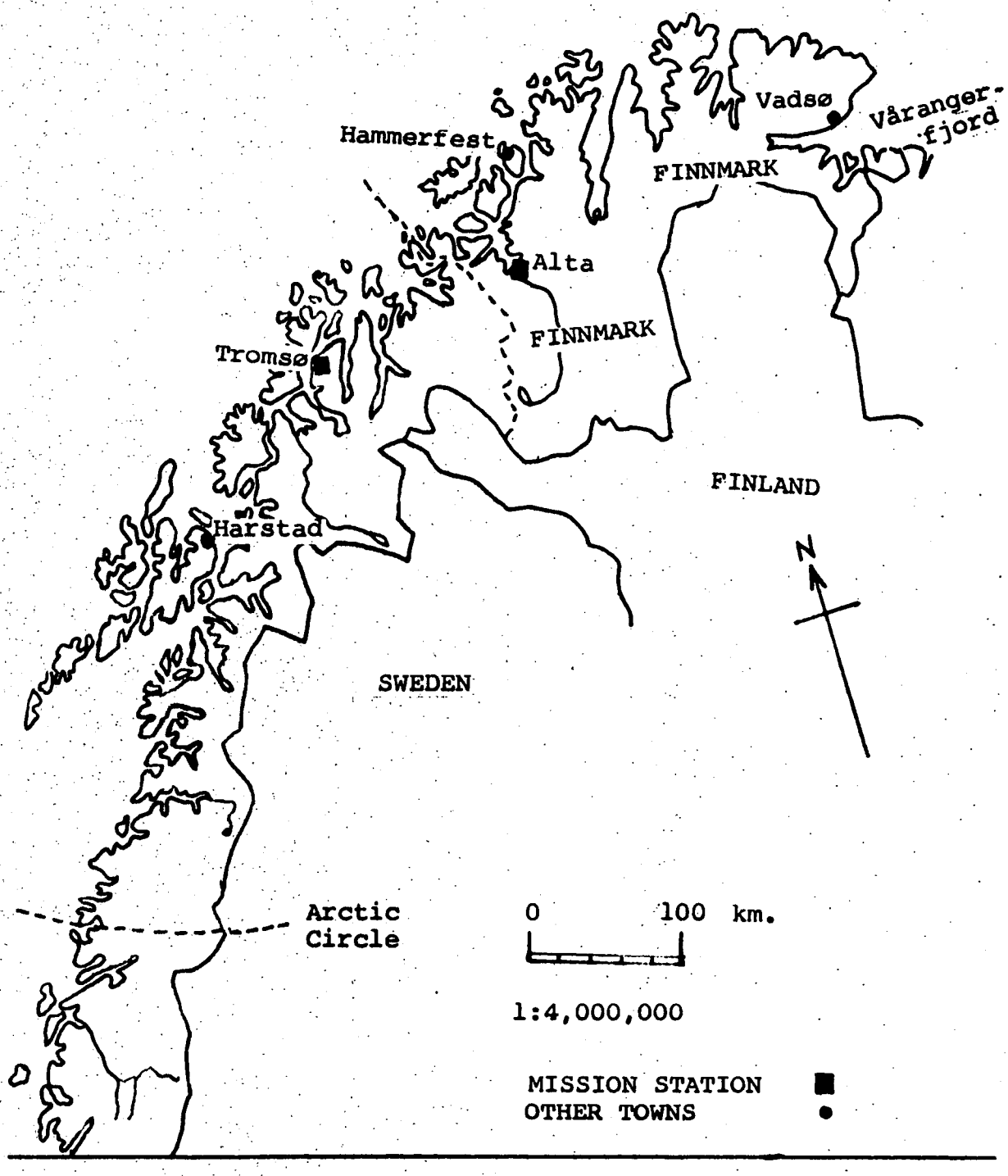
(22) Duin (1956), pp.13-14, 25.
Flagestad (1981), p.14.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.74-8.
St. Joseph (1940), p.24.

Studach's remarks concerning Norwegian education at this time are also interesting. The standard of the schools in Oslo, Bergen and many of the towns was good and compared well with other countries. The first teacher training colleges had been opened in the 1830s and the first government regulations concerning them had been enacted in 1837. On the other hand, in spite of an act passed in 1827, which tried to force all rural parishes to provide either an itinerant schoolmaster, or a schoolroom, and further legislation concerning rural schools in 1860, the standard of education in country districts was not on a par with that demanded by the law. However, in spite of the fact that the urban schools were better, a lower proportion of children in the towns were receiving some form of education than was the case in the country. The Urban Elementary Schools Act of 1848 attempted to remedy this situation by establishing minimum standards of educational provision in the towns. That this Act proved successful in improving the situation in the towns is borne out by the fact that in 1840 92.6% of urban children were attending school, as against 94.9% in the country areas, whereas by 1853, the figures were 98.1% for the towns and 95.2% elsewhere. In spite of the fact that the authorities felt that the situation was still far from satisfactory, the figures for school attendance were extraordinarily high for the period, particularly when it is remembered that Norway was a small, sparsely populated and relatively poor country at this time. The figures compare, for example, very well with those of the Newcastle Report of 1861 in England, where it was reckoned



NORTHERN NORWAY AT THE TIME OF THE NORTH POLE MISSION

that, even in the inspected schools, attendance amounted to only 76.1% of the children on roll. Two conclusions, which were to be of immense importance for the development of Catholic education in Norway may be drawn from these figures. First, there were few gaps in the provision of elementary education, particularly in urban areas. If the Catholic Church were to try to make contact with the Protestant population through education it would have to provide schools which fulfilled an obvious need. In other words, Catholic schools which provided secondary, or specialized education, would have had the most likely chance of success. Second, any Catholic school would, in order to prove attractive to both Catholics and non-Catholics, have to provide an education, which could compare favourably with that of similar institutions in the same area. Studach had already, at this early date, put his finger on a problem which was to bedevil the Roman Catholic schools in Norway until the present day. (23)

Prior to 1856 the work of the Catholic Church in Norway had been concentrated on providing pastoral and educational services for its members in the Oslo area and in making contact with Catholics living elsewhere. Its main concern had been

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(23) S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, 1967, pp.249-50.
Helgheim (1980), p.188.
Helgheim (1981), pp.152, 159.
Høigård and Ruge (1963), pp.95-110.
Myhre (1971), pp.30-7.
Tønnessen (1966), pp.73-82.

pastoral, rather than missionary. In that year an attempt was made to start a mission in Norway where not even a nuclear Catholic community had previously existed. Prior to this date the whole of the country had been under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture Apostolic of Stockholm but now the northern half of Norway became part of the Prefecture Apostolic of the North Pole. In every way as extraordinary as its title, the district covered the whole of northern Scandinavia, the Kola Peninsular, Iceland, the Faroes and part of northern Canada. In 1860 Caithness and the Orkney and Shetland Islands were added for good measure. The North Norwegian town of Alta was chosen as the administrative centre of the district, hardly a wise choice, as the town lacked direct communication with the rest of this enormous area. Four priests and two students under the leadership of the brilliant, but hopelessly eccentric Russian convert, Mgr. Stefan Djunkowski, were appointed to serve the new prefecture. He had previously been on a visit to the Alta area as part of a scientific expedition and felt called to start a mission in the Far North. The decision to include such a large area and make Alta the missionary base seems to have been his. That a man of his intelligence should think up such a plan is extraordinary enough, what is more difficult to understand is the ease with which Rome was persuaded to give its full support to Djunkowski's proposals.

Apart from his lack of realism Djunkowski was hardly a wise choice as prefect apostolic for quite a different reason. This was the time of the Crimean War, when anti-Russian feeling was at its height and there were fears about Russian ambitions

in 1857. (24)

The setting up of the North Pole Mission has always been regarded as a monumental blunder on the part of Rome. Much has been made of the impossibly large area it had to cover and of the difficulties caused by Djunkowski's personality. (25) This attitude, while understandable, has unfortunately obscured the fact that the venture was not a complete disaster and has meant that an objective examination of the possibilities a Catholic mission might have had in northern Norway at that time has been sadly lacking. To claim, for example, that it was a mistake to open a secondary school in that part of Norway in 1857 is to show oneself ignorant of the parlous state of education in the North at that time. The real mistake that was made by the priests, who went to Alta, consisted in not concentrating all their available resources on that particular project. In education the county of Finnmark has always lagged behind the rest of the country, particularly with regard to secondary education. This is true, even today, when the government, in spite of extra incentives, has difficulty in attracting teachers to the area. In 1856 the situation was very poor indeed. (26) The enormous size of the county and its sparse population had much to do with this but these were not the only reasons, for

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(24) Aarflot (1967), pp.498-9.
Flagestad (1981), p.15.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.69-114.
Molland (1979), p.236.

(25) See, for example:
H. Rieber-Mohn, 'Catholicism in Norway', in ed. P. Caraman, Catholicism in Norway, 1959, pp.5-24, p.5.

(26) For an excellent series of accounts of the state of the schools in northern Norway at the turn of the century see:
Ed. A. Eidnes, Nord-Norge i manns minne, Oslo, 1973, pp.120ff.

Finnmark has its own history and its own particular ethnic and linguistic problems, which are markedly different from those of most of the rest of Norway. Norwegians form only part of the population of northern Norway. Some of these moved in during the eighteenth century, or earlier, but the majority arrived after 1800. They were mainly officials, clergymen, traders and skilled workers, who tended to keep themselves apart from the rest of the population, which consisted of Lapps and Finns, or Qvens. The Norwegians were, naturally, in the best position when it came to religious and ecclesiastical provision, although even in their case, the standard of these services left much to be desired. The priests of the North Pole Mission concentrated their efforts on the Norwegians but this was far from the only possibility open to them.

Of the two non-Norwegian populations in the Far North, by far the best known are the Lapps. Contrary to popular ideas, only a small number of Lapps are truly nomadic. By 1856 all but about 10% were settled, or semi-settled, living on the coast, or in the more sheltered valleys. Although by this date most Lapps had abandoned heathenism and become nominal Lutherans, the National Church had little in the way of a co-ordinated missionary policy. In 1825, for instance, there was only one Lutheran pastor and not a single Lappish catechist in the whole of Finnmark. In general the Norwegian clergy and their personnel showed little inclination to learn either Lappish or Finnish until more recent times. No wonder the Lapps showed their contempt by treating their catechists worse than their dogs! (27)

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(27) Havdal (1977), pp.16-18, 74-9.
Niemi (1976), pp.104-5.

There has been a tendency to assume that, by 1856, the Lappish population was closed to possible Roman Catholic influence. This could hardly have been the case. The Læstadian revival had already reached Alta by 1856 but it was another 10-15 years before its influence was felt throughout Finnmark. The very success of this movement, however, showed that a form of Christianity not identified with the National Church and which preached the Gospel in the minority languages could be successful. Læstadianism is a simple form of revivalist Protestantism. It is a loosely organised lay movement, flexible in its methods and with a simple form of worship, founded by a man, who knew the conditions of arctic Scandinavia intimately and who had long lived in close contact with its peoples, namely the Swedish Lutheran pastor and botanist, Lars Levi Læstadius. It was precisely the simplicity and flexibility of Læstadianism, coupled with its insistence on preaching, where necessary, in Lappish and Finnish that ensured its success, for it was far better adapted to deal with the particular religious problems of the Far North than the more organised and developed denominations, such as Catholicism and traditional Lutheranism.

The question as to how many Lapps would have converted to Catholicism if its teachings had been preached to them in their own language cannot now be answered. If the first Catholic missionaries in the North had concentrated their efforts on them it is highly likely that they would have, at least, made a small group of converts. After all, the Russian Orthodox clergy's efforts on their side of the frontier had not been in vain and, even today, there is a small Russian Orthodox minority among the

Lapps. The priests in Alta were, in 1856, not well placed for a concerted missionary effort among the Lapps. Success would have been more likely in the remoter areas, which were barely touched by the National Church. This would, on the other hand, have demanded large scale investment in money and manpower and would have needed missionaries, who possessed as intimate a knowledge of the people and countryside as Læstadius and his companions. Djunkowski and his priests lacked these advantages and, furthermore, time was not on their side, as Læstadianism was spreading quickly and filling the spiritual vacuum, which existed in Finnmark. There were other difficulties too. Before 1850, for example, the Swedish National Church had made strenuous efforts to convert its part of Lappland but all but the bravest and sturdiest of the missionaries had been defeated by the harsh climate, enormous distances, bad communications, poor food and by physical and mental sickness. It should not be assumed that the priests, who arrived in Alta in 1856, would have fared any better. (28)

The Finns, or Qvens, were immigrants from northern Finland and Sweden, who had settled in the north of Norway, or were using it as a staging post before crossing the Atlantic in order to settle in the United States. Most of them were very poor and were fleeing from famine, for it is estimated that up to 80,000 people in the northern provinces of Finland and Sweden died of starvation during the course of the nineteenth century. The number of these immigrants increased considerably after

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(28) Havdal (1977), pp.16-20.

1800, when there was already a large colony in Alta. From 1840 onwards, however, the primary areas of settlement became Vadsø and Våranger. They were hard-working folk, used to the harsh climate, who played an essential part in the development of the region. They mainly found jobs as casual workers, labourers or domestics, or became small farmers or fishermen. Many Finns settled in towns, such as Vadsø, where they lived in their own quarter, isolated from the Norwegians, badly housed and miserably poor. As with the Lapps, the National Church showed an unwillingness to approach these people in their own language. In 1869 the local pastor at Vadsø estimated that only 10% of the town's Finnish population could follow a Norwegian sermon. Admittedly the national clergy were thin on the ground and lived hard and isolated lives but the example of men, such as Niels Stockfleth, pastor at Vadsø and Lebesby during the period 1825-39, showed what could be achieved for the minorities of the Far North, even at this time.

At first glance the prospects for a Roman Catholic apostolate among the Finnish-speaking population of northern Norway would seem to have been better than among the Lapps. They were less primitive and their language had had a longer literary tradition, thus making it more accessible to outsiders than was the case with Lappish. Although many Finns lived in isolated settlements, a large number formed an urban proletariat in towns, such as Vadsø. A mission station in such a town would have been less costly in money and manpower than a mission to the Lapps, whose populations were usually sparsely spread over enormous areas. Against this it may be objected that the Finns had had a much longer tradition of Lutheranism, than was the

case with the Lapps and would have been much wary than they of a Roman Catholic approach. There was even the danger that the unsophisticated might have mistaken the Catholic missionaries for Russian Orthodox, thus arousing the traditional animosity between Finns and Russians. A much more important factor is that the Læstadian movement had penetrated the Finnish-speaking population before the Lapps. As early as 1851 it had reached Alta and many of the copper workers in the town are said to have been converted. (29)

The majority of Lapps and Finns were illiterate and education in their own languages was, in general, not possible. Many of the efforts to bring education and religion to the minority communities were, in fact, attempts at norwegianisation. Nor did the efforts of the authorities abate with time, quite the contrary, for a vigorous assimilation policy, particularly through education, has been persued since about 1880, which has resulted in all but the complete disappearance of Finnish and a rapid decline in the use of Lappish. This policy, motivated to a certain extent by concern about the security of Finnmark, has been strengthened by the trend towards uniformity and centralisation in Norwegian education since the 1930s. The state syllabuses of, not only 1938 but also 1971, discriminate heavily against Norway's two linguistic minorities, especially

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(29) Havdal (1977), pp.74-5, 83-5.
Ø. Midbøe, Eilert Sundt og Samene, Trondheim, 1973, pp.8-9.
Niemi (1976), pp.156-7.
For statistical data for the three population groups in northern Norway for 1891 see,
R.M. Hagen, et al., Norsk historisk atlas, Oslo, 1980, map 86.

the Finnish speakers. (30)

A natural question is, how successful would a Roman Catholic school aimed at the Finnish and Lappish population have been during the period 1856-65? As late as 1885, 70% of all elementary pupils in Vadsø were Finnish speaking. Not one such pupil was to be found in a secondary school and there were only two teachers in the whole area with even a working knowledge of Finnish. Where education had been provided in the minority languages it had proved successful, as Pastor Stockfleth's experiments, or the schools founded by Læstadius for both children and adults in Swedish Lappland showed. These latter attracted pupils from both Norway and Finland. A Finnish school run by the Roman Catholic Church in Vadsø, for example, would have fulfilled a tremendous need and more than enough pupils would probably have been found for it in spite of any suspicions the parents might have had. The majority of the pupils would have remained Protestant but there may well have been more conversions than occurred among the Norwegian population of Alta. Unfortunately any success might well have been shortlived. The reaction of the National Church would have been very strong and the Læstadians would certainly have

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(30) E. Eriksen and E. Niemi, Den finske fare, Oslo, 1981. This work deals with the military and security aspects of Norwegian policy towards the northern minorities.

Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet, Mønsterplan for Grunnskolen, Oslo, 1971, pp.68-9.

O.H. Magga et al., 'Samisk eller norsk? - Sámegiela dahje dárogiela?', in Hverdag, theme 20, no.4/1979, pp.3-35. This symposium gives a biased but thought provoking account of the effects of Norwegian educational policy on the minorities.

I. Eskeland et al., 'Sápmi - Sameland', in Hverdag, theme 21/22, no.5-6/1979, pp.2-35. This deals in a similar way to the above symposium with the political and social aspects of the Lappish question.

increased their activities. Any such school would have aroused the suspicions of the authorities and it would not have been difficult for them to have brought about the expulsion of the Catholic missionaries in the North, or even to have put a complete embargo on all Catholic activity throughout the country. It is, however, possible that a Catholic threat might have provoked the National Church into doing more for the Finnish speakers, just as the spread of the Læstadian movement forced it to do more for the Lapps with the eventual result that Norges Samemisjon (The Norwegian Mission to the Lapps) was founded in 1888. This organisation has done much to preserve Lappish language and culture, although its efforts have proved no more than a brake on official policy. The Finnish-speaking population has not been so fortunate and the assimilation policy has been particularly successful as far as they are concerned. (31)

It is impossible to say how such a Catholic school might have reacted to the policy of assimilation. The authorities would, no doubt, have ordered its closure, if it were seen to have been encouraging Finnish language and culture too much. It could, of course, have gone along with national policy and even become a boarding-school for Lapps and Finns, following the same pattern

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(31) Two correspondents, who taught for several years in Vadsø, have assured the writer that there were no Finnish-speakers among their pupils, although a number had parents, whose childhood language was Finnish.

Aaflot (1967), pp.470-2, 483-7.

Havdal (1977), pp.38-9.

Molland (1979), pp.167-9.

Niemi (1976), p.156.

Ramsøy (1972), pp.177-81. See, in particular, p.178 for details of the 1898 legislation against the use of the minority languages in schools.

as similar state institutions and having the same aim, namely the norwegianisation of the minorities. (32)

One thing is, however, quite clear, namely, that Catholicism could never have become a mass-movement among the northern minorities. The Catholic Church had neither the resources of the National Church, nor the flexibility of the Læstadians. Furthermore, Djunkowski had neither the qualities of leadership, nor the intimate knowledge of the area of men, such as Læstadius and Stockfleth. Individual priests, such as Pierre Jacquement, tried to make contact with the Lapps. Father Jacquement worked in Alta and Hammerfest between 1882 and 1892 and not only spoke Lappish fluently but also wrote a book in that language on the Catholic Church. His and other efforts were, however, individual and unco-ordinated and tended to come somewhat late for any real results. They were, in any case, never consistently followed up. (33) Apart from the obvious factor that Catholic Finns and Lapps would have suffered from double discrimination, religious and linguistic, and this would have been a serious barrier to conversion, there is a further matter, which would have affected the future of any apostolate to the minorities, or the setting up of schools for them, namely emigration. The effects of this were very serious in Norway during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, particularly in the North. It is difficult to get a clear picture of how far emigration affected the Lapps but it was

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(32) For a history of the state boarding-schools in the North see,
L.L. Meløy, Internatliv i Finnmark, Oslo, 1980.

(33) Kjelstrup (1942), p.145.

certainly common among Norwegians and Finns. Emigration, in any case, put a brake on the growth of Catholicism in northern Norway and was responsible for the eventual closing of the mission station and school at Alta. (34)

It must be concluded that bad planning and lack of resources, rather than dearth of opportunities caused the failure of the Alta venture. It should in any case be pointed out that the North Pole Mission was never at any time a complete disaster. Indeed, its history badly needs putting into perspective and the efforts of its brave priests given the appreciation they deserve. Enough converts were made in Alta to form a small parish and the school attracted a number of able pupils, some of whom eventually held prominent positions in northern Norway. Not many of the pupils became Catholics but among those who did was Wilhelm Hartmann, who later became a Catholic priest. The National Church certainly took the work of the priests in Alta very seriously and quickly improved both religious and educational facilities in the town. The later closure of the Alta parish and school was due to emigration and not to any failure on the part of Djunkowski and his companions. The North Pole Mission was also responsible for the founding of the successful parish of Tromsø and for the first attempt at starting a Catholic mission in Trondheim. These two parishes had schools until the 1960s, the one in Tromsø being regarded by

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(34) For details of emigration to the United States and Canada see,
Derry (1957), pp.182-4, 213-4.
P.M. Hagen et al., Norsk historisk atlas, Oslo, 1980, pp.266-70, maps 89-90.
Jensen (1963), pp.147-8.

many as a particularly good one. Nor should the mission's pioneer work in northern Scotland and in Iceland and the Faroes be forgotten. Both the two latter countries have small Catholic communities and each boasts a successful Catholic school. Some of the first seeds of the later superb Catholic missionary and educational work in the Canadian Arctic were sown. All this was achieved in a period of thirteen years by a handful of priests working under appalling conditions in an area of impossible size and diversity. The North Pole Mission was wound up in 1869. Mgr. Djunkowski had been forced to resign in 1861, largely owing to his difficult personality and lack of a sense of reality. He was replaced by the more pragmatic Mgr. Bernard Bernard as Prefect Apostolic. Bernard moved his residence from Alta to Wick in 1865 and during the period 1866-9 lived mainly in Copenhagen.

In 1869 a Norwegian prefecture apostolic was set up under the leadership of Mgr. Bernard. It was a wise move, for it meant that a common ecclesiastical policy could be worked out for the whole of Norway. From the psychological angle it was also an advantage, as it was a recognition by Rome of growing Norwegian national feeling and increasing demands for complete independence from Sweden, whose king the country shared. A similar prefecture apostolic had been set up in Denmark in the previous year and the first prefect appointed in 1869. Previously, Danish Catholics had been under the jurisdiction of the German diocese of Osnabrück. From now onwards, Catholic ecclesiastical districts in Scandinavia followed national

boundaries. In Norway the national revival was gaining ground. The great period of Edvard Grieg and Henrik Ibsen, of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and of the extraordinary literary renewal of the next forty years was just gaining momentum. At the same time the Norwegian parliament, urged on by Johan Sverdrup and the liberals, was demanding ever greater powers. In spite of mass emigration and a serious slump in the 1880s, it was a period of economic growth. Coastal villages were now linked by a superb system of steamer services, although road and railway development was to lag behind the rest of Europe for many years to come.

When Mgr. Bernard was given responsibility for the whole of Norway in 1869 there were 400 Catholics in the country. During the period 1856-1869 Norway had not only been divided into two different ecclesiastical districts but there had been two different approaches to the Norwegian situation. In the south the emphasis had been on the pastoral approach, namely catering for existing groups of Catholics. Such was the reason for the setting up of the two parishes in that district, Bergen and Oslo respectively. In the north the emphasis had been missionary. Parishes had been founded at Alta and Tromsø, where no Catholics had existed previously. Whether there were any Catholics in Trondheim, when the first attempt to found a parish there in 1866 was made, is not clear from the main sources but there could well have been. The 'southern' approach, exemplified by Oslo, would have regarded a school primarily as a service institution aimed at providing education for the Catholic children of the

area. The 'northern' approach, as represented by Alta, would have seen a school as a means of making contact with the local population and as a possible source of converts. The fact that the 'southern' or pastoral approach eventually won the day should not blind one to the fact that the other approach was not wholly unsuccessful. (35)

Of special interest is the way in which Catholic education developed in Oslo during the period 1865-87. Here both the missionary and pastoral approaches were tried. The withdrawal of the Congregation of Les Filles de Marie in the late 1850s caused difficulties for both the parish and the school in Oslo. An Alsatian priest, Father Claude Lichlé, who was in charge of the parish from 1854 to 1864, made approaches to the Sisters of St. Joseph of Chambéry, having seen their excellent school work in Copenhagen. He contacted the mother house through the sisters in the Danish capital. Negotiations with Chambéry were long and difficult and attempts to bring the sisters to Oslo in 1860 and 1863 failed. Lichlé's successor, Daniel Stub, continued the negotiations, encouraged by his assistent, Father Tondini de Querenghi, who had admired the sisters' good work in Stockholm, where he had been posted for a time. Having

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(35) Aarflot (1967), p.499.
Derry (1957), pp.173-93.
Flagestad (1981), pp.15-16.
Jensen (1963), pp.118-54.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.103, 115-6, 170-1.
Molland (1979), p.236.
For the text of the document setting up the Norwegian mission see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.6, no.5, 05.07.1892, pp.15-6.

contacted the French consul in Oslo, Baron Alexandre Michaud, whose sister was a member of the congregation, and received both encouragement and a promise of the necessary guarantees, the Mother General in Chambéry decided at long last to open a house in Oslo. In the meantime the school in Oslo had been run by Miss Studmund, a Norwegian Catholic. Miss Studmund left Oslo in 1864 in order to join the St. Joseph Sisters. Unfortunately, she soon had to give up her plans, owing to ill health.

On 4. August 1865 four nuns, all French, arrived in Oslo and moved into a small house near the church. There, twelve days later, they started a small school, aided by a Norwegian lady, who helped with the language. Not one of the pupils they received was Norwegian but all instruction had to be in that language. In the following year they moved into the presbytery. In 1868 they were fortunate enough to purchase a property opposite the presbytery, the present nursery school, which gave them more suitable accomodation. By this time the school had begun to attract a small number of non-Catholic children, much to the chagrin of some of the Lutheran clergy. By 1873 the sisters were under pressure to expand their educational work. There were, by now, about 300 Catholics in the Oslo area and 500 in the whole of Norway. The nuns had recently purchased a large property bordering on the one they already owned and made ambitious plans for building a large house on the site. As well as continuing with the parish school the sisters had decided to open a superior elementary school for girls, specializing in French, German and English as well as a language institute for

adults and a salle d'asile, a form of nursery school. Money for the project was donated by the ever generous Josephine, dowager queen of Sweden-Norway and a devout Catholic, who had helped finance the building of the Catholic church in Oslo. Contributions were also made by the queen's sister, the Empress of Brazil and by the exiled Napoleon III. The foundation stone was laid in 1874 and the new building was opened in the presence of Queen Josephine in 1876, a special blessing having been sent by the Pope. (36)

The new house was known as St. Joseph's Institute and, with the exception of Alta, was the only large-scale investment ever to be made in Catholic education in Norway. The parish school, known as St. Olav's, was naturally seen as a service institution for the Catholic community. The idea of having a superior school was not simply to serve upper class Catholics but to attract non-Catholics as well. The superior girls' school was not opened until 1885. At first, it was called 'den franske skole', as it specialized in the teaching of French, although the lessons were, of course, in Norwegian. At a later date, about 1889, it became known as St. Sunniva's School. It was an immediate success and started with 23 pupils. It mainly took in non-Catholic children and enjoyed a better academic reputation

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(36) F.J. Fischedick, 'Litt om St. Olavs menighets vekst og fremgang', in St. Olavs Kirke 100 År, Oslo, 1956, pp.42-3.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.66-7, 131-2.
St. Joseph (1940), pp.9-26.
St. Sunniva (1965), pp.24-8.

than the parish school. Also attached to St. Joseph's Institute was a small children's home cum boarding department, which was later to play an important part in Bishop Fallize's educational policy, particularly with regard to children who lived far from the nearest Catholic church. (37)

In 1881, Father Claudius Dumahut, the priest in charge of the parish in Trondheim, invited the St. Joseph Sisters, with the approval of Mgr. Bernard, to come to Trondheim to take over the parish school, which hitherto had been run by Father Dumahut himself, an invitation which the sisters accepted. In the previous year a group of priests and theological students belonging to the Congregation of La Sallette had arrived in the city. They immediately set up a seminary for half a dozen students, although this was superfluous after 1885, when the last five students were ordained. In 1885 the boys from St. Joseph's Institute's boarding department were moved to Trondheim and put under the care of the Salettine Fathers. Their stay was, however, to be short lived, as the boys were moved back to Oslo by Bishop Fallize in 1887. (38)

The history of the school in Bergen is of particular interest, and not simply because it is one of the three that has survived

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(37) Kjelstrup (1942), p.132.
St. Joseph (1940), p.50.
St. Sunniva (1965), pp.27-8, 34.

(38) Duin (1980), pp.39, 49.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.115-126.
St. Joseph (1940), pp.26-33, 49-50.

to the present day. When Father Montz visited Bergen in 1845 he found about 30 Catholics in the town, which was also visited by large numbers of Catholic seamen in the summer. The town received its first permanent priest in 1857, when Father Christopher Holfeldt-Houen moved there from Oslo. He set up a tiny chapel in the loft of a wooden house and arranged the purchase of a site for a presbytery, church and school some seven years later. In 1865 the foundation stone of what is still Norway's largest Catholic church was laid but, owing to financial difficulties, it took over ten years to complete. By 1868, however, the presbytery was completed and one of its rooms used as a chapel. Another part of this building was reserved for use as a school, although this was not opened until 1873. According to the school-prospectus for 1973 it started with 48 pupils. This figure sounds highly unlikely at a time when there were no more than 450 Catholics in the whole country. Mgr. F.J. Fischedick, who was parish priest in Bergen at the time when the prospectus was written has, however, assured the writer that this is the figure given by the parish records. He suggests that the school began with a number of Protestant pupils, whom the dynamic Father Daniel Stub had managed to attract. Stub arrived in Bergen in 1870 in order to take over the parish. He was a native of the town, born in 1814. He settled in Italy, became a Catholic in 1829 and joined the Italian Barnabites. A noted preacher, he held high office in his order and was decorated for bravery in a cholera epidemic. Stub returned to Norway in 1864 and spent six years as priest in charge of the parish in Oslo. After collecting money abroad Stub managed to have St. Paul's church in Bergen completed by 1876. A gifted and eloquent preacher, known as 'Teater Stub'

on account of his Italian-style sermons, he made great efforts to win converts and with some success. Daniel Stub died in Bergen in 1892.

One of Daniel Stub's best known converts was the future priest and bishop, Olav Offerdahl. Offerdahl had qualified as a teacher at the training college in Balestrand and had become a Catholic in 1880 at the age of 23. His conversion barred him from teaching in all but Catholic schools. He was put in charge of the Catholic school in Bergen but, after a few years, decided to join the priesthood and, after studies in Turnhout and Rome, was ordained in 1891. Lay teachers were not uncommon in the parish schools in these early days and are mentioned, for example, in connection with the schools in Tromsø and Fredrikstad at this time. Such teachers must, on the other hand, have been in extremely short supply, as until 1917 teachers who became Catholics automatically lost their posts and both they and their families faced penury, unless they could be offered a job at a Catholic school. Born Catholics could not, of course, even qualify as teachers in Norway, unless they renounced their Faith and joined the National Church. The gradual introduction of nuns into Catholic education, which was to become Mgr. Fallize's official policy, had already started in Prefect Bernard's time, although they did not take over the school in Bergen until 1888. One of the advantages of using nuns was financial, for they did not demand a salary and were, therefore, less of a strain on the Church's slender resources. It was their sacrifices which kept the schools running at a time when it would have been impossible to have paid lay teachers.

Without the nuns there would have been no Catholic schools, hospitals or parishes worth speaking about in Norway at all. (39)

In spite of the brilliance of its first two priests and the fact that it was the second largest town in Norway, the possibilities for a good Catholic school in Bergen were never exploited. The standard of education in the city was generally good but a superior school, similar to St. Sunniva's in Oslo might have had possibilities in a town with an important foreign and native business community. During Prefect Bernard's time, however, the parish was able neither to finance, nor to staff such a school and by the time the nuns arrived in 1888, other priorities were making themselves felt.

Although Norway was one of the poorer countries of Northern Europe at this time its schools, apart from the remoter areas and the Far North, were surprisingly good. In the sector of puplic health, on the other hand, matters were very different. Tuberculosis was rife and leprosy was not uncommon in the West. Outside the larger towns hospitals hardly existed. Many people ate an unbalanced and limited diet and areas, such as Finnmark and Setersdalen, have suffered from rural poverty and

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(39) Duin (1951), pp.11-23, 28-32.
Duin (1980), p.15.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.78-85, 157, 282-3.
O. Offerdahl, Et daadrikt liv, Oslo, 1914. This work consists of a short biography of Daniel Stub.
St. Joseph (1940), p.291.
St. Paul skole, St. Paul skole, Bergen, 1973, p.1.
Conversation with Mgr. F.J. Fischedick, Oslo, December 1982.

and backwardness until recent times. Father Clemens Hagemann, a German priest, was keenly interested in public health. While in Oslo he made arrangements for the St. Joseph Sisters to carry out peripatetic nursing among the poor of the city. This led to the opening of their first hospital in the city in 1883. When Hagemann took over the parish of Hammerfest in 1879 he found that the state of public health in the town was appalling. He persuaded the St. Elizabeth Sisters from Neisse in Silesia to send three nuns to the town. These arrived in 1880 with the idea of starting peripatetic nursing in the area. They opened a hospital in 1882 and specialized in the care of the lame and the crippled. Although the hospital went through a crisis a few years later, when a new public hospital, the first in the area, was opened, it gradually recovered and came to be regarded as a successful venture. The St. Joseph Sisters opened hospitals in Fredrikstad and Halden in 1887. Eventually hospitals were set up in the majority of Catholic parishes, a policy which continued until the 1930s. Enormous investments, both in money and manpower were put into the hospitals and for many years, about 10% of the Catholic population of Norway consisted of nuns! The hospitals became extremely popular and gave the Church contact with people from all walks of life. They were of great service to the community and did much to make the Church better known and respected. (40)

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(40) Duin (1980), pp.5-7.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.131, 140-1, 152, 157.
For two important contemporary reports on mortality and public health see,
E. Sundt, Om Dødelighet i Norge, Oslo, 1855.
E. Sundt, Om Renligheds-stellet i Norge, Oslo, 1869.

The 42 years between the Act of Emancipation in 1845 and the arrival of Mgr. Fallize in 1887 were of paramount importance to the development of Roman Catholic education in Norway. In 1845 the Church was a foreign institution with no native traditions upon which it could build. The problem was how to develop a Catholicism which would appeal to Norwegians. The first priests and prefects apostolic had to try and work this out by trial and error. Two basic approaches were attempted. The 'northern' method was to start a Catholic parish, where no Catholics were to be found, as at Alta. The 'southern' approach was to open parishes, where a nucleus of foreign Catholics already existed. The basic 'northern' approach was missionary, the 'southern' was pastoral. Although the former method could not be called unsuccessful, it was clear by Bernard's time that it was the latter approach which had won the day. Similarly there were two options open as far as Catholic schools were concerned. They could simply limit themselves to catering for Catholic children, in other words, regard themselves mainly as service institutions, providing elementary education to boys and girls who were members of the Church. They could also, as at Alta, be used as a means of making contact with the local community. In this case the Catholic schools would have had to try and provide facilities not provided by the ordinary education system. For example, secondary schools in the North, or in rural areas, schools for the minorities. This latter approach had many possibilities but would have demanded large investments in money and qualified manpower. By 1887 it became clear that the role of making contact with the local population could be better and more economically performed by the hospitals. Thus by 1887 the future policy of the Roman Catholic Church in Norway had already become clear.

Chapter Three

Johann Baptiste Fallize:

The Man Sent by God?

'In every man's writings the character of the writer must be recorded.'

Thomas Carlyle: Goethe.

Johann Baptiste Fallize was, and still is, a controversial figure. On the one hand, he is respected for his stand in Luxembourg politics and as a fine and vigorous organiser. On the other hand, many despise him for his political fanaticism in his home country and make him the root of all the evils which were to befall the Church in Norway after 1887. Obviously the time has come for a more scientific approach to Fallize and his work. Molitor (1969) is a step in the right direction but is, as may be expected, stronger on Fallize's Luxembourg career than on his Norwegian period. Two earlier biographies were published during Fallize's lifetime. Bäumker (1924) is of great interest, not for its objectivity, but because it is written from Fallize's point of view and gives his personal opinions on several controversial issues. Guill (1930) is little more than a shortened version of Bäumker.

Johann Baptiste Fallize was born, the son of a tanner 9 November 1844, the year after the foundation of the first Catholic parish in Oslo, in the little hamlet of Bettlerbach on the Luxembourg-Belgian frontier. Soon after his birth the family moved to the nearby village of Harlange (Harlingen). In common with most Ardennes families of the time the atmosphere in his home was piously Catholic. The young Johann Baptiste would, furthermore, have grown up without any real contact with Protestantism, as the number of dissenters in Luxembourg was very few. Even his contact with anti-clericals and liberals was, no doubt, somewhat limited before he went to study in the capital, for like many Ardennes villages, Harlange was small and cut off from the rest of the world at this time.

Although this was, seemingly, not an auspicious start for a man who was to spend thirty-seven years of his life in the Norwegian diaspora, it would be wrong to claim that Fallize's early experiences in Harlange were irrelevant to his future work. The Ardennes landscape sometimes reminds one vaguely of certain parts of southern and eastern Norway, particularly in winter, when the bleak hills are covered in snow. In the political sphere there were some remarkable similarities between Luxembourg and Norway. Both countries had a form of nominal independence, each having its own parliament and internal self-government but sharing its monarch with a more powerful neighbour, Norway with Sweden, Luxembourg with Holland. Both had, for a time, lost their independence. Norway had been a Danish province for 250 years and Luxembourg had been reduced to the state of a French departement during the time of the revolutionary wars. During the first half of the nineteenth century there was a danger that Norway would be absorbed by Sweden, and Luxembourg by Holland. Until 1867 Luxembourg's economy was tied to that of the German states by membership of the Zollverein. Up to that year Luxembourg also had to suffer the indignity of having a Prussian garrison stationed within its capital. It was not until 1867 that Luxembourg independence was fully guaranteed and it became a neutral state. Both countries had lost tracts of territory through no fault of their own. Denmark had conceded important areas of Norway to Sweden during the seventeenth century. Luxembourg lost a large part of its original territory to Belgium during the 1830 Revolution. Luxembourg broke off the personal union with Holland in 1890 and Norway with Sweden in 1905, although the reasons for doing so were quite different.

Fallize's Luxembourg upbringing gave him an instinctive understanding of, and respect for, Norwegian nationalism. He had an immediate sympathy for a small country, which had to struggle hard for its independence and which had suffered humiliation at the hands of its more powerful neighbours. This capacity was of inestimable value for Fallize's work in Norway. He insisted that foreign priests and nuns should identify themselves with Norway and take Norwegian citizenship, as he had done just a few years after his arrival. His wish was that Catholicism in Norway should become truly Norwegian.

Johann Baptiste Fallize's mother's family came from Ettelbrück and his father's from Vianden. Molitor (1969) has proved that Fallize's claim that his ancestors were of noble birth, which is accepted by earlier biographers, is based on a pardonable misunderstanding, the source of which was none other than the Luxembourg national biographer, Auguste Neyen. Fallize's forefathers were certainly numbered among the seven justices of Vianden and there is some evidence that his family may have 'come down in the world'. Fallize seems to have developed some of the complexes of the déclassé and his manner of mentioning his contacts with people of influence sometimes borders on the distasteful. His authoritarianism and often patronising manner also reveal some of the insecurity of the déclassé. (41)

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(41) Molitor (1969), pp.9-11.

A. Neyen, Histoire de la ville de Bastogne depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours, Luxembourg, 1868.

Other sources for Fallize's career include:
'Hs. hellighed pave Leo XIII', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.10, 06.03.1892, pp.73-4.

'Omkring Dr. J.O. Fallizes 25-aars biskopsjubileum, 19. mars', in St.Olav, vol.29, no.11, 16.03.1917, pp.82-7.

The young Fallize grew to be a domineering lad, self-confident and full of self-importance. He was the eldest of seven surviving children, and his mother's favourite, used to having his own way. These faults were to remain with him all his life. Fallize tended to bully rather than lead and to demand obedience in everything, even when it came to irrelevant details. He reacted violently to criticism and seemed to find it impossible to see anybody else's point of view but his own. Madame Fallize was determined that her favourite son should receive a secondary education and managed to have him accepted for the Luxemburger Athenäum. Unfortunately he failed his first examinations miserably and Johann Baptiste, the 'Bubenkönig' and apple of his mother's eye, was sent home as 'unfit for further studies'. The standard of rural schooling was lower than that of the city and Fallize found it difficult to adapt to the more demanding atmosphere of the Athenäum. While at home he had undoubtably spent much of his time helping his parents. He also seems to have enjoyed long walks in the Ardennes. This no doubt developed his eye for scenery and landscape a factor which was to make his descriptions of his travels so delightful. His delight in his rural upbringing comes out forcefully in descriptions of summer holidays at Selbu during the first part of his career in Norway. (42)

Fortunately Madame Fallize was a woman of strong character.

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(42) For descriptions of Fallize's travels in Norway see, Fallize (1897).
J.O. Fallize, Promenades en Norvège, Tournai, 1901.
For a description of Fallize's stays at Selbu and reflections on hay-making there and in Harlange see, Fallize (1897), pp.170-2.

She was convinced that her son had not been given a chance to settle down properly at the Athenäum and prove his worth. She used all her powers to persuade the college to take him on again. In this she was successful and her instinct proved right, for he soon reached the top of his class and matriculated with exceptionally good results. Fallize does not seem to have had any further difficulties with his studies and it is not unlikely that his life-long interest in, and appreciation for, education had their genesis during this period. Unfortunately, his very success, coupled with his egocentric personality, led him to overestimate his capabilities and he became in later life something of a dilettante and an intellectual snob. After matriculation Fallize decided that he had a vocation for the priesthood and left for Rome in October 1866, where he became a student at the German College. Incidentally it was on this journey that the future bishop was to make his first sea voyage, between Genoa and Cività Vecchia. He little realised that sea-travel in all weathers would one day become an important part of his life! (43)

Fallize's stay in Rome was to have a deep effect on him, both religiously and politically. It is, however, important to point out that his period of studies would have confirmed and developed his prejudices, rather than changed them. As a young student he would have shared the touchy nationalism of his countrymen, although the reaction against all things German,

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(43) Molitor, pp.11-12.

a feature of the post-1940 period of Luxembourg history had not yet occurred. Both French and Prussian ambitions were suspected but German influence was strong, particularly in the Ardennes. The main lanuage of the Church was, and still is, German but the Roman Catholic Church in Luxembourg has a strong tradition of its own. Luxembourg Catholic culture has strong affinities with that of Trier and also with St. Vith and Malmédy. The two latter areas were, at this time, part of Germany. There are also similarities with Alsace and Lorraine, whose Catholic situation differs from that of the rest of France and whose tradition is basically German-speaking. These German influences on Fallize's spirituality would have been strengthened by his stay at the German College.

French influence was more apparent in the city of Luxembourg than in the countryside and was particularly strong with regard to the political and administrative structure of the country. Fallize would, however, have tended to regard this as something negative. This attitude was not simply a question of the traditional dichotomy between town and country, it had its roots in recent Luxembourg history. Luxembourg had been pillaged by the French revolutionary armies, who had carried off the country's treasures, closed churches and tried to force their anti-clericalism on a deeply pious population. During the period 1798-1815 the country had been incorporated into France and reduced to the status of a departement with Frenchmen being put into leading positions. This caused similar resentment to that shown when the Germans tried to force the Grand Duchy into becoming an integral part of the Reich during the Second World War. From his earliest childhood Fallize would have heard,

probably at first hand, of the 'War of the Threshing Staves', the peasants' revolt against the armies of the French Revolution, a revolt brought on by religious and political discontent. The young man would have relished the story of the heroic leaders of the uprising who, when asked to deny their country and their faith, replied simply, "We cannot lie!" These words, together with the immortal challenge of Judas Maccabeus (44), are inscribed on the memorial to the revolt at Clervaux (Clerf) and give a poignant indication of the terrible indignation of the Ardennes patriots against their oppressors and everything for which they stood. (45)

It is worth recalling these events, as they go some way to explain why Fallize opposed anti-clericalism so violently in his own country and cast himself in an heroic role in his fight against it. Much has been made of Fallize's statement on the occasion of the centenary celebrations for the outbreak of the French Revolution, that the playing of a dirge would have been more suitable than songs of rejoicing. This has been interpreted by some as a sign of his rejection of all democratic and liberal principles. Such a charge is unfair, as it ignores the fact that Fallize's political background was very different from that of his Norwegian flock. The latter saw the French Revolution as a great blessing to mankind. The

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(44) 1. Maccabees 3.59.

(45) E. Donckel, Die Kirche in Luxemburg von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Luxembourg, 1950. This is a standard work on the history and background of the Catholic Church in Luxembourg.

J. Hess, Altluxemburger Denkwürdigkeiten, Luxembourg, 1960, pp.177-210

E.H. Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940, Oxford, 1978, pp.158-9, 175, 227.

The Norwegian constitution was based on its principles and marked the end of Danish tyranny and was to prove, in the long term, to be an effective instrument in the breaking up of the union with Sweden. The anti-clericalism of the French Revolution had not been imported to Norway. The 1814 constitution, in fact, confirmed and strengthened the position of the Lutheran Church. Toleration for Catholics and others was a result of the application of the principles upon which the constitution was based, namely freedom of conscience and equal rights for all. Norwegian Catholics had, therefore, benefited indirectly from the French Revolution. The position in Luxembourg was very different. The revolutionary armies had pillaged the country and taken away its independence in the name of freedom and democracy. The French had persecuted the Church and tried to eliminate all religious practice. The heirs of the Revolution, the Luxembourg liberals, were bent on first crippling the Church and then destroying it and the same pattern could be seen in most of the Catholic countries of Europe. Far from seeing the French Revolution as a benefit to mankind, Fallize would have seen its principles as sheer humbug. Who, after all, was really on the side of liberty and freedom, the brutal revolutionary armies, or the peasant rebels of the 'War of the Threshing Staves' with their simple faith and naive patriotism? (46)

It was only natural that Fallize's period at the German College in Rome should have had a lasting effect on him, for the

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(46) For Fallize's remark on the 1889 centenary see, Ind. Eft., vol.1, no.5, 05.05.1889, pp.38-9, p.38.
For a pardonably bewildered modern reaction see, Åge Rønning, 'Tre tusen etthundre og femti nummer', in St. Olav, vol.76, no.6, 21.03.1964, pp.86-90, p.87.

years 1866-1872 were perhaps the most momentous in the modern history of the Roman Catholic Church. Fallize rejoiced at the victorious return of the papal troops from the battle of Mentana in 1867 and was deeply impressed by the celebrations marking the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul. In 1869-70 came the excitement of the first Vatican Council and the resultant definition of the dogma of papal infallibility. Shortly afterwards came the traumatic experience of the fall of Rome to the Italian patriots in September 1870. (47)

The training given at the German College was not primarily directed towards pastoral work, or towards a scientific study of theology. Its students regarded themselves as an elite, who were being trained for influential positions within the Church. The spirit of Fallize's training would, therefore, have been Ultramontane and would have reflected the opinions of that party. Fallize, for his part, was conservative and anti-liberal by upbringing and seems to have accepted Ultramontanism without question. This should not be understood to mean that Fallize had an uncritical admiration for the 'ancien regime'. Ultramontanism began as a reaction against the Gallicism and Josephism of the pre-revolutionary governments. The movement was deeply inluenced by the liberalism of Lacordaire and Montalembert. The Ultramontanes have often been misjudged, owing to their reactionary attitude to the question of the Papal

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(47) E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, 1954, pp.294-318.
Molitor (1969), pp.14-16.

States and, not least, because of their dedication to ecclesiastical authoritarianism. These attitudes, however, by no means always went hand in hand with calls for political authoritarianism, as may be seen in the case of Cardinal Manning, an ardent democrat and believer in social reform. Fallize, in like manner, always gave his full support to Norwegian democracy. The Ultramontanes saw the defence of the temporal power of the pope more as a religious than a political issue and this led them to defend outdated and autocratic government in the Papal States, while upholding the principles of democracy at home. E.E.Y. Hales in an important passage sums up the political attitudes of Ultramontanism.

> '...Ultramontanism by its very cosmopolitan nature was often compelled to be anti-conservative, and even politically rebellious, since it was necessarily hostile to the Gallician claims of the legitimist princes. In the 'thirties and 'forties and even in the 'fifties, Ultramontanism was very generally in alliance with political liberalism. By the 'sixties it was generally anti-liberal ... but even in that decade the most persuasive of all the Ultramontanes was Montalembert, and he remained passionately liberal till his death in 1870. Pio Nono never ceased to protest his own indifference as to 'forms of government'. States might be absolute monarchies or popular republics so long as they allowed the Church her rights and liberties - a papal view which the Neapolitan Bourbons found distressing.' (48)

Fallize, in common with other Ultramontanes, shared Pius IX's view that it was a government's attitude to the Church that was all important. The form the government took was of lesser significance. Fallize studied in Rome at a time when

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(48) E.E.Y. Hales, Pio Nono, 1954, p.xii.

Ultramontanism was triumphant. In Roman Catholic countries, at least, the break with political liberalism was almost complete and the liberal and socialist onslaught on the Church, which was to last the best part of fifty years, was gaining momentum. The face of Ultramontanism had now changed. It was no longer a radical party demanding changes within the Church and within society but one of political conservatism and ecclesiastical authoritarianism. In Roman Catholic countries its energies were now turned to defending the Church and its rights. In the English-speaking countries, however, it remained much more liberal in its political attitudes, at least as far as home affairs were concerned. Fallize was typical of this new generation of Ultramontanes. (49)

Ultramontanism resulted in the Church's becoming politically autonomous and independent. It also made it more united and better organised. These were its most important achievements but it also contained within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Ultramontanism overemphasized the importance of ecclesiastical authority. Eventually this led to a situation, where initiative was regarded as suspect and intellectual enquiry as dangerous, and where the Church was regarded as a static, unchanging phenomenon. Unity came to be seen as synonymous with centralisation; all initiative had to come from the top and had to be obeyed without question. In addition, the emphasis in theology was on a narrow definition of the truths of faith and on their defence against objectors, an attitude leading to anti-intellectualism. Fallize was a man of

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(49) Molitor (1969), p.109.

his age, who shared all these prejudices and he personifies in many ways both the strengths and weaknesses of later Ultramontanism. (50)

Fallize's period at the German College was of immense importance in another area too, for it launched him on his career in journalism. He was accepted as the Rome correspondent of the Catholic weekly, Luxemburger Sonntagsblättchen, and his 'Letters from Rome' became a regular feature, in which he wrote interesting and passionate accounts of the momentous events of the years 1867-72. The 'Letters from Rome' quickly made it clear that he was a born journalist and he was determined to use his talents in the service of the Church.

Fallize was ordained in Rome in 1871. On completion of his doctorate he returned to Luxembourg and was appointed by Bishop Adams in September 1872 as procurator and vice-rector of the diocesan Konvikt in Luxembourg, an institution for boys studying at the Athenäum. It seems that Fallize found the appointment, his first experience with educational work, congenial and he thoroughly approved of the strict regime at the Konvikt. It soon became clear, however, that his prime interest lay elsewhere. Soon after his appointment Fallize was offered the editorship of Luxemburger Sonntagsblättchen, a somewhat unimaginative Catholic Sunday newspaper, in recognition of his obvious journalistic talent. The main reason for the

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(50) E.E.Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World, 1958, pp.131-56, 189-204.
Holmes THS (1978), pp.129-60.
G. MacGregor, The Vatican Revolution, 1958.

appointment was concern on the part of Bishop Adams of Luxembourg about the growing power of the anti-clerical parties in the Grand Duchy. Their attacks on the Church, particularly in the press, were becoming more and more virulent and the Church's rights, particularly with regard to churches and schools, were being curtailed. The Catholic opposition seemed to be becoming weaker and less effective and its press did not seem to be able to compete with that of the liberals. Fallize immediately altered the name of his paper from 'Sonntagsblättchen' to 'Sonntagsblatt', a significant change, so typical of Fallize. He immediately used it as a platform for his counter-attack on the liberals. Fallize proved to be a brilliant and formidable but bitter and aggressive polemicist. So extreme was his language that he was rebuked by the Catholic daily, Luxemburger Wort. He replied by accusing his critics of complacency and lack of zeal! By 1876, not only the bishop, but also Fallize himself realised that the situation had gone too far. A plan to move him from his two posts and appoint him director of the teachers' training college (Lehrernormalschule) failed because the school considered him to be too much of a liability. How disappointed Fallize was at this is not known but it is interesting to note that in Norway in 1890 he insisted on personally supervising the training and examination of Catholic teachers! In order to avoid further trouble he was appointed in September 1876 parish priest of Pintsch in the rural Ardennes, a parish, or 'kirschpelt' (Kirchspiel) as it is called in Luxembourg, made up of six small villages. (51)

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(51) Molitor (1969), pp.14-29.

The five years at Pintsch provided Fallize with his only pastoral experience. He was a conscientious pastor, who did much to improve the quality of church life in the area. He also rebuilt and extended the church in Pintsch. His organisational ability proved superb, although his manner did not always make him a popular figure. Part of his work would have included giving religious instruction in the local schools. In the meantime, however, the power and influence of the anti-clericals was growing rapidly and the press, L'Indépendence in particular, launched personal attacks on him. Fallize counterattacked with his usual vehemence. The end result was that he was taken to court by the Liberal prime minister, de Blochhausen, found guilty of libel, fined, imprisoned and ordered to pay damages. The money was raised by subscription and the prison sentence commuted to a mere token. It need hardly be added that Fallize made full use of the situation in order to give himself maximum publicity!

The year 1881 saw the passing of the Compulsory Education Act in Luxembourg, an act which gave the Church no guarantees. This provoked Fallize to go into active politics and, in 1881, he was duly elected member of parliament for the canton of Clervaux (Clerf). This, naturally, caused a stir among the anti-clericals, who made unsuccessful attempts to have his election declared invalid. As expected, Fallize proved to be an intransigent defender of the rights of the Church but he also took a very close interest in national and constituency affairs. A permanent result of his political career was his successful championship of Prince Adolf of Nassau-Weilburg as the future Grand Duke of Luxembourg, thus ensuring the country's complete independence of Holland.

Fallize did not, however, forget journalism. He founded two new Catholic newspapers and from 1884 to 1887 he was, although nominally only a journalist on the staff, in effect controlling editor (Hauptschriftleiter) of the older Catholic daily, Luxemburger Wort. With the support of the bishop but against the opposition of some of the clergy, Fallize founded a Catholic printing house, Sankt Paulus Druckerei, and ensured, not without the use of intrigue, that all Catholic newspapers and publications would be printed there. Fallize made sure that he became president of the new company, in order that not only the Church authorities but he personally had full control over the Catholic press. (52)

By 1887, at the age of 42, Fallize had become an important political figure in Luxembourg. Apart from his championship of Prince Adolf, which has already been mentioned, he rallied the Catholic party which eventually came to power and managed to secure the Church's rights. After 1887 others took up the fight in a more balanced and sophisticated manner but it was Fallize who first led the counterattack. One of the reasons for this change in fortune was Fallize's understanding of the power of the press in modern politics. He realised that the Church could not possibly win the battle unless it too could launch an effective press campaign and that needed efficient organisation and the use of modern techniques. Thanks to Fallize much of this had been achieved by 1887 and his work has stood the test of

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(52) P. Grégoire, Das Luxemburger Wort für Wahrheit und Recht, Luxembourg, 1936, pp.110-2, 151.

P. Grégoire, Hundert Jahre Luxemburger Wort, Luxembourg, 1948, pp.44-7, 56-7, 123, 129.

Molitor (1969), pp.30-42.

time. His printing firm still survives and, in 1969, published Molitor's biography of its founder. Luxemburger Wort, which he rejuvenated, remains one of the most popular and influential daily newspapers in the Grand Duchy long after most of its rivals, such as L'Indépendence, have ceased publication and been forgotten.

Writing was always an important part of Fallize's life. A born journalist he is, at his best, observant, well-informed and perceptive and writes in a style, which is simple, interesting and sensitive and which makes immediate contact with the reader. At his worst he is superficial and lacking in balance and not beyond twisting facts to suit his purpose, or to give a better impression. When his strong feelings get the better of him his attacks can be vicious and uncontrolled. He is a master of sarcasm and irony and all too often uses these weapons to score cheap points at the expense of his opponents. He makes little effort to hide his egotism and few of his books or articles are entirely free from self-advertisement.

Molitor (1969) has pointed out that Fallize's polemic style owes much to Louis Veuillot and the previous generation of Ultramontane writers. The background of the two men was, however, different. Fallize was certainly an ardent monarchist in common with the majority of Luxembourgers and Norwegians but Veuillot's views on the relationship between the monarchy and the Church did not have the same relevance in Luxembourg, which had a Protestant Grand Duke until 1912, and even less in Norway, which was a Protestant country. In practice Fallize was a democrat, who encouraged Catholics, both in Luxembourg and

Norway to make full use of their constitutional rights. (53)

By 1887 it seemed that Fallize was all set to continue his stormy career as a politician and journalist, a role which he regarded as his vocation. Events were, however, to decide otherwise. Quite suddenly in February of that year he was called to Rome and was received in audience by Pope Leo XIII and Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. He was offered the post of prefect apostolic of the Norwegian mission. After expressing misgivings about his health and suitability he accepted and was duly appointed on 25. March 1887.

By all standards it was a curious appointment. Various reasons have been given for it, none of them entirely satisfactory. There is, for instance, a widespread rumour in Norway that it was a way of removing Fallize from Luxembourg, thus avoiding a complete breakdown in relations between Church and State. The rumour goes on to say that Fallize was removed from Luxembourg at the request of the Church authorities in that country, or even at the demand of the government. The 'official' reason for the appointment is given by Kjelstrup (1942):

> 'When the Holy See turned its attention to Dr. Fallize in order to find a worthy successor to Prefect Bernard, it was for this reason: the Holy See wanted a man who was neither

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(53) Molitor (1969), pp.41-2, 109-112.

For a treatment of Veuillot and French clericalism see, Holmes THS (1978), pp.112-25, 148-52, 221-2.

A. Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol.2, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp.187-190.

a German, nor a Frenchman. It was also thought that Fallize's experience would be of help to the Prefecture.'(54)

Kjelstrup's source is an editorial eulogy in St. Olav on Fallize's elevation to the rank of Vicar Apostolic and Bishop in 1892. As the magazine was under Fallize's close supervision at the time it may be assumed that this is what Fallize wished to convey to his subjects. This impression is heightened by the fact that it came so soon after the withdrawal of the Salettines and at a time when Fallize was having to defend himself against charges of being anti-French. Fallize's predecessor, Mgr. Bernard was a Frenchman and under him French influence on Norwegian Catholicism had increased rapidly, particularly after the arrival of the Salettine Fathers. That this development combined by efforts on the part of Bernard to persuade all his clergy to join the congregation did not prove popular among the German and Norwegian clergy was only to be expected. In the event Fallize lost no time in ridding his district of the Salettines. Most of the clergy who worked in Norway in Fallize's time were German or Austrian, Luxembourg or Dutch. As a former student of the German College and a citizen of a country, which until 1867 had been regarded as under the German sphere of influence, and whose Catholic culture was more German than French, it is hard to see how Fallize could really have been regarded as completely neutral when it came to disputes between Germans and French. German influence in in the Catholic Church in Norway during Fallize's time,

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(54) Kjelstrup (1942), p.160.
For the original source see,
'Hs. hellighed pave Leo XIII', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.10, 06.03.1892, pp.73-4.

even though he vigorously defended himself against Salettine charges of partiality in 1892 and protested his indifference to the nationality of his priests under rather different circumstances in 1914. (55) It is even more difficult to see how Fallize's previous experience should have been such an important factor when it came to appointing him as leader of the Norwegian mission. Neither his pastoral nor his educational experience was of more than general relevance for Norway. He had no acquaintance with Catholicism in a minority situation, an important disadvantage. Little scope existed in Norway for a journalist and publisher, the work for which Fallize had shown himself best qualified. Even less was there scope for a clerical politician and Fallize's bad relations with the Luxembourg authorities boded ill. Similar provocative behaviour in Norway could have had disasterous consequences for the Catholic community. In the event, however, Fallize was to have an extremely good working relationship with the Norwegian government. Certainly it was obvious that Fallize had the stamina and determination needed for his new task and his superb sense of organisation would have recommended him at a time when the Norwegian mission had grown sufficiently to need a co-ordinated and consistent policy on the part of its leaders if there were to be full and rational use of its limited resources in the future. These qualities were, however, not peculiar to Fallize. There must have been others, whose talent and experience were better suited to the Norwegian situation.

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(55) 'Fransk-tysk', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.41, 09.10.1892, pp.329-30.

Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.28, no.6, 18.11.1914, pp.34-5.

Was there nobody to be found in the diaspora areas of Germany, or even in one of the English speaking countries, where Catholics were a minority? If neutrality were to be a prerequisite, why not somebody from say northern Holland?

Given that the 'official' reason for Fallize's transfer to Norway does not give a satisfactory explanation, what of the other theory? It is true that there were Catholics in Luxembourg who did not agree with the way in which Fallize was conducting his campaign but, even allowing for the fact that the smallness of the country would have exaggerated the effects of Fallize's bombastic attacks, there must have been far less dramatic and drastic means of removing Fallize from the Luxembourg scene than sending him to Norway. Fallize was not alone in his journalistic methods, the tradition of Louis Veuillot was alive and well in France and elsewhere in Europe and, rhetoric apart, Fallize's views were less conservative than many clericals in France, Italy and other countries. There is, furthermore, no evidence of any policy on the part of Rome to put men of Fallize's opinions into what might best be described as 'ecclesiastical cold storage'. The most telling argument against the popular theory as to why Fallize was sent to Norway is, however, his own reaction. He was a man of strong feelings and would have protested vigorously had there been the slightest indication that the new appointment was a form of banishment. All he seems to have done was to protest his unfittedness to the task and to mention his poor health. The latter point need hardly be taken seriously, as Fallize had a tendency to hypochondria. His other misgivings, however, seem to be no more than those of a normal man, who has been offered an unusual and extremely daunting task. In the event he made a

pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Good Counsel at Gennazano in order to pray and think the matter over before he accepted his new appointment.

On present evidence, all that may be said about Fallize's appointment is that the post of Prefect Apostolic in Norway was vacant and, no doubt, difficult to fill. It is not known if anybody else was considered, apart from Fallize. Fallize was known in Rome and had kept close contact with the German College and, furthermore, both Norway and Luxembourg were under the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Energetic, resourceful and a loyal Ultramontane, Fallize was the kind of man who could be entrusted with an extremely demanding missionary territory. In spite of many frustrations Fallize never seems to have regretted his decision to accept and appears to have regarded his new task as a challenge. The Holy See and the Luxembourg government were on bad terms at this time and it is unlikely that a demand by the latter for Fallize's removal would have been heeded in Rome. Nor is there any evidence of moves on the part of the Bishop of Luxembourg or others to have Fallize transferred elsewhere. Certainly there were Catholics who felt that Fallize was an embarassment to the Church and who were pleased to see him go. The anti-clericals were, of course, delighted by the news. (56)

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(56) Fallize (1897), p.104. This gives Fallize's own description of the events surrounding his appointment but adds little to the other sources.

Molitor (1969), p.43.

The information in the final paragraph is based on that given to the writer during the course of a personal interview with Professor Edouard Molitor in Luxembourg in September 1981.

Chapter Four

Blueprint for Stagnation?

The Early Fallize Period.

'The Church slumbers no more.
The life that was good enough
for us in days of yore
is now regarded as one of
dissipation by the awakened
flock.'

Henrik Ibsen: *Brand.*

On 18 May 1887 Prefect Johann Baptiste Fallize arrived in Oslo accompanied by his mother and younger sister, Julie, who was destined to be his faithful housekeeper and companion throughout his stay in Norway. They were met on the quayside by two priests and a small delegation of lay-people. If Fallize still had misgivings about his suitability as Prefect Apostolic in Norway he seems to have hidden them from his new subordinates. He was, no doubt, strengthened by the comforting words he received from Pope Leo XIII, spoken when the pontiff laid his hands on him during the course of their final meeting in Rome before Fallize left for Norway. On his way to his adopted country Fallize visited London and called upon Cardinal Manning in order to ask for his advice and seems to have been much comforted by the encouragement the aged Archbishop of Westminster gave him. (57)

Fallize lost no time in making a thorough inspection of the eight parishes under his charge. He was shocked by the poverty of the mission. There were less than a thousand Catholics in Norway and only sixteen priests, three of whom were incapable of work. There was little money available and matters were not being helped by an economic slump, which had recently hit the country. To crown all, financial records for the Prefecture seem to have been non-existent. Planning had been haphazard and unco-ordinated. Large churches had, for example, been built in Bergen and Halden based on gross overestimates of the future growth of Catholic communities in those towns. On the other hand, there were groups of Catholics in

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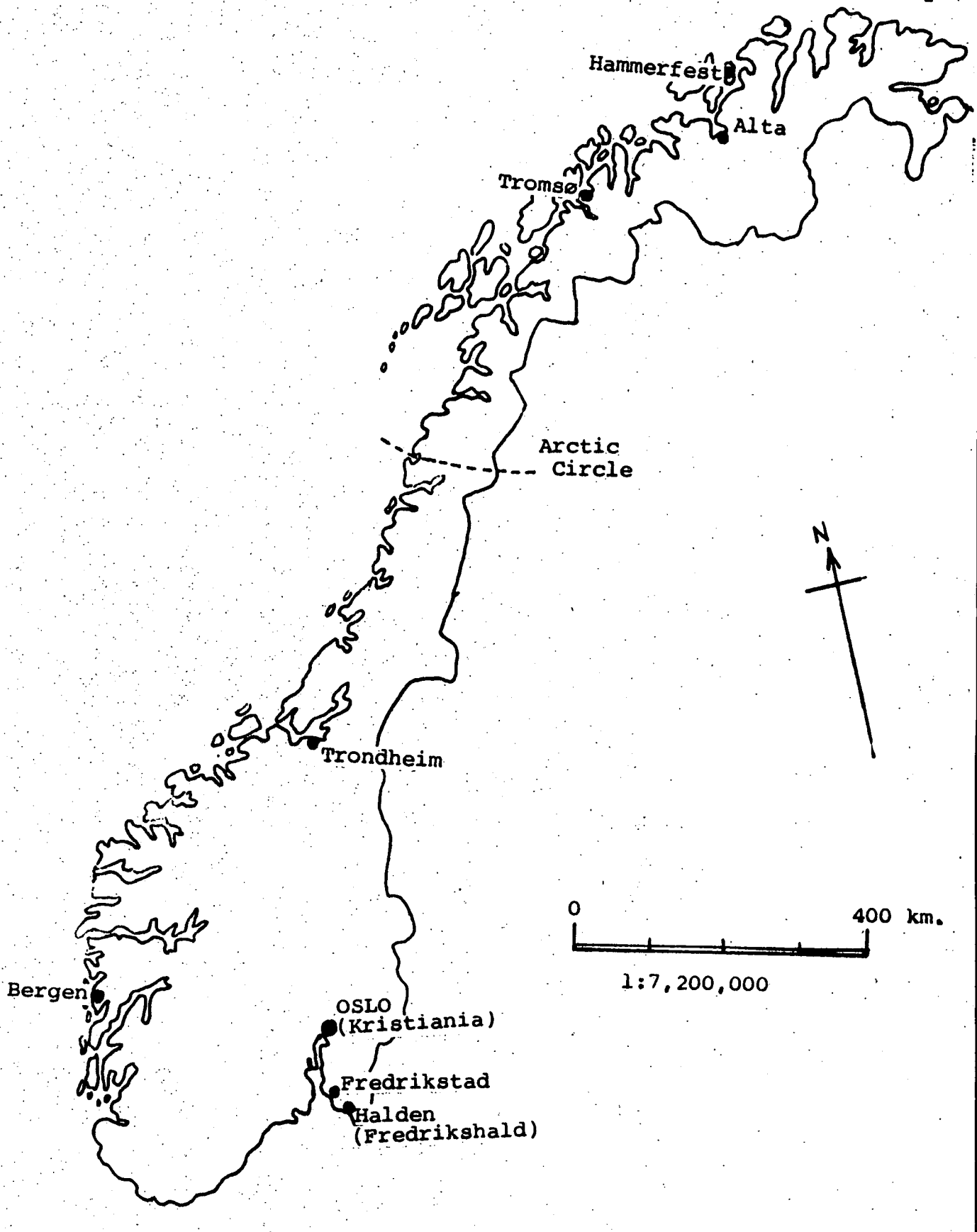
(57) Fallize (1897), pp.104-7.



CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND MISSION STATIONS IN NORWAY IN 1887

Kristiansand and Porsgrunn with neither priests, nor churches to serve them. Fallize was shaken even more by the spiritual poverty of his new flock and by the lax discipline to be found among both clergy and layfolk. More than anything else he was shocked by the fact that many of the better off Catholics brought up their sons as Lutherans in order not to ruin their future careers. This practice had not been condemned by the clergy, who even allowed such parents to go to the sacraments.

It was perhaps only natural that Fallize should blame his predecessor for this state of affairs, but he seems to have shown little understanding for Bernard's special problems and little appreciation of the fact that, had it not been for Bernard, there would have been no foundation upon which he could have built. Mgr. Bernard had, since 1856, worked with great perseverance and fortitude. That he was now, after thirty years, tired, ill and exhausted was only to be expected. This, unfortunately, affected the efficiency of the Prefecture's organisation. That Bernard and his clergy did not take a strict line with Catholics who brought up their sons as Protestants was understandable, given the severe disabilities under which Catholics suffered at the time. It may be argued that the Prefect and his priests were being practical rather than lax and that strict enforcement of the law would have been counter-productive. (58)

Having taken a closer look at the situation within the

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(58) Molitor (1969), pp.43, 51-4.
Fallize did, however, pay a generous tribute to his predecessor on the latter's death in 1895. See: Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.9, no.7, 20.11.1895, pp.33-4.

Norwegian mission Fallize set himself two important tasks. The first of these was to improve the standard of Catholic church-life within his territory, the second was to work out a simple, efficient and economical way of organising the prefecture. He set about solving both problems with characteristic enthusiasm and determination.

Apart from the imposition of stricter discipline Fallize's main way of trying to improve spiritual standards was through the printed word. He acquired and set up a printing press in Oslo and published a wide range of Catholic tracts and books. The former included books on Catholicism originally written and published by men, such as Holfeldt-Houen and Stub, as well as those written by himself and priests working under his direction. Other books included classical devotional works, such as The Imitation of Christ and Francis of Sales' Philotea, as well as translations of tracts by Cardinal Manning and Cardinal Gibbons and others. Encyclicals by Pope Leo XIII were included in successive catalogues, as well as Catholic novels by Henri Conscience. Fallize's own contribution is surprisingly small, a few religious tracts and a play for nuns about Baby Jesus as a postulant. Hymn books, as well as catechisms and books for use in the Catholic schools also figure in the lists. The April 1897 catalogue includes no less than 68 titles in Norwegian. There is one title in Lappish, namely Father Jaquemet's little tract, Se apostolinen oppi ulossvedetty raamatusta. In this way Fallize made sure that Norwegian Catholics had a variety of Catholic literature readily available and that Protestant enquirers had all the information they required on the Catholic Church and its teaching.

Fallize's most lasting contribution to Catholic life was, however, the founding of the Catholic magazine, St. Olav in 1889. It was part of Fallize's campaign to educate Catholics in their religion and to broaden and deepen their spiritual lives, as well as to inform outsiders of Catholic news and views. It was Fallize's wish to use St. Olav as a means of keeping Catholics in the remoter parishes in touch with what was happening elsewhere in the Prefecture. (59)

Soon after Fallize's arrival in Norway a number of changes were made in the organisation of the Norwegian mission. Within ten weeks the St. Joseph Sisters had been sent to Fredrikstad and Halden in order to take over the schools there and to start hospitals. The school in Fredrikstad had been in existence for some time. A school room had been built in Halden some years previously but, according to Kjelstrup (1942), it was the St. Joseph Sisters who actually founded the Catholic school in that town. After a visitation in June 1887 Fallize made important changes in Trondheim, having finally managed to sort out the somewhat complicated situation which existed in the Catholic mission in that city with regard to both finance and property. The end result was that in September 1887, the St. Joseph Sisters left Trondheim for Oslo, taking the boys' department of St. Joseph's Institute with them. The St. Elizabeth Sisters

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(59) Kjelstrup (1942), p.161.
Molitor (1969), pp.94-5.
On Fallize's aims with regard to St. Olav, see, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.3, no.2, 15.05.1889, pp.13-14.
J.O. Fallize, 'Hvad vi vil', in St. Olav, vol.1, no.1, 06.04.1889, pp.1-2.

accepted an invitation to come to Trondheim to take over the parish school and start a hospital. Henceforward their congregation was allotted the northern half of the Norwegian mission as its sphere of activity. In the following year a French congregation, based in Paris and known as the Zélatrices de la Sainte Eucharistie, arrived in Bergen in order to take over the school and to begin peripatetic nursing in the town with the idea of starting a hospital. The parish of Tromsø had expressed a wish for the St. Elizabeth Sisters to start similar work in the town but nothing came of this until 1906. (60)

These changes were very important for the future development of the Roman Catholic Church in Norway, as they were all part of Fallize's plan of action. Each parish was to be organised in a more or less uniform manner. There was to be a church, served by a priest and a hospital and school run by nuns. The idea was not entirely new in Norway , having first been pioneered by Clemens Hagemann, but it was Fallize who saw most clearly the advantages of the system and he organised most of his parishes in this way. When new parishes were founded in Kristiansand and Porsgrunn in 1890 the nuns arrived soon after the priest and the pattern was to repeat itself in Stavanger in 1898, Drammen in 1899 and Arendal in 1911. In all these cases the nuns took

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(60) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.2, no.2, 01.05.1888, p.24, and vol.2, no.3, 01.09.1888, p.28.
Duin (1980), pp.15, 39.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.152-3, 156-7, 161-2.
Molitor (1969), p.59.

over the school, did peripatetic nursing and started a hospital. There were, naturally, some exceptions to this pattern. The parish of Alta never received any nuns, owing to its rapid decline on account of emigration during the first years of the Fallize period. Similarly Harstad, where a chapel was built in 1893 but where growth had proved negligable, did not receive any nuns until 1923, the year after Fallize had retired. A similar arrangement was made when a second Oslo parish, in the east of the city, was opened in 1890. The St. Elizabeth Sisters were asked to take over the task of teaching and nursing. This was, incidentally, the only parish south of Trondheim where these sisters worked during Fallize's term of office. In 1902 they opened a home for the aged sick. In the same year Fallize opened a second parish in Trondheim but his motives for this were rationalisation, rather than expansion. The new church was in the centre of Trondheim, whereas the older building, dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, was situated on the outskirts. The school was moved to be near the new St. Olav's Church, whereas the hospital was developed on the earlier site. Until 1932 there were officially two parishes in Trondheim but one school and one hospital. The earlier Sacred Heart parish declined rapidly after the opening of the more convenient St. Olav's Church. (61)

Fallize's system of organisation was based on the idea that each parish should serve as a Catholic centre. Molitor (1969), calls them 'Catholic oases' but, for Fallize, they were more

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(61) Duin (1980), pp.29, 43, 55.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.164-70, 203-4, 256-9.

than that, for their purpose was both pastoral and missionary. From the pastoral point of view they provided a priest and a church for the Catholics who lived in that area as well as a school for their children. The nuns fulfilled a pastoral role in that they taught in the schools and played an important part in the life and work of the Catholic community. The nuns' most significant work was, however, missionary in that it was they who, through their hospitals and nursing, made contact with ordinary people and broke down prejudice. Similarly it was regarded as the duty of the priest to give talks on the Faith and to see that information was given to outsiders, when the opportunity presented itself. The main missionary task was therefore, to break down the extraordinary ignorance and suspicion, which existed to an unbelievable degree within large sections of Norwegian society. Fallize, indeed, saw this as one of his prime tasks in Norway coming second only to his pastoral responsibility for the Catholic community in the country. Fallize realised very quickly that progress would be extremely slow and could not be measured in terms of the number of converts. In spite of his sometimes vehement polemics he respected the deep faith of many individual Norwegians and felt that he was in conscience bound not to undermine that faith, unless it could be replaced by something which he felt was better. A more favourable climate of opinion with regard to Catholicism could not simply be created through the spoken and printed word. It could only be brought about by unselfish work by the Catholic Church in the service of the community. The most effective way of doing this in nineteeth century Norway was through hospitals and by contributing to improved public health. Although a similar system of parish organisation

existed in Denmark, it was rare to find Catholic hospitals used in this way in other parts of Protestant Europe or in the English-speaking countries, although it was common in the colonial mission territories of Africa and Asia. (62)

That Fallize thought of the schools primarily in terms of service institutions reveals the limitations of Ultramontane educational thinking. It is true that schools were being built all through this period in colonial territories in order to make contact with the local population and to fulfill their educational needs but Norway was not an underdeveloped country. It had a respectable elementary education system, which was at its best in the urban areas, where the majority of Catholics were to be found. If the schools were to be used in the same way as the hospitals to serve and make contact with the local community they would have to have concentrated on those areas of Norwegian education which were being neglected at that time, for instance, secondary education in the North, education for the minorities, or certain kinds of specialized schools in the provincial towns. This would, obviously, have had many advantages but it would have left the problem of providing denominational elementary education for Catholic children unsolved. Ultramontanes were almost fanatical in their belief that no child could attend a non-Catholic school without grave danger to his faith and ultimately, to his eternal salvation. The prime importance they attached to the provision of Catholic

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(62) Fallize (1897), p.104.

schools may be seen in the American bishops' famous dictum, 'Schools before churches!' This attitude was, until recently, that of Rome itself and Catholics everywhere made tremendous efforts to provide their own alternative educational system in many countries in order to protect children and young people from the dangers of the state schools. The shortcomings of such a policy did not become really apparent in, for example, the English-speaking countries during the period 1887-1924 on account of the fact that there were never enough school places for the ever increasing number of Catholic children. They became, however, painfully obvious in the Norwegian situation, where the opposite problem existed, namely a scarcity of Catholic children! Contemporary Catholic thinking demanded the setting up of Catholic schools even in those places, where their viability was extremely doubtful. To make matters worse it was usually envisaged that schools would be organised on a parish basis. Hence the second Oslo parish, St. Halvard's, had its own school, even though it was obvious that it would have been a better proposition to have allowed these children to have attended the long established school in the parish of St. Olav. Any criticism of Fallize in these matters must, however, take into account that he was only carrying out the demands of the Roman authorities and that his policy reflects the Ultramontane ideas of his time. It was the very success of the hospitals that was to bring about the decline of the schools. Investment in both money and manpower went into the hospitals, rather than the schools. The religious orders of nuns all came to see nursing, rather than education as their main task in Norway. This led on their part, to a sad neglect of the schools which tended, in some provincial parishes, at least, to be

regarded as a sideline. The tragedy was that there was no congregation, whose work consisted wholly of teaching, such as for example the Ursulines. This, or a similar congregation, would have been able to have pressed for better facilities and a fairer share of the available resources for the schools. For them education would have been a first priority, something which was not always the case with nuns who regarded their prime apostolate as that of caring for the sick. (63)

A variety of teaching orders, both male and female, existed during Fallize's time and could have made themselves available for work in Norway. Unfortunately Fallize was unable to attract any religious order or congregation to Norway for any length of time. The St. Joseph Sisters and the St. Elizabeth Sisters were there when he arrived and remain to this day. The French Zélatrices and the Luxembourg Franciscan nuns came and went and the Salettines did not remain long after Fallize's arrival. These three had all disappeared by the turn of the century and it was not until 1920, when the French Dominican Fathers arrived, that Fallize was able to attract another body of religious to Norway. It was not for want of trying. He claimed that he had gone to extraordinary lengths to try to introduce religious to Norway but found that the various orders and congregations were not interested. There was no doubt a great deal of truth in this but, as always with Fallize's claims in such matters, it is far from the whole truth. In fact, religious superiors had

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(63) For a summary of the official view on Catholic education before 1960 with special reference to the USA see, T.L. Bouscaren and A.C. Ellis, Canon Law: a Text and Commentary, Milwaukee, 1957, pp.742-750.

For Fallize's almost identical view see, for example, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.12, no.2, 15.02.1898, pp.5-10.

very good reasons for not wishing to become entangled with Fallize. (64)

Soon after his arrival in Norway Fallize was involved in a monumental dispute with the Salettine Fathers. In many ways this was understandable, as under Mgr. Bernard they had enjoyed considerable support and goodwill. Bernard was French and had joined the congregation, which was also French, although the fathers who worked in Norway belonged to the Belgian province. Bäumker (1924) describes the dispute from the point of view of Fallize. The Salettines were French and, therefore, not able to adapt to Norwegian conditions, owing to differences in language, character and temperament. They, apparently, always used the wrong methods and were so obdurate that they would not hear of taking advice. The seminary they had attempted to set up in Trondheim took all their energies and they insisted upon having at least two priests in even the smallest parishes. Their educational standard was decidedly not of the highest but in spite of this they wished to take over the whole of the Norwegian mission and force the secular clergy either to leave the country, or to join their congregation. This was a cause of continual strife. Bernard had requested Rome to allow the Salettines to continue in Norway after his retirement. This was accepted. Nonetheless they and the French superior of the St. Joseph Sisters intrigued against Fallize in Rome and demanded his replacement by a Salettine even though Fallize had shown nothing but kindness towards them. Fortunately, through the good offices of the Bishop of Luxembourg, Fallize soon

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(64) Molitor (1969), pp.56-7.

some competant priests to replace them and by 1893 the last Salettine was able to leave the country. At the time of the publication of Bäumker (1924) the eighty-year-old Fallize had just moved back to Luxembourg. One has the impression that Bäumker's account is based on a conversation with the aged prelate. On the other hand, the author has clearly embroidered the story to suit his own purpose, which was to show that the Norwegian mission was a German responsibility and that really successful work in that country could only be done by Germans, after all, according to Bäumker, Norway, Germany and Luxembourg all belonged to the great Germanic brotherhood of nations! In Kjelstrup (1942) the author, himself a secular priest, who had for a time worked closely with Fallize defends the Salettines vigorously saying that they were zealous and devoted priests. He points out that they were not thrown out by Fallize but departed on their own accord, when their ten year trial period was completed. Kjelstrup denies that Fallize did not like religious orders but feels rather that he did not understand their needs or mentality. (65)

Bernard had approached the Salettines in 1878 with the idea of asking them to take over the Norwegian mission. He had decided to join the Salettines and had promised, rather rashly, that the other members of his clergy were willing to do the same. The Salettine General Chapter and the Congregation for

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(65) Bäumker (1924), pp.45-6.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.162-3.
For an official view of the dispute see, 'Fransk-tysk', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.41, 09.10.1892, pp.329-30.

the Propagation of the Faith had agreed to the idea on condition that Bernard was accepted as a member of the order. The outcome of these negotiations was that in 1879 the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith decided to entrust the Norwegian mission to the Salettines for ten years and this decision was confirmed by Pope Leo XIII. In 1880 the first group of fathers and scholastics arrived in Trondheim, where they opened a small seminary for the further education of the scholastics. Although the fathers set to work with great zeal and did sterling work in both Hammerfest and Alta, as well as Tromsø, the proposed merger with the other clergy working in Norway never took place and there were severe tensions between them and the Salettines. Matters were not made any easier, when the enthusiastic and competent Salettine superior, Henri Berthier, was drowned in 1885, when his ship was wrecked off Hamburg. He was, no doubt, a strong candidate for the office of prefect in succession to Bernard, who was now sick and prematurely aged. (66)

Fallize's appointment must have come as a surprise to the Salettines and it was only natural that they should resent the efforts of the headstrong new prefect, who believed that he knew all the answers, to put matters right as he thought fit. The situation might have been saved if Fallize had shown patience and diplomacy. Unfortunately these were the very virtues he did not possess. He provoked the anger of the Salettines by treating them as though they were secular priests,

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(66) Molitor (1969), pp.70-4.

moving them to new parishes without consulting their superior and placing them in a such a way that they were isolated from eachother and from the said superior, thus making it impossible for them to keep their rule and their chosen way of life. Fallize demanded complete control over the Salettines, for he felt that their first duty was to him, rather than to their order, whereas in fact they were bound by obedience to their superiors, rather than to Fallize personally. Fallize, to be fair, had few priests at his disposal and the idea of having a community, however small, at Trondheim, and at least two priests in each parish they served would have seemed to him unnecessarily wasteful and irrational but it would have been, from the point of view of the Salettines, the best way of organising the Norwegian mission. As early as the middle of 1888 a heated correspondence with Rome was being carried on by both sides with Fallize accusing his opponents of hateful lies and claiming that their policies would ruin the Norwegian mission. The Salettines did not renew their contract and the last of them withdrew in 1892, except for Father Coelestine Riesterer, who left the congregation in order to become a secular priest and stayed on in Norway.

The blame for the Salettine tragedy must be put fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the two prefects, Bernard and Fallize. Bernard's enthusiasm for the congregation seems to have run away with him and caused him to make promises he must have known he could not fulfil. He had no right to claim that his secular clergy would join the Salettines, as this was an individual decision for the priests concerned, which no superior could make for them. There should, furthermore, have been some

clear agreement as to the precise relationship the congregation was to have with the secular clergy. For example, throughout their period in Trondheim the Salettines had a seminary in the town and provided the parish with a curate. The parish priest was, however, a secular, Claudius Dumahut, who had worked in Wick in Scotland during the period 1865-6 before coming to Trondheim. According to Kjelstrup (1942), Dumahut was a man of very independent mind, who left Norway in 1890 having fallen foul of both Fallize and the Salettines! Fallize, for his part, behaved badly and selfishly and the long-term consequences for the Catholic Church in Norway were severe. (67)

From about 1892 onwards Fallize was able to ensure that the Catholic Church in Norway would be organised in the way he felt best. This he did for the next thirty years with an almost neurotic attention to detail. There were no powerful pressure groups to oppose him and he made sure that none arose. The result was stagnation. Too self-opinionated and too inflexible to accept new ideas, or to adapt to changing circumstances Fallize soldiered on using the same plan of action he had worked out in 1887. The other long-term consequence was that it was difficult to get religious orders to come to Norway. Their initial lack of interest at a time when work in the colonial territories was fashionable, is easy to understand. Even if this were overcome it would have been difficult to have found a superior, who was willing, or indeed able, to accept Fallize's conditions, which were, no doubt, similar to those he had demanded of the Salettines. Nor was Fallize's dispute

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(67) Kjelstrup (1942), pp.162, 391, 395.

with that congregation an isolated incident, which could be excused as a clash of personalities, or on the grounds that Fallize had inherited a difficult situation from his predecessor. The Zélatrice nuns left Norway in 1891 to be followed in the same year by the Luxembourg Franciscan Sisters, who took over the work of nursing and teaching in Bergen and later, in 1898, in Stavanger. When these sisters were suddenly recalled to Luxembourg, Fallize, very naturally, protested sharply. The Superior General was supported by the Bishop of Luxembourg, under whose jurisdiction the sisters came. Fallize engaged in an acrimonious corrspondence with Rome and the parties concerned, even threatening those Franciscan Sisters, who remained in Norway, with excommunication if they dared to try and return to Luxembourg. Fallize offered his resignation as leader of the Norwegian mission but this was not accepted in Rome and even accused Bishop Koppes of wanting to destroy his work, allegedly because he had been proposed as bishop of Luxembourg when the post had last fallen vacant and had been regarded as a stronger candidate than Koppes. The end result was that Fallize started his own order of nuns in Norway in 1901, the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier, from a nucleus of Franciscan Sisters, who wished to remain in Norway. These nuns, who were completely under Fallize's control, soon took up school and nursing work in Bergen and Stavanger and later, in 1911, in Arendal. Bäumker (1924), as expected, blames the Franciscans, claiming that they lacked willingness to adapt to the Norwegian situations. He adds, however, that they lacked both personnel and money. Be that as may, one must have a certain sympathy with Fallize in this

dispute. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that both the Franciscan superior general and Bishop Koppes were acting within their legal rights and one has the feeling that, had Fallize shown more tact and patience, some solution to the problem might have been found. In the event it seems to have done Fallize no good, on account of the bad publicity it must have given him. Religious superiors were unlikely to want to become involved with Fallize and they could quote the Salettine and Franciscan incidents as arguments against sending their personnel to Norway. It is true that the French Dominicans came in 1920 but by that time it was clear that Fallize would soon be retiring. (68)

The effects of these two disputes on Catholic education in Norway were far greater than might be supposed. There was, of course, a temporary crisis in Bergen and Stavanger when the Franciscans left but this was gradually resolved. The obvious consequence of the disputes was that they made it even more difficult to attract teaching orders to Norway. Many of these had been granted independence of the local bishops and Fallize's rights over them would have been limited, a situation which he could not have been relied upon to respect. The result was not simply the lack of a pressure group which could speak on behalf of the schools but also a lack of resources for expansion in Catholic education, even where possibilities for it existed.

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(68) Bäumker (1924), p.60.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.210-2.
Molitor (1969), pp.78-81.

There was, at this time, an obvious need for a good boys' school in the Oslo area on a par with St. Sunniva's School. Enough non-Catholics would probably have been interested in such a project to have made it viable. Bergen had its possibilities and Tromsø even more so. By the end of the Fallize period, in 1922, the Catholic school in the latter town had 29 pupils, 17 of whom were Protestants. It this could be achieved by a school with very limited means and capacity, what would have been the result if there had been a modern school run by an efficient teaching order in Tromsø? Fallize had neither the finacial resources, nor the personnel to exploit the potential for Catholic education which existed in Norway. Had his relations with the religious orders been happier and had he been less demanding the history of the Catholic schools in Norway might have been different.

It is as idle to speculate on what would have happened to Catholic education in Norway had the Salettines remained as it is to try and work out what might have happened in Norway and Luxembourg had Fallize been appointed bishop of the latter country at the turn of the century. The withdrawal of the Salettines meant, of course, that Fallize lost a larger proportion of his experienced personnel than he could possibly have afforded at the time. The seminary that had been set up by the Salettines in Trondheim had become superfluous after the 1885 ordinations but this institution could, with some originality, have been put to other uses by the Salettines. It could, for instance, have been turned into a centre for priests, and possibly nuns as well, who had just arrived in Norway and

needed to learn the culture, language and background of the country before taking up their appointments. It could also have helped with courses of training for those who wished to teach in the Catholic schools. Such a project was not impossible, even in 1887, but it would have needed a prefect with broader vision and more diplomacy than Fallize to have brought it about. Another project which the Salettines might have evolved in Trondheim, given the time and opportunity, was a boys' boarding school. The nucleus for this already existed, when the boys of the boarding department of St. Joseph's Institute were put under the care of the Salettines in 1885. It could possibly have developed eventually into a Catholic boys' school for the Trondheim area run on similar lines to those of St. Sunniva's in Oslo, or the Salettines and their boys could have been moved to the capital in order to form a nucleus which might have evolved into a boys' school there.

The departure of the Salettines left Fallize the complete and undisputed master of his own household for the next thirty years. His system and ideas remained unchanged and he quickly became a prisoner of his own narrow categories of thought. Admittedly, this prevented him from making the same mistake as his successor, Bishop Smit, namely over-expansion. Fallize avoided prestige projects. His buildings were simple and serviceable and he always tried to use his limited resources carefully and efficiently. It is clear, however, that the form of church organisation Fallize had worked out during his first years in Norway would eventually lead to stagnation if persued unchanged over several decades. This judgement is, however, easy to make with hindsight and can lead one to ignore the fact that during

the first fifteen years of Fallize's term of office it appeared to be working fairly well. Between the years 1887 and 1902 seven new parishes were founded together with ten hospitals and seven schools. The only disappointments were the abandonment of the parish at Alta and the fact that Harstad showed no signs of development. By 1902 the Norwegian mission was efficiently organised and well run and enjoyed many benefits and facilities denied to many larger Catholic communities elsewhere. Within the course of fifteen years Fallize had brought about many changes, the majority of which had vastly improved the quality of Catholic life in the country. The number of Catholics increased from about 800 to around 2,000 during this period and, had it not been for emigration, the increase would undoubtedly have been even higher. Bäumker (1924) claims that, had it not been for the latter factor, the number of Catholics in Norway would have reached 6-8,000 by 1924. This is, no doubt, based on Fallize's exaggerated estimates and should not be taken too seriously. Similarly Bäumker's example of the Catholic youth club in Oslo, 40 of whose members are said to have left for the United States in the course of two years may not be strictly accurate but it does highlight the problem. Emigration was certainly an important factor in slowing down the growth of the Catholic community and, even worse, it tended to rob the Church of its more vigorous younger members. (69)

Fallize's work was, on the other hand, considerably helped by the new Dissenter Law of 1891, which had been made necessary

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(69) Bäumker (1924), pp.90, 150.

by the number of Norwegians who had left the National Church in order to join other Christian bodies. The statistics show that, while there were 5,105 dissenters in 1865, the number had grown to 7,180 by 1875 and 30,685 by 1890. The majority of these belonged to the various Protestant splinter groups, such as the Lutheran Free Church. Some of the dissenters were Methodists and Baptists, these two denominations having, among others, been imported from the United States. In spite of this increase, 98.5% of the total Norwegian population still belonged to the National Church. In the same year Catholics made up 0.05% of the total population and 3% of the dissenters, compared with the present figures of 0.3% and 3.5% respectively. The effect of the new law was to give dissenting churches legal recognition and went a long way to giving their members equality under the law. By 1905 most discriminatory legislation had been removed from the statute books, although dissenters were still barred from teaching in state schools and from entering teacher training colleges. The Jesuits were banned until 1958. Much prejudice and unofficial discrimination against Catholics still, however, remained. On the other hand, the new law made it easier for many to become Catholics, particularly those who worked in the civil and local government services, who could now change their religion without automatically losing their jobs. It also lessened the tendency in certain Catholic circles of bringing up boys as Protestants in order not to ruin their future careers. (70)

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(70) For statistical details see,
A. Holmesland et al., Norge, Oslo, 1971, pp.134-5.
Ramsøy (1972), pp.284-6.
For the full text of the Dissenter Law of 1891 with commentary see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.5, no.4, 28.10.1891, pp.41-4.

In 1892 the Holy See made a change in the status of the Norwegian mission. On the eleventh of March the Prefecture Apostolic of Norway was raised to the status of a Vicariate Apostolic, a mission territory ruled by a bishop. Fallize was consecrated titular Bishop of Elusa. This gave him greater independence of action within his territory than previously. His powers were now similar to those possessed by bishops in England before the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850. A similar change occurred in Denmark and Sweden. In 1891 Fallize took Norwegian citizenship. Of interest is the change Fallize made in his name after 1892. From 1887 until that date he used the form Johannes Baptista Fallize on Norwegian documents. After 1892 he addressed himself as Johannes Olaf Fallize, or Johannes Olaf, bishop of Elusa, in formal decrees and pastoral letters but usually signed himself as J.B.O. Fallize. After 1905 he used the form J.O. Fallize. Both Fallize's change of name and his taking of Norwegian citizenship were important as they expressed his desire to identify himself as closely as possible with his adopted country, an attitude which he fostered among his priests and nuns. (71)

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(71) For the text of the documents setting up the Norwegian Vicariate and with Fallize's promotion and consecration see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.6, no.5, 05.07.1892, pp.15-18.
Concerning Fallize's Norwegian citizenship see,
Ind. eft., vol.3, no.18, 26.04.1891, p.136.

Chapter Five

Over-optimistic Planning?

The School Regulations of 1890.

'The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft a-gley.'

Robert Burns: To a Mouse.

On 26 June 1889 an act was passed by the Norwegian parliament which made education compulsory and raised the minimum standards which could be demanded of the schools. This Public Schools Act, as it was called, presented Fallize with a new and difficult problem, namely of providing Catholic education for all the children under his jurisdiction. He had already made provision for this in the majority of Catholic parishes in Norway and, in order to have a uniform system throughout his area, he published his School Regulations (Skolereglement) on 6 April 1890, a surprisingly long and detailed document considering the smallness of the Catholic community at the time. (72)

One of the main reasons why Fallize put so much energy into providing an alternative Catholic education system was that the national schools were, by definition, Lutheran denominational establishments. The Public Schools Act had been preceded by over ten years of debate about who should run the schools. This was, indeed, one of the reasons why it was so long delayed. The Liberal Party wanted them to be run by the local communities and wished to see a limitation in the number of representatives the National Church had in the various bodies that were responsible for education. The conservatives felt that the prime responsibility for the schools should lie with the central government. The other important issue was the influence of the National Church in the schools themselves.

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(72) For the full text of the School Regulations see, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.4, no.3, 15.04.1890, pp.26-31.

There was a heated discussion between those who wanted them to be Lutheran parish schools and those who wished them to be neutral, secular institutions. In the event it was the local councils which were given control over the schools. On the other hand, although the National Church did not control them, the schools were, both in theory and practice, Lutheran. No dissenter could teach in them, or even enter a teacher training college. Pupils, who were not members of the National Church, could, however, withdraw from religious lessons. (73)

The late date of the introduction of compulsory education in Norway should not, however, be taken to mean that Norway was less literate than Britain or other countries of western Europe or the English-speaking world at the time. In 1870, the year of the Forster Act in England, only 1% of Norwegian children aged 7-12 living in urban areas and 2.4% living in the countryside were not receiving some kind of education. By 1885 the number had dropped to 0.8% and 1% respectively. These figures contrast sharply with those of English towns in 1870, when 39% of the children of Birmingham and 41% of those in Leeds were not attending school. These two cities were regarded as relatively well advanced with regard to educational provision. The figures for Liverpool were 51% and for Manchester they were 55%. Strenuous efforts had been made in Norway before 1889 to try and bring about universal school attendance and th Public Schools Act was, in fact, more concerned with the reorganisation and reform of the schools than with

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(73) Høigård and Ruge (1963), pp.169-175.
Myhre (1971), pp.54-9.

compulsory education. The education provided by the urban schools was generally better than that provided in rural areas and a curious point about Norwegian education is that, until 1970, there were separate rules and syllabuses for urban and rural schools. This was largely due to the scattered nature of the rural population. Until the turn of the century the peripatetic school-master was a feature of the remoter country areas. They were often poorly qualified. Their training sometimes consisted of no more than receiving a three month period of instruction from a qualified teacher. The peripatetic teacher divided his time between several villages, usually staying and holding his lessons in one of the farm houses. He was close to the local people, who vied with eachother to offer him board and lodging and a room for his work. Gradually school houses began to be erected in the villages, often built and financed, either wholly, or in part, by the inhabitants. Even so, a teacher would have to divide his time between several schools. This meant that, although the children received their lessons more regularly than previously, they might still only be able to attend school every other week or fortnight. Indeed, down to quite recent times some children in rural areas only attended school on alternate days. One feature of Norway, then as now, was the late age at which children started school, namely about the time of their seventh birthday. One difference is that in the 1890s many children learned to read and write at home before they started school and this was the case, even in remote country districts. In spite of its limitations, however, rural education in Norway was based on a flexible

system, which allowed children to divide their time between school and work. It also fostered an intimate relationship between the teacher and the local community. In this way many of the difficulties of enforcing school attendance in the rural areas, which were such a feature of many parts of England at the time, were often avoided. A great stimulus for many parents, both in town and country, to send their children to school was, naturally, the social importance of the ceremony of confirmation. Fallize was well aware of the high standards of many Norwegian schools and admired the efforts rural people made to ensure that their children received an education and he was extremely impressed by the standard of literacy in the country as a whole. He realised that the Catholic schools would have to offer an education of at least the same standard as that pertaining in the urban schools. Failure to bring this about would tempt Catholic parents to send their children to the public schools in order not to jeopodise their futures. These considerations come out very clearly in his School Regulations, which demanded high standards of the Catholic schools and of the teachers who worked in them. Unfortunately Fallize was rarely able to put to put these high ideals into practice. (74)

The School Regulations are divided into three chapters. The

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(74) S.J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, 1967, p.274.

Helgheim (1980), pp.114-117, 199.

Helgheim (1981), pp.158-172.

J.Walvin, A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood 1800-1914, Harmondsworth, 1982, pp.75, 120-3,

For some interesting accounts of rural education, peripatetic teachers and attitudes to literacy in Norway at this time see, for example:
B. Slettan and H. Try, Agder i manns minne, Oslo, 1974, pp.158-65.

first of these deals with the organisation of the schools and the duties of parents with regard to making sure that their children attend them. The second is concerned with teachers, their qualifications, qualities and duties. The third, and final chapter, is concerned with the management of the schools.

It was assumed that each parish was to have its own school. Where this was not possible the parish priest was to give the children under his jurisdiction private tuition, although Fallize demanded that this instruction should, as far as possible, follow that prescribed for the Catholic schools. This arrangement had, in the past, been quite common but it was the exception, rather than the rule by 1890 and, by the turn of the century it was, with the possible exception of Harstad and short periods of crisis, unknown. Priests, however, have always helped with instruction in the Catholic schools, particularly with religion, and, if qualified, in other subjects too. One of the reasons given for sending Father Olav Offerdahl to Tromsø in 1892 was that he was a fully qualified teacher and could work in the school. It was, however, Fallize's general policy to give nuns the main responsibility for teaching. (75)

As prefect apostolic and later bishop and vicar apostolic, Fallize had the ultimate responsibility for the parish schools. His task was to draw up regulations governing their running and he had the right to inspect the schools. This was normal

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(75) Offerdahl was in Tromsø 1892-7. The reason for his appointment is given in:
'Fransk-tysk', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.41, 09.10.1892, pp.329-30.

practice in the Roman Catholic Church at the time. Fallize took his responsibilities exceptionally seriously. On the occasion of his official, and usually annual, visitation the children were assembled in the main school room, where he put them through a searching oral examination. All the children's exercise and drawing books, a list of their marks for the past year, together with attendance and other registers had to be presented to Fallize for his careful inspection. The teachers were interviewed personally by him in order to hear his comments and to make suggestions. In addition to this the parish priest had to send in a yearly report on the faith, morals and work of the teaching staff and on the general state of the school. A list of children also had to be sent in stating their denomination and frequency of attendance. In the case of Catholics, information concerning their church attendance had to be given as well. The parish priest also had to send in a syllabus for each subject with details concerning the teachers who would be taking them and the textbooks that were going to be used, and also a copy of the school timetable and information concerning the amount of time spent at school by each class and concerning school fees and school rules. The school's budget and accounts were, however, not separated from those of the parish. In the late twentieth century such attention to detail on the part of a church leader or bishop seems so extraordinary as to be unbelievable. It should, however, be remembered that state control over such matters was not so strict at that time, at least as far as private schools were concerned. Fallize had to carry out much of the work now done by government inspectors and he wished to make sure that the high standards he demanded were maintained.

In common with Catholic practice at the time, local resposibility for school management was vested in the parish priest, or missionary rector as he is more correctly called in the regulations. Later, in 1895, Fallize recommended that the clergy should use the title 'sogneprest' or parish priest to bring Catholic usage into line with that of the National Church and the various official departments. (76) In the national school system the local Lutheran pastor was ipso facto a member of the local school board, even though he was no longer automatically its chairman and did not have the same wide range of powers as his Catholic counterpart. The management of the Catholic schools was run on a hierarchic basis, there being neither an elected, nor even an appointed board of managers. The parish priest had direct responsibility to Fallize and his prime task was to maintain the Catholic character of the school. The parish priest also had to make sure that the school was properly registered with the local authority and that government rules and regulations with regard to private schools were kept. On the other hand, the parish priests powers were limited by the fact that he could not change the School Regulations and by the recommendation that he should not interfere unnecessarily in the day to day running of the school. He was in no way to undermine the authority of the teaching staff, or make it impossible for them to use their own initiative and he had to take into account their wishes, when working out the syllabus, timetable and school rules. It was also the duty of the parish

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(76) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.9, no.3, 22.05.1895, p.19.

priest to make sure that all the children under his jurisdiction, aged 7-14, received a suitable Catholic education. He was also entrusted with paying the lay teaching staff and with seeing that they were properly insured. Wages and conditions were decided by the prefect apostolic himself. There were a number of dispensations the parish priest could give with regard to attendance and had the right to give the children four extra free days a year in addition to those decreed by the education authorities and by the School Regulations.

One of the most interesting parts of the School Regulations is that concerned with teachers. No Catholic could qualify as a teacher at this time, or attend a training college. On the other hand, Fallize had to make sure that the teaching standards in his schools were high enough to satisfy the local authorities, who could force children, who were clearly receiving an inferior education, to attend the public schools. Fallize was also aware of the pressure on him from Catholic parents to make sure that their children did not suffer by receiving an education, which was inferior to that given in the public schools. The employment and dismissal of teachers was a matter reserved to the prefect himself, who had to make sure that only those, who were suitably qualified and whose religious and moral lives were beyond criticism, were permitted to work in the Catholic schools.

Shortly after the publication of the School Regulations the Seminary Law was passed by the Norwegian parliament. This replaced earlier legislation on teacher training passed in 1837

and 1869. An important point about this law was that it gave private training colleges the right to conduct examinations. Fallize, therefore, applied to the authorities for the right to conduct the training and examination of those who were to teach in Catholic schools. This was granted. A syllabus for this examination is included in the second chapter of the School Regulations. Fallize envisaged three grades of teacher, the third grade being the lowest. It was possible for a teacher to better his qualifications. If he had taken the grade three examinations he could always go on to grades two and one. The Seminary Law of 1890, however, envisaged two grades of teacher with a so called 'lower' examination for those who were to take the lower classes of the 7-14 age group and a 'higher' examination for those who were to teach the upper classes. The 'lower' examination was taken after a one year course of studies and the 'higher' after a two year course. If one had passed the 'lower' examination it was possible to go on to take the 'higher'. Fallize's teacher training syllabus shared many similarities with that prescribed by the Seminary Law but there were some interesting differences. Nothing was said, for example, about Landsmål, the alternative form of Norwegian. A course in its grammar was obligatory in the national colleges after 1890. This was, however, hardly surprising as this form was confined to rural areas, whereas Catholicism was almost exclusively an urban phenomenon. The Seminary Law had, for the first time, made needlework obligatory for women, who wished to qualify as teachers. Fallize included this subject in his syllabus, which also took account of the cuts made in the official colleges in the amount of time spent on the

principles of education. This was confined to methodology and the history of education and efforts to introduce psychology failed. Fallize did, on the other hand, demand that his examinees should have a knowledge of an outline of this latter subject. The study of foreign languages was not demanded by either the official, or by Fallize's syllabus. In Fallize's case this was understandable, as he had enough foreign nuns to cater for any demand for instruction in German and, in Oslo and one or two other places, in French. English-speaking nuns were rare in Norway in Fallize's time and no English-speaking priest worked permanently in Norway until after the Second World War. English was already being taught in some elementary schools in the Oslo area during the 1880s but there was a shortage of qualified teachers in this subject until after 1902, when it became a regular part of training college courses.

Religious education in the official teacher training colleges tended to be historically orientated. Attempts to change this to a more theological approach were frustrated and few changes were made to the syllabus in 1890. Fallize's own syllabus was, of course, geared to Catholic needs and was divided into three main parts, namely, Bible and Church History and Christian Doctrine. In the latter subject Deharbe's catechism and compendium of Christian doctrine were used as basic textbooks. The former was available in Norwegian and the latter in Danish under the title of Fuldstændig lærebog i den katolske religion. Deharbe's catechism first appeared in 1847 and, although traditional in form, was noted for its clarity, exactness and completeness. It soon became the

standard catechism in most German dioceses, although it was little used in Austria-Hungary. Deharbe's catechism was translated and adopted as the official catechism in Norway and Denmark. The German orientation of Fallize's religious education syllabus should be noted. Although the syllabus itself seems a little superficial for modern tastes, it should be remembered that there was a chronic shortage of suitable Catholic textbooks in the Scandinavian languages. The music syllabus was also adapted to Catholic needs. It included practice in singing Gregorian Chant as well as in playing the organ. The section on teacher training ends with a description of the way in which the examinations were marked. A pass had to be obtained in every subject if the candidate were to receive his certificate.

Although Fallize's attempt to create his own one man teacher training college tends to cause smiles and raised eyebrows today it should not be forgotten that it was a brave effort to deal with a very serious and difficult problem. Teaching standards standards in his schools had to be guaranteed and Catholic parents reassured. As Catholics could not train as teachers in Norway some form of alternative to the official colleges had to be provided. This was almost impossible as Fallize had neither the manpower, nor the resources to found and run a training college in the orthodox sense. Even if he had attempted to do this he would never have been able to find enough students to fill such an establishment. Non-Catholics would not have been able to have attended it in order to fill the empty places, for the examinations conducted by a Catholic college would not

have been recognised by the government for use in the national schools. (77)

How long Fallize continued with this highly individual form of teacher training is not clear, although Sister Clémence Bader Hansen, who started as a pupil at St. Sunniva's School in Oslo in 1911 and later taught there for many years, has informed the writer that Fallize certainly continued holding examinations until about 1912. From the turn of the century onwards, Father Olav Offerdahl helped, according to Sister Clémence, Bishop Fallize with directing the course and examinations. Sister Clémence later became headmistress of St. Sunniva's School and provincial superior of the St. Joseph Sisters. In 1902 the Teacher Training College Law was passed by the Norwegian parliament and replaced the Seminary Law of 1890. This rationalised and brought up to date the organisation and syllabus of the teacher training colleges and improved their standards, not least by making a three year course compulsory. These changes would have rendered Fallize's syllabus and examination somewhat out of date and it would have been difficult for him to have modified them in order to bring them up to the standards demanded by the new law. In 1915 new legislation was passed by the government allowing dissenters to teach in public schools in rural areas and from 1917 onwards, they could take up employment in urban schools. This also meant that dissenters could enter teacher training colleges. In 1918 Fallize gave his

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(77) For details of the 1890 Seminary Law see,
Høigaard and Ruge (1963), pp.176-179.
Myhre (1971), pp.59-62.
Tønnessen (1966), pp.124.

On Deharbe's works see,
J. Hofinger, The Art of Teaching Christian Doctrine, Notre Dame, 1957, 52-3, 67-73.
J.A. Jungmann, Handing on the Faith, 1957, pp.31, 119-20.

permission for Catholics to take advantage of the new regulations. Although it was Fallize's original intention that only those who had passed his examinations should be allowed to teach in Catholic schools, it is difficult to say how consistent he was able to be in this matter, particularly with regard to the provinces. The School Regulations allowed him to make exceptions to the general rule. According to St. Sunniva (1965) teachers with Norwegian, or foreign qualifications were normally dispensed from having to do Fallize's examination. He could also allow unqualified teachers to take up temporary posts in the schools. (78)

Fallize was not satisfied simply with drawing up strict regulations concerning teaching qualifications. All the relevant sources agree that he was a demanding examiner. Having been accepted for a post in a Catholic school a teacher had to work very hard and had little spare time. As Saturday school was a feature of Norwegian education until the 1960s, he taught six days a week. In addition to this he had to act as sacristan and organist, which meant that Sunday was anything but a day of rest, quite the opposite! The School Regulations make it clear that not only was the teacher to make himself available for these duties, whenever the parish priest demanded it but he was also expected to sing in the choir. His duties did not, however, end there, for he was expected to supervise the children during mass and afternoon devotions, these two

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(78) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.32, no.3, 20.06.1918, p.17.
Høigaard and Ruge (1963), pp.179-80.
Myhre (1971), p.62.
St. Sunniva (1965), p.31.
Conversation with Sister Clémence Bader Hansen, Porsgrunn, October, 1982.

services being obligatory for all Catholic school children on Sundays. In some parishes, such as Bergen, it was the tradition to have special children's pews in the church. These were of smaller size than the others and placed in front of the adult pews so that the children could have a clear view of what was going on at the altar. Fallize seems to have liked this particular idea, although by no means all churches and chapels had them. (79) The teacher could probably have managed all his duties at once in a small chapel, such as the one at Harstad, or Stavanger but in the larger churches, such as Bergen, he would have needed a very long arm indeed if he were to have had to play the organ, situated high up at the back of the church and, at the same time, keep a schoolmasterly eye on the children in the front benches! It was also the duty of the parish school teacher to watch over all the children in his care, both in and out of school and had to take on any work for children the parish priest might impose upon him. He was also responsible for making a weekly report on the children's attendance at Sunday mass and devotions. If they absented themselves their excuses had to be noted and the parents informed. The report was passed on to the parish priest, whose task it was to put pressure on parents, who showed themselves negligent with regard to their children's spiritual duties. In this regard the School Regulations reflect the general practice in the Catholic world at the time and, indeed, for many years to come.

The School Regulations state that it is up to the Apostolic

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(79) For Fallize's detailed regulations concerning the size of church pews see:
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.11, no.5, 15.05.1897, p.32.

Prefect to fix the wages for lay teachers. Although it is clearly stated that school staff have no pension rights, Fallize does make some provision for their future. A sum corresponding to 10% of the teacher's annual salary is to be taken from the parish funds in order to pay for a life and health insurance policy. An advertisement in St. Olav for 18 June 1893 gives more detailed information. A mistress was needed for the school in Tromsø. Her starting salary was to be Nkr.700 per annum and it was laid down as a condition that she was to continue at this post for at least two years. Three months notice was to be given if she wished to resign from the post, or if the bishop, as Fallize had now become, wished to dismiss her. The applicant was also guaranteed a subsidy towards her moving expenses to Tromsø. The school in that parish had about a dozen children at the time, aged 7-14, who would all have shared a single classroom. The salary that Fallize was offering compared well with those paid in the public schools, where mistresses received between Nkr.200 and Nkr.1,150 a year, depending on qualifications, experience and, not least, on the local council for which they worked. Men received a larger salary, namely between Nkr.480 and Nkr.3,700 per annum. These considerable variations are partly due to two factors. First, a teacher's wage would be lower, if his terms of employment included free accomodation, or in some country districts, free grazing rights. Second, some local councils, particularly those in rural areas, made it a condition of employment that a schoolmaster should also act as cantor and organist in the local church. In some cases he was paid separately for this work, in others, payment for his church duties was included in his teacher's salary. In passing, it should be noted that the

average annual wage of a farm labourer at this time was Nkr.280. Fallize's wages also compared well with those being offered Catholic teachers abroad. During the latter half of the nineteenth century in England and Scotland, for example, the lowest paid teachers were to be found in Catholic schools with salaries well below the national average. In Norway the national average wage for both men and women teachers in rural areas was Nkr.663. This sum does not include payments for church duties but does take into account the value of free lodging and other extras. Many of these country teachers would have been working in small one room schools. In other words, Fallize, unlike many Catholic church leaders at the time, insisted on paying his teachers a reasonable salary. (80)

In the public schools the number of mistresses was increasing rapidly at this time. By 1890 60% of all teachers in urban schools were women against only 12% in the country areas. Many rural councils, according to Myhre (1971), wanted more school mistresses, if only because they were cheaper, but women were often considered unsuited to teaching in country schools, where all the children, irrespective of age and sex, were gathered in a single schoolroom and taught by one teacher. In addition to these factors there were other, more important ones to be taken into account. A rural school teacher sometimes had to

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(80) Duin (1980), p.14.
J. Hurt, Education in Evolution, 1972, pp.143, 218-9.
J. Scotland, A History of Scottish Education, 1969, vol.1, pp.254-8.
'Lærerindepost', in St. Olav, vol.5, no.25, 18.06.1893, p.220.
For details of teachers' salaries in Norway in 1890 see,
Helgheim (1980), p.169.
Helgheim (1981), p.111.

travel long distances in bad weather conditions. Many school mistresses at this time were from urban middle class homes and, even if they managed to adapt to living and teaching conditions in, for example, Inner Hardanger, or the remoter parts of Trøndelag, would most likely not have been accepted by the local population, who did not always take kindly to outsiders. A further problem was that there were considerable differances between rural dialects and those of the main towns. The country schoolmaster was often poorly qualified but he was an integral part of the community he served. An additional point was that, at this time, no woman could become an organist or cantor in a Lutheran church. The fact that these offices were combined with that of schoolmaster in many parishes was a good reason for not employing women teachers.

It is interesting to compare the conditions which prevailed in the public schools with those in their Catholic counterparts. From 1887 onwards male teachers were rare in Catholic schools in Norway. It is true that the clergy often took religious instruction but they could hardly be counted as full time schoolmasters. The reason why so few men were to be found teaching in Catholic schools was largely economic. The majority of the teachers were nuns and these did not have to be paid a salary. Second, during the early period there were not a great number of suitable men available. One of the reasons for this was the practice among better class Catholic families of bringing up their boys as Protestants; another was the lack of opportunities for Catholics and other dissenters within the teaching profession. Urban public schools were considerably larger than their Catholic counterparts, which were, on the

whole, small. They were housed in one room in which a small group of children aged between 7 and 14, both boys and girls, were instructed by a single teacher, in other words, a situation similar to that which pertained in many rural areas. The difference was that neither Fallize, nor the Catholic community as a whole, considered that women were unsuitable for dealing with this kind of teaching situation. (81)

In common with the state regulations for urban schools Fallize decreed that his schools were to be divided into three departments. These were as follows:

Table 1.
THE DIVISION OF URBAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO DEPARTMENTS (1889)

Department	Grades	Age-Group	No. Weekly Lessons	
			Public Schools	Catholic Schools
1. Lower	1-3	7-10	18-24	18
2. Middle	4-5	10-12	24-30	30
3. Upper	6-7	12-14	18-30	30

The larger urban schools would, naturally, have had a separate class for each grade but in the case of smaller schools there would have often have been three classes corresponding to the

(81) Helgheim (1981), pp.71-7.
Myhre (1971), p.61.
St. Sunniva (1965), p.31.
For the possible effect of differences of dialect on teacher mobility in England in the nineteenth century see, J. Hurt, Education in Evolution, 1972, p.143.

three departments. Fallize saw this latter situation as ideal for the Catholic schools. Unfortunately, as he himself pointed out in the School Regulations, this was not possible in many places. Most provincial Catholic schools did not have enough rooms, teachers, or pupils for three classes. In such cases he suggested that the system followed in rural areas should be practiced, the division of the schools into two classes, each representing a department. The upper department would have consisted of grades 5-7 and the lower of grades 1-4. In the majority of parishes even this was not possible and the typical Catholic school of the period consisted of a single classroom, one teacher and a handful of pupils. In rural public schools, where more flexible and less demanding rules were in force, a two-part division of classes could be maintained, even where there was but one teacher and one schoolroom, for the children could attend school every other day. Urban children, on the other hand, were expected to attend school daily. (82)

The School Regulations contain a short outline of the syllabus to be followed by the Catholic schools. In tune with his usual policy Fallize modelled his syllabus as closely as possible on that used in the public schools in urban areas. He produced a revised and more detailed plan in 1896. One subject made compulsory by the Public Schools Act of 1889, which was lacking in Fallize's syllabus, was physical training.

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(82) Myhre (1971), pp.57-9.
Tønnessen (1966), pp.121-4.

On the other hand, he seems to have put more emphasis on the teaching of music, making it compulsory for all classes at a time when it was not always taught in the two lowest grades in the public schools. Drawing also received disappointingly little attention, not being taught until the fifth grade, a year later than in the ordinary schools. It was, furthermore, practically, rather than artistically orientated. Of special interest is the fact that Fallize prescribed the use of the phonetic method of teaching children to read Norwegian. After much discussion this method gradually became standard in Oslo and other towns from the late 1860s onwards, although older methods were still the norm in country districts, particularly where children learned to read at home before they started school. A notable difference between the 1890 and 1896 syllabuses was that practice in reading and writing Gothic script, which was compulsory for younger children in the earlier plan, was now delayed until the sixth grade. This reflected the rapid decline in the use of Gothic script in Norway during the course of the latter half of the nineteenth century. With regard to religious education, Fallize's syllabus was built up on the three pillars of catechism, bible history and church history, all three text books having been made available in Norwegian by courtesy of Fallize's new printing press. The teaching methods and syllabus used in the teaching of religion followed contemporary Catholic practice. All classes had two periods of catechism, using Deharbe's work, and two of bible history each week. Pupils in the sixth and seventh grades had, in addition to this, a weekly period of church history. Protestant children, who attended Catholic schools, could apply to be dispensed from catechism and church

history lessons but not from those in bible history.

A surprising difference between Fallize's syllabus of 1890 and that of 1896 is that the latter omitted all reference to the teaching of foreign languages. The earlier plan had not made this compulsory but had suggested that children, who had the ability, should be taught English, German, or French, if there was a teacher qualified to teach these subjects. One would have thought that the Catholic schools might have put more emphasis on languages. English was becoming more popular as a subject in urban schools, even in small towns, although it was still optional and, in any case, not usually taught until the seventh grade. It is true that St. Sunniva's School in Oslo concentrated on French to which the children were introduced at an early stage. It was, however, not a typical Catholic school. Given the number of German nuns teaching in Catholic schools during the Fallize period it should have been possible for some of the Catholic schools, at least, to have concentrated on the teaching of German. Two important factors hindered such a development. First, English was gradually replacing French and German in importance in the secondary school curriculum and second, the difficult conditions under which most Catholic teachers worked in the provinces rarely made it possible for them to expand their syllabuses. It was a pity, as Catholic schools might have gained much by specialising in foreign languages. Had they been able to offer good tuition in English they might have been able to attract more non-Catholic pupils, particularly after the beginning of the century. Unfortunately,

Fallize had too few teachers, particularly in the provinces, who were properly qualified to teach this subject.(83)

Fallize, in common with his Ultramontane contemporaries, put great emphasis on maintaining a Catholic atmosphere in the schools. The school day was to start with mass, which in effect meant that the children went to church something like eight times a week during term time! Daily mass was, however, only possible for a Catholic school, if a parish had two priests, as the nuns at the Catholic hospital would also need their mass, usually at about six o'clock in the morning. In parishes where there was only one priest there seems to have been a compromise; the hospital had early mass three days a week and the school three days a week, as was the case in Arendal in the early 1920s. (84)

Some basic rules concerned with order and discipline are mentioned in the School Regulations but Fallize seems less preoccupied with such matters than might have been expected. He was however concerned, as were most of his contemporaries, that there should be a strict separation of the sexes during school time. Boys and girls were not to be allowed to sit with eachother in the classroom and were to have separate play areas during the break. This was quite usual at the time, both in Norway and elsewhere. Even peripatetic schoolmasters in rural areas saw to it that girls were seated on one side of the

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(83) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.10, no.5, 20.09.1896, pp.35-6.
Helgheim (1981), pp.182-4, 257-9.
Norges apostoliske vikariat, Mønster til Undervisningsplan, Oslo, 1896.

(84) St. Franciskuskirke i Arendal, Kirkelig bekjendtgjørelsesbok, vol. I, 01.02.1920-08.07.1923, unpublished MSS.

farmhouse table and boys on the other. Segregation during playtime was, however, strictly enforced, even in the tiniest Catholic schools, more so than was sometimes the case in the smaller public schools. (85)

Fallize stressed the need for both mildness and justice, when it came to correcting children. If they were to be given extra work to do as a punishment, it had to be such as was to their educational benefit and this was to be gone through and corrected by the teacher afterwards. If a child were made to stay in after school the teacher had to keep at watchful eye on him or her and be in the room all the time if boys and girls were kept in together. If necessary, the rod of correction was, true to the exhortation of Holy Writ, not to be spared. In the Norwegian Bible it is called the 'birch of correction' and this is the implement mentioned by Fallize. Traditionally it consisted of a bunch of fresh birch twigs and was a milder instrument of correction than its Manx counterpart. Its use was quite widespread in Norwegian homes and schools at the time, although canes were also popular in the latter. Having said this, however, it must be emphasized that the Norwegian authorities had far more scruples about the use of corporal punishment in schools than was the case in England. It was mainly a feature of urban schools and its use was normally far less frequent in those in rural areas. Already, in 1889, its use in public schools was limited by special regulations and these became stricter as time went on. It was gradually phased out after the First World War and completely outlawed in all schools, both

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(85) ed. B. Slettan and H. Try, Agder i manns minne, Oslo, 1974, p.158.

public and private by 1938, more than ten years earlier than in Denmark. Although in Fallize's time teachers, particularly in the towns, not infrequently flouted the regulations, a climate of opinion was gradually built up which made the idea of corporal punishment in schools unthinkable. The only regulations which Fallize gave concerning the limitation of its use were that girls over the age of ten were not to receive it and that it was not to be inflicted in such a way as to offend modesty, or affect the child's health. These points had already been mentioned in the 1889 Public Schools Act and earlier legislation; Fallize did not, however, include the other safeguards mentioned in these documents. During the latter part of the Fallize period and during the 1920s there were a number of complaints about the strictness of the Catholic schools and even about over-use of corporal punishment. Fallize's attitude, on the other hand, seems to have been fairly moderate for the period. In his pastoral letter on the upbringing of children he emphasizes the need for a child to know why it is being punished and stresses the need for parents to show strict impartiality and justice. Twice in the pages of St. Olav he rejects what would have seemed to him to have been extreme opinions on this matter. He makes fun of a certain Mrs. Sørensen, an Oslo school inspectress and passionate opponent of corporal punishment, and shows his pleasure in her recent dismissal. He is, however, deeply shocked by a report that a religious sect in Kragerø has used the words of Holy Scripture as an excuse for child-abuse. Fallize, who some years later is quoted in the same journal as feeling that he

had benefited from being beaten as a child, exclaims, "Let's have moderation in everything!" (86)

Although Fallize, true to Victorian principles, was keen that evil should be punished, he was just as insistent that goodness should be rewarded. The school year was to end with a prizegiving, to which parents and other interested parties were to be invited. There were to be prizes, not just for good results but also for progress, good behaviour and regular attendance at school and church. The prizes were to be in the shape of useful books and the School Regulations stress that prizes must never be given to children who do not deserve them. The holding of a prizegiving ceremony was, of course, a normal part of school life in many countries at this time. In Catholic schools in Norway the children's final marks were read out at prizegiving and the whole matter seems to have been taken very seriously, as witness the school in Arendal. During the years 1913-1922 the number of children on roll varied between four and nine. In spite of this there was a formal reading up of marks and a distribution of prizes at the end of the summer term, a ceremony to which the school's parents and friends were cordially invited. There would have been a speech by the parish

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(86) For Fallize's pastoral letter on the upbringing of children see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.11, no.2, 05.02.1897, pp.5-10.
On his attitudes to corporal punishment see,
Ind. Eft., vol.2, no.5, 09.02.1890, p.48 and vol.4, no.3, 17.01.1892, p.24.
For his childhood experiences see,
Ind. Eft., vol.25, no.26, 27.06.1913, p.207.
On the attitude of the public schools see,
Helgheim (1980), p.178.
Helgheim (1981), pp.263-9.
Tønnessen (1966), p.123.

priest and the children would have entertained with songs and small sketches. (87)

The School Regulations were an impressive achievement and the fact that they were not entirely successful should not blind one to the fact that Fallize had obviously put much work into them. They contained no new and exciting educational perspectives, for Fallize was not an original thinker, but they do show his willingness to try and create a reasonably efficient educational system for a minute Catholic community with few resources. The School Regulations show Fallize's genuine respect for the Norwegian educational system, which he obviously had studied closely. It is also significant in this regard that Fallize wanted the Catholic schools, as far as possible, to be at least up to the same standard as their public counterparts. In spite of this, however, one cannot avoid the feeling that Fallize was being too optimistic about the future of the Catholic schools.

The remainder of the School Regulations is devoted to the duty of parents to make sure that their children attend the Catholic schools, a matter about which Fallize was to become more and more obsessed as time went on. The wording of the School Regulations is no more extreme than that of other dioceses and mission territories at that time. The question of ecclesiastical sanctions against defaulters is merely touched upon, even though

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(87) St. Franciskuskirke i Arendal, Kirkelig bekjendtgjørelses-bok, vol.1, 01.02.1920-08.07.1923, unpublished MSS.
Statistics from:
'Schola catholica', in Chronologia parochiæ Sancti Francisci Xaverii in Arendal, 1911-1946, unpublished MSS, pp.17-19.

it was precisely this point, the public excommunication of those who refused to send their children to Catholic schools, that was to become a bone of contention for the rest of his period of office. It was this that was to bring his schools policy into disrepute and it was for this that he was to be remembered long after his other achievements for the Roman Catholic community in Norway were forgotten.

Chapter Six

According to the Mind of Rome?

'All the time my one comfort was that I was acting according to the mind of Rome.'

J.O. Fallize: Letter to Cardinal Steinhuber.

Bishop Fallize's policy of trying to coerce Roman Catholics in Norway to send their children to their own denominational schools is often put forward as the supreme example of his authoritarian attitudes and discussed as though it were a personal whim on his part. This is, however, an extremely provincial view of the subject, for it ignores the very important question as to how much Fallize's attitudes reflected the general educational policy of the Roman Catholic Church at that time.

The School Regulations state quite simply that Catholic parents of children of school age have the duty, first, to send their children to school and second, to send them to a Catholic school. Should they fail to do either, the parish priest is to give them a solemn warning. If this has no effect, they will be subjected to ecclesiastical sanctions. Should this not work in the case of the first, they are to be reported to the local educational authority. It is interesting to note that Fallize's main concern is with regard to parents, who fail to send their children to any kind of school, in other words, those who disobey the law of the land. Otherwise the threat of excommunication is not mentioned in the whole document, even where the duty of sending children to the Catholic schools is specifically discussed. Alternatives to the local Catholic school are noted, such as the possibility of private tuition at home, which was not unusual in some families at the time, at least with regard to children in the lower grades of the elementary school, if the parents had the necessary means or education to do this. The School Regulations give the parish

priest the responsibility of making sure that invalid children receive religious instruction and the duty of looking after the needs of Catholic children living in areas remote from the nearest parish church and school. He is to arrange for these to be sent to St. Joseph's Institute in Oslo as boarders. If the parents are unable to pay for this, they are, if the prefect apostolic gives permission, to receive a grant from parish funds. In the case of poor children the parish priest is to investigate whether these have the right to a Poor Law subsidy. As an alternative Fallize suggests that such children might be boarded out with a good Catholic family in a town where there is a Catholic school. Financial help is offered, if necessary. Bäumker (1924) mentions that boarders were also accepted by the St. Elizabeth Sisters in Hammerfest. At the time of the School Regulations these had not yet taken over the school in that parish and this possibility was not yet available. Fallize takes up the problem of religious education for Catholic children in the public schools, but only to emphasize that it is the duty of the parish priest to make sure that such children receive regular Catholic religious instruction and that they make use of their right to absent themselves from Protestant religious lessons. He does, however, add that all must be done to prevent such attendance at non-Catholic schools. (88)

Apart from the School Regulations, Fallize dealt with the subject of Catholic education in three pastoral letters. The

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(88) Bäumker (1924), pp.136-40.
On private tuition in country areas with special reference to dissenters see,
Helgheim (1980), p.198.

first of these, dated 5 February 1897, discusses parents' duties in a general way without dealing with the subject of Catholic schooling in detail. The question of ecclesiastical sanctions does not receive a mention. It is the other two pastorals which deal specifically with this problem. The most important of these is dated 15 February 1898. The later letter, dated 2 February 1910 is little more than a revision of the 1898 document. These two pastoral letters contain a vigorous defence of Fallize's educational policy, based on three very strong arguments, first, that Fallize is simply following the Catholic Church's normal practice, second, the need for a completely Catholic educational environment and third, the strongly Protestant atmosphere in the public schools. (89)

The timing of the 1898 pastoral letter is important, as it came shortly after Affari nos, the well-known letter of Pope Leo XIII to the Canadian bishops on the subject of attendance at non-Catholic schools. (90) In the 1898 pastoral letter Fallize explains how the Pope had received him in audience the day before Affari nos was published. The Holy Father had enquired in some detail concerning the education of Catholic children and youth in Norway. Fallize had replied that, while the majority of Catholics in Norway sent their children to their own denominational schools, there were a number who refused. These

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(89) For the text of the pastoral letter on the upbringing of children see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.11, no.2, 05.02.1897, pp.5-10.
On attendance at Catholic schools see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.12, no.2, 15.02.1898, pp.5-10, and vol.24, no.1, 02.02.1910, pp.1-7.

(90) Pope Leo XIII, 'Affari nos', in ASS, vol.XXX, 1897, pp.358-9.

felt that arranging for their children to receive a weekly religious instruction lesson from the local priest was sufficient. The Pope had, Fallize goes on to say, expressed grave misgivings about this state of affairs and asked him to use every possible means to remedy the situation. Fallize makes it clear that he regards Affari nos as the final word on the subject and claims, not without reason, that he has all the authority of the Holy See behind him. He underlines the Pope's demand that Catholic children must only be educated in schools, where the atmosphere is completely Catholic, for it is not simply schools where the instruction is anti-Catholic which are to be avoided, but also those where all religions are regarded as equally valid, or where all religious teaching is omitted.

Fallize explains to his flock that it is the practice of Catholics in many countries, where state education does not meet the requirements of the Holy See, to have their own free schools. What he has always done, Fallize insists, is simply to put into practice the accepted universal policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Fallize illustrates his point by giving examples of papal attitudes to this matter in other countries. Most of the rest of the pastoral letter is devoted to applying these principles to the Norwegian situation. It was certainly not difficult for Fallize to prove that the atmosphere in public education in Norway was far from Catholic. He quotes some relevant passages from the debates, which preceded the passing of the Public Schools Act of 1889. Using arguments similar to those of Leo XIII regarding the Catholic schools, the proposers of the Act had insisted that the public schools should be Lutheran in

their atmosphere, as well as in their religious instruction. The result was the exclusion of all dissenters from the teaching profession and, even more important, that anti-Catholic propaganda was part of the curriculum. The Dissenter Law of 1891 gave Catholics and other dissenters freedom from the schools tax, provided that they sent their children to their own denominational schools. No state support was given to these schools, however, although this would have been logical, taking into account the fact that the public schools openly discriminated against dissenters. When Bishop Fallize claims that he is doing no more than reiterating contemporary papal policy, he is being perfectly truthful, for there are many parallels to his two pastoral letters on Catholic schools to be found in other parts of the world. In fairness to Fallize it must also be pointed out that his language is far less emotional than that of many other bishops at that time. His comments on the evils of non-Catholic schools and the dangers they pose for a Catholic child's eternal salvation are short and very moderate, when compared with many of his contemporaries. Nor does Fallize quote some of the more bombastic papal utterances in his defence of the official line, such as the portrayal of mixed schools, where children of different denominations are educated together, as being the most pernicious way of educating the young and the greatest evil that can be imposed on Catholic children, nor does he mention the extraordinary statement that one of the reasons for this is that Protestants and schismatics are often corrupt in their habits. Admittedly these outbursts all date from the time of Pius IX and lack the more reasoned approach of Leo XIII but they are

quoted by the bishops of England and Wales in defence of their educational policy. (91)

Having discussed the general attitude of the Catholic Church to education Fallize turns to the problem of those parents who do not wish to send their children to the Catholic schools. He denies that these are of a lower standard than other schools. His full wrath is reserved, however, for those who send their children to high class schools because they feel that poorer and less refined pupils at some of the Catholic institutions would be a bad influence on their offspring. This seems to have been a common cause for complaint and one not reserved to Norway, as certain English diocesan decrees reveal. Fallize does not even feel that parents living in places remote from the nearest Catholic school may be excused from the general rule. After all, the Vicariate Apostolic offers excellent boarding facilities and is even willing to pay the children's fees, if necessary. In his 1898 letter Fallize does, on the other hand, leave the door open for a dispensation to be given to such families under certain circumstances. In 1910, however, he takes a much tougher line and rules out the possibility of any such

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(91) Examples of papal literature relevant to some of the countries mentioned in Fallize's 1898 and 1910 pastorals:

Bavaria:
Pope Leo XIII, 'Officio Sanctissimo', in ASS, vol.XX, 22.12.1887, p.267.
Belgium:
Pope Leo XIII, 'Summi Pontificatus', in ASS, vol. XIII, 20.08.1880, p.52.
France:
Pope Leo XIII,'Nobilissima Gallorum Gens', in ASS, vol.XVI, 08.02.1884, p.244.
Germany, Austria and Switzerland:
Pope Leo XIII, 'Militantis ecclesiæ', in ASS, vol.XXX, 01.08.1897, pp.7-8.
For papal statements quoted by the English bishops see, R.E. Guy, The Synods in English being the Text of the Four Synods of Westminster, Stratford-on-Avon, 1886, pp.247-9, 266-70, 284-5, 295-6.

concessions in the future and adds an impassioned plea for such parents to move nearer a Catholic church and school. Fallize was not alone in suggesting this solution to the problem, as a similar statement is to be found in a letter of the Holy Office to the Swiss bishops in 1866. In other words, even Fallize's seemingly more extreme statements cannot be regarded as fanatical at a time when sending one's child to a non-Catholic school was regarded by Rome as a grave sin, contrary to both the divine and natural law. (92)

When Fallize claims that he is saying nothing new, simply repeating the ancient and unshakable teaching and practice of the Roman Catholic Church, he is quite sincere in his belief, one which he shared with the majority of his fellow believers at the time. In fact it was far from the eternal teaching and tradition of the Roman Church, for Fallize was proclaiming ideas which had only become universally accepted within his own lifetime. About the time of his birth in 1844 bishops, particularly in English-speaking countries, were actually taking the initiative in the introduction of mixed denominational schools, not only in Ireland, but also in New York and Liverpool. There were, of course, misgivings about these experiments but the Holy See did not intervene and, in the case of Liverpool, stated that it was up to the local bishops to decide on the desirability of such schools. In Scotland

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(92) See, for example, on standards in Catholic schools: Diocese of Leeds, Decrees of the Leeds Synods, Leeds, 1911, p.169.

For the letter to the Swiss bishops see, ASS, vol.XXV, 21.03.1866, pp.132-7.

For a summary of the papal attitude to non-Catholic schools see,
T.L. Bouscaren and A.C. Ellis, Canon Law: a Text and Commentary, Milwaukee, 1958, pp.774-5.

some of the Catholic clergy were encouraging their faithful to send their children to the Protestant S.S.P.C.K. schools. By the time that Fallize arrived in Rome in 1867 mixed denominational schools had been condemned as the work of the devil and, in the same year, English Catholics were informed that, from now onwards, they were strictly forbidden to send their sons to non-Catholic universities and that it was quite impossible for circumstances to exist which would render attendance at such institutions free from sin and that no sufficient reason could be conceived for entrusting Catholic young people to such corrupt seats of learning as Oxford and Cambridge, or even Durham! By 1898 the fifty-four year old Bishop Fallize, and indeed very many of his contemporaries, could claim that the more flexible attitudes of the 1840s with regard to Catholic education had never existed. (93)

Any criticism of Fallize's educational policy must not only take into account the fact that his opinions do not differ markedly from his contemporaries but also that papal legislation on the matter gave him very little room for manoeuvre. Gone were the days of the 1840s, when a bishop could work out his own solutions to his educational problems, ones which would take into account both local circumstances and the resources of his diocese. An earlier generation had simply concerned itself with making sure that Catholic school children received regular and adequete religious instruction.

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(93) On the Liverpool experiment see,
The Tablet, vol.XXXIX, 06.02.1841, p.82.
On English universities see,
Fontes, vol.VII, no.4868, p.405.

There was now a uniform policy for the whole Church, which demanded that all Catholic children, everywhere, should attend their own denominational schools and which laid down that it was the duty of the local bishop to make sure that these were provided. The children needed to be brought up and educated, it was argued, in a totally Catholic home and school environment. Bad experiences with the governments of France and Italy and elsewhere made the attitude of Rome even more inflexible. The very different neutral schools of the United States were condemned along with the anti-clerical ones of France, Belgium and Italy. Indeed, all non-Catholic schools were condemned, even mixed-schools, where pupils of different faiths were educated together but where separate religious education was provided for each denomination. Admittedly, by 1898 Rome had moved away from the somewhat hysterical and occasionally silly statements of Pio Nono to the more sophisticated arguments of Leo XIII but this did not alter Fallize's position. If the Holy See demanded that he should provide Catholic schools and make sure that they were attended, then Fallize had no choice but to carry out these orders without regard to the difficulties they might cause. As a good Ultramontane he would have regarded himself as bound in conscience to obey; had he not done so, he would, given the authoritarian attitudes which prevailed in Rome at the time, been speedily removed from Oslo and replaced by a more pliant Vicar Apostolic. In 1898 the recent publication of Affari nos gave Fallize little opportunity to step out of line and it would have been less wise for him to have done so in 1910, so soon after the Modernist crisis.

The demands of Rome were, however, not the only factor Fallize had to take into account, for the uncompromisingly denominational character of the Norwegian national schools made it difficult to work out an alternative policy, even if Rome had been willing to show greater flexibility. Had there been mixed schools, where all religions were regarded as equal, or neutral schools, where all talk of religion was excluded, matters might have been easier but, given the circumstances of the time and current attitudes of Catholics and Lutherans towards eachother, it is hard to gainsay Fallize's argument that it would have been difficult for Catholics to have sent their children to such schools without grave misgivings. Thus far, an analysis of Fallize's two pastoral letters shows that, far from being an uncompromising fanatic, eager to force his narrow ideas on his unfortunate flock, he was simply a loyal servant of the Holy See, who was conscientiously attempting to carry out a task his superiors had imposed upon him. In this he was no more rigid and demanding than most bishops at that time, even in countries, where the Roman Catholic Church was in a minority and, furthermore, Fallize was, in fact, more moderate in the way he expressed his ideas than many of his contemporaries. It was, however, the way in which he put these ideas into practice that Fallize differed from many of his fellow bishops in the Catholic minority countries of Europe and the English-speaking world. His treatment of those who did not send their children to the Catholic schools was comparatively strict. On the other hand, a fact that has largely been forgotten, Fallize was unusually liberal with regard to the attendance of Catholics at state institutions of secondary and higher education.

Parents who defied Fallize in the matter of sending their children to Catholic schools faced formal, public excommunication. Although it is not mentioned in the pastoral letter of 1898, that of 1910 included a short defence of the practice, where Fallize insists that he is only following the normal disciplinary rules of the Church. On the other hand, it is very significant that, whereas he quotes examples from a whole range of countries to illustrate the Church's universal insistance on the need for the faithful to send their children to Catholic schools, he only gives two examples in support of his practice of public excommunication, namely, France and Spain. He mentions a recent letter of the Spanish hierachy which declared that parents, who did not send their children to Catholic schools were to be regarded as traitors to the Faith, worse than the heathens and, therefore, unworthy to receive the sacraments of the Church. From a pastoral letter of the French bishops Fallize quotes a similar judgement on such parents, even when they disobey the Church's law in circumstances where the Catholic schools are of inferior standard to those of the state. The historical context of these two letters is extremely important, and not simply because both are concerned with a situation where Catholicism was the majority religion. In France a state of war had existed between Church and State after the Law of Separation of 1905. The official policy in the French public schools was not just becoming increasingly anti-Catholic but also anti-religious. In such a situation no pious Catholic could send his child to an anti-clerical state school without being dubbed a traitor to the Church. Spanish Catholicism must always be treated as a special case. The Church in that country is normally regarded as being somewhat

outside the mainstream of European Catholicism and its situation differed considerably from that of France. Basically it may be said that in 1910, as indeed during the whole period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a conservative church with considerable influence in education was fighting a fierce battle against the forces of liberalism but showing little ability to adapt to new political circumstances. The Church was on the defensive and felt that strong words and gestures were needed at a time when its position was being questioned. In such circumstances, particularly with the events of the Barcelona 'Semana tragica' of 1909 fresh in mind, sending one's child to a non-Catholic school was naturally regarded as treachery to the Faith. Catholic schools of all kinds were more plentiful than in France, where Catholic education was still suffering from the expulsion of the religious orders. They were, furthermore, not infrequently superior to those of the state. (94)

An objective evaluation of Fallize's policy with regard to the excommunication of those who sent their children to the public schools can only come as a result of comparing it with practice in other countries where Catholics were in a minority situation. One thing is clear from the start, Rome did not demand the formal excommunication of those who sent their children to non-Catholic schools. A decree of the Holy Office, published in 1875, states that such parents are to be refused absolution in confession, if they prove contumacious. This is,

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(94) H.Thomas, The Spanish Civil War, Harmondsworth, 1967, pp.51-2.

A. Cobban, A History of Modern France, vol.3, Harmondsworth, 1965, pp.60-65.

however, a very different matter from excommunication. The Holy Office also states in the same document the conditions under which absolution could be refused. This could only be done in cases where parents had been grossly negligent in the Christian upbringing of their children, or who sent their children to non-Catholic schools, even though they had a suitable Catholic school in the neighbourhood, or had the opportunity of sending them elsewhere. The decree expressly states that Catholic children may be sent to non-Catholic schools, if there is no Catholic school, or even no suitable Catholic school in the area, provided that the necessary safeguards with regard to religious education are taken; in other words, the children are withdrawn from non-Catholic religion lessons and receive suitable tuition in the tenets of their faith from the local priest, or a person delegated by him. The document lays down quite clearly that bishops and priests are not allowed to take disciplinary action against parents, who are in this situation and who are clearly taking all the necessary safeguards. This document is important in that it refers to a country where Catholics were a minority, namely, the United States. It was quoted extensively by the Third Council of Baltimore and it provided a basis for the American bishops' policy towards Catholics who sent their children to non-Catholic schools. Furthermore, the 1917 Code of Canon Law followed quite closely the guidelines laid down by this decree. Minority countries, such as Britain, or the United States, could not take the same strong line in this matter as France or Spain, for they were faced with a situation where it was clearly impossible to provide Catholic schools in every area. It could not even be claimed that the letter to the American bishops was unique; a similar instruction had been sent to the

Swiss bishops in 1866. It is clear that the letter Affari nos to the Canadian bishops did not alter Rome's attitude in this matter, for the guidelines laid down by the American and Swiss documents were regarded as valid all through Fallize's term of office. Fallize certainly knew about these guidelines, as, with the exception of the question of excommunication, he follows them quite closely when discussing the problem of children in the remoter areas in the School Regulations. The two pastoral letters also show that he kept himself well informed about the schools question in other countries. It is also difficult to believe that the Holy See had demanded that Fallize should take a far tougher line than that which was usual in other minority countries. In fairness to Fallize it must be pointed out that he felt, not without justification, that Catholic schools were available for all Catholic children under his jurisdiction. By the time of the two pastorals most parishes had schools and suitable boarding facilities were available for children not catered for by these institutions. Furthermore, Fallize was not bound by the letters of the Holy Office to the Swiss and the American bishops, or even Affari nos, in spite of the importance the Holy See attached to the letter. They were binding only on the bishops to whom they were sent. Nor may it be claimed that Fallize was acting unlawfully in excommunicating parents who sent their children to non-Catholic schools, at least not until 1917, when the new Code of Canon Law brought clearer guidelines in this and other matters. The chaotic state of the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church before that date made a large number of different interpretations and considerable variation in local practice possible. The

letters are important in that they show not only the general attitude of the Holy See to the problem but also the dispensations from the general rule concerning attendance at Catholic schools which it was possible for Fallize to obtain at the time. They also show that Fallize consciously chose to take a stricter line than that which the Holy See demanded and which was normal under similar circumstances elsewhere. (95)

In his own pastoral letter of 1898 Fallize does admit to the possibility of exceptions to the general rule and gives the local priest the power to decide whether a family has a valid excuse for not sending its child to a Catholic school. It was also up to the parish priest to decide the nature of the safeguards to be taken. In his 1910 pastoral letter Fallize takes a stricter line and reserves to himself the right to decide whether parents have a valid excuse or not. Dispensations were, in fact, rarely given, even in the most exceptional circumstances and there are many stories of families living long distances from the nearest Catholic school who were excommunicated for not sending their children to Oslo as boarders. The bishops in English-speaking countries might condemn non-Catholic schools in strong and emotive language and use all the arguments they could find from the divine and natural law to persuade Catholic parents to support them but they rarely went in for a policy of public excommunication, even in the case of the most contumacious individuals, and certainly not in the case of those who had good cause to be excused. The Councils of Baltimore and the Synods

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(95) For the letter to the American bishops see, Fontes, vol.4, no.1046, p.362.
T.L. Bouscarin and A.C. Ellis, Canon Law: A Text and Commentary, Milwaukee, 1958, pp.742-7.

For the letter to the Swiss bishops see, ASS, vol.XXV, 21.03.1866, pp.132-7.

of Westminster seem to have felt that the real solution to the problem of Catholics, who refused to patronise their own schools, was not harsher discipline but an increase in school provision and an improvement in the standards of those schools which already existed. In this they were surely acting more in accordance with the mind of the Holy See than was Fallize who in 1910 introduced a stricter line at a time when the standard of the Catholic schools was, in many cases, falling rapidly behind that of the public schools. In other words, Fallize did have a possible alternative educational policy. He was not being forced to provide schools in parishes, where these would obviously not be viable, owing to lack of facilities and numbers. He could, for example, in the case of parishes with less than ten children of school age, given them all dispensations to attend public schools. This would have allowed him to concentrate his limited resources on those schools which had possibilities for expansion. It would have made possible an improvement in the standards of the schools in the larger centres, where there was opportunity for growth. It would also have saved many people from the heartbreaking experience of having to chose between their faith and their children's education.

The reason why Fallize took such a strict line needs to be explained He claims in his pastoral letter of 1898 that the Holy See had given his policy its full support. Fallize may, however, have exaggerated the number and standard of the educational facilities available. This was a common failing of his. Fallize's policy of excommunication is more likely to be a result of his temperament and situation than anything else.

In his correspondence with Cardinal Steinhuber, his former rector at the German College, Fallize frequently complains of his isolation and his despair when confronted with many of the impossible problems of the Norwegian mission. He castigates the Roman authorities for their lack of interest and for keeping him disastrously short of funds. Allowing for exaggeration, owing to the fact that Fallize is 'getting things off his chest' to a trusted adviser and confidante, they show a man working under severe strain in difficult conditions. (96) It must have been clear to him that the viability and standards of the schools were dependent on their receiving the support of every Catholic parent in the land. The loss of even one boy or girl had an effect on a school with, for example, less than ten pupils. If a family failed to send its children to the local Catholic school this would have seemed to Fallize, at least subconsciously, to be an act of treachery likely to endanger the standards and future existence of the school in question. By nature autocratic and difficult, Fallize became an impossible taskmaster under such psychological pressure. Too proud and too lacking in flexibility to change the system and lacking the resources to improve it, Fallize fell back on the only weapon left at his disposal, namely, his authority. He therefore set about a policy of trying to coerce the faithful into sending their children to the Catholic schools under threat of excommunication, even after the publication of the new Code of Canon Law in 1917. That his policy in this regard was purely personal is shown by the fact that one of the first acts of his

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(96) Molitor (1969), pp.76-7.

successor, Bishop Johannes Smit was, in 1923, to give permission to parents who did not live near a Catholic school to send their children to the public schools, provided that they were excused from religious instruction lessons. The whole question of those who failed to send their children to Catholic schools was taken up for discussion in the following year and the practice seems to have been quietly dropped. (97)

Bishop Fallize was hard put to it to provide adequete elementary education for the Catholic children under his jurisdiction. Provision of secondary or higher education was, therefore, simply not a practical proposition. Even if he had had the necessary money and qualified personnel there would still have been the problem of finding enough Catholic children to fill such institutions. Fortunately, Fallize was sensible enough to realise that it would have been unreasonable to have deprived young people of the opportunity of secondary and higher education, simply because the necessary Catholic institutions were not available. (98) This reasonable attitude of Fallize should be contrasted with the intransigence of the English bishops with regard to Catholic attendance at Oxford and Cambridge. Whatever his mistakes with regard to elementary schooling Fallize did not repeat them as far as secondary and higher education were concerned. It is conceivable that a less intelligent man would have prohibited Catholic attendance at Norwegian high schools, colleges and universities and demanded

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(97) For a re-iteration of Fallize's excommunication policy, see his pastoral letter for Lent 1920 in: Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.34, no.1, 10.02.1920, pp.1-5, p.3. For Bishop Smit's policy see, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.37, no.2, 20.06.1923, p.9, and vol.38, no.1, 20.02.1924, p.5.

(98) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.27, no.2, 12.02.1913, p.10.

and demanded that those who wished to study at this level should do so abroad in a Catholic environment. Fallize's attitude in this matter was at variance with that which he had towards elementary education. What was the reason for this? Even if it be argued that Protestant influence in secondary education was less than in the elementary schools, which is doubtful, they were still, by European and English-speaking standards, strongly denominational. As Fallize and his contemporaries were, in any case, against all kinds of non-Catholic schools, this argument could hardly have carried much weight.

The answer to the question lies very possibly on a more practical plane. Roman Catholic bishops, including Fallize, were, in response to the demands of the Holy See, attempting to provide Catholic education at all levels in their areas and Fallize would have felt himself under a moral obligation to do this. During the whole of this period only a minority of Catholic pupils stayed on at school beyond the elementary stage, which meant that priority had to be given to the provision of Catholic education at that level. Fallize realised that any direct educational influence the Church could have on the young would be confined to the elementary grades and it was therefore all the more imperative that they received this limited framework upon which they could build their faith. Unable to provide Catholic education at secondary level Fallize felt that it was of paramount importance that Catholic children should attend their own elementary schools if there were to be the slightest chance that their Catholicism would survive the pressures of what was, and still is, a very conformist society.

These factors go some way to explaining why Fallize was willing to take extraordinary means to try to force the faithful to patronise Catholic elementary schools, while at the same time showing a more liberal attitude with regard to attendance at non-Catholic secondary schools, universities and colleges.

In passing, it is interesting to note Fallize's reaction when the teaching profession was opened to dissenters. He was quick to give his permission for Catholics to take advantage of this concession. He immediately allowed them to take up teaching posts in all kinds of schools, even elementary ones. This meant that Catholics were now free to enter teacher training colleges. In practical terms it would have been easier for a Catholic to have obtained a post as a specialist teacher in a secondary school than as a general subjects teacher at elementary level, partly owing to the ban on the giving of religious instruction by dissenters and partly owing to the strong prejudice against Catholics which existed in the teaching profession. Fallize's liberal and far-sighted attitude in this matter has tended to be forgotten, and it should be remembered that it was one which would have been unheard of in many other parts of Europe!

The precise effects of Fallize's somewhat contradictory policy with regard to attendance at non-Catholic schools, colleges and universities is difficult to judge. One thing is clear, Fallize's policy of using formal, public excommunication as a means of trying to force Catholic parents to send their children to their own denominational schools led not only to

the loss of the weaker members of the Catholic community but also of some of its more dynamic and independent minded families, who were simply keen to ensure that their children received the best possible education. If the local Catholic school could do this, well and good. If not, they were perfectly willing to defy Fallize if they felt that their children's future was at stake. The bishop's inflexible policy with regard to education meant that these, often middle class, families left the Catholic Church on hearing that they had been publicly excommunicated and these were the very people Fallize could ill afford to lose.

How far the children who attended Catholic schools suffered on account of an inferior education is difficult to say. Those who went to schools whose standards were decidedly inferior in comparison with public institutions certainly did have cause for complaint. Although by no means all the schools fell within this category, it was precisely the poorer ones that gave Catholic education a bad name and it was this factor, as much as Fallize's policy of coercion, that eventually gave Norwegian Catholics a negative attitude to their schools. On the other hand, the long term effects of Fallize's attitude to Catholic attendance at secondary schools, colleges and universities were good, although these only became clear some time after he left Norway. The same may be said of his attitude to Catholics working as teachers in the public schools. During the inter-war period a new Catholic cultural and intellectual tradition was painstakingly built up under the influence of Sigrid Undset. This led to a small but, for the tiny Catholic community, important number of conversions among teachers working in high schools and colleges. The full effects of this movement

were not felt until after the Second World War, when the number of Catholics who were prominent in the intellectual and cultural life of the country increased considerably. Had Fallize taken a tougher line on secondary education and on teaching in public schools this movement towards Catholicism might have been either much delayed, or not happened at all. Nor should it be forgotten that the Dominican Fathers, who were a prominent factor in the building up of this new tradition during the period immediately before and after the Second World War were introduced to the country by Bishop Fallize. In fact, it may be argued that the long term effects of the liberal aspects of Fallize's educational policy far outweighed the short term damage done by his harsh policy towards those who refused to send their children to the Catholic elementary schools.

Chapter Seven Between the Idea and the Reality.

'Between the idea and the reality...
Between the emotion and the response
Falls the shadow.'

T.S. Eliot: The Hollow Men.

One of the most frequent excuses given by Catholic parents for not sending their children to their own denominational schools seems to have been that they considered these to have been of a lower standard than the corresponding public schools. This accusation appears to have become increasingly frequent during the last twenty years of Bishop Fallize's term of office. The problem is taken up in his pastoral letters of 1898 and 1910. In 1898 Fallize is content to say that, even if the Catholic schools do not give such good tuition in ordinary subjects as the public schools, this does not give the faithful a valid excuse to send their children to the latter, for a child's eternal salvation is more important than success in this world. In 1910 Fallize goes further and comes out with a forthright defence of the educational standards in the Catholic schools, claiming that in the majority of cases they are on a level with other schools, both public and private.

From about 1910 onwards the problem of attendance at the Catholic schools seems to have pre-occupied Fallize, even more than was the case in the two previous decades. Both in sermons and in the pages of St. Olav increasing mention was made of the satisfactory standards of the Catholic schools, particularly when reports were given of visitations to the various parishes under Fallize's jurisdiction. This is particularly the case from about 1913 onwards. There had been tremendous improvements in the public schools during that period, even in rural districts, and Fallize was facing increasing accusations that his schools were falling behind. Attendance at the Catholic schools was, according to St. Olav, specifically dealt with in Fallize's visitation sermons for 1915 and 1917. Whether it was

touched upon in that for 1916 is not clear. Fallize, however, visited only Porsgrunn and Halden in that year. He must have had some forceful words to say in 1915, as a Drammen newspaper had reported that some members of the parish had been castigated from the pulpit for not sending their children to the Catholic school. St. Olav tried to correct this impression by explaining that Fallize was only talking in general terms and that, in fact, all the all the eligible Catholic children in the Drammen parish were attending their own school. Fallize's sermon for 1917 has fortunately survived. Attendance at the Catholic schools is one point among many which Fallize takes up in his 3,000 word discourse. After a short synopsis of his general policy he adds the following words:

> 'It is not without reason that I have long been pre-occupied with this aspect of my pastoral duties, for unscrupulous parents are still to be found in our parishes, who trample under foot the most sacred of their duties, the duty to preserve a child's soul from damnation. For God's mercy's sake, reject such a crime!' (99)

This sermon is mentioned twice in the visitation reports. The Catholics of Stavanger apparently listened very attentively to the bishop's 'thought provoking words', although one is not told any more. In Bergen Fallize seems to have taken up the schools problem more specifically. It is well known that he met resistance to his educational policy from certain Catholic families in the town. The 1913 visitation report in St. Olav complains about slackness among some members of the Bergen parish.

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(99) J.O. Fallize, Visitas 1917, unpublished mss,, 1917, p.10. On the Drammen visitation see, Ind. Eft., vol.27, no.23, 04.06.1915, pp.182-4, p.183.

Although not mentioned in St. Olav, the refusal on the part of some of the parishioners to send their children to the Catholic school was certainly one of the issues at stake. The 1913 visitation sermon has survived and is the same as that used by Fallize in 1909. It is interesting that Catholic schools are not mentioned in the original text but a longish note on the subject is written in pencil in the margin, probably for use during the 1913 vistitation. The indications are, therefore, that Fallize was faced with a growing crisis with regard to attendance at the Catholic schools from about 1910 onwards and which became more acute during the course of the First World War and seems to have been caused by growing criticisms of the standards in these institutions. (100)

It was not that Fallize did not make every effort to try to make sure that his schools were able to compete with their public counterparts. He was very conscientious with regard to his visitation duties and his extremely detailed school inspections included a thorough and searching oral examination to test the children's knowledge. From about 1912 onwards this is frequently mentioned in visitation reports in St. Olav and gives some idea of the standards at the schools under Fallize's jurisdiction. Thus the three schools in St. Olav's parish in Oslo, namely, St. Sunniva's, St. Olav's parish school and St. Olav's boys' school are, in 1915, singled out for special praise and are said to be on a par with other schools in the city, both

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(100) The relevant visitations to Bergen and Stavanger are described in:
Ind. Eft., vol.25, no.19, 09.05.1913, pp.151-2, and vol.29, no.21, 25.05.1917, p.168.

J.O. Fallize, Ad visitationem canonicam stationum 1909/1917, unpublished mss., 1909 and 1917, p.6.

public and private. (101) Tromsø is another school which is mentioned as comparing well with its non-Catholic rivals. It was also fortunate in that the local council had given it a grant, a very rare occurance for a Catholic school in Norway until comparatively recent times! It had also been able to attract a surprising number of non-Catholic pupils, a recommendation in itself. Tromsø was, incidentally, one of Fallize's favourite parishes and the visitation reports in St. Olav in 1915 and 1917 lavish more praise its school than on any other. Even during this period of crisis it remained very much 'une école qui marche à merveille', as Fallize had described it some twenty years earlier, when he had called this parish his 'great consolation'. (102) There seems to have been only one drawback, mentioned in the 1913 report, namely that the children of the North seem to have been noisier and more spontaneous than their southern Norwegian counterparts! Although not quite in the same category as Tromsø, the school in Hammerfest receives an honourable mention in the report of 1913 and also in those of 1915 and 1917, as does the one in Trondheim in 1917. (103)

While the situation seems to have varied from good to excellent in the three northern parishes, that in the south and

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(101) Ind. Eft., vol.27, no.48, 26.11.1915, pp.382-3.

(102) Fallize (1897), p.212.

(103) On Tromsø, Trondheim and Hammerfest in 1913 see, Ind. Eft., vol.25, no.26, 27.06.1913, p.207.

C. Riesterer, 'Fra visitasreisen i det nordlige Norge', in St. Olav, vol.27, no.28, 09.07.1915, pp.221-3.

H.J. van der Velden, 'En 72 aarig biskop paa visitasreise i det nordlige Norge, in St. Olav, vol.29, no.29, 20.07.1917, pp.231-3.

west appears to have been more complex. The schools in Fredrikstad and Drammen were praised in 1913, particularly the latter, but their condition is not mentioned in the reports of 1915-17, although the fact that all the Catholic children in Drammen were mentioned as attending the school in 1915 seems to indicate that all was well. The standard of the schools in Arendal and Kristiansand was deemed to be satisfactory in 1917 and Porsgrunn received a good report in the previous year. There is, however, some mystery about the state of the schools in Halden and in St. Halvard's parish in Oslo, which receive no mention throughout this period, even though other activities in these parishes are mentioned in the visitation reports. (104) In 1915 the school in Stavanger received a reasonably good report, although Fallize's examination methods seem to have caused some difficulties at first.

> 'The children knew their lessons well. To be sure there was a certain amount of nervousness at the start so that, with a few exceptions, the children's answers were somewhat confused and slow. As time went on, however, and the children had gained confidence in their exalted examiner, their original timidity was replaced by complete self-assurance.' (105)

Matters seem to have been rather different in Bergen. All that is mentioned concerning the school in 1917 is:

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(104) On Arendal and Kristiansand see:
Ind. Eft., vol.29, no.27, 14.09.1917, pp.296-7, and vol.29, no.28, 21.09.1917, p.305.

On Drammen see:
Ind. Eft., vol.25, no.15, 11.04.1913, pp.118-9.

On Fredrikstad see:
Ind. Eft., vol.25, no.14, 04.04.1913, p.110.

On Porsgrunn see:
Ind. Eft., vol.28, no.27, 07.07.1916, p.215.

(105) Ind. Eft., vol.27, no.22, 28.05.1915, p.175.

> 'In his sermon ... (the bishop) was at pains to impress upon the parents (of the parish) that they had a duty to send their children regularly to the parish school, with whose work and examination results he had reason to be satisfied. This did not mean, however, that all was perfect and that there was no room for improvement. It is imperative that the parents co-operate with both the priest and teaching staff and give them their full support, if the school is to fulfil the aims which have been set for it.' (106)

Obviously, all was not well in Bergen! This is the only case in which the 1913-17 visitation reports give details of a crisis of confidence in a particular school, otherwise only general indications are given that Bishop Fallize's schools policy was not running so smoothly as he would have wished. Unfortunately, the reports do not give any objective evaluation of the state of each individual school, only an indication of Fallize's public reaction at the time. They were, furthermore, written by a variety of people, some of them from the parishes concerned, who obviously did not want to show their parish or school in a bad light. On the other hand, the visitation reports in St. Olav do give some indication of the standards in the Catholic schools. First, there are those few schools which Fallize publicly claimed were on a level with the average non-Catholic school. Second, the majority, which he deemed to be satisfactory. It would have been useful to have divided this category into 'good' and 'satisfactory' but the subjective nature of the reports makes it difficult to find adequete criteria for doing this. This category therefore includes schools, such as Trondheim and Hammerfest, which were obviously

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(106) Ind. Eft., vol.29, no.21, 25.05.1917, p.168.

good and others, such as Bergen, whose standards left room for improvement. The third categorgy consists of the two schools not mentioned in the reports. Thus the following table can be drawn up on the basis of Fallize's reactions.

Table 2.
EVALUATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NORWAY BASED ON VISITATION REPORTS IN ST. OLAV, 1913-17

Compare well with non-Catholic schools	Good to satisfactory	No data available
Oslo (St. Sunniva)	Arendal	Halden
Oslo (St. Olav's parish school)	Bergen	Oslo (St. Halvard)
Oslo (St. Olav's boys' school)	Drammen	
Tromsø	Fredrikstad	
	Hammerfest	
	Kristiansand	
	Porsgrunn	
	Stavanger	
	Trondheim	

The fact that only three schools are mentioned specifically as on a par with other non-Catholic institutions seems to give some indication of the problems facing Fallize and the seriousness of the situation. It is, unfortunately, impossible to give a more complete picture of the situation than this. Apart from the fact that much relevant material has long since disappeared, some important sources, such as Bishop Fallize's visitation book in which he wrote his own private notes on the state of each parish, have unfortunately not been made available to the author.

A factor of paramount importance for any analysis of the difficulties faced by the Roman Catholic schools in Norway during the Fallize period is that of size. All the schools were small, most of them having no more than a handful of pupils. The only really detailed statistics for the Norwegian Vicariate which were made public during the years 1887-1922 were those of 1922, the year Fallize finally left office. They are therefore of great importance as they show the final results of the bishop's work in Norway. The 1922 statistics give a full picture of the number of children at Catholic schools during that year, including details of Catholic and non-Catholic pupils and, very important, the number of children at non-Catholic schools in each parish. (107) It is obvious from these statistics that Fallize's main difficulty had been that in order to ensure adequate provision of elementary education for his flock, he had had to maintain a comparatively large number of schools in order to serve a tiny number of pupils, a system wasteful both with regard to money and resources. To illustrate this point: in 1922 there were in the whole of Norway only 244 Catholic children of school age but there were 14 Catholic schools, an average of 17-18 pupils per school. Even this gives an inadequate picture of the situation, as 40% of these children lived in the Oslo area. The others were spread thinly up and down the rest of the country. This leads to an important question. How many parishes at this time had enough children to justify having a Catholic school?

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(107) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.37, no.2, 20.06.1923, pp.10-11.

At this time the Norwegian educational authorities generally regarded a school with 30-60 pupils with the seven grades divided between three classrooms and three teachers as the smallest viable unit in an urban area. Fallize also, it will be noted, envisaged this in the School Regulations as the ideal size for a Catholic school. In rural areas a school with 10-30 pupils divided into two classes was regarded as the minimum requirement for efficiency, although many public schools in the country districts did not meet these minimum requirements. Modern state regulations are less flexible than those in force in Fallize's time. The modern Norwegian primary school has six grades. In the case of smaller schools, those with 31-50 pupils may be organised into three classes, those with 13-30 children into two classes and, in the case of those with only 6-12 pupils, all the children may be taught in one classroom by one teacher. (108) Both the old and the modern requirements serve as a useful guide when it comes to deciding which Catholic parishes during the latter part of the Fallize period could have supported a Catholic school. Thus the parishes may be conveniently divided into categories according to the total number of school children they had in 1922, whether these were at a Catholic school or not. For the sake of convenience the two Trondheim parishes are treated as one. There was, in any case, only one Catholic school in the town and this served both parishes. Details of the two Oslo parishes are, however, given separately, as each had its own school.

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(108) A. Skjemstad, Grunnskolen: Lov og Administrasjon, Oslo, 1971, p.64.

Table 3.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISHES IN NORWAY AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS IN 1922 BASED ON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

Name of parish with number of Catholic school children (1922 statistics)		Type of school parish could support according to 1970 regulations	Type of school parish could support according to 1889 regulations
Kristiansand	3	none	none
Drammen	9	one room school	
Halden	10		fulfilled minimum requirements for rural schools
Fredrikstad	12		
Hammerfest	12		
Tromsø	13	two room school	
Trondheim	13		
Arendal	14		
Porsgrunn	14		
Stavanger	19		
Bergen	23		
Oslo (St. Halvard)	26		
Oslo (St. Olav)	76	four room school	fulfilled minimum requirements for an urban school

Thus in 1922 there was only one school with enough children for an urban elementary school with three classes, namely St. Olav's in Oslo. According to the modern regulations it would have had to have been divided into at least four classes, the minimum number for schools with 50-80 pupils. Taken together the two Oslo parishes had enough children for an elementary school with a class for each grade. Unfortunately the above figures do not take into account children who lived too far away from the

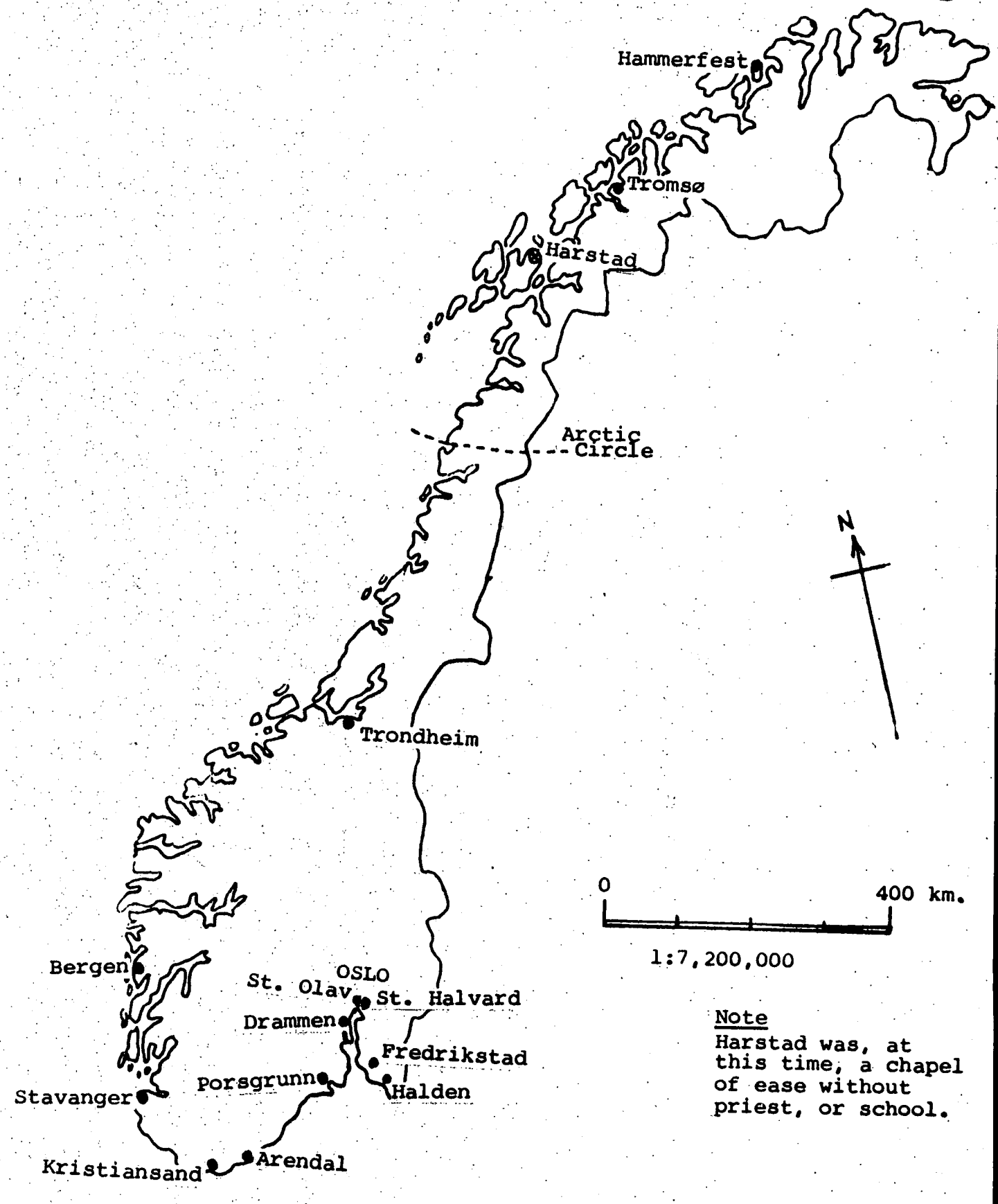
nearest Catholic school to be able to attend it. Even the two Oslo parishes included a large area, which extended many miles beyond the capital. In other words, the table gives a misleadingly over optimistic picture of the possibilities for Catholic education in 1922. In that year 77% of Catholic children were attending their own schools, a higher figure than Fallize's statements would lead one to believe and probably the best that could be achieved under the circumstances. It is clear, however, that four parishes had only enough children to support a one room school and Kristiansand did not even have enough for that! These parishes would probably have been better served had Fallize granted a dispensation to allow their children to attend the public schools. This leaves seven parishes with enough pupils for a two room school but even so, the viability of such institutions would have been, to use a modern term, 'at risk', particularly the four parishes which were borderline cases in that they only just managed to meet the requirements for such a school. Here again, a dispensation to attend the local public school might have proved a better alternative. The conclusion that must be drawn from the 1922 official statistics is that, if the purpose of the Roman Catholic schools in Norway were to provide solely for the educational needs of children, who were members of that church, it is clear that, outside the Oslo area, there would hardly have been sufficient numbers of pupils in any of the Catholic centres to make an efficient Catholic school possible. Fallize's problem was the opposite of that of the English bishops. He had too many school places and too few Catholic

children! On the other hand, it is clear that the viability of the Catholic schools was not simply affected by the number of Catholic children available. It could be improved if a sufficient number of non-Catholics patronised them. It could equally well be diminished if significant numbers of Catholic parents refused to send their children to them. The situation with regard to the total number of children attending the Catholic schools in 1922 was as follows:

Table 4.

ROMAN CATHOLIC PARISHES IN NORWAY AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS IN 1922 BASED ON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN ACTUALLY ATTENDING THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

Name of parish with total number of pupils, Catholic and non-catholic, attending its school(s). (1922 statistics)		Type of school that could be supported according to 1970 regulations.	Type of school that could be supported according to 1889 regulations.
Kristiansand	3	none	none
Drammen	6	one room school	
Porsgrunn	8		
Halden	10		fulfilled minimum requirements for rural schools
Stavanger	10		
Trondheim	10		
Arendal	13	two room school	
Fredrikstad	13		
Bergen	14		
Hammerfest	15		
Oslo (St. Halvard)	23		
Tromsø	29		
Oslo (St. Olav)	135	all grade school	fulfilled minimum requirements for urban schools



Note
Harstad was, at this time, a chapel of ease without priest, or school.

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND MISSION STATIONS IN NORWAY IN 1922

Once again, schools with enough pupils for three classes and, therefore, with every chance of proving both viable and efficient, were confined to the main Oslo parish of St. Olav. The two schools in northern Norway did better than expected, especially Tromsø, which for the past seven or eight years had had about thirty children on roll, enough for a three room school, thus fulfilling the minimum official requirements for an urban school with regard to size. The picture in the rest of the country was much more depressing with nine schools having 14 pupils, or less. Of these, Porsgrunn and Trondheim should have done slightly better and Bergen and Stavanger were well below expectations. One of the reasons for this was that parents were sending their children to non-Catholic schools.

The total number of children who did not attend their own schools was 57, or 23% of the total. Once again, the picture shows marked variations up and down the country. A number of parish schools, such as Halden, were attended by all the available Catholic children. In western Norway, in other words Stavanger and Bergen, only 55% of the available Catholic children attended their parish schools. Stavanger, indeed, had the lowest rate in the whole country. Too many conclusions should, however, be drawn from these figures concerning the conditions in any one school. Drammen is a case in point. There were only 9 Catholic children of school age in the parish and three of these did not patronise the Catholic school. Kristiansand was more fortunate in that all three of its Catholic children attended the parish school. On the other hand, it is clear that all was still not well in Bergen and

that the earlier crisis had not yet been resolved. The situation in Stavanger seems to have been less than satisfactory and Porsgrunn, normally regarded as one of the more successful of the smaller schools, seems to have been going through a difficult period. This was in contrast to Tromsø and Arendal. In these two cases all but one of the eligible Catholic children attended the parish school thus indicating that these two institutions were functioning reasonably satisfactorily. Similarly, when one learns that all ten of Halden's Catholic school children went to the tiny parish school, it does give a slight indication, at least, of how well it was regarded.

Concerning Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools in 1922, the results may be summed up as follows:

Table 5.
ATTENDANCE OF CATHOLIC CHILDREN AT NON-CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN INDIVIDUAL PARISHES EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN.
(Based on the 1922 statistics)

Below average (0-15%)		Average (16-30%)		Above average (31-50%)	
Halden	0%	Oslo (St. Olav)	16%	Trondheim	31%
Kristiansand	0%	Hammerfest	17%	Drammen	33%
Arendal	7%	Oslo (St.Halvard)	23%	Bergen	43%
Tromsø	8%	Fredrikstad	25%	Porsgrunn	43%
				Stavanger	47%

A very good indication of the state of individual Catholic schools at this time would have been the number of non-Catholic children attending them. A good Catholic school was likely to

attract outsiders, whereas a poor one would hardly have done so. On the other hand, a Catholic school was not necessarily bad simply because it had no non-Catholic pupils, for there was a marked resistance in some parishes to opening the schools to children of other denominations. Bishop Fallize's various statements on the need for a Catholic atmosphere in the schools could be quoted in favour of this view in addition to his declaration in the School Regulations that the parish schools were, first and foremost, service institutions for providing the Catholic community with its own denominational educational facilities. While it was realised that Protestant pupils could, in sufficient numbers, make a small Catholic school educationally more efficient and financially more viable, it was also obvious that taking on Protestant pupils would mean that its atmosphere would become less Catholic.

An important factor which kept the numbers of Protestant children attending Catholic schools low was prejudice against the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of the fact that this lessened gradually during the Fallize period it was still very strong, even in 1922. Since the start of the Alta project in 1856 non-Catholic children had been regularly attending Catholic schools, in spite of warnings from the Protestant clergy. There was, indeed, in 1889 a concerted effort in Oslo on the part of several pastors of the National Church to bring pressure to bear on non-Catholic parents who were sending their children to the French School (i.e. St. Sunniva's School) to try to force them to withdraw their children from that establishment. Apparently, they visited the homes of all the

parents concerned and threatened to refuse to confirm Protestant children who had been pupils at the school. In 1893 St. Olav defended the Catholic schools against accusations brought forward by a Protestant magazine that they were exerting undue religious influence on non-Catholics who attended them. In the previous year the Oslo newspaper, Morgenbladet, had published a report by its Fredrikstad correspondent accusing the Catholic school in that town of exploiting difficulties which had arisen in the public schools in the area. One of the results of this was that a number of Protestants had started sending their children to the Catholic school. The correspondent accused Fallize of 'fishing in troubled waters' and of promising the Catholic school larger premises and more teachers, if this trend continued. It was also claimed that the Catholic Church was using what was darkly called 'other allurements' to attract Protestant pupils to the school. Fallize's reply in St. Olav is interesting for several reasons.

> 'It is beyond my understanding where the correspondent has his information from. It is quite true that I have just been in Fredrikstad, not to "fish in troubled waters" - for I knew absolutely nothing about the Fredrikstad schools question - but to make my yearly visitation. I naturally mentioned the school in my sermon, in addition to other things, but all that I said was that Catholics ought, without fail, to send their children to the school. When I inspected the school not a word was said that brought to my notice the fact that there was a single Protestant child present.
>
> Not a single word was uttered in church, or in the school, or anywhere else about extending the school, or increasing the number of teaching staff and nobody, apart from your correspondent, has even considered it. The same may be said of the other "allurements"; in which case these must be that

our non-Catholic pupils have to pay school fees, whereas our Catholic children receive free instruction.' (109)

It is clear from Fallize's reply to Morgenbladet that it was not his policy to go out of his way to attract Protestant pupils to Catholic schools, nor was he willing to invest extra money and manpower in them in order to do this. It would, furthermore, not have been wise in 1892 to have given any other impression than that Catholic schools were primarily for Catholic pupils. In spite of this, however, Catholic schools did attract Protestant pupils, particularly in Oslo and in northern Norway.

In 1922 there were 289 children in the Catholic schools in Norway and 102 (35%) of these were non-Catholics. Here again, there was a considerable unevenness in their distribution. Six schools had no non-Catholic pupils at all, whereas over half the children attending the parish school in Tromsø were Protestants. There was a similar situation in St. Olav's parish in Oslo, where 55% of the children at the schools were not Catholics, the majority of whom would have been at St. Sunniva's School. In fact, no less than 89% of the total number of Protestant children in the Catholic schools in 1922 were to be found in Oslo and Tromsø. If any conclusion is to be drawn from these statistics it must be, once again that the schools in Tromsø and St. Olav's parish in Oslo were showing a dynamism which was

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(109) J.O. Fallize, 'Katholikerne i Fredrikstad' in St. Olav, vol.4, no.46, 13.11.1892, pp.371-2.

For a full account of the 1889 Oslo incidents, see: Ind. Eft., vol.1, no.22, 01.09.1889, p.175. St. Joseph (1940), pp.53-6.

For a reply to the 1893 press attacks see: 'Under stjernene', in St. Olav, vol.5, no.36, 03.09.1893, p.306.

lacking in the others. The figures show that Bergen was doing less well than might have been expected and Morgenbladet's correspondent need have had no fear of any possible future Catholic take-over of education in Fredrikstad.

Table 6.
ATTENDANCE OF NON-CATHOLIC CHILDREN AT ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NORWAY IN 1922 (110)

Parishes whose schools had no non-Catholic pupils.	Parishes whose schools had no more than 5 non-Catholic pupils with actual number of such children given in parentheses.	Parishes whose schools had a high proportion of non-Catholic pupils with actual number of such children given in parentheses.
Arendal	Bergen (1)	Tromsø (17)
Drammen	Trondheim (1)	Oslo (St. Olav) (71)
Halden	Oslo (St. Halvard) (3)	
Kristiansand	Fredrikstad (4)	
Porsgrunn	Hammerfest (5)	
Stavanger		

The lack of a proper Catholic boys' school in Bergen and Oslo is sometimes given as a reason why some families did not patronise the parish schools. The 1922 statistics, however, show that Catholic boys and girls were being sent to non-Catholic schools in equal numbers and that both Oslo and Bergen reflected the national trend in this matter. The only parish which differed was Stavanger but in this case, seven out of the nine children involved were girls. More interesting is the

(110) For the source of the statistics in Tables 3-7 see, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.37, no.2, 20.06.1923, pp.10-11.

distribution of boys and girls among children attending the Catholic schools. Among Catholic pupils there were roughly equal numbers of boys and girls and the only parishes to deviate from this national trend were Fredrikstad, where only two out of nine Catholic pupils were boys, and Porsgrunn, where only one out of eight Catholic pupils was a girl. It was, however, with regard to non-Catholic pupils that there was a marked difference between the numbers of boys and girls. Whereas 50% of Catholic children attending the parish schools were boys, the figure for non-Catholic children was 29%. Much of this difference is explained, however, by the fact that St. Sunniva's School in Oslo took in mainly girls. In fact, only 15 of the 71 non-Catholic children attending the schools in St. Olav's parish were boys. Although St. Sunniva's School had originally been conceived as a superior elementary school for girls, it was, by 1911, already taking in boys. Unfortunately it did not offer them such good facilities as the girls. The latter could go through all seven elementary grades at the school, whereas the boys had to transfer to St. Olav's Boys' School after the fifth grade. This lacked both the prestige and the facilities of St. Sunniva's. In it boys from both St. Sunniva's and from St. Olav's parish school were educated together. This meant that it was very mixed, both socially and intellectually, and therefore, less attractive to middle and upper class parents.

The 1922 statistics may be taken as reasonably typical for the final part of the Fallize period. In 1891, four years after Fallize's arrival, there were 1,004 Catholics in Norway. By 1900 this had increased to 1,969. From the turn of the century

growth stagnated and, by 1910, the number of Catholics had increased by only a fraction to 2,046. By 1920 the Roman Catholic Church in Norway had 2,612 members, a figure, which by 1930 had gone up to 2,827. From that time onwards the Catholic population did not increase appreciably until after the Second World War. These, it should be noted, are the official census figures. The returns of the Catholic authorities in Norway always give lower figures than these, as they are based on the number of Catholics known to the clergy.

This stagnation in the growth of the number of Catholics in Norway was of paramount importance for the fate of the schools. It meant that there was little hope between the years 1901-40 of any marked growth in the number of Catholic children in Norway and, therefore, scant prospect of any increase in the size of the Catholic schools, if they remained, as Fallize had intended, primarily service institutions for the Catholic community. The future was not bright for tiny schools, such as Drammen and Kristiansand, which had had a precarious existence since their foundation. The parish school in Drammen, for instance, started in 1900 with just three pupils. By 1922 there were six. It was clear that this could not continue and the school was closed in 1929. (111) Similarly the parish school in Kristiansand had only three pupils in 1922. The situation of these two institutions and the sisters who ran them is well summed up in St. Joseph (1940).

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(111) On Drammen see,
Kjelstrup (1942), p.253.
St. Joseph (1940), p.154.

'Unfortunately, St. Ansgar's parish (Kristiansand) was not very large. During the 25 years the sisters had run the school they had had about 4-8 pupils a year ... Even though a Catholic school is of very great importance to a parish, the Province could not afford to supply a teacher for just one pupil, for indeed, this was the situation in 1924, and the result was that the school sister took her only pupil with her to St. Joseph's Institute (in Oslo). An so the school in Kristiansand was closed. There were very few Catholic families in the parish at all and there were very few converts.' (112)

Not all the small one-room schools suffered this fate, two notable exceptions being Porsgrunn and Arendal. The former must have been somewhat unfortunate in 1922, when it only had eight pupils, not a single non-Catholic among them. Other sources, however, give a different impression. St. Joseph (1940), for example, informs us that,

'... right from the start in 1891 the parish school in Porsgrunn was well patronised. Even Protestant parents liked to entrust their children to the sisters' care. This modest school had up to 20 pupils on roll. When Mgr. Fallize once visited the parish, he was pleasantly surprised by its flourishing work. "This is the nicest school I have seen in the whole Vicariate," were his parting words of praise.'(113)

One wonders whether Fallize uttered these words on a visit in 1902, when St. Olav reports him as being particularly impressed by the school's Gregorian Chant. (114) The decline in the school's fortunes in 1922 was only temporary as it was one of the few schools to receive a new building in the inter-war period. Unfortunately, it closed after the Second World War.

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(112) St. Joseph (1940), p.251.

(113) St. Joseph (1940), p.97.

(114) Ind. Eft., vol.14, no.48, 28.11.1902, p.386.

The school in Arendal is of interest for two reasons. First, it was the only one founded during the latter half of the Fallize period and second, it is the only one of the small parish schools to remain in existence until the present day. Whereas 1922 was a bad year for Porsgrunn, it was a good one for Arendal, which had no less than 13 pupils. Served since its foundation in 1913 by the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier, its numbers had hitherto varied between 4 and 7. After 1924 its numbers again declined to between 5 and 8, until they rose to 14 in 1934, when the first reported Protestant pupils were taken in. This school received a new building in 1936. It is a school which has led a charmed life and survived several threats of closure, the most serious being in 1931, when there were only six pupils at the school and the building was needed for other purposes. This occurred about the same time as the school in Stavanger closed through lack of pupils, even though that parish had double Arendal's number of Catholics. (115)

Trondheim was another school which went through a number of vicissitudes. Its history before 1887 has already been discussed. It had 10 children in 1922 but had had as many as 26 in 1907. A school photograph taken in the 1890s shows 12 pupils. In 1924 some Sisters of Our Lady came from Amersfoort

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(115) 'Schola catholica', in Chronologia parochiæ Sancti Francisci Xaverii in Arendal: 1911-1946, unpublished mss., pp.17-19, pp.17-18.

On the 1931 crisis see,
St. Franciskus Xaverius skoles arkiv, Arendal, Letter of Mgr. H. Irgens to Father L. Hol, O.F.M., unpubl. mss., 01.08.1931.

Kjelstrup (1942), p.302.

On Stavanger see,
St. Franciskus (1976), p.3.

in Holland to teach at the school. Even these nuns, who specialised in education, could not halt its decline and it was closed about 1928. In spite of great difficulties it was reopened in the early 1930s and continued with about 10-15 children on roll until it was closed in 1969. The school in Fredrikstad also survived the Second World War but was closed soon afterwards. Unfortunately, in spite of its seemingly good reputation, the main sources say very little about it. The school in Halden is mentioned in St. Olav as having 17 children in 1889. Half of these were Protestants who, apparently, belonged to a single family. (116)

St. Paul's School in Bergen is one of the three contemporary survivors and seems to have recovered well from the crises of the latter part of the Fallize era. The number of children attending the school dropped from about 50 in 1901 to 14 in 1922 but, from the late 1920s onwards, recovered both in numbers and reputation and, in recognition of this fact, a new extention was added in 1933. A school photograph from about that time shows 45 children. (117)

The schools in northern Norway were in a somewhat different

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(116) On Trondheim see,
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.246-7.
Duin (1980), pp.49-51, 53.

On Halden see,
'Til hjælp for fattige børn', in St. Olav, vol.1, no.37, 15.12.1889, p.296.

(117) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.48, no.1, 08.02.1934, pp.11-12.

Kjelstrup (1942), p.304.

Norsk katolsk bisperåd, Katolske skoler i Norge - en orientering, Bergen, 1980, p.12.

St. Paul skole, St. Paul skole, Bergen, 1973, p.1.

category from the others. The standards in the public schools were not so high as in the south and Catholic institutions were better placed to compete with them. On the school in Hammerfest there is not a great deal of information after the early period. Before 1887, in Father Hagemann's time, there were about ten children at the school. The visitation reports in St. Olav for 1915 and 1917 quote the school as having 20 children. In 1922 there were 15, 5 of whom were Protestants. The school lasted until the destruction of the town during the Second World War. (118) One of the most interesting of the Catholic schools was that in Tromsø, which proved to be surprisingly successful. Before 1910 the school seems to have had, on the average, about 10 children. A school photograph from the 1890s shows 11 pupils and there were 7 in 1910. Thereafter, under the direction of the dynamic Mgr. Snoeys, numbers rose rapidly. By the time of the 1915 and 1917 visitations the school had just over 30 pupils. There were 29 in 1922, including 17 Protestants, and in the following year, there were no less than 38 children on roll. The school's real moment of glory came, however, during the Second World War, when the public schools in the town were requisitioned and the Catholic school still carried on, albeit in the presbytery, as its own premises were being used by the German occupation forces. In 1955 it had no less than 70 pupils, 45 of whom were non-Catholics. This was more than Bergen, which in the same year had only 60 children. The

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(118) Duin (1980), pp.5-11.

The school in Tromsø was closed in 1968, shortly before a new law was passed giving subsidies to private schools. One cannot help feeling that this dynamic little school deserved a better fate. (119)

The history of the Catholic schools in the Oslo area is complex. There were four schools in the capital, if one includes St. Olav's Boys' School. One of these had its own separate existence as a parish school, namely St. Halvard's, which served the eastern and poorer part of the city. The school was founded in 1891 and was run by the St. Elizabeth Sisters. In 1901 it had 34 children, although this number had declined to 23 by 1922. It was closed during the 1930s, a sensible step, as its children could easily have used St. Olav's parish school instead. As for the situation in the main Oslo parish, St. Olav's, it may be said that St. Sunniva's School showed a gradual growth from 30 pupils in the early 1890s to about 60 in 1920. Its numbers remained relatively stable, increasing only slowly after the extentions to St. Joseph's Institute in 1929 until the Second World War, when the number of children on roll grew dramatically. Similarly, St. Olav's parish school and St. Olav's Boys' School seem to have managed reasonably well. In the early 1920s these

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(119) On the Tromsø and Hammerfest visitations in 1915 and 1917 see,
C. Riesterer, 'Fra visitasreisen i det nordlige Norge', in St. Olav, vol.27, no.28, 09.07.1915, pp.221-3.

H.J. van der Velden,'En 72 aarig biskop paa visitasreise i det nordlige Norge', in St.Olav, vol.29, no.29, 20.07.1917, pp.231-3.

For a general summary of the history of the school in Tromsø see,
Duin (1980), pp.14-23.

On Mgr. Snoeys and the school in Tromsø see,
'Menighetsskolen i Bergen', in St. Olav, vol.45, no.18, 04.05.1933, pp.149-50.

two schools together had about the same number of pupils as St. Sunniva's. This figure also included boys and girls from the boarding section of St. Joseph's Institute, which took in a number of children from the provinces, who lived far from the nearest church and also children whom the sisters had taken into care. With the years it became more and more a children's home. The two schools amalgamated in 1933 under the name of St. Sunniva's School. St. Olav's Boys' School continued to exist as a separate institution until after the Second World War, when it closed. For a time there were no Catholic educational facilities for boys in the sixth and seventh grades in the Oslo area. During the course of the 1960s, however, St. Sunniva's conformed to the new national school reforms and started taking both boys and girls up to and including the sixth grade. (120)

The very end of the Fallize period seems to have been a time of particular crisis for the Roman Catholic Schools in Norway. In several cases the number of pupils seems to have fallen in comparison with previous years. Most of the schools were, however, always in a precarious position. Their possibilities for expansion were seriously limited by the lack of Catholic children and they were sensitive even to the slightest demographic changes. If, for example, a family of five left

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(120) On St. Halvard's School see,
Duin (1980), pp.54-7.

On the schools in St. Olav's parish see,
Norsk Katolsk Bisperåd, Katolske skoler i Norge - en orientering, Bergen, 1980, p.14.

St. Joseph (1940), pp.280-4.

St. Sunniva (1965), pp.33-4.

a parish, or sent their children to a public school, it would obviously have a serious effect on a small Catholic school whose numbers could not, without taking in Protestant children, exceed twenty. Lack of classroom facilities or poor teaching standards could also spell disaster and these were common complaints, particularly in the early 1920s, for at this time the Catholic schools were falling very seriously behind their rivals in a multitude of ways.

About 1903 a little handbook for Catholics on the subject of the practice of their faith was published by the Norwegian Vicariate Apostolic. It was written by Mgr. Olav Offerdahl and based on a similar American book. A new and revised edition was brought out in 1921 and in it there is a very significant passage concerning the material state of the Catholic schools in Norway.

> 'Catholics should remember that, owing to lack of resources at the present time, Catholic schools appear to be inferior to the Protestant public schools. These defects are, however, more than outweighed by the better training that children receive at a Catholic school.' (121)

This admission is significant, as it comes from a priest who was himself a qualified teacher with many years of experience in Catholic education. Mgr. Offerdahl was, furthermore, parish priest of St. Olav's Church in Oslo at that time, in other words, the most important priest in the Vicariate after Bishop Fallize. Here was no attempt to gloss over the material deficiencies of the schools, as Fallize had done before. In spite of

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(121) O. Offerdahl, Katolsk praksis i kirken og i hjemmet, Oslo, 1921, p.82.

Offerdahl's attempts to justify the schools on other grounds it must be admitted that parents who refused to patronise the schools on account of their lack of amenities did have a point. This is clearly seen in the case of Bergen.

> 'Oh yes, I found a school here, but it was frequented almost exclusively by foreign children from various countries. It was housed in two rooms in the presbytery, which were, as they were rather small, definitely not suitable for use as classrooms, and so, we had to have lessons both in the morning and afternoon in order to cover the syllabus. It was immediately clear to me that this was an unacceptable situation.' (122)

These words were spoken in an interview with the Dutch parish priest of Bergen, Mgr. Henrik Snoeys, which was recorded in St. Olav in 1933. They describe the state of the Catholic school on his arrival in the town ten years earlier. A later article in the same magazine puts it even more dramatically:

> 'The school was in a wretched condition (in 1923). A few of the parish children sat crammed together in a tiny room, both morning and afternoon, while the majority of the children of the parish attended the town's schools and became more and more estranged from their parish and church.' (123)

No wonder the parishioners of Bergen were willing to risk Bishop Fallize's wrath, rather than send their children to the Catholic school! This was the state of affairs in the largest parish in the Vicariate outside Oslo and, furthermore, in a city, where a Catholic school had a chance of success.

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(122) 'Menighetsskolen i Bergen', in St. Olav, vol.45, no.18, 04.05.1933, pp.149-50, p.149.

(123) Scholasticus, 'St. Pauls skole i Bergen vigsler sitt nye skolelokale', in St. Olav, vol.45, no.36, 07.09.1933, pp.291-2, p.291.

The above example, by no means the worst, illustrates a second characteristic of the Catholic schools during the Fallize period. Not only were they extremely small, they were also, in many cases, miserably poor. Very rarely was a proper school building provided and they often consisted of one, at the most two rooms in a presbytery, whose amenities usually left much to be desired. It is easy to critise Fallize for this state of affairs but he was by no means wholly to blame. His many complaints to his confidante Cardinal Steinhuber, about his lack of money were by no means groundless. Enough funds from Rome were not always forthcoming and Fallize and his clergy had, on many occasions, to try and collect money abroad. It was fortunate that Fallize's predecessors had, whatever their faults, been very good at buying up valuable sites and properties. By the judicious sale and use of these Fallize was able to finance the Norwegian mission better than might otherwise have been the case. Nor can Fallize be accused of wasting, or misusing the assets entrusted to his care. He always tried to make sure that every penny was put to good use and he always meticulously went through the accounts of every parish, when he came on a visitation.

The period 1914-22 was a particularly difficult time for the Catholic Church in Norway. Although the country was neutral during the First World War, it suffered from shortages and a steep rise in prices. Furthermore, before 1914 much of Fallize's money came from Germany, Austria and France. After 1918 the value of these currencies fell rapidly. Fallize himself points out in a letter to his clergy in 1919:

'The low exchange rates, even in France, are indeed a tragedy for our poor mission ... We have a large amount of Austrian currency but cannot get a penny back for it, and the position with regard to the money we have invested in German banks is hardly much better. We would like to send our priests, who must certainly be suffering under the heavy burden of our country's fantastic prices, (more money) ... but with the best will in the world we cannot do so at the moment ... We shall do all that is in our power to support our dear brethren while we still have a few coppers in the bank.' (124)

Even before this time Fallize's resources were never large and much of the building was done on the cheap. This seems particularly to have been the case with regard to the schools, where no major investments were made throughout the Fallize period, even in places such as Bergen, where they might have proved advantageous. One of the smaller schools was that in Arendal and the writer is fortunate in having access to detailed records concerning its finances in the early days. It consisted of a single classroom in a converted outhouse and was opened in 1913. Total expenses for the parish of Arendal for the years 1912-4 were Nkr.8,125.70. Total expenditure on the school was precisely 7.5% of this sum. Parish income during these years was as follows:

Subsidies from the Vicariate	Nkr. 6,322.29
Income from parish collections, etc.	Nkr. 2,056.43
Total income	Nkr. 8,378.72
Percentage of subsidies from Vicariate spent on school	9.68%

(124) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.33, no.2, 20.12.1919, pp.11-12

Expenses for the school for the years 1912-14 were as follows:

Coke breeze for school floor	Nkr. 2.80
Maps, globe, school material and equipment	Nkr.113.50
Electric heater	Nkr. 77.--
Installation of same	Nkr.155.86
Electricity	Nkr.247.02
Paraffin	Nkr. 10.31
Picture frames	Nkr. 5.20
Total	Nkr.611.79

A simple conclusion from these figures is that, even in good times, investment in Catholic education was not very high on Fallize's list of priorities. Arendal was, after all, a brand new school and needed more money spent on it than other long established institutions. Given his strict policy on education and his many statements on the subject, one would have felt that Fallize would have been prepared to put more money into the schools. The picture given by the parish accounts for 1919-21, the last three years of Fallize's term of office, is even more extraordinary. Expenses for the school were as follows:

Coke and logs for heating	Nkr.541.95
Repair of one map	Nkr. 3.90
Dustpan and brush	Nkr. 3,75
To nuns for cleaning classroom	Nkr. 30,--
Total	Nkr.579.60

Total expenses for the parish of Arendal for these three years was Nkr.9.844.67. Expenditure on the school was 5.9% of this sum. (125)

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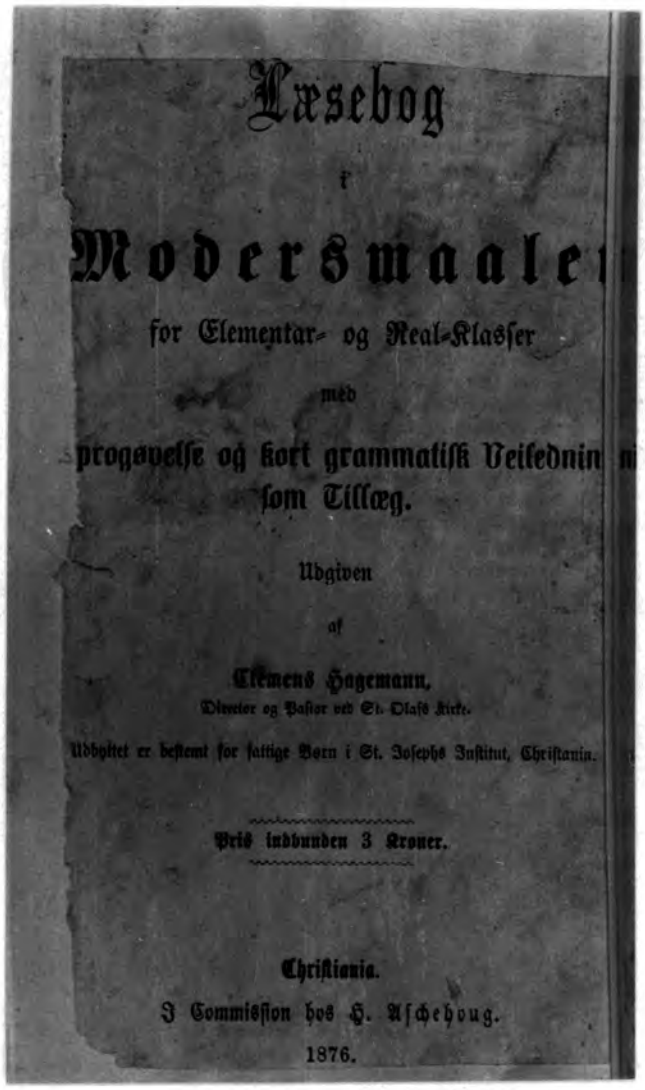
(125) Financial details for the years 1912-14 and 1919-21 taken from:
St. Franciskus Xaverius' Station i Arendal, Kassabok: 1911-73, unpublished mss., pp.2-15, 38-54.



Læsebog

i

Modersmaale

for Elementar- og Real-Klasser

med

progsvelse og kort grammatisk Veiledning

som Tillæg.

Udgiven

af

Clemens Hagemann,

Director og Pastor ved St. Olafs Kirke.

Udbyttet er bestemt for fattige Børn i St. Josephs Institut, Christiania.

Pris indbunden 3 Kroner.

Christiania.

I Commission hos H. Aschehoug.

1876.

3. Clemens Hagemann's reader for Catholic schoolchildren published in 1876.

4. The Catholic school in Arendal. The map on the wall was purchased in 1912 for the opening of the school. It was repaired in 1921 (see p.176) and is still in occasional use today.

These figures show that parish expenditure during the years 1919-21 had risen by no less than 21.15% in comparison with the period 1912-14. At the same time subsidies from the Vicariate were fewer; their value was down by 19.91% compared with the earlier period. While this is, in part, due to the Vicariate's financial crisis it also reflects a growth in the number of parishioners in Arendal from 24-30 during the years 1912-14 to 55-60 during the last three full years of the Fallize period. This increase in numbers meant that the parish was now more able to finance itself. On the other hand, expenditure on the school was down by 1.6% during a period of rising inflation. The American dictum, 'schools before churches', did not seem to apply in Norway! The impression given by the accounts is that, if any economies had to be made, it was the school that was the first to suffer. This is not to say that the priest in Arendal was living in luxury, far from it. Fallize attempted, as far as possible, to make sure that his priests had the same income, whether their parishes were rich or poor, which meant that no priest starved but, on the other hand, no priest could afford more than the everyday essentials. In fact, priests' salaries had not increased in comparison with the pre-war period, even though a cost of living bonus had been paid during the course of the First World War. Nor may it be said that there was the least sign of unnecessary expenditure with regard to the church and presbytery. The fact remains, however, that it was the school that suffered most from the crisis. This also seems to have been, with one or two possible exceptions, the pattern elsewhere.

In fairness it should, however, be pointed out that Fallize expected parents to finance, to a certain extent, their own schools. Non-Catholic parents had to pay fees and Catholic children who attended St. Sunniva's School had to pay, but those who went to the ordinary parish schools seem not to have done so. All children, Catholic and Protestant, except the very poorest, were expected to buy their own text and exercise books. This would, naturally, have helped the economy of the schools, even though it certainly gave Catholic parents another reason for not using them. Some Catholic parents certainly seem to have been loathe to make the contribution asked of them and this is mentioned from time to time in St. Olav. The following is one of the more lively examples:

> 'The teaching staff (in our schools) realise that education costs parents a lot of money at the present time, and only the most essential demands are made with regard to the purchase of new text books, and, at least in the case of writing materials, it is normal that these are supplied by the school. ... Unfortunately, neither children, nor parents are always conscientious when it comes to paying for these things, even when this should not be too difficult. Great emphasis put in our schools on the teaching of thrift but unfortunately, the schools often receive little support from parents. When a child has earned a 25 øre piece for doing some shopping, the parents allow the child to go to the cinema instead of making it spend the money on school materials.' (126)

These words form an introduction to an article, originally published in Aftenposten, an Oslo daily, but reproduced in

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(126) 'Skolen og hjemmenes økonomi', in St. Olav, vol.29, no.37, 14.09.1917, pp.294-5, p.295.

St. Olav some months later, concerning the difficulties felt by parents sending their children to private schools during the period of inflation towards the end of the First World War. The cost of books and materials, for which parents had to pay, is discussed at some length. Could not private schools, Aftenposten asked, show more consideration to parents in such a time of hardship? St. Olav felt that the Catholic schools were doing this and were not making undue demands on parents. St. Olav agreed, however, with Aftenposten that it was time to introduce school uniform in order to eliminate the pressure that was being put on parents to ensure that their children's clothes conformed to the latest fashion. St. Olav also agreed with the suggestion that it was time to cut down on ball games at school, both for boys and girls. The argument was that, when played on gravel, such games caused too much wear and tear on shoe leather, and this at a time when new soles cost as much as the price of a pair of new shoes only two, or three years previously! Aftenposten went on to make the following interesting comment:

> 'Schools have, in the past, managed to make boys into men, who were well suited to their future roles in society without the help of football.' (127)

Although St. Olav could claim that the Apostolic Vicariate had taken parents' economic difficulties into account, it does not seem that Catholics were repaying this understanding attitude with a greater willingness to help the Catholic schools through their crisis. Parents were occasionally reminded of this in St. Olav, as for example, in 1921, when a comparison

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(127) 'Skolen og hjemmenes økonomi', in St. Olav, vol.29, no.37, 14.09.1917, pp.294-5, p.295.

was made between the situation in the United States and that in Norway.

> 'How much do Catholics in our country do for our schools? Catholic schools are, without doubt, more necessary over here with regard to our children's education than they are in America. We have just as much sectarian prejudice and anti-religious atmosphere in our public schools as they have over there. Sending one's children to a Catholic school and giving the schools financial support ought to be as much a question of conscience for Catholic Christians in Norway as it is in Massachusetts.' (128)

This comparison is, however, unfair, even if the generosity of Norwegian Catholics often left much to be desired. The state of Massachusetts had an enormous Catholic population and, therefore, infinitely better resources than the Catholic community in Norway.

A strange characteristic of Norwegian Catholicism was that, in contrast with the majority of English-speaking countries, there were no regular collections, not even an annual one, for the benefit of the Catholic schools. Although such collections would never have brought in enough money to finance Catholic education, it would at least have helped and would have given the faithful a greater feeling of responsibility for their parish schools. Here again, Fallize's words about the importance of the schools were not backed up by practical measures to support them and to try and improve their amenities. It was not that investment in Catholic education was automatically doomed to failure, as is shown by Mgr. Snoeys'

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(128) 'Utenlandske efterretninger', in St. Olav, vol.33, no.36, 09.09.1921, pp.287-8.

work in both Tromsø and Bergen. In the latter town he was, admittedly, helped by a number of favourable circumstances but this does not diminish his achievement. He wrought a similar change in the fortunes of the parish school in Tromsø, raising its numbers from 7 in 1910 to 38 in 1923. The financial situation was not only improved by taking in a high proportion of paying non-Catholic pupils but also by successful negotiations with the local council which resulted in a grant for the school. In this way Snoeys was able to make improvements to the school in Tromsø and increase its numbers in sharp contrast to the general trend in Catholic education in Norway at that time. The example of Snoeys is important, as it shows that the position of at least some of the schools could have been improved. (129) Far too often the schools were treated as cinderellas and Fallize must bear at least some of the blame for this. Words were not enough and threats of excommunication were likely to be ignored if the standards in the Catholic schools fell behind those in the public sector, as was bound to happen if they did not receive their fair share of the Vicariate's finances.

A further source of income for the schools was the nuns. During the 1919 financial crisis Fallize asked his priests to see whether the sisters, who were better off than the Vicariate, could give more to the parishes. (130) The appeal seems to have had little immediate effect in Arendal,

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(129) 'Menighetsskolen i Bergen', in St. Olav, vol.45, no.18, 04.05.1933, pp.149-50.

(130) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.33, no.2, 20.12.1919, pp.11-12.

and the parish continued to pay the token payments, which were demanded for the nuns' services. Although a time was to come when the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier were to become generous in their support of the parishes, where they had hospitals, they were not always able to do this during the Fallize period. Most of the Catholic hospitals founded in Norway between 1887 and 1922 were small and modest affairs, quite unlike the fine modern institutions that were built during the inter-war years. Some of them, such as Hammerfest, took a long time to find their feet and this latter hospital was very nearly closed by Fallize during the early years of his term of office. Nor did the hospitals in Drammen and Halden do well for some time and they were certainly not financially viable until quite late in the period under discussion. A further factor was that the nuns needed more money for further investments in the hospitals and for new buildings, as the older ones were often unsuitable. It was not until the 1930s that the Catholic hospitals were able to give substantial financial support to provincial parishes. Before that time they often depended on the Vicariate for some of their support.

Fallize did not allow priests or nuns to collect money without his permission and wished to have complete control over the Vicariate's finances and a monopoly of the right to make contact with benefactors abroad. His written permission was even needed for lotteries, bazaars and collections in aid of parishes, schools and hospitals, when these were held in Norway. Although this, no doubt, resulted in a fairer and more even distribution of the limited available financial resources,

it very likely deprived some schools and institutions in the pre-1914 period of badly needed financial help. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that Fallize had to deal with problems caused by unauthorised collections. A good example of this occurred with regard to the parish school in Halden in 1887, when the Austrian mother superior of the St. Joseph Sisters in that town wrote to a benefactor in her homeland asking for money for the school. She had mentioned the poverty of some of the children, and in particular of a large non-Catholic family, who attended the school. Her friend seems to have written a somewhat overdramatised appeal in an Austrian newspaper, which was in turn quoted by the local and national press in Norway. Fallize and the Catholic Church were accused of spreading false reports about the situation in Halden. (131) This and similar incidents naturally caused Fallize considerable annoyance and, in a decree, published in 1893, Fallize forbade all appeals for money for which he had not given his express permission. He wrote that the good of the Vicariate as a whole must not be allowed to suffer at the expense of secondary projects. If any institution were in need, it would be supported by the Vicariate and would be allowed to make representations abroad under Fallize's guidance. Any appeal for support had to be absolutely truthful. It was up to Fallize to decide on the objectivity of the appeal and on the amount of support, if any, needed by the institution. He was obviously, he claimed, the best judge in such cases. (132)

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(131) 'Til hjælp for fattige børn', in St. Olav, vol.1, no.37, 15.12.1889, p.296.

(132) Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.8, no.1, 06.01.1894, pp.11-12.

Money is obviously very important for the running of a school but it does not help unless it has competent teachers. After all, an exceptionally good teacher can do much to offset the disadvantages of poor buildings and equipment. During his period of office Fallize brought about a great change with regard to teaching staff. In the beginning the schools depended on the priest, or on any lay teacher who could be obtained. Between 1887 and 1906, however, Fallize ensured that the majority of teaching posts were taken over by nuns.

The parish priest, or his curate if he had one, were obliged throughout this period to give religious instruction to the higher grades and, if no teacher were available, it was the priest's duty to take over the school. This assumed that any priest was automatically qualified as a teacher but, obviously, not all would have been suitable for work with elementary school children and, on occasion, complaints, no doubt justified, were made about their teaching. This should not, on the other hand, blind one to the fact that the Catholic schools in Norway have had the advantage of some highly competent teachers from among the clergy. An outstanding example was Clemens Hagemann, who may be said to have founded the Catholic school in Hammerfest, where he was parish priest from 1878 to 1887. Previously, from 1869 to 1887 he had worked in Oslo. His first contact with Norway was as a young German schoolmaster, who came to Tromsø in 1861 and stayed a year helping at the Catholic school before going to Munich in order to study for the priesthood. He returned to Norway in 1869 at the age of 33. In 1873 he took over the leadership of

St. Olav's parish school in Oslo and directed the work of collecting money for the building of St. Joseph's Institute. It was at this time that Hagemann began writing a series of school text books. Nor did Hagemann confine his literary efforts to school books; he also wrote on education, as well as producing a number of polemic pamphlets and articles. It is, however, with Hammerfest that Hagemann is usually associated. He was not the founder of that parish but he was the one that put it on its feet. His work for public health and for education won acclaim in Hammerfest and his work was recognised by the state in that he received the Royal Silver Medal from King Oscar II. Hagemann was a much respected figure by the time Fallize called him south in order to take over St. Olav's parish in Oslo in 1887. Unfortunately his health was now poor. In spite of this, Fallize made him one of his official advisers and appointed him as the first parish priest of St. Halvard's, Oslo on its foundation in 1891. Hagemann soon retired, however, and returned to Germany, where he died in 1892. (133)

Another priest and teacher worthy of note was Olav Offerdahl who began his Catholic career as a lay master at the

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(133) Duin (1980), pp.6-7.
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.112-3, 128-9, 139-44.
'Monsignor Hagemann', in St. Olav, vol.4, no.45, 06.11.1892, p.364.
One of Hagemann's better known school readers is: C. Hagemann, Læsebog i Modersmaalet, Oslo, 1876.
On education see:
C. Hagemann, 'Barneopdragelse', in St. Olav, vol.30, no.49, 06.12.1918, pp.385-7, vol.31, no.2, 17.01.1919, pp.17-20, no.4, 24.01.1919, pp.25-7, no.6, 07.02.1919, pp.41-4.

parish school in Bergen. On his return to Norway as a priest in 1891 Offerdahl was sent as curate to Tromsø, for the sake of the school. He was parish priest in the same town between 1895 and 1897. In the latter year Offerdahl was made curate in Oslo and the post of headmaster of St. Olav's Boys' School was soon added to his responsibilities. In 1907 he was promoted to parish priest of St. Olav's, Oslo, and became one of Bishop Fallize's official advisers. During his time in Oslo Offerdahl did much for Catholic education in the city and his duties included helping Fallize with the training and examination of Catholic teachers. After a short period in Arendal from 1923 to 1924, he returned to Oslo as parish priest of St. Halvard's but was appointed administrator of the Vicariate, when Bishop Smit was called to Rome in 1928. He was appointed bishop and Vicar Apostolic in 1930 but died, unfortunately, in the same year. He was the first Norwegian Catholic bishop since the Reformation. Ironically enough he died in the Netherlands, just as his predecessor, Olaf Engelbriktsson, had done nearly 400 years previously. (134)

Although it is the work of Clemens Hagemann and Olav Offerdahl which is best remembered by Catholics in Norway, they were not the only priests to make a contribution to the parish schools. The little praised work of Henrik Snoeys, who more or less rescued the schools in Tromsø and Bergen from early death, has already been discussed. There were others too, who did

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(134) Kjelstrup (1942), pp.281-4.
St. Joseph (1940), pp.290-6.
H. Irgens, 'Hans Høiærverdighet Biskop Olav Offerdahl avgått ved døden', in St. Olav, vol.42, no.41, 10.10.1930, pp.321-4.

who did great work during the period 1843-1922 under indescribable conditions of isolation and frustration with few, if any, results to show for years of unremitting toil.

If little is known about the work of many of the priests, particularly in the tiny schools and parishes in the provinces, even less is known about the work of the lay teachers. Hardly anything is mentioned in the available sources even concerning Olav Offerdahl's and Clemens Hagemann's day to day work as lay teachers in Catholic schools before they decided to study for the priesthood and, apart from these two, the majority of the others are little more than just names. One of them, Miss Bye, was a lady from Tromsø and was schoolmistress in the parish of Fredikstad. She and Father Kjelsberg, the parish priest, had known eachother as members of the Catholic parish in Tromsø in the 1860s. They both died in 1887, an event which precipitated the arrival of the St. Joseph Sisters in Fredrikstad. Some months after this event the school moved into Miss Bye's house until 1898, when the whole parish complex, church, school and hospital moved to another site. (135)

As the St. Elizabeth Sisters did not come to Tromsø until 1906 the school had been run, for many years before that date by a series of lay teachers. A Miss Mary Cowen had taught there for an unstipulated period prior to 1890, when she was replaced by Miss Jenny Cowen. The post was advertized as

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(135) St. Joseph (1940), pp.70-3.

as vacant in 1893 and Miss Franciska Jacobsen from Oslo was accepted shortly afterwards. Later in the 1890s Miss Gudrun Simonsen was teacher at the parish school in Tromsø.

In 1890 Mr. Jørgen Berge, formally teacher at St. Olav's school in Oslo, took over the new school in Harstad. This was just before the Catholic chapel in that town was opened. How many children Mr. Berge had to teach in Harstad is not mentioned by the main sources but it could not have been more than a handful, if any. He remained there until 1897, when Harstad ceased to be a chapel of ease and received a permanent priest. By that time he was described as a catechist, which seems to indicate that his main task was looking after the chapel and parish, rather than running a school. There is no mention of a school in Harstad after about 1893 in any of the available sources. Berge moved to Alta in 1897 and took over the parish school on the retirement of Miss Geisler. Berge could not have arrived in Alta at a worse time, for the parish was in rapid decline, owing to emigration. In 1898 it was reduced to the status of a chapel of ease, although a priest did reside in Alta between 1899 and 1901. By 1902 there were only three Catholic families left in Alta and the church, school and property were sold. Another teacher mentioned at this time was Miss Minna Hamilton, who was schoolmistress in St. Halvard's parish, Oslo, on a temporary basis from 1890 until 1891, when the St. Elizabeth Sisters took over. Although information about these teachers is hard to come by, that which exists presents some tantalizing problems.

Some of them were either foreign, or half foreign, a fact given away by their names. More interesting is, however, the conditions under which they must have worked. One would have liked to have known more about Miss Geisler's work in Alta, one of the poorest and most isolated of Catholic parishes. How did she come to be there? When did she start? The school in Alta had long been an ordinary parish school but it would have been useful to have known when the change from a secondary to an elementary institution took place. All that St. Olav tells us is that she did some fine work in Alta. Jørgen Berge seems to have had a difficult and heroic task with almost nothing to show for his efforts. The parish in Alta has disappeared and that in Harstad has never been a success. Here was a lay pioneer, working in total isolation in Harstad and in extremely difficult conditions in Alta. From among these lay teachers there may well be found one or two unsung heros of the early period of Catholic education in Norway. During the course of the Fallize period lay teachers were generally replaced by nuns. The main advantage of this was that staff were ensured for even the remotest schools and that there was greater continuity. An even greater advantage was financial; the schools could be run more cheaply, as nuns did not require salaries. (136)

The largest of the congregations to work in Norway during

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(136) On lay teachers see,
Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.4, no.5, 01.11.1890, p.39.
Duin (1980), p.14.
Ind. Eft. vol.5, no.26, 25.06.1893, p.227, and vol.9, no.16, 18.04.1897, p.127.
On Alta see,
Kjelstrup (1942), pp.206-8.

the Fallize period was the St. Joseph Sisters. These had run St. Olav's parish school in Oslo since 1865 and had started St. Sunniva's School in the same parish by the time Fallize arrived in Norway. Eventually they took over five parish schools in the provinces. Most of the original sisters were French but this gradually changed and, by 1922, most of them were German. There were, however, a small number of sisters from other countries too, including Poland, Ireland and Italy. It was also the only congregation during the Fallize period to attract more than the occasional Norwegian vocation. It showed greater interest in education than the other congregations and, indeed, teaching was its main task until Fallize arrived in 1887. The St. Joseph Sisters were also more qualification conscious than the others. The St. Elizabeth Sisters were, apart from the parish of St. Halvard's in Oslo, confined by Bishop Fallize to the northern half of the country. Its members were mainly German and were more concerned with nursing than education.

The complicated situation with regard to the west of Norway has already been described in some detail. Bergen was served by no less than three successive congregations in the thirteen years from 1888 to 1901. From the latter year onwards, Bergen and Stavanger were taken over by the new Congregation of St. Francis Xavier, which Bishop Fallize had recently founded. The new congregation had just five sisters, all former members of the Luxembourg Franciscans. Two St. Joseph Sisters were borrowed for a year to help out and a St. Elizabeth sister was

temporarily made superior in Stavanger. By 1922 the number of sisters belonging to the new congregation had risen to just over 40. During the Fallize period many of these nuns were German, rather than Dutch, as was the case in later years. Certainly most of the school sisters at this time were German. Once again, as with the St. Elizabeth Sisters, the main emphasis was on nursing, rather than teaching. One of the main difficulties in both Bergen and Stavanger seems to have been to find enough suitable teachers for the schools. This problem was not resolved until the inter-war years, when the Congregation's size increased and it took in some Norwegians, who proved to be competent teachers as well as some well-qualified Dutch nuns, who were to play an important part in making sure that the schools in Bergen and Arendal have survived until the present day.

Table 7.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATHOLIC PARISHES IN NORWAY AMONG THE THREE RESIDENT CONGREGATIONS OF NUNS 1911-1922.

Total number of nuns in each house, according to 1922 statistics, given in parentheses.

St. Joseph Sisters		St. Elizabeth Sisters		St. Francis Xavier Sisters	
Drammen	(14)	Hammerfest	(5)	Arendal	(10)
Fredrikstad	(18)	Oslo (St. Halvard)	(17)	Bergen	(20)
Halden	(12)	Tromsø	(8)	Stavanger	(12)
Kristiansand	(26)	Trondheim	(15)		
Oslo (St. Olav)	(94)				
Porsgrunn	(10)				
TOTAL	(174)	TOTAL	(45)	TOTAL	(42)

Total number of nuns in 1922 - 261

Percentage of total Catholic population - 13%

The relatively large numbers of nuns should be noted. The majority of these were engaged in nursing. Little more than 15% were teachers. (137)

Although complaints were sometimes made about the nuns who taught in the Catholic schools in Norway, one quality was never in doubt, their total dedication to their work. Even though the three congregations tended to give more and more priority to the hospitals, the individual teaching nuns worked extremely hard. They often had to teach under difficult and frustrating conditions with little to show in the way of results for all their efforts. During the first twenty or so years of the Fallize period many of the houses were poor and the sisters had much else to do, besides teaching and nursing. This included work in the church and convent and even hard manual labour, as the following vignette from Bergen shows. The sisters had just been left a new property outside the town by Father Erik Wang, who had recently died. The date is 1907.

> 'The property was not exactly in the best condition. The work demanded a personal effort on the part of the sisters. These often had to go all the way by "Shank's pony" from Nygårdgaten (about 7 km.), and when they arrived they had to do heavy manual work. They had to lay driveways and carry heavy stones. The house had to be repaired. ... All this work had to be done by the sisters themselves. Sister Beate, a qualified teacher, spent several weeks painting the property. She walked to town for morning mass at six o'clock and she walked back again and she was not the only one to do this.' (138)

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(137) Kjelstrup (1942), pp.210-2.
St. Franciskus (1976), pp.2-3.

(138) St. Franciskus (1976), pp.4-5.

Not everybody, however, appreciated the work of the nuns, even in towns where there was a well established Catholic community. The following passage decribes the situation in Tromsø about 1910.

> 'Not a small proportion of the population regarded Catholicism as the worst of sects and tall stories frequently went around about the nuns' fantastic riches. In the meantime the sisters did not have enough money for their daily bread. They had to put up with youngsters, who made faces at them in the street. To be on the safe side the police were asked to be present when a Catholic was buried.' (139)

The school sisters in the provinces often worked in school-rooms which were cramped and unsuitable and with only the bare minimum of facilities and equipment. Sometimes the latter showed a considerable degree of ingenuity. In the early days, in the parishes of St. Halvard's, Oslo and also Porsgrunn, for instance, the school room was used as a chapel on Sundays. For this purpose they were equipped with special school benches which, by turning a few screws, could be converted into church pews and kneelers. (140)

Although many of the teaching nuns were foreign, there were a surprising number of Norwegians among the St. Joseph Sisters. Not only were these employed in Oslo but also in the smaller provincial schools, such as Drammen and Fredikstad. (141)

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(139) Duin (1980), p.17.

(140) St. Joseph (1940), p.92.
Ind. Eft., vol.2, no.37, 07.09.1890, pp.287-8.

(141) St. Joseph (1940), pp.70, 77, 154.

Even in the case of the St. Joséph Sisters, however, there were never enough Norwegian teaching nuns to fill all the positions in the schools. The situation was, on the other hand, far worse for the other two congregations, although the St. Elizabeth Sisters did manage to find a Danish nun to take over the school in Tromsø, when they arrived there in 1906. All three congregations seem to have made a special effort to appoint native-born sisters to the schools, where these were available and suitable. The latter point was important as the fact that a nun was a Norwegian did not necessarily mean that she was a good teacher. Very often, however, teaching positions had to be filled by foreign nuns in which case priority was given to those with teaching qualifications. Here again, it was the St. Joseph Sisters, a large congregation with houses in many countries, who found these easiest to obtain. The St. Elizabeth Sisters were, owing to their concentration on nursing, not in such a strong position but, as they were well established in Germany and other countries, they were better off than the Sisters of St. Francis Xavier. These did not, at this time, have a single house outside Norway and, therefore, no reserves upon which they could call. A further disadvantage was the extremely small size of this congregation, as this limited severely the choice available. It was, however, not without competent teachers, Sister Beata Höfling being one of the better known examples. On the other hand it cannot be denied that complaints about the teaching staff in the parish schools in Bergen and Stavanger during the period between 1901 and 1925 were common and provided an argument for many for not sending their children to the Catholic schools in those towns.

Even when a foreign nun had teaching qualifications from her homeland, this did not necessarily mean that she automatically became a good teacher under Norwegian conditions. Not every teacher is a competent linguist and not all can adapt to a different culture and mentality. One complaint that was often made was that the foreign nuns were far too strict by Norwegian standards and this charge has been made from time to time against the members of all three congregations. Many of the difficulties were obviously caused by misunderstandings owing to differences in background and mentality between teachers and pupils. It is easy to criticise, particularly with hindsight, but such complaints should not blind one to the fact that many foreign nuns adapted well, spoke the language fluently and did sterling work under terrible conditions. In nearly all the provincial schools, for instance, children of all ages, boys and girls, had to be taught together in a single classroom by one teacher. The children came from many types of background and from different classes of society. Some were from foreign families, others had one parent who was a foreigner. Some of these foreigners, Italian plasterers and German skilled workers, for example, were only temporarily resident in Norway. Children from such families would only have had an imperfect knowledge of Norwegian and would have needed extra help. Some of the children, especially the Italians, were often very poor and needed financial support. In addition to this there were sometimes a few Protestant pupils to consider, not to mention the gypsy and Italian circus children who would turn up at the schools when they were in the area and just as suddenly disappear again. Thus a teaching sister, often herself a foreigner, had to work with what might well be described as an

encyclopedia of educational problems all under one roof! Nor was this all that had to be considered. There were, for example, the problems caused by the Norwegian penchant for spelling reforms, which not only demanded complete sets of new books every time they occurred but could prove extremely confusing both to children and foreigners. Lastly a school sister might have more than one job in the parish and not just the general work mentioned earlier, or even the task of being sacristan and organist. The first school sister in Arendal, Sister Camilla Ricken, had, in the early days, to combine duties in the operating theatre with those at the school. (142)

If the Roman Catholic schools in Norway were a failure it was not due to any lack of dedication on the part of those who worked in them, priests, nuns, or lay people, or even, for that matter, Fallize himself. In many ways their lack of success was predictable, as this was due to demographic factors over which Fallize and his co-workers had little control, for it was the smallness and sparseness of the Catholic population in Norway which led to financial problems and the difficulty of finding enough suitable teachers. On the other hand, Fallize himself played an important part in their decline in ways which a greater man might have avoided. His wish to impose his authority down to the last detail stifled initiative at a time when fresh thinking was badly needed. It was Fallize's self-centred authoritarianism and need to control even the minutiæ of Catholic life in Norway which was one of the causes of his

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(142) St. Joseph (1940), pp.279-80.
St. Sunniva (1965), pp.31, 68-73.

failure to attract religious orders. This affected the schools in particular. The situation in Bergen, for instance, could have been quite different had a teaching order taken over the school. Fallize even failed to attract any of the teaching orders that were expelled from France at the beginning of the century. Having found what he believed to be the best system of organising the Norwegian mission Fallize stuck to it relentlessly, regardless of the consequences. Uniformity was the order of the day and became almost an obsession, being imposed by regular visitations and a monumental corpus of regulations, including rules concerning the sizes of pews and keeping the sacristy door closed during mass! Local conditions were rarely taken into account, even in cases where the rules were obviously not applicable in all circumstances. It was the schools that were hit by this lack of flexibility more than other institutions, as it resulted in a misguided zeal on the part of Fallize to provide schools in every parish, however small, and to force all Catholic children to attend them, even in circumstances where Rome did not demand it, and that under pain of excommunication. On the other hand, Fallize attempted to provide Catholic education as cheaply as possible, saving money on them rather than on other things, and thus allowing them to fall even more behind the standards in the state schools than need have been the case and making them singularly unattractive to both Catholic and non-Catholic parents alike. That the schools did not, in many cases, enjoy the confidence and support of the Catholic communities they were meant to serve is a situation for which Fallize must share much of the blame.

It would, however, be unjust to blame Fallize completely for the decline of the schools after 1922. Apart from the smallest schools the situation was not irretrievably lost. Unfortunately, Fallize's successors also failed to attract any teaching order, apart from the Amersfoort Sisters of Our Lady, who worked in Trondheim during the period 1924-34 and concentrated on courses in languages, housekeeping and craftwork for adults, rather than schoolwork. The three main congregations put most of their efforts into nursing. The old hospitals were replaced by fine modern buildings and new ones sprang up in places, where new parishes were started. The only new school to be founded was at Hamar but it was too small to have any real chance of success. With the exception of St. Joseph's Institute there was no large scale investment in the schools after 1922. The new buildings in Arendal and Porsgrunn were servicable but done as cheaply as possible. The school in Bergen was extended and modernised in 1933 but really needed a completely new building. This school was moved to new quarters in 1963 but, here again, a cheap solution was found, the disadvantages of which were only partly offset by a modern extention in 1976. The school in Arendal was also extended slightly in the early 1960s. This was in contrast with the enormous investment in the hospitals. Expenditure on the schools, even when money was available, was kept strictly to a minimum. Consierable efforts were, however, made in the standard of teaching in the schools during the 1930s and 1940s, although this slowed down, rather than halted the decline in the number of Roman Catholic schools in Norway.

Chapter Eight

A Man of His Time

'By different methods
different men excel,
But who is he
who can do all things well?'

Charles Churchill.

Fallize's background is of paramount importance when considering his policy and methods, as these were not chosen simply in order that he might be master of his own household, as is often supposed, but because they were the best way, or even the only way, he could see of putting the Norwegian mission on a firm footing with the resources at his disposal. An objective discussion of these practical considerations is rare. It is even more seldom that one comes across a discussion of the effect of Fallize's background on his policies. The man is all too often seen in isolation and his ideas and prejudices are all too rarely considered in relationship to what was happening in the rest of the Church at the time. What were his chief influences? Where did they come from? What did the climate of opinion within the Church expect of him at the time? These are important questions, which demand an answer.

As a former student of the German College in Rome, Fallize would naturally have looked to Germany for inspiration. There were a number of similarities between Norway and Germany too, particularly with regard to the situation in those parts of Prussia, where Catholics formed a small minority in areas which were strongly Lutheran. There was, furthermore, much to admire in the Catholic Church in Prussia. Catholics in that country had been given civil rights by the liberal constitution of 1848 and, by intelligent use of that freedom, the Church had developed into a dynamic minority which was, in many ways, in a healthier position than was the case in some of the traditionally Catholic states, such as Bavaria. During the nineteenth century German Catholics were fortunate in having two exceptional leaders, namely Cardinal Geissel of Cologne and,

after 1854, Bishop Ketteler of Mainz. They were efficient reformers, who put great emphasis on the training of zealous and well-educated priests and on parish missions, whose purpose was to raise the standard of religious practice among the laity. Encouragement was given to corporate, rather than individual effort in the pastoral field and this led to the setting up of numerous voluntary organisations (Vereine), which brought together Catholics from all backgrounds and walks of life. These associations were generally run by the laity. They, together with a very efficient Catholic press, proved to be decisive factors in the defeat of Bismark's 'Kulturkampf' and the formation of the Centre Party. The Ketteler school of Catholicism was Ultramontane in contrast to the liberal school of Döllinger in Munich. In Germany the Church had been fortunate with regard to education, in that it had been given concessions within the state system, thus giving it a certain amount of influence. The Ketteler school felt that the contemporary scheme of things was far from ideal and spoke of the need for completely separate Catholic educational institutions but these have always been the exception, rather than the rule in modern Germany. As it was, Catholics became fully integrated into the educational life of the country and a strong, healthy Catholic educational tradition developed as a result. (143) It was, therefore, only natural that Fallize should have taken German ideas and methods extremely seriously. Moreover, the German influence in Norwegian Catholicism did not begin with Fallize. A number of the first Catholics in that

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(143) Aubert (1978), pp.30-1, 87-95.
E.E.Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World, 1958, pp.227-242.
Holmes THS (1978), pp.163-83.

country after the Reformation were German foreign workers, whose influence remained strong in some parishes for a number of years. German priests, such as Clemens Hagemann, and German nuns, especially the St. Elizabeth Sisters, were already to be found before Fallize arrived, even though a strong French tradition, encouraged by Bernard and the Salettines, was becoming dominant at that time. Dutch influence, which became extremely important for Norwegian Catholicism after 1924, was, however, minimal during the Bernard and Fallize periods. In externals the Catholic Church in Norway came under strong German influence from 1887 onwards. Quite a number of hymns, prayers and devotions were translated into Norwegian and it is surprising how many of these have stood the test of time, some are, indeed, still in use today, whereas French survivals from the early period are few and far between. (144)

During most of Fallize's term of office the number of priests and nuns from German-speaking countries gradually increased at the expense of the French and they formed the dominant majority throughout most of his time. This was not the end of French influences, however, as in 1920 Fallize persuaded the French Dominicans to come to Oslo. This German influence was also felt in Catholic education throughout Fallize's time and increased as the nuns took over the schools. Norwegian sisters were in short supply and not all of them were suited to teaching work. In effect much of the task of providing Catholic education eventually fell to German nuns.

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(144) Norges Apostoliske Vikariat, Katholsk Salmebog, Oslo, 1893.

Oslo Katolske Bispedømme, Katolsk Salmebok, Oslo, 1964.

The schools seem to have been, in some cases, decidedly German, both in methods and atmosphere, not least with regard to the teaching of religion. The use of Deharbe's catechism has already been discussed in this connection. This German influence was, however, not new, as it was to be found in the books written for Catholic school children by Father Clemens Hagemann.

In spite of the strong German influence on Norwegian Catholicism in Fallize's time it would be wrong to try and explain his policies in purely German terms. The principle of strong leadership was not exclusive to Germany and, indeed, Fallize had more in common with men, such as Cardinal Zwijsen in Holland, or Cardinal Manning in England than Bishop Ketteler of Mainz. The rivalries and different traditions of the various German states, coupled with the historical background of the Catholic Church in Germany militated against the emergence of national figures, such as Manning, who could claim the right to speak in the name of the whole Catholic community and who could use their positions to force their policies on their fellow bishops. Ketteler wielded great influence but he could not force his will on those who did not belong to his diocese, except by persuasion, or maybe intrigue. He could never claim the right to speak in the name of the German Catholic community.

The nineteenth century phenomenon of the dominant national church leader was most common in those countries where the Roman Catholic Church was in a minority. The features common

to all these men should be noted carefully. They all came to pre-eminence at a time of rapid change in the circumstances of the Catholic Church in their countries. During the latter half of the nineteenth century there was an unprecedented increase in numbers in Britain, in the United States and in Australia. There had been important changes in the political and social status of the Catholic Church in Holland and Ireland. These men were in office at a time when there was an immense need for reorganisation, for the imposition of proper ecclesiastical discipline and for providing for the spiritual, educational and material needs of their flocks. In common with Fallize, many of the great church leaders of the time, such as Cardinal Moran in Australia, were faced with bringing order to Catholic communities where discipline, both clerical and lay, had been somewhat slack. Growth had been haphazard and unco-ordinated, resulting in a waste of financial and human resources. There had been overprovision in some places, while in others, Catholics were without even the basic necessities for the fulfilment of their spiritual needs. Like Fallize they sometimes tended to over-react and allow organisation to become an obsession. In which case, petty rules, harsh discipline and over-centralisation became the order of the day. They had, furthermore, in common with Fallize, a tendency to under-estimate the work of their predecessors. Many of these church leaders were romanisers. This was particularly true of Manning in England, Moran in Australia and Zwijsen in Holland. Cardinal Gibbons in the United States was less extreme in this regard, although the policy of 'more Roman than Rome' had a zealous supporter in Archbishop Corrigan of New York. In the United

States and Australia such a policy was understandable, given the current climate within the Church and the diversity of the traditions upon which the Church had to build in those countries. On the other hand, Zwijsen and Manning went about their romanisation policies in such a way that they destroyed many useful national Catholic traditions in the name of uniformity and of loyalty to Rome. To his credit Fallize avoided the same mistake. Faced with a Catholic community with no post-Reformation Catholic tradition, he made use of the one which seemed to him to be the most suitable, namely, that from Germany. His decision may be criticised, and sometimes is, but it was infinitely more sensible than the extremism of Manning, or Faber, who wished to force strange Roman practices on a people whose mentality and culture were vastly different from those of the Eternal City. (145)

These great church leaders often showed a keen interest in the political and social issues of their time. In sharing such interests with Manning, Ketteler, Moran and others, Fallize was very much a man of his age. There were differences in approach and even of opinion, between the Ultramontane church leaders of the late nineteenth century but they all had one common objective, namely, to further the interests of the Catholic Church in their different countries. In minority countries, such as Holland, England, or the United States, they were mainly concerned with gaining equal rights and respect for the Catholic community and with ensuring its growth.

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(145) Aubert (1978), pp.31-2, 103-4, 212-3, 235-6.
Holmes THS (1978), pp.78-9.

In majority countries, such as Belgium, Luxembourg and France they were concerned with preserving the rights, influence and respect the Church already enjoyed and of defending these against the growing threat of anti-clericalism. In minority countries there was a tendency for a dominant leader to emerge, who enjoyed Rome's confidence and who was often regarded by the government as the spokesman for the Catholic community.

Fallize fitted very well into this pattern, even though his experience was different from that of Manning, or Gibbons. He had been brought up and had worked in Luxembourg, where Catholics were in a majority, but where the Church was under attack. In Norway, Fallize was the leader of a small Catholic minority, where the Church was struggling for greater freedom and opportunities for growth. Unlike Manning, or Gibbons and others, however, Fallize was the only bishop in Norway and his position as a leader could go unchallenged. Others had to deal with dissenting voices on the episcopal bench and with powerful opposition groups within the Catholic Church in their respective countries. Manning, for instance, had difficulties with the old conservative Catholic families and with liberals, such as Acton and Newman, and with powerful religious orders, such as the Jesuits. In 1887 the only such group in Norway was the Salettines and Fallize soon rid himself of them. For the rest of his period of office Fallize had no checks to his power and no opposition groups to force him to reappraise his situation or to make him compromise, or even to stimulate debate and discussion. He was, naturally, limited by severe lack of resources but his authority went unchallenged for thirty years.

Fallize was a political democrat, who was willing to work not only within the terms of a liberal constitution but also for its development. There was an important difference, however, between him and the ultramontane leaders in the English-speaking world. The latter defended the temporal power of the Pope and supported conservative clerical forces in France, Italy, Spain and elsewhere but, leaving aside the Roman question, they rarely became emotionally involved in continental ecclesiastical politics in the same way as Fallize. There was often a wide gap between their political liberalism and their ecclesastical absolutism. This may be seen in Manning, for example, who, had he been Archbishop of Paris, would no doubt have shocked some French Catholics by his dictatorial attitude to church affairs and others by his daring political radicalism. Fallize shared this inconsistency but never to the same degree for, unlike the English bishops, he had lived in a situation where anti-clericalism went hand in glove with political radicalism and liberalism. They, unlike Fallize, had to think in radical terms when called upon to represent the interests of the poor immigrant labourers, who had swollen the ranks of their flocks in recent years. The situation which faced Catholic leaders in the English-speaking world was never experienced by Fallize, either in Luxembourg, or in Norway. Fallize did, however, realise the importance of of good relations with the Norwegian government and became a respected figure in royal and in many official circles. That the Catholic minority in Norway enjoys today an influence greater than its numbers would lead one to expect is due in no small measure to the efforts of the much maligned Johann

Baptiste Fallize. (146)

A feature of this period in the history of the Roman Catholic Church was an obsession, not least in minority countries, with numbers and with building programmes. This was the great age of the African and Asian missions, when success was gauged by the number of converts that were made and, not least, by the number of schools, churches and hospitals that were built. In the English-speaking world there was an increase in the number of converts but the explosive growth of the Catholic Church was largely due to a high birth rate coupled with the arrival of enormous numbers of immigrants. The problem was how to build enough churches and schools to meet the ever increasing demand and it was many years before the provision of these facilities became adequate. Catholic parts of Europe were also facing difficulties. As more and more people moved to the towns and as industrial areas grew in size, there was a need for increasing numbers of new churches. At this time compulsory education was being introduced in most European and English-speaking countries and the need for a separate Catholic educational system put an added burden on the Church's finances. Even Ireland was grossly underprovided with Catholic churches and schools, in spite of minimal industrialisation and large scale emigration. The building programmes of Catholic leaders

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(146) Aubert (1978), pp.30-3, 37, 101-3, 209, 234-6, 258-60.
E.E.Y. Hales, The Catholic Church in the Modern World, 1958, pp.114-21, 168-78, 258-63.
Holmes THS (1978), pp.163-83.
Holmes MRTR (1978), pp.155-92.
For a summary of Fallize's views on socialism and liberalism see his pastoral letter of 1904 in: Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.18, no.1, 02.02.1904, pp.1-4. The distinctly continental orientation of Fallize's treatment of the subject should be noted, including his insistence that both tendencies are automatically atheistic and anti-clerical.

in the western world were, therefore, designed to meet two problems. The first of these was caused by vast changes in the distribution, and often in the numbers, of the faithful. The second was that caused by social change, particularly, industrialisation and mass-education. Neglect of either problem would have resulted in a decline in the number of practising Catholics and the alienation of large sections of society from the Church. Increase and expansion were the order of the day on the missions but the first priority of Catholic leaders in the western and English-speaking worlds was to make sure that they did not lose ground by allowing large sections of the faithful to fall away from the practice of their religion. In other words, in spite of appearances and utterances to the contrary, the emphasis, even in the English-speaking world, was on conservation, rather than expansion. (147)

Fallize's work in Norway fell, unfortunately, between two stools. He was the head of a minority Catholic community but of one in a very different situation from those in Prussia, Holland, or the English-speaking world. Nor, on the other hand, was he working in a missionary situation in the ordinary sense of the word. A small Catholic minority had long existed in the English-speaking countries and men, such as Manning, Moran and Gibbons, were building on a firm foundation, for both the original community in their countries and the immigrants were in possession of a long and venerable Catholic tradition. Furthermore, the immigrants came in such large numbers that

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(147) Holmes MRTR (1978), pp.163-5.

they were able to form their own communities in many areas, thus helping them to preserve their traditional religious culture. In Prussia, Holland and Switzerland Catholicism was a regional phenomenon. The Catholics of the Rhineland and Münsterland and the Polish areas of eastern Prussia, those of Limburg and Brabant in the Netherlands and of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland formed a majority in their areas and had strong local traditions and an unbroken history. These were not Catholic minorities in the same sense as those in England, or the United States but Catholic majority areas, which by conquest, or historical accident, had been absorbed into a larger, Protestant dominated state. In these three countries the situation was further complicated by the existence of small enclaves of Catholics in strongly Protestant areas, as for example, in parts of Dutch Friesland. Matters became ever more difficult in the nineteenth century when Catholics from rural areas began moving into towns, which were largely Protestant. In some places, such as the Rhineland, where the cities and industrial areas were Catholic, there was the problem of trying to prevent the kind of alienation from the Faith that had occurred in similar areas in France and Belgium.

Fallize's situation was, once again, quite different from any of the minorities that have just been described. He had, in 1887, just under a thousand Catholics living in tiny isolated groups in different parts of Norway and had to build on a Catholic tradition which was barely half a century old. While it is true that Norwegian Catholicism owed its existence to immigrants, these did not form a homogeneous group. Some stayed only for short periods and none came in such numbers

as to be able to form anything but the smallest Catholic communities and many were absorbed into the surrounding Protestant population. Although Norway had use for small numbers of foreign 'key workers' and traders, there was no prospect of any sizable increase in the number of Catholic foreign emigrants. Norway, like Ireland, was a poor and mainly rural country from which people tended to emigrate to the New World and which held no attraction for anything but the most specialised forms of foreign labour. (148)

After 1887 missionary prospects in Norway were probably poorer than they had been for some time. Many of the spiritual vacua which had existed previously had been filled, either by the various revivalist groups, or by increasingly efficient work on the part of the National Church. The Catholic community was, furthermore, chronically short of money and this limited its activity. In England interest in Catholicism was the fashion in certain circles and this proved to be an important factor in providing a steady stream of converts. As yet, no such circles existed in Norway. Catholicism had next to no religious or cultural appeal and most of the population was unbelievably prejudiced against, and ignorant of, the Old Faith. Finally, although Catholics enjoyed freedom of worship, they still suffered under severe disabilities. Conversion could in many cases lead to loss of employment and the ruin of one's career.

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(148) During the period 1880-1900 the population of Norway was about 2 millions. The emigration rate for the years 1880-1893 was 20,000 per annum. See,
Ramsøy (1972), pp.19, 45.
Derry (1957), pp.182-4, 213-4.
Derry (1973), pp.131-3.

Although the way in which Fallize put his plans into action may be criticised, much of his diagnosis of the situation was undoubtedly correct. It was clear that progress was going to be slow in Norway and it would have been madness to have expected dramatic results. Fallize realised that his apostolate would have to have two main objectives. First, a native Catholic tradition would have to be developed and second, the climate of opinion in Norway with regard to the Catholic Church would have to be changed. The latter was obviously important if Catholics were to gain full equality under the law and if the Church were to be able to gain any converts at all. It was also necessary to improve the religious standards and 'esprit de corps' of the Catholic community if it were to survive and not succumb to the pressures to which it was exposed. Fallize's magazine, St. Olav, founded in 1889, had as its objective the education of, and provision of information for both the Catholic community and outsiders. A further aim was to break down the isolation in which the individual parishes found themselves and to bring them into contact with eachother. He used the printing press he had managed to acquire in order to produce not only St. Olav but a surprisingly wide variety of devotional literature and tracts on the Catholic Church. (149)

In order to bring Catholics living in the same area closer together Fallize encouraged the setting up of parish societies.

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(149) Kjelstrup (1942), pp.160-1.
Molitor (1969), pp.94-6.
For a statement of the aims of St. Olav and an insight into the personal aims of Fallize as leader of the Catholic community in Norway see,
J.O. Fallize, 'Hvad vi vil', in St. Olav, vol.1, no.1, pp.1-2.

These were often organised on a national basis and their rules were usually drawn up by Fallize himself. Normally their purpose was purely social and religious but later Fallize set up the St. Olav's Society (St. Olavs Forbund) to collect money to help finance the Catholic parishes in Norway. This was the nearest Fallize came to the concept of the German 'Vereine'. Fallize was not against the idea of lay leaders, as his use of lay teachers and his employment of a lay catechist in Harstad show. On the other hand, lay leaders would have been in very short supply among a thousand Catholics. In addition, the difficulties under which Catholics suffered tended to discourage conversions among the very class of people who could provide such leadership. To make matters even worse, some of the more prominent Catholic families had, before 1887, tended to bring up their sons as Protestants in order not to ruin their careers. In his organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in Norway Fallize saw the hospitals as the main contact with local Protestant society and the primary means of breaking down prejudice, particularly as they also fulfilled a social need at that time. The pre-eminence given to the work of the Catholic hospitals was, outside Scandinavia, rare in Protestant Europe, or in the English-speaking countries. It was more a feature of colonial territories in Asia, or Africa. (150)

Fallize always thought of the parish schools as playing an important part in the life of the Catholic centres he was trying to develop. In common with the great Ultramontane

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(150) Molitor (1969), pp.51-2, 94-5.
On parish societies in Norway see, Bekjendtgjørelser, vol.6, no.7, 10.09.1893, pp.29-30, and vol.28, no.4, 25.09.1914, p.28.

figures of the period he was keenly interested in education. Neither he, nor they, were alone in this. By 1900 most governments in western Europe and the English-speaking countries had made elementary education compulsory. Indeed, all governments of the world, which sought after progress saw universal education as the ultimate goal. Its importance was realised by most politicians in civilised countries and it was seen as an essential means of improving the quality of life within contemporary society. The great discussions of the nineteenth century were not concerned with the desirability of education, on which all were agreed, but with who should provide it. The growth of universal suffrage had increased the interest of politicians in 'educating their masters', for these 'masters' had to be educated to want the kind of society their 'servants' the politicians desired. Until this time it had been the various Christian churches which had provided a significant proportion of the schools and these wished to retain their influence and their opportunity to educate the young to work for a society which would be true to Christian principles. The intensity of the clash between Church and state varied from country to country but the dispute tended to be more intense in Catholic than in Protestant lands. In Scandinavia, for example, the Church was, in theory as well as in practice, subordinate to the State. A national educational system acceptable to both parties was, therefore, relatively easy to achieve. In Norway a compromise was made, whereby the local councils ran the public schools but they remained Lutheran denominational in atmosphere and teaching. In Scotland and Holland, where the Reformed Church was independent of the state, working agreements between the government and

the majority church were achieved.

The position of the Roman Catholic Church in those countries where it was the religion of the vast majority of the people was, however, different. The Catholic Church is an organisation which is supra-national and which owes its allegience to an authority outside the state. Great emphasis was put on both these factors by the Ultramontanes, who were reacting against Erastian movements, such as Josephism and Gallicanism, a reaction, which was undoubtedly necessary if the unity and independence of the Church were to be preserved. Unfortunately, however, the Ultramontanes went too far in the other direction. They gloried in the vision of a well-organised and highly centralised Church, united by a single faith and discipline, which would not only regain its supposed past influence but actually increase it. It was to be a Church dedicated to transforming the world. This is, naturally, the aim of the Church in all ages but many Ultramontanes saw it in terms of political power and influence as well as pastoral zeal.

Ultramontane thought was much influenced by Romanticism. The Ultramontanes saw the Middle Ages, and the thirteenth century in particular, as the golden age of the Church and they were particularly inspired by the mediaeval monastic and scholastic movements. The nineteenth century was the age of neo-gothic churches, of new religious orders and houses. The revival of interest in plainsong and mediaeval liturgy all date from the nineteenth century, as does the renewed study of the philosophy and theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, which Pope Leo XIII tried to make standard for the whole Church. These

influences were of more lasting value than the crude and uncritical romanisation practised by Manning and Faber. Many Ultramontanes were, like Guéranger, ardent mediaeval revivalists seeking justification for their views on the papacy and the Church and on the pressing educational and social problems of the day from their naive and idealised view of the Middle Ages. Fallize was, fortunately, not a romaniser, as witness the fact that he often built his churches in a mock mediaeval Norwegian stave-church style. It must be understood, however, that both Romanticism and romanisation express two important aspects of the Ultramontane movement. The former stressed the historical continuity of the Church, the latter, its visual unity. Guéranger's Solesmes and Faber's Oratory expressed a difference of emphasis, rather than of basic opinion. Solesmes, however, was more in the spirit of the age and its dedication to historical study gave it and similar movements within the Roman Catholic Church an influence which was permanent, whereas the introduction of Roman customs, many of them superficial and without a sound theological basis, has been proved by recent events to be no more than a passing fad. (151)

The influence of the Romantic movement was of paramount importance with regard to Ultramontane ideas on education. Men, such as Fallize, were looking back with nostalgia to a period when the Church's domination in this field went seemingly unchallenged and when, in very truth, the Church was

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(151) Aubert (1978), pp. 35-6.
Holmes MRTR (1978), pp.117-8, 192.
Holmes THS (1978), p.138.

the schoolmistress of Europe and the preserver of western civilisation and culture. For such men the history of Europe since the thirteenth century had been one of decline, for the harmony and unity of the society of that period had been gradually breaking down ever since. Nominalism had undermined the authority of Aquinas and the great thinkers of his age. The Great Schism had weakened the position of the papacy. The Renaissance had corrupted the Church and brought its moral authority into question, while the Reformation had destroyed the unity both of Christianity and of Europe. The Renaissance, the Reformation and modern Rationalism had stressed the importance of the individual at the expense of the community, thus causing a breakdown of social harmony and encouraging the narrow nationalism which had led to conflict and disunity in Europe and which threatened to destroy Europe in the future. Fallize was keenly aware of this latter possibility, even early in his career in Norway. Between the years 1914-18 he never ceased to refer to the Great War as a tragedy and waste. He and many others felt that the industrialisation of Europe had tended to destroy the inner harmony of man by alienating him from his roots. Urbanisation had cut modern man off from the soil and mass-production had led to a decline in the traditional crafts. Neither the worker, nor his handiwork were appreciated and he, himself, was condemned to spend his life in a dreary slum, living in subhuman conditions and working long hours making shoddy machine-made goods in order to put money into the hands of the undeserving few. The Ultramontanes saw the Church as the only organisation which was able to restore unity and harmony to mankind. The Church was to be an agent of social and political change, hence the radicalism of Lacordaire and

de Lammenais and, later, of Ketteler and Manning. Even the French conservatives, who insisted upon an intimate link between throne and altar, were looking to the Church to bring about a new society, where the old harmony would be restored. Social change was also the aim of the liberals and socialists of the time but the clerical political parties differed in that they were using an historical model, rather than a modern one to bring about a new society. They were looking back with nostalgia to a past age, whose principles they felt could be adapted to present needs. This did not mean that they were always on the side of the rich and powerful, or that they were necessarily anti-democratic, for primitive forms of democracy were to be found in some of the city states and universities and in the constitutions of some of the religious orders of the Middle Ages. There was one thing, however, that both Ultramontanes and their liberal and socialist rivals were agreed upon, namely, that education was a powerful catalyst for change, for bringing about their kind of society. Herein lies the reason why the greatest battles between church and state during the period 1860-1914 were over education. Fallize's seemingly unreasonable policy can only be understood against the background of current Ultramontane ideas on politics and education. These provide the reasons why he was prepared to go to such lengths to impose his will on the Catholic community. (152)

The logical conclusion which is to be drawn from Ultra-

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(152) Aubert (1978), pp.165-80

montane religious thought is that all education should be under the control of the Church. The majority of Ultramontanes were, however, content to see this as an ideal, realising that it could not be put into practice in the late nineteenth century political and social situation. This was self-evident in those countries, where the Church formed a minority but even in most so-called Catholic countries it was not practicable, for anti-clerical liberals and socialists often formed a powerful political force, which wished to reduce the Church's influence. In many countries, therefore, the aim of the Church was to set up a separate parallel education system for Catholics with full goverment support and the same rights as those enjoyed by the state schools, in other words, the situation which pertained in Holland after 1889. In most countries, however, the state was less generous and a separate Catholic educational system had to be built up at great cost and sacrifice and with little or no support from the government. The situation was complicated by the fact that neutral schools in the proper sense of the word did not exist. All the public schools in Scandinavia were clearly Protestant denominational institutions. Even the Agreed Syllabus did not satisfy English Catholics, who still felt that the Protestant influence in the Board Schools was too strong for their tastes. Similarly, schools in the United States during this period tended to be non-denominational Protestant, rather than truly neutral. In France neutrality simply meant anti-religious, for that is what the French state schools had become by 1914, both with regard to teaching and atmosphere. Nor were Catholics by any means alone at this time in their demands for

denominational schools. (153)

The excellent proposals for mixed schools in Ireland made by Lord Stanley's Commission in 1831 did not, for example, fail simply on account of Catholic intransigence. As in Holland and Switzerland, demographic and social factors militated against the development of such schools, even if the will to make them work had existed. All three main religious bodies in Ireland wanted their own schools, not just simply the Roman Catholics, as might be inferred from a reading of Nicholas Hans' treatment of the subject. The first religious body to opt out of the scheme was, in fact, the Church of Ireland, not the Catholic Church, which supported the combined schools for a surprising length of time. The truth is that practical considerations as well as the growing dominance of Ultramontane ideas on education, were the cause of Catholic demands for denominational schools in Ireland. (154)

Fallize's schools policy was, therefore, not a personal whim, as has sometimes been imagined. It reflected the general trend in Catholic educational thinking at the time. There were, moreover, some telling arguments in its favour, given the extreme denominational bias of the public schools. Fallize

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(153) Aubert (1978), pp.80, 263.

For the extreme Ultramontane view of the Church's exclusive rights in education see,
Pope Pius IX, 'Syllabus seu collectio errorum modernorum', 08.12.1864, §45, quoted in H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Barcelona, Freiburg and Rome, 31st. ed. 1957, p.487, no.1745.

(154) D.H. Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, 1970, pp.157, 202-6.

N. Hans, Comparative Education, 1967, pp.118-21.

had, in many ways, more justification for a separate Catholic system of education than was the case either in England, or the United States. The biggest disadvantage under which he suffered was the smallness of the Catholic community. Unlike those in Holland and Prussia it was neither large, nor important enough to force concessions from the state. In the English-speaking countries there was already a tradition of Catholic education upon which to build and there were sufficient numbers of Catholics to enable the schools to be financed and to make sure that they were large enough to be viable. Fallize enjoyed none of these advantages.

Fallize's schools policy failed, however, not simply for demographic reasons but because he shared the shortcomings of Ultramontane educational thinking during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is true that Fallize's failures became apparent at an early date but the crises that besat the Catholic schools in Norway had their parallels elsewhere, although, in many cases, the problems did not make themselves felt until the 1960s. A prime cause of these difficulties, which eventually faced the majority of Catholic schools in the developed world was, strangely enough, the lack of a guiding philosophy. The great Ultramontane church leaders of the nineteenth century and their successors were, first and foremost, concerned with building schools and providing places for an ever growing number of Catholic children. An excellent example of the priority given to providing schools may be seen in the American bishops' famous dictum, 'schools before churches'.

Why were the bishops so concerned about schools? Why were the laity so willing to make heroic sacrifices in order to finance them? It was looked upon as the task of the Catholic schools to save the faith of Catholic children, as it was felt that there was a grave danger that this would be lost, if they attended non-Catholic schools. It was also assumed that Catholic schools would turn out children, who would remain faithful to their religion for the rest of their lives, even if they came from indifferent homes. Unfortunately, it gradually became clear from an early date that the record of the Catholic schools was below these expectations and there were indications that the practising rate among Catholics in a given area had little to do with the existence of a Catholic school. This was already apparent in France at the beginning of the present century. In more recent years many of the arguments against the schools have taken the form of a crude cost-efficiency analysis. Are they worth the money and sacrifice, when the practising rate among their former pupils is no higher than that among Catholics who have attended state schools? (155)

Although it had been realised, or at least suspected, that Catholic schools were not producing the expected results, any criticisms were counteracted by pointing out the advantages of a Catholic educational atmosphere. Unfortunately the nature of this 'atmosphere' was rarely defined in anything more than

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(155) Aubert (1978), pp.80, 214.
For the official pre-1960 Catholic view of the church schools with special reference to the United States see, T.L. Bouscaren and A.C. Ellis, Canon Law: a Text and Commentary, Milwaukee, 1958, pp.774-5.

the vaguest terms, thus leaving the Catholic schools open to a new attack at the time of the Second Vatican Council, namely, that they were ghettos which cut off the Catholic community from the rest of society. To clinch the argument it was pointed out that, given the number of indifferent Catholics among the pupils, and even among the teaching staff, the Catholic atmosphere in the schools was not so strong as it should have been. Those who supported the schools, particularly the church leaders, now found themselves with few persuasive arguments against those who felt that the Catholic schools no longer served a useful purpose. It would have seemed to them a gross betrayal on their part to have admitted that Catholic education had failed, as its necessity had been seen as self-evident for so many years. The schools question had united Catholic communities in many parts of the world and they had been called upon to make great sacrifices. Were they now to be informed that it was all in vain? (156)

The whole issue had long been settled in Norway, for it was already clear by 1910 that Fallize was fighting a losing battle. The cost-efficiency and ghetto arguments were already being used against the parish schools during the inter-war period, when most of the smaller schools passed out of existence unnoticed. Clergy and laity gradually lost interest and, by the end of the Second World War, some had even become hostile to the whole

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(156) For an examination of the aims of Catholic education and the problem of 'atmosphere' see,
H. Halbfas, Fundamental Kateketik, Freiburg, 1968, pp. 285-96.
K. Rahner, Mission and Grace, vol.2, 1964, pp.116-45.
For an interesting re-appraisal of the purpose of the Catholic schools with particular relevance to the Danish situation see,
H. Roos, 'Kristen humanisme. Overvejelser med henblik på muligheden for en katolsk pædagogik i verden af idag', in Pædagogik, vol.5, no.3, 08.1975, pp.28-40.

idea of separate Catholic education. After all, there seemed little perceptible difference in the quality of church life in those parishes which had schools and those which did not. By the 1960s the schools question had become an irrelevant issue in Norway, except in the five parishes which had retained their Catholic schools. It looked as though the survivors would gradually disappear unmourned by the Catholic community, an impression strengthened by the fact that, by 1970, there were only three schools left and these were saved by the granting of state aid to denominational schools. Arguments about Catholic atmosphere were gradually dropped as the number of Protestant pupils increased in proportion to the number of Catholics. Even the shortage of trained Catholic religious to staff the schools, a major factor in the closure of Catholic institutions elsewhere in the 1960s and 1970s, had been a crucial problem since well before Fallize's time. By 1970 there seemed to be few cogent arguments for retaining the Catholic schools in Norway. One of the reasons for this was that, when setting out his policy on education, Fallize had used the same narrow arguments as Ultramontanes elsewhere and failed to give the Catholic schools a sound philosophical basis. When the arguments he, and others, had put forward were seen to be inadequete, there seemed to be no further reason the retain them.

While it is true that there had been Ultramontane thinkers whose ideas could have been formed into a coherent theory of

education, the Catholic church leaders of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were, of necessity, more concerned with the immediate practical issues, such as providing schools and defending what they felt were the rights of the Church in education. These matters seemed more important and fundamental at the time than questions of educational theory and method. In the matter of the Church's rights the Ultramontanes tended, as usual, to argue from what they believed were traditional ideas on the subject, particularly those thought to have been current during the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to justify the rights of the Catholic schools from history. Certainly the Church has the right to give religious instruction, catechesis, to its subjects but this need not be done in school and there is no reason why the Church should feel obliged to busy itself with the teaching of secular subjects. As H. Marrou points out, there were no Christian schools in the present sense of the word during the first Christian centuries. Cultured Christians, such as many of the Fathers, received their education in secular schools in spite of the possible adverse effects on their faith and morals. It should be remembered that the schools of that time were neither neutral, nor heretical Christian, but pagan! (157) The Ultramontanes failed to realise that the Church became involved in general education only slowly and reluctantly. The schools of the early Middle Ages were really concerned with the training of monks and clergy and started providing schooling for laymen more by accident than

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(157) H. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, 1964, pp.316-8, 330-9.

design, as they were, generally, the only educational establishments at the time. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards there was an increasing demand for secular education and, for historical reasons, the Church found itself either directly, or indirectly, in control of the majority of educational institutions and these were, naturally, expanded to fill a growing need. With the Reformation there was a change in emphasis. First, there was a gradual separation of secular and clerical education, caused partly by the growth of the seminaries. Second, social change had brought about a greater need for lay education and, third, religious change had compelled the Church to think in terms of the education of committed laymen. The best known but not the only attempt to satisfy these demands was the Jesuit schools. The primary aim of the Catholic schools had become the education of a lay elite. Those who went on to the priesthood, or the religious life, now formed a minority of the pupils.

Catholic interest in providing popular education may be said to have begun with Jean Baptiste de la Salle (1651-1719). His aims were to fulfil a need for popular education among the poorer classes and to give them sound instruction in the Faith. These two aims characterised Catholic education all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the Church strove to meet the increasing demand for schooling. Men, such as de la Salle, wished to raise the standards of society by the use of both secular and religious education. These aims were similar to those of the English Methodists and the Norwegian Pietists. The Ultramontanes tended to narrow this concept of of education by thinking primarily in terms of preserving the

Faith; 'stopping the leakage', as it was often called. Thus, the dual role in Catholic education was abandoned in favour of a single one, namely, that of providing schooling within an exclusively religious context. (158) A comparison between the early and late nineteenth centuries is interesting in this respect. Before about 1850 it was not unusual in minority countries to find Catholics in Protestant schools and a fair proportion of Protestants in Catholic institutions. In Scotland, for example, it was common before about 1870 for Catholics to send their children to Scottish S.P.C.K. schools, particularly in the remoter areas. Roman Catholic children tended to go to the nearest school and used their rights under the Conscience Clause to withdraw from religious instruction. The priests seem to have given them every encouragement to do this and Protestant schools were quite prepared to accept them. At the Milne Institute at Fochabers, for instance, the founder had reserved one third of the places at the school for Roman Catholic scholars. As late as the report of the Argyle Commission of 1867 only 46% of the Catholic children in Scotland attended their own schools and there was no Catholic school on South Uist, where half the population was Catholic. Until 1872 there was no Catholic teachers' training college in Scotland. Before that date women went to Liverpool and men to Dublin. Attempts to impose an Ultramontane style schools policy on Scottish Catholics came comparatively late,

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(158) S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas, 1965, pp.148-70.

N. Hans, Comparative Education, 1967, pp.106-28.

A.M. Kazamias and B.G. Massialas, Tradition and Change in Education. A Comparative Study, Englewood Cliffs, 1965, pp.27-35.

coinciding with the advent of compulsory education in 1872 and growing immigration from Ireland. Even in Ireland itself the hierachy was able to accept, admittedly with misgivings, the idea of mixed denominational schools until the time of Cardinal Cullen. Not only that, in 1848 just over half the 120,202 children at the Church of Ireland Church Education Society Schools were Catholics. Even allowing for possible exaggeration, this is a surprisingly large number. (159)

Ultramontane educational policy tended to reserve Catholic schools for Catholic children. This was a practical necessity in areas, where there were not enough school places to cover the needs of the Catholic community. On the other hand, it was also partly motivated by the desire to make Catholic schools into ghettos, where the staff, children and atmosphere were wholly Roman Catholic. That this had not always been the case is shown by figures for Catholic schools in the London area for 1780. Nine schools had a combined roll of 610 pupils, just over 75% of whom belonged to the Church of England and this at a time when Roman Catholicism was officially proscribed in Britain. Furthermore, great pains were taken to teach the Anglican pupils their catechism and the Catholics, theirs. In some cases Catholic teachers must have given religious instruction according to the tenets of the Anglican faith to children who belonged to that church! This would

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(159) D.H. Akenson, The Irish Educational Experiment, 1970, pp.197-8.

J. Scotland, A History of Scottish Education, vol.1, 1969, pp.254-8.

have been impossible in ordinary Catholic schools a hundred years later. (160)

These examples well illustrate the change in mentality which occurred in Catholic education during the course of the nineteenth century. The earlier approach was more pragmatic and flexible, where the faithful were able to make a firm distinction between religious and secular education and see the latter as a service to the community. The idea that a totally Catholic educational environment was essential, if children were to grow up as good and faithful members of the Church, was a product of the Ultramontane era. Thus it will be seen that the Ultramontane claim to the right to a complete system of Catholic education under Church control had little in the way of historical tradition behind it. The cost from the point of view of money and energy has already been noted, more important was the cost in educational standards. The situation in Scotland at this time was not untypical. Catholic school fees had to be kept low because of the poverty of the people. Standards were low because of poor buildings and equipment and because there was not enough money to pay qualified teachers, unless these happened to be religious. The same problems hit the Roman Catholic schools in Norway, only on a much more dramatic scale, owing to the smallness of the population. With regard to teachers the situation was much worse than in Scotland, for the use of foreign religious, whose knowledge of the language was imperfect was unavoidable. Lay teachers were

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(160) Westminster Diocesan Archives, no.231, unpublished mss, 1780. (Exhibit no.190 at the Challoner Exhibition, Westminster Cathedral, 1981).

hard to find, particularly qualified ones, as the training colleges were closed to Catholics until 1917, and it was not often that teachers converted to Catholicism, as this meant that they lost their jobs. In spite of the fact that Fallize made every effort to pay his teachers a reasonable wage, the salary and conditions he offered were inferior to those which many, particularly male teachers, enjoyed in the public schools. Most of the parishes, however, simply could not afford to take on a lay teacher. The price that was paid for trying to implement an Ultramontane schools policy in Norway was extremely high in the sense that many Catholics were torn between their duty to send their children to a Catholic school and their natural wish to provide them with a decent education. It was this poverty of Catholic education in Norway, a result of the policy of 'Catholic schools at any price', that helped to turn the faithful against it. (161)

An important reason why Ultramontane educational policy failed was not its rigidity, its attempt to impose a uniform system everywhere, irrespective of resources and circumstances, but its inner sterility and lack of a proper guiding philosophy. This was, no doubt, excusable during the initial difficult period in, for example, the English-speaking countries, where all energies had to be geared to building and maintaining schools but, even in ideal situations, such as in Holland, little was done. The Ultramontanes cannot be excused for this. Their mediaeval romanticism encouraged them to see the

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(161) On the situation in Scotland see,
J. Scotland, A History of Scottish Education, 1969, vol.1, pp.254-8.

thirteenth century as the golden age of the Church and they believed that Scholasticism was the only system of thought which could express adequately and accurately the Church's theology. Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical Æternæ Patris of 1879 attempted to make the philosophy and theology of Thomas Aquinas the official Catholic system. It was the foundation upon which modern Catholic thought was to be based and it was to be developed in order that its principles might be applied to modern problems, such as politics, social affairs and education. The normal Ultramontane attitude to Scholasticism was, however, quite different. It was seen as a rigid, watertight system of orthodoxy, a concept which hardly allowed for the development which Leo XIII had envisaged. Despite the attempts of Leo XIII and, in later years, of writers such as Étienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain to apply Thomism to modern problems, its impact on ordinary Catholic education was not, in practice, very great. Catholic schools tended to be conservative both with regard to methods and curricula. Changes tended to come from without, through, for example, state legislation and the schools tended to become rigid in their thinking and introspective in their attitudes.

Applied with discretion there was much to be said for making use of the thirteenth century humanism of Aquinas and his contemporaries. Certainly, an education truly based on the Thomist concept of man would have produced a more progressive system than that which emerged and would have made easier the absorption of the ideas of the few original Catholic educationalists of the period. The ideas of Antonio Rosmini

(1797-1855) are well known but they are not Thomist and some of them were officially declared to be unorthodox. Any discussion of how far Rosmini's ideas could have contributed to a Catholic educational policy is, therefore, academic, as there was little chance of their being given serious consideration by Ultramontane thinkers. (162) On the other hand, the child-centred and compassionate methods of John Bosco (1815-1888), obviously successful but little used outside the congregation he founded, could easily have been justified from Thomist philosophy. The same may be said of the originators of the Munich Method of religious instruction at the beginning of the present century, whose ideas, unfortunately, did not become generally accepted until after the Fallize period. There were also thinkers of note during the twentieth century Ultramontane period whose educational thought was worthy of consideration. Leaving aside Gabriel Marcel, who is outside the mainstream of Thomist thought; other writers, such as Jacques Maritain, have shown that the Neo-Thomism of the Ultramontane era was capable of being developed into a respectable educational theory. Many of the insights of Maria Montesorri were not without appeal to those brought up on the Thomist idea of man. The best official synthesis of Ultramontane educational thought is to be found in Pope Pius XI's encyclical, Divini illius Magistri of 1929. Certainly, it is more sophisticated in its approach than many previous

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(162) S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas, 1965, pp.381-9.

40 points from Rosmini's theology and philosophy were condemned by the Holy Office under Leo XIII in 1887 see, H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum, Barcelona, Freiburg and Rome, 31st. ed., 1957, no.1891-1930, pp.528-32.

documents but it reflects their spirit. One has the curious impression of a Church still on the defensive, introspective, cautious about new ideas, reiterating what has been said before, and all this at a time of exciting developments in educational theory. The tragedy is that, by simply using ordinary well-tried Thomist principles, the Church might have been in the vanguard of educational reform and contributed to twentieth century developments in this field. As a result of this sterility Catholic schools and colleges were ill able to contribute to the development of twentieth century educational thought and this was the case, even in Holland and Belgium, where, after the struggles of the mid-nineteenth century, the Church eventually gained many of the concessions for which it had fought. (163)

Even under advantageous conditions Catholic education tended to be conservative, making changes only when these were forced upon it by state legislation, or by developments in the secular field. When Catholic schools and colleges began to react against this conservatism in the 1960s and 1970s new methods and theories were adopted quite uncritically, particularly in Holland, where change was often introduced for the sake of change. The result was confusion. The tragedy was that this

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(163) E.S. Lawrence, The Origins and Growth of Modern Education, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp.356-60.

J. Maritain, Education at the Crossroads, 1944.

English translation of Divini Illius Magistri: Pope Pius XI, The Christian Education of Youth, new translation, 1959.

P. Skagestad, 'Lærergjerningen i Thomas Aquinas' åndsfilosofi', in Norsk pedagogisk tidskrift, vol.58, no.1, 1974, pp.8-15.

could have been avoided. That the sudden revolution brought about by the Second Vatican Council happened at all is a testimony to the basic sterility of the Ultramontane movement. Changes which should have been gradually brought about over a number of decades were forced through in the course of one. That the gradual evolution that should have occurred previous to the 1960s did not take place is largely the fault of the later Ultramontanes, especially with regard to their clumsy handling of the Modernist crisis in the 1900s. This closed the door to change and led to the suppression of original thinking for a number of years afterwards. In the educational field this conservatism was doubly dangerous as it was, in practice at least, not backed up by a guiding philosophy, other than that of protecting the faith and morals of the Catholic young.

This Ultramontane attitude to education had yet another unfortunate consequence, namely, introspection. During the period 1860-1960 Catholic schools aimed at providing a service to the Catholic community and rarely saw themselves as part of a wider context. It was often the exception, rather than the rule, to take in non-Catholic pupils. Many schools did not have room for them and some, indeed, refused to take them. Catholic schools in western Europe and the English-speaking countries often had too few places to meet the demands of the Catholic community, which, in any case, sent its children to them out of a sense of duty, a duty which church leaders never ceased to insist, was founded upon the divine and natural law. During this period Catholic schools in these countries did not, by and large, have to sell themselves to the public in the same way as, for instance, the Montesorri or the Steiner Schools.

By the 1970s Catholic schools in the western world were having to compete with state and other institutions in order to attract even Catholic pupils. This was caused, in part, by the break-up of traditional Catholic communities and by the fall in the birth-rate but more important, however, was the growth of a marked change in Catholic attitudes towards ecclesiastical authority. The faithful were no longer willing to send their children to a Catholic school, if they felt that others could give a better education, or if they believed that the existence of Catholic schools was no longer justified, or quite simply, that another school was nearer their home. A further objection that was often heard was that with increasing numbers of lapsed Catholics and non-Catholics among the children, and even among the staff, the religious atmosphere in the schools had become so diluted that they were now little different from state institutions. The fact that parents now felt themselves free to make their own choice of school left Catholic education without 'selling points' now that it had to justify itself on other grounds than before. (164)

In addition, it was becoming more and more expensive to provide Catholic education. It had to compete with ever increasing material standards in the state schools at a time when vocations to the religious orders had declined sharply and large amounts of money were having to be paid out to ever increasing numbers of lay staff. Additional state aid to cover

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(164) D. Konstant, R.E. for R.C.'s, 1965, pp.8-10.
This report for the Westminster Schools Commission estimated that only about 45-50% of the Catholic children of the Archdiocese of Westminster attended their own schools.

these expenses was not always forthcoming, as the general tendency in most western countries after the Second World War was towards greater uniformity and centralisation in education. Politicians and government officials came to see complete government control of education as the ultimate goal and their plans left no room for alternatives to the state system. The prevailing official climate of opinion was not willing to recognise the fact that it might be argued that parents had the right to choose between several different types of school without hurt to their pockets. Nor was it willing to accept that the state's claim to monopoly rights in education could be seriously called into question.

The Roman Catholic schools in Norway shared these problems, which made themselves felt at a much earlier period than in many other countries. Even the idea of a state monopoly of education was seriously discussed in the 1930s by government politicians and officials. In Norway Catholic parents were already demanding the right to choose state education for their children before 1914 and this right was tacitly recognised after 1923. There were occasional official statements after this date encouraging Catholic parents to send their children to their own denominational schools, where these were available. These statements, however, tend to underline the advantages of sending one's child to a Catholic school, rather than one's duty to do so according to the divine and natural law. A good example of this is an editorial by Mgr. Henrik Irgens in St. Olav in 1936. In it the advantages of the public schools are discussed objectively, as are some of the disadvantages of some of the

Catholic schools, including their lack of modern buildings and equipment. The good points about the Catholic schools are, however, underlined in a cool, unemotional manner and in a very different tone from that of Fallize! Very important is the fact that the right to send one's child to a public school is openly admitted. In other words, the Catholic schools were already having to sell themselves on their own merits, even to members of the Catholic community. (165)

The fact that such an article could have been written only fourteen years after Fallize's leaving office is a sign of the failure of Ultramontane educational policy in Norway. It was now regarded as desirable that Catholics should send their children to their own denominational schools but not imperative. Indeed, only half the Catholic parishes in Norway had their own schools in 1936. Four schools had closed since 1922 and of the eight parishes started since that date, only Hamar had been provided with a school. This meant that the Catholic authorities in Norway no longer regarded the parish schools as essential for the preservation of the faith and morals of the children under their jurisdiction. This attitude was quite different from that of Fallize and from that of Ultramontane thinking in general and was an admission that the schools were no longer performing the function for which they were built.

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(165) H. Irgens, 'Hvilken skole?', in St. Olav, vol.48, no.24, 11.06.1936, pp.187-8.

The reasons for this failure are not difficult to understand. The provision of denominational education for every Catholic child in Norway was well beyond the resources of such a tiny Catholic community. An alternative policy was possible and it would have been reasonable for Fallize to have given dispensations to children in the smallest parishes to attend the public schools and concentrated his resources and efforts on those places, where a Catholic school would have been viable. This would have resulted in fewer Catholic schools but ones with better standards and amenities. While it may be argued, however, that Fallize was attempting to implement a papal policy, which left him little room for manoeuvre, he cannot be absolved from two other factors that contributed to the decline of the Catholic schools in Norway. These were his reputation for bad relationships with religious orders and his seeming unwillingness in practice to invest enough money in education. The first of these factors made it extremely difficult for Fallize to attract teaching orders to Norway, thus not only depriving the schools of better qualified personnel but also robbing Catholic education in Norway of a pressure group, which could have persued its interests in the future. The second factor was equally important. The schools did not receive their fair share of church funds and during the difficult period between 1914 and 1922 they were given the lowest possible priority, when it came to financial help and investment. Fallize had thus begun a tradition whereby the parish schools became the cinderellas of the Catholic community. They came to be regarded, in many cases, as expendable and hardly worth any efforts to improve them. The sad state of the school in Bergen in 1924 was largely due to these two factors. The average bishop

in the English-speaking world at the time would have, in practice, given Catholic education a much higher priority, when it came to sharing out resources and would probably have shown greater willingness to make concessions in order to make Norway a more attractive proposition for the teaching orders. Demographic factors and limited resources would have made it unlikely that Catholic schools would have proved any more than moderately successful in Norway but they could have done better than was the case and Fallize must clearly bear some of the responsibility for the fact that they did not.

It would, on the other hand, be wrong to contend that the failure of the Catholic schools in Norway was entirely due to Fallize. It is equally important to consider the pressures that were being brought to bear on him as a result of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church at that time towards education. This would have demanded, where humanly possible, that Fallize should provide school places for all Catholic children. Even when Fallize set up schools in parishes with only a handful of children, or excommunicated parents who sent their children to the public schools, it is important to realise his reasons for doing this. Ultramontane educational thinking insisted that both the natural and divine law forbade the sending of Catholic children to schools other than those which were run by the Church. No child could be sent to a non-Catholic school without putting it in grave danger of losing the Faith. In other words, the provision of Catholic educational institutions was essential for the future existence of the Church. The more extreme aspects of Fallize's

educational policy can only be understood against this background. Fallize would have felt himself to have been under the strictest possible moral obligation to do all in his power to ensure that all the children under his jurisdiction could, and did, attend Catholic schools. The logical consequence of the Ultramontane attitude was that Catholic schools had to be provided and attended whatever the price. No sacrifice was too great, for Catholic schools were seen as a necessary prerequisite for the eternal salvation of the younger generation. It was impossible to bring rational arguments to bear against such a claim. The cost to the Catholic communities of many countries was enormous. Schools had to be built, whether they could be afforded or not, and irrespective of local circumstances. Catholic parents had to send their children to the schools, even when the latter were clearly of a lower standard than the corresponding non-Catholic institutions. In other words, parents were sometimes asked not only to sacrifice their money but also their children's futures. Ultramontane thinking did not allow room for local divergences but demanded centralisation and uniformity and obedience to authority, even under impossible circumstances. The ultimate responsibility for the failure of Fallize's educational policy must, therefore, be laid at the door of the system that produced him.

If the history of the Roman Catholic schools in Norway were no more than an account of one man's inability to implement the official Ultramontane educational policy, it would be of no more than local interest. Fallize's plans did not, however, fail simply because of difficult circumstances and his own personal shortcomings but rather because of the innate defects in Rome's

official policy. The extremely difficult situation under which the Catholic Church worked in Norway highlighted the deficiencies of this policy and led Fallize's successors to admit openly that it had failed long before this was done in most other countries. In Norway it was already clear more than twenty-five years before the opening of the Second Vatican Council that Catholic schools were not essential for the future survival of the Faith. Indeed, as later studies in other countries showed, attendence at a Catholic school had little influence on a young person's future practice of his religion. Recent history has shown that Catholicism can survive and prosper and produce a militant younger generation, even when the faithful are forced to make use of schools, whose main aim is to teach atheism. Such is the case, for example, in Poland and Croatia. In Norway the message was clear: there should have been fewer but better schools, a less rigid policy towards those parents who gave their children a public education and improvement of facilities for the religious instruction of those children who did not attend the Catholic schools. The same may be said of other countries, depending on the size and economic capabilities of their Catholic communities and the willingness of the state to support the schools.

Was the tremendous effort that was put into Catholic education during the Ultramontane period completely wasted? The answer to this question must be in the negative. One very big difference between Norway and many western countries was that, in the latter case, the Catholic Church played an important part in the development of universal education. This was by no means confined to Catholic countries. It may be

argued that public education in, say Great Britain and the United States, might not have developed so quickly in some areas, if it had been forced to absorb large numbers of Catholic immigrant children instead of allowing them to be catered for by the Catholic schools at little, or no cost to the local and state authorities. Modern suggestions that the money spent on the Catholic schools might have been better used on welfare projects ignore this fact and fail to understand that in the nineteenth century the provision of education for all was the number one social priority. Seen in this light the nobility of the practical aims of the Ultramontanes can scarcely be denied. These included, after all, included the provision of education and a chance for self-improvement for every Catholic child, no matter how poor, or how lacking in intelligence. These aims proved to be utopian but this should not blind one to the fact that, in spite of a chronic lack of resources, astonishing progress was made towards achieving them.

At the present time Catholic schools, not only in Norway but in many other parts of the world, are having to justify their existence on quite different principles from earlier times. They are no longer seen as essential for the future of Catholicism and, in many cases, no longer have the service of the Catholic community as their primary aim in that the number of non-Catholic pupils attending them is increasing. Does this mean that the Catholic schools no longer have any part to play in the modern world? Would it not be better to close them and use the money for other, more useful, projects?

It would be a pity if the Roman Catholic Church were to give up all involvement in education in Norway and elsewhere, as this

would mean the end of a long and honourable tradition. Future Catholic education must needs be based on other principles than those laid down by the Ultramontanes which, in any case, differed from those of former times. It is necessary to learn from the mistakes of Fallize and his Ultramontane contemporaries who overestimated the influence of school education on the individual and who based Catholic education on principles which were far too narrow. Roman Catholic schools will have to see themselves as having a far wider role than the protection of Catholic youth, or even service to the Catholic community. In the nineteenth century it was the state, which challenged the Church's claim to a God-given right to control education and with justification, for this claim was not in tune with the principles of modern democracy and free speech. Many nineteenth century liberal politicians and thinkers, particularly in Norway, demanded that the control of education should be in the hands of the local community, thus giving the people a say in how the schools should be run. At the present time in Norway, as elsewhere, politicians and officials, both at government and local level, rarely pay more than lip-service to the principles the liberals were attempting to put into practice a century ago. Education has passed more and more into the hands of bureaucrats, a tendency which the nineteenth century liberals opposed, as indeed did many of the educational reformers of the inter-war years. This development, which is to be found in varying degrees in most of the western world is all the more dangerous in that there is, in most of these countries, an ever growing movement towards one single educational system for everybody, a goal which has almost been achieved in Norway and Sweden. Private and voluntary schools

are, by this way of thinking, stigmatized as anomalies, institutions which cater for the few, with the implication that they are the preserve of the rich. A monolithic educational system may make for administrative tidiness but it represents a threat to the democratic ideal. The dangers to a nation's education are obvious. Complacency, stagnation and intolerance towards criticism are not the only possible results. The schools may equally well become the victims of attempts to implement doctrinaire theories and policies, which are not wanted by the majority of the people and whose advantages are not always particularly obvious.

Neither Fallize, nor his liberal opponents, would have approved of such developments. The latter would have felt that they represented a denial of parents' rights to educate their children according to their own beliefs and principles, and thus a threat to the principles of democracy and freedom of expression. Fallize, for his part, might forbid Catholics to send their children to the public schools but he, nonetheless, wholeheartedly supported the idea that Protestants and others had the right to run schools for the benefit of those children, who belonged to their persuasion. In other words, Fallize supported the principle, in Norway at least, of free denominational education for all. The present claims of many governments to complete control over education have little basis in the European and English-speaking tradition and are of very recent vintage. There is no historical, logical or ethical reason why the state should have a monopoly of education and there are many telling arguments in favour of the view that it should not. It is, indeed, undesirable that

any institution, church or state, should enjoy complete control of education in a modern democratic country. In an ideal situation parents should be able to enjoy a free choice of schools irrespective of income and without extra cost to themselves.

At this juncture it is necessary to see Ultramontane educational policy in a different light. While it was necessary that the Church's claims in education should have been questioned by the liberals, it was equally important than the Church should have challenged the claims of the state. The Church, in fact, did a service to democracy by attempting to set up its own independent educational system and defending the right of parents to choose an alternative to the local state school, if they so wished and, particularly, if they were members of a minority community. Much has been made in this thesis of the shortcomings of the schools and of the educational policies and thinking of Fallize and his contemporaries. This should not, however, blind one to their achievements. At their best, the schools provided a good education far more cheaply than the state and were run by committed and enthusiastic governors, staff and parents. The parish schools, at least, provided an alternative education system, which was available to all Catholics, both rich and poor.

How would Bishop Fallize have reacted, if he had lived to see the present state of the Catholic schools in Norway? In many ways he would have been disappointed. All his schools have been closed, except three and these no longer perform the function for which they were built, namely, service to the

Catholic community. He would have been shocked by the indifferent attitude of the faithful towards Catholic education. He would have been disappointed by the fact that many opportunities for the development of the Catholic schools have been lost and that, under far more propitious circumstances than he experienced during his term of office. Fallize would, however, be comforted by the fact that the three schools now play an important part in making contact between the Catholic Church and the local community, a task once performed by the hospitals. He would also have been encouraged by another aspect of their present function. The number of private primary schools in Norway is extremely small and their position has remained precarious since the 1930s. Those that remain cater for the more exclusive denominational bodies, such as the Adventists, or special interest groups, such as the Steiner Schools. The Roman Catholic schools take in pupils from a broader cross-section of society than these, and in doing so, help to uphold one of the dearest of Fallize's principles, namely the right, not only of a minority church, but of all citizens to challenge state monopoly in education and demand the opportunity to choose alternatives to the public system, a right inherent in the very idea of a free and democratic society. If the three remaining Catholic schools in Norway can continue to do this and if the history of Catholic education in Norway can provide a model, whereby Catholic schools in other lands can come to a better understanding of their past and be helped to find a new role in the future, the struggles of Bishop Fallize and the heroic self-sacrifice of those who taught in the Roman Catholic schools in Norway during his term of office will not have been in vain.

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