UPHOLLAND COLLEGE

One Hundred and Fifty Years of Priestly Training

Peter Doyle

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The Treasurer
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L39 2EE

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The arms on the title page are derived from the arms attributed to William, Cardinal Allen.

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North West Catholic History Society
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Introduction

One of the most noticeable changes to affect the Catholic Church in England and Wales from the mid-1960s onwards was the re-thinking of priestly formation and a move away from the traditional model of junior and senior seminaries. Nowhere was this change more obvious than in the North-West region of England, the most Catholic part of the country with its rich recusant traditions, large Catholic population and vibrant parish life. By the mid-1990s the region was left without its own seminary or other institution for the training of its clergy.

For a century that training had centred on the Liverpool diocesan senior seminary, St Joseph's College, opened in 1883 in Upholland, which itself had built on the foundations laid by the junior seminary of St Edward's, Liverpool, founded forty years before in 1843. This study traces the fortunes of both of these colleges and of their joint offspring, Upholland College.

The study starts with St Edward's in the leafy environs of Everton, Liverpool, in the 1840s, when the main seminary for the North of England was at Ushaw in County Durham. The Douay tradition offered a particular model, with schools formed of both ecclesiastical and lay pupils and a senior seminary serving many parts of the country. With the establishment of a new hierarchy and diocesan structures in 1850, a key issue was whether this model would survive or be replaced by the Tridentine ideal of diocesan colleges near enough to the bishop's residence to be under his constant care and composed of purely church students.

Lancashire in the mid-nineteenth century was experiencing a period of rapid expansion and extraordinary change, with population growth and industrialisation on an unprecedented scale. Irish migration to the region expanded beyond anyone's imagining and created problems of urbanisation and sudden, massive growth for the Catholic authorities, demanding an increase in the provision of churches and clergy to serve them. The English and Welsh bishops recommended the adoption of the Tridentine model, though very few

of them followed the recommendation in practice: the economics were against it as well as the shortage of qualified clergy to staff any new seminaries.

It was also economics that decided the choice of location for the Liverpool senior seminary in the 1880s. It was established not in one of the growing urban centres (as some of the clergy had thought would be best), but in rural Upholland, near Wigan. Its comparative isolation was seen as a virtue and encouraged the ideal of keeping its students safe from the world, in an 'enclosed garden' as Archbishop Downey and others put it. After a brief period of closure due to the First World War, Archbishop Keating became its second founder as it expanded into a magnificent set of buildings able to accommodate juniors and seniors on the one site. While always essentially a diocesan college, it did serve other dioceses, especially neighbouring Lancaster and Salford.

Sometimes referred to as a 'golden period', the early 1960s saw some further expansion of the buildings, as also happened in other dioceses, this time due to a growth in aspirants. But change of quite a different kind was also taking place as the ethos of Vatican II affected the basis of priestly formation and called for different structures and different priorities. By and large the college was ready to adapt and to alter its established patterns of training and learning, though more radical proposals that would have moved it into, or at least closer to, the country's higher education system fell through. Despite fundamental changes of regime, economics and ideas of rationalisation led to amalgamation: Upholland became the single junior seminary for the North-West while Ushaw became the parallel senior seminary. As a way of keeping a theological presence in the North-West the Northern bishops established the Upholland Northern Institute. Too radical and forward looking for some, what might have fostered an exciting new approach to adult Christian education and clerical training failed to flourish after initial enthusiasm and gradually closed. The new junior seminary also failed as parents, and many of the clergy, came to believe that it was not a valid way of fostering vocations to the priestly life. This sad end to the college must not be allowed to over-shadow its

achievements and the service it had provided to the Church through its provision of committed and pastorally minded priests.

This study has adopted a mainly chronological approach rather than a thematic one, but there are recurring issues: the isolation, both physical and academic; the practice of educating lay and church junior students together; the keeping of junior and senior students in one place for up to thirteen years, and the crucial influence of individual rectors and bishops. In a wider context, there were issues between diocesan and inter-diocesan interests, and how far local traditions should colour interpretations of Roman regulations.

The study contains four appendices: an official document on changing ideas of priestly training in the early 1970s, a description of the college chapel, a collection of short biographies of the rectors of Upholland and a list of the presidents of St Edward's College.

While most readers of this history will be well-acquainted with the college's inner workings, the explanation of some terminology might help others. Roman documents usually spoke of major and minor seminaries, but here the terms senior and junior have been preferred. Within the college, common usage favoured Upper House (Philosophers and Divines) and School. The latter was divided into two segregated 'Lines': the Higher Line comprised the fourth, fifth, lower and upper sixth forms or, rather, following the Douay tradition, Grammar, Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric. The Lower Line comprised forms one to three or, again in the Douay tradition, Underlow, Low Figures, High Figures.

The name of the place and college also calls for some explanation. In 1954 - 1955 the local council had requested a change of the name of the village from Upholland to Up Holland (there exists a parallel Down Holland) and this was approved by the Lancashire County Council and the Ministry of Local Government. The college kept the old form for its title but changed its address, becoming Upholland College, Up Holland.[1] The change was not of course retrospective so here Upholland is used for the village down to 1955. Early maps of the estate sometimes use the name Walthew Park, a name that remained in occasional use (particularly, but not exclusively, popular with college lyricists).

Sources

An attempt has been made to strike a balance between official sources, informal accounts, and personal papers and reminiscences. Particularly useful has been correspondence with some of those involved in the last days and closure of the college.

A very useful source has been *The Upholland Magazine*, published regularly from the early 1920s to 1975; some years had two issues, usually designated Winter and Summer. The reference here is *Magazine,* followed by the year.

The principal archive source is in the Archives of the Archbishop of Liverpool (AAL), comprising a number of collections usually denominated by the name of the archbishop (eg AAL, Early Bishops; AAL, Downey). But two very important collections are designated differently: one of these is St Joseph's Collection (SJC), comprising the whole of the college archives; the other is the archive of the Upholland Northern Institute (UNI).

For national issues, the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (AAW) have been used and, to a lesser extent, those of Ushaw College (UC).

There was an annual national directory throughout the years of this study, though it appeared under different names, for example *The Laity's Directory*; *The Catholic Directory, Ecclesiastical Register and Almanac*. This listed parishes, clergy, services, and occasional articles and advertisements for Catholic institutions. From 1885 Liverpool had its own publication, which started out as *The Liverpool Catholic Directory and Family Almanack* and, like its elder brother, changed its name over the years. Reference here is to either *Directory* or *Liverpool Directory* and relevant year.

Anyone writing the clerical history of the archdiocese or its institutions is dependent on two works of Brian Plumb: *Found Worthy. A Biographical Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of the Archdiocese of Liverpool (Deceased), 1850-2000* (2nd ed., Wigan, 2005), and *Arundel to Zabi. A Biographical Dictionary of the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales (Deceased), 1623-1987* (Wigan, 1987).

The college, though independent, was one of a frequently changing group of institutions pursuing the same mission across the country (and, indeed, abroad) and I am grateful to those, past and present, who have worked to illuminate this essential part of the Catholic history of England and Wales through writing histories of its seminaries.[2]

Acknowledgements

This study could not have been completed without the assistance of a number of archivists. Above all I am indebted to Dr Meg Whittle, the former Liverpool archdiocesan archivist, whose knowledge, expertise and patience have been invaluable. I am also grateful to her successor, Mr Neil Sayer, for seeing me through to the end of the project. Other archivists who have eased my path have been Dr Jonathan Bush of the Ushaw College archives and Mr William Johnstone at Westminster.

Others whom I wish to thank for support and/or information are Mr Brian Plumb, ever ready to answer my queries about the clergy and writing the appendix on the college's rectors; Mr Terry Duffy, for providing me with copies of Reginald Dixon's correspondence dealing with the chapel organ; Dr James Hagerty for the fruits of his research on Bishop Gordon Wheeler and the Beda College, and Mr John Cullen for his account of discussions in the early 1970s on the nature of priestly training. Both Mgr Butchard and Mgr John Devine, as leading participants, have been generous in providing information about, and helping to unravel, the final years and closure of the college. Canon John Gaine has been generous in supplying both reminiscences and detailed information on a range of topics to do with the college's last fifty or so years. Finally, Fr Kevin Kelly's advice and information, especially on the Upholland Northern Institute, have been uniquely valuable and I have benefitted greatly from his deep theological insights.

The Josephian Society has been generous in its support of this project. I am grateful to the North West Catholic History Society for undertaking the publication of this history and to its Editor Emeritus, Dr J. A. Hilton, and its Managing Editor, Dr A. J. Mitchinson for

their assistance. I apologise to any others whom I should have thanked but have omitted from this list.

I am grateful to the Archdiocesan Trustees, through Canon Anthony O'Brien, for permission to quote from documents and reproduce photographs from the archives.

Notes

[1] *Magazine* (Winter 1954-55), p. 112.

[2] M. E. Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History 1579-1979* (London, 1979); *St Alban's College, Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London, 1986); *Oscott College in the Twentieth Century* (Leominster, 2001); W. Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (London, 1902); Thomas Hooley, *A Seminary in the Making: Being a History of the Foundation and Early Years of St John's Diocesan Seminary, Wonersh, 1889-1903* (London, 1927); David Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Ushaw, 1964); Judith F. Champ (ed.), *Oscott College, 1838-1988: A Volume of Commemorative Essays* (Birmingham, 1988); B. Ward, *History of St Edmund's College, Old Hall* (London, 1893); S. Finnegan, *In Hope of Harvest: The Story of St John's Seminary, Wonersh* (Wonersh, 2011); M. E. Williams, 'Seminaries and Priestly Formation', in V. A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts (eds), *From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales 1850-2000* (London, 1999) (hereafter *Flaminan Gate*), pp. 62-83.

Chapter 1

St Edward's College, Everton

A Select Boarding School

The outlook for Liverpool Catholics in the early 1840s was generally optimistic. They made up about a fifth of the town's population and included a developing middle-class constituency composed of ship-owners, merchants, businessmen and bankers. As an increasingly prosperous port Liverpool had attracted migrants on a large scale; according to the 1841 census, only 42% of its population had been born there. This migration had included chain-migration from Ireland, and newly arriving Irish could join stable kinship and social groups that helped them find work and housing. By the early 1840s Catholics could be found in all levels of Liverpool society and were served by five town churches, staffed by secular and regular clergy (two more were opened in 1845). A national re-organisation in 1840 divided the Catholic Church in England and Wales into eight Districts, each under the control of a Vicar Apostolic; Liverpool was part of the new Lancashire District. Its new Vicar Apostolic was Bishop George Hilary Brown (1786-1856).

This change was important in its own right and also as a taste of the episcopal control that was to come when canonical dioceses were established in 1850. Bishop Brown made a beginning of re-organising and regularising finances, and introduced new religious orders to teach, preach and run charitable organisations, while an asylum for the blind, the only one of its kind in the country for Catholic children, opened in 1841. Brown was, in fact, a poor administrator (his successor referred to his period as bishop as 'a tangled skein of confusion') and suffered from intermittent ill health that kept him out of the country for long periods; he quarrelled with his chapter and his coadjutor and caused unnecessary troubles. Yet he frequently allowed both clergy and laity to take the initiative in

ways that later, stricter, control would inhibit. The huge influx of poor 'famine Irish' migrants, most of them Catholic, in the later years of the decade shattered the early optimism and resulted in a shortage of both chapels and priests, made worse by the death of ten of Liverpool's twenty-four priests in the plague year of 1847.[1]

With regard to education, considerable effort went into providing elementary education for Catholic children, given a boost by the setting up of the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847 and the availability of limited government aid. The English and Welsh bishops even believed it was preferable for their clergy to open a parish school before embarking on building mission churches. When it came to secondary education, there were expensive boarding schools, such as Stonyhurst, Ampleforth and Downside, for well-to-do Catholics, but apparently little demand for further schooling for the 'middling classes'. The Jesuits opened a day school in Liverpool in 1842, calling it 'St Francis Xavier's Preparatory, Classical and Commercial Day School' and claiming it was the first school of its kind in the country. A few years later, in 1850, two secular priests, Fr James Nugent and Fr John Worthy, opened what they called a Catholic Middle School in Rodney Street, offering day and evening commercial courses; this was replaced by Nugent's Catholic Institute in 1853, aimed at offering a 'good commercial and general education'.[2]

It is not clear how far Brown himself was the prime mover in establishing a small boarding school for the 'middling sort of Catholics', dedicated to St Edward, which opened in January 1843. This was to be run by the secular clergy and the fact that the Jesuits had opened their school in the town might have played a part in the decision to open a school run by the secular clergy – relations between the two sets of clergy had been marred by bitter disputes involving appeals to Propaganda and public rows, and the thought that the Jesuits might cream off young vocations through their school would not have been acceptable to the bishop and his clergy. The new school was to be a boarding establishment, and perhaps was already being seen as a future junior seminary. A number of laymen and clergy were strongly in favour of its foundation and the

immediate initiative seems to have been headed by the Rev. Dr Thomas Youens, missioner in charge of Copperas Hill, Liverpool, and former president of Ushaw. He had been involved in the establishment of the asylum for the blind and responsible for inviting the Sisters of Mercy to open a convent in the town; he was Brown's Grand Vicar (equivalent to the later Vicar General). Also involved in the project was the Rev. Robert Gillow, responsible for introducing the St Vincent de Paul Society to the town and one of the so-called 'Martyrs of Charity' who died in the terrible outbreak of fever in 1847. He consulted Dr Lingard (1771-1851; the noted historian and something of an elder statesman among the clergy because of his years on the staff at Ushaw) about the feasibility of the project and, on receiving his support, borrowed £4,000 from his relatives at Leighton Hall which Youens, acting on behalf of Dr Brown (absent through illness), used to purchase a property called St Domingo House in Everton, for £4760. Of this sum, £4000 was provided by the Gillow loan, the interest on which was paid by St Edward's; the balance of £760 was a gift of Mr Edward Challoner of Oak Hill, who thus became the college's first benefactor. (Youens died of typhus in 1848.)[3]

Fig 1: St Domingo House (St Edward's College)

The new college was in the small, pleasant village of Everton, to the north of Liverpool, and its raised position gave it extensive views: to the north, Ashurst Beacon could be seen, to the east, Croxteth and Knowsley, while to the west across the river there were views of the Wirral and Cheshire. By all accounts it was a palatial residence, the finest in the area, its 'north façade ornamented with four Corinthian columns supporting a massive entablature, and a bold cornice, which extends round the building', but its interior had been altered considerably, the old dining-room having been turned into a study hall, the drawing room into a library, the servants' hall into a refectory; two large rooms formed the chapel, and the bedrooms a dormitory.

It had variously been the home of a wealthy West India merchant, the headquarters of Prince William, nephew of the king and commander of the local forces, and from 1829-1839 a boarding school run by a Swiss gentleman, named Mr Voelker. The number of students living in the house had risen to sixty-three, but the founders of the new college seem to have limited their vision for a time to fifty. The purchase of the house had been completed by the end of 1841 or early in 1842, but it was not till 16 October 1842 that the first President, the Rev. John Henry Fisher (1812-1889) took up residence, together with his Vice-President, the Rev. Dr Alexander Goss (1814-1872, later to become Liverpool's second bishop), who had been ordained in Rome in July 1841. They planned that the new college should open in January 1843 and offer the following curriculum (according to the initial advertisements in *The True Tablet*):

> I. *Reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, history, geography, elocution, English composition, the French, Latin, and Greek languages*. For this Course of Education the Pension will be £45 per annum, to be paid half-yearly, in addition with £1 per annum for the use of Books, and an extra charge for washing. Parents will be required to provide their children with clothes. Instead of each boy bringing along with him silver spoon, fork, bed-linen and napkins, the sum of £3/3/- will be charged

> as entrance money, and these articles will be provided by the house.
>
> II. *Drawing, dancing, drilling, fencing, modern languages (except French), music, the use of the piano-forte, stationery, medicine and medical attendance will form extra charges*. N.B. All pocket money must pass through the hands of the superiors. Further particulars may be obtained by applying to the Rev. John Henry Fisher, St. Edward's; or to the Rev. Dr. Youens, 16, Warren-street, Liverpool.[4]

One of the advertisements adds a paragraph reflecting Liverpool's trading interests and the presence there of both mercantile and consular families:

> Merchants who may have young gentlemen consigned to their care from abroad, will find this establishment in every respect a convenient and suitable place for their education, on account of its proximity to Liverpool, thus affording them an easy opportunity of visiting them when occasion may require.[5]

The college opened on 16 January 1843 and the first student arrived the next day, Thomas Pattison, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, aged 11. Further arrivals in the first half-year came from Newcastle-on-Tyne; Manchester; Liverpool (two); Great Baddow, Essex, and one each from Malaga and Bilbao, Spain. Bishop Sharples (d. 1850), Brown's coadjutor, confirmed eleven pupils in 1844 and by October 1845 there were thirty-five or thirty-six pupils in residence.[6]

It is interesting to see how the college was staffed in its early days. For the first eight months Drs Fisher and Goss were the only full-time members of staff; a non-resident master gave lessons in writing and arithmetic for two hours a week. Then came the first of a small number of so-called Junior Professors, on loan from Ushaw and interrupting their own studies to teach at the new college. In September 1843 James Wilding (later a canon of the Salford Diocese) came at the age of 23 to help with the teaching. When he returned to Ushaw in January 1845 to complete his studies he was succeeded by another Ushaw student, John Walker, aged 22, who

seems to have remained until 1848, when he was ordained 'from St. Edward's'. When Goss became auxiliary bishop in 1853, Walker, by then ordained, returned to the college to be its vice-president. The last of these students to be mentioned in the college diary was James Swarbrick, who entered St Edward's at the age of 22 in August 1845, was ordained in 1846 and then taught mathematics at St Edward's until, it seems, 1855. Between September 1843 and sometime in 1848 four students in all had been 'lent' by Ushaw to teach at St Edward's. Apparently that method of recruiting teachers then ceased, perhaps at least partly because of the hostility at Ushaw towards their rival when Brown, as we shall see, made St Edward's into a junior seminary. Lay masters, living outside and teaching at the college for a few hours a week, continued to be employed, especially for the teaching of French, German (occasionally), drill and elocution.[7]

The practice of supplementing the teaching staff with students who had finished their humanities course but had not yet started their senior studies continued in one form or another through to the early 1930s. The *Magazine* of January 1938 noted that the last two of these teaching minor professors had been Gerard Walsh and Francis Danher. In their case, after they had completed their course in philosophy, their studies were interrupted for three years (1930-1933) while they were teaching in the junior seminary. Both then went to Fribourg, Switzerland, to study theology and be ordained in 1937; Fr Walsh returned to the college and remained on the staff until 1957. After them the minor professors (known now just as 'the minors') were students from the Upper House chosen to help look after the discipline in the School, taking the students on walks, supervising their study hours and generally acting somewhat like the prefects in the English public schools of the day (though without the fagging); unlike what had happened in earlier years, their studies were not interrupted by their term of office.[8]

To complete the sometimes confusing picture of the early staffing at St Edward's, other names appear as lay professors, in distinction, it would seem, from the students lent from Ushaw. The first of these, Frederick Hines, went to St Edward's in August 1848 from Stonyhurst and taught for a year before leaving to study at the

English College, Rome. The next, John McSweeney, was 31 when he came in 1849; he stayed for two years. After him came John Schultheis, PhD, of Altona, Holstein, aged 37, in August 1850; the date of his departure is not known. The last lay professor mentioned, Henry Gordon, arrived on 18 January 1852 and left on 23 June of the same year. He was a youthful genius of nineteen years, who may have been too young to keep order, or perhaps found in the college too narrow a field for his apparently wide range of abilities, or he may just have moved on.[9]

A Junior Seminary

In its early years, St Edward's was a rather select boarding school and not a junior seminary, though it may well have been in Bishop Brown's mind a likely provider of students who might discover they had a vocation to the priesthood; there is some evidence that his clergy had hoped from the start that it would be a seminary. Brown changed things in 1850. At a meeting with his senior clergy in May of that year, it was decided, firstly, that the needs of the Mission could only be met by establishing a seminary that would make up for the 'inadequate' ecclesiastical education currently available. Secondly, the lay college of St Edward should become that seminary, preparing its students for 'the higher branches of Humanities' and philosophy and theology, to be read elsewhere. Finally, he set up a Provisional Committee to execute these decisions. Two days later this issued a number of resolutions, chief among which was that the bishop should issue a pastoral letter on the subject, that the clergy should agree to contribute a pound each a year to an Ecclesiastical Education Fund and should encourage their people to add their support, with an annual collection and a dedicated collection box permanently in each church, because 'no alms can be more acceptable to God than the ones devoted to this holy purpose'.[10]

In September 1850, when the new hierarchy was established, St Edward's duly became a diocesan seminary, belonging to, and serving the needs of, the new diocese of Liverpool. This ran from the River Mersey to Coniston in the Lake District, comprising large rural areas as well as the important towns of Lancaster, Liverpool,

Preston, Warrington and Wigan; it also included the Isle of Man, largely a world of its own as far as Catholicism was concerned. There was little sense of this large area having a unity: the area north of the River Ribble had a mainly rural character of its own and as the urban areas of the rest of Lancashire grew in size and economic importance, with all the related social problems associated with urban expansion at the time, the differences between them and traditional Catholic areas such as the Fylde only increased. There was not just geographical diversity: internal migration to the industrial towns mixed rural and urban traditions. Liverpool in 1850 was very much a 'new town'. The largest number of migrants came from Ireland and by 1851 there was hardly a district in the diocese that did not have its Irish-born inhabitants. Once the worst years of the 1840s and 1850s had passed and the economy revived, the Irish (about 80% of whom were Catholics) began to integrate into local society. A few rose from rags to riches, far more from rags to respectability, but the great majority of the new arrivals continued to experience poverty and low-paid casual work, subject to the uncertainties and indignities of the casual labour market, often made worse by the antagonism of their neighbours. It was this mixed society that formed the background of the majority of students for the new seminary.[11]

The clergy of the new diocese, however, were much more likely to look to Ushaw and its revered Douay traditions than to an upstart college in Liverpool and so matters were not quite as straightforward as Brown's committee had hoped. As a junior seminary, St Edward's was seen as a threat by the authorities at Ushaw, who had plans to set up a new junior house at the time (in the event it opened in 1859). At one stage, bizarrely, Brown offered them St Edward's for the purpose (he was, he added, rather unhappy with how it was being run), but they replied that they thought it rather too far away. The future bishop, Alexander Goss (on the staff of St Edward's at the time), argued that it would be far better for Ushaw's academic standing not to have its own junior house; instead, it should take the lead and 'cast off the slough of the Junior Classes, that now cramps its energies and fetters its advance'. A bitter row ensued, involving

many of the Northern clergy whose loyalties were to Ushaw, but Brown would not give way; St Edward's would be a junior seminary. He suggested a number of schemes by which clergy and people would pay for the new seminary and its students, adding in one of his appeals that there was bound to be opposition, 'but why should we be terrified? We will hope in God and persevere. The work is His, not ours'. So St Edward's remained a junior seminary in Liverpool until its removal to Upholland in 1919. Like Ushaw, for most of that period it had a mixed intake of clerical and lay pupils, as was the custom in most of the English junior houses at the time.[12]

The views of the clergy about the quality of the college were all important if it were to succeed, for while it was the parents of the lay boys, of course, who chose St Edward's for their sons, it was the local parish clergy who decided who should go there as ecclesiastical students. Whatever the initial stimulus behind a boy's belief that he might be called to the priesthood, he had to be recommended to the diocesan authorities by his local parish priest, who based his judgement on his knowledge of the boy and of his family. Some of the clergy took a far more active role than others in looking for likely vocations and this created in some parishes what almost became a tradition of boys going away to the seminary.

As a diocesan college, St Edward's was under the sole control of the bishop of Liverpool, although it accepted students from other dioceses, while Ushaw came under the control of the Northern bishops. While the college thus enjoyed a certain degree of independence, Bishop Brown and his successors were, of course, subject to the decrees of the Roman authorities and of the English hierarchy on the proper training of the clergy. It is worth outlining here the attitudes of the new bishops to that training and to the establishment of seminaries to serve their dioceses. Now that they were a fully established hierarchy, with diocesan rights and responsibilities, how far should they aim to implement the ideals and decrees of the Council of Trent, whose pronouncements had established the model in such matters? It had stressed the importance of each diocese having its own seminary that would educate aspiring youths apart from the world from an early age; it should be built

close to the episcopal residence and so under the personal supervision of the bishop. A letter from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda in 1855 reminded the bishops that it was the 'very wise prescriptions' of that Council that they should have in mind when discussing and deciding these issues, which the new bishops did rather inconclusively, over the next twenty years or so.[13]

They were realistic enough to see that the full ideal would remain no more than that for most dioceses: they did not have either the money or the men to bring it about. There were other obstacles as well: the existence of the English seminaries abroad which drew students from all the dioceses and were part of an honoured tradition. If these were to continue, and no one questioned that they should, then dioceses would have to send students there and also provide suitably qualified clergy as staff. Additionally, the three English senior seminaries Ushaw, Ware, and Oscott claimed to be direct heirs of the great tradition as it had existed at Douay and each of these also served a number of dioceses.

An additional obstacle resulted from the nature of the training that these seminaries had inherited: they had provided an education for lay as well as ecclesiastical students up to the age of eighteen or so, a situation that had been dictated partly by economic necessity (ecclesiastical students alone could not have provided sufficient income) as well as by the need to provide a secondary education for lay students otherwise unavailable during the years of persecution. Trent's decree that each diocese should have a junior seminary for younger aspirants to the priesthood could only be sustained in practice in England by mixing those with a vocation with those who had no such aspirations.

The English and Welsh bishops, in a rather half-hearted attempt to defend this tradition, stressed the obvious economic necessity but also claimed that parents favoured the system that gave their lay sons a chance to be educated alongside students for the priesthood, with the resulting sound grounding in religion that they received. The bishops also argued that the 'early friendships formed in boyhood bind together the Laity and the Clergy through life'. At the same time, they looked at possible improvements that might be made to

the system to bring it more into line with Trent's ideal. Their suggestions for change amounted to quite a damning indictment of the current seminary system, and showed that the bishops were well aware of its shortcomings, despite their support for it in practice.[14]

First of all, they admitted that experience had shown that if lay students predominated in a college it could be difficult to stop a worldly spirit also predominating and such a situation often led to the loss of vocations among ecclesiastical students. Even in some of those who persevered to ordination, they continued, it could create too great a fondness for worldly things, posing a threat to zeal for God and souls and distracting the mind from sacred study to less important matters. The obvious solution, the decree continued, was the separation of lay from clerical students and the bishops were happy to report that the establishment of individual diocesan seminaries, which the local bishop could oversee more effectively to create the right spiritual atmosphere, was now more possible than before. Even if the colleges remained mixed, it was important for the church students to receive a separate and deeper spiritual training that would mark out those who had chosen the 'better part'.

The bishops acknowledged a further serious weakness in the current system: a shortage of priests and the poverty of the colleges had often led to students having to take on disciplinary or administrative duties that interrupted and even shortened their studies. Indeed, it had not been unusual to have students teaching who were still studying theology themselves. Some Catholic writers thought that the standards in the Catholic colleges compared badly with their non-Catholic contemporaries and Bishop Goss of Liverpool criticised the system for its failure to develop any life-long interest in study and learning amongst the clergy or to produce priests who could hold their own in theological debate with academic opponents. The bishops noted that Continental theologians and graduates were being recruited to the English seminaries to help ease the shortage of qualified teaching staff, a move that they welcomed.[15]

In establishing St Edward's as his junior seminary, Bishop Brown faced this common problem of being able to find sufficient qualified priests to staff it. He already needed extra clergy to meet the pastoral

needs of a rapidly growing population, especially given the huge increase in numbers resulting from the Irish immigration of the late 1840s and early 1850s, the loss of priests in the plague year of 1847, a lack of resources to pay lay staff and the need for more than academic competence if the college were to be a junior seminary. The change to a junior seminary also appears to have led to a serious, though short-time, reduction in the number of pupils; the following figures give an idea of the ups and downs of its first few years:[16]

Sept 1843	13/14	Oct 1849	37
Dec 1844	29	Oct 1850	17
Oct 1845	35/36	Nov 1851	24/25
Aug 1846	37	Aug 1852	22
Oct 1847	45	Oct 1853	35
Nov 1848	40		

After Brown's decision in 1850, national advertising needed to inform readers of the new status of the college, while continuing to stress its attractiveness as a general boarding school. In the *Directories* of the early 1850s the advert for the college said that it was intended for the education 'of youth destined for the ecclesiastical state' as well as those interested in the learned professions or commerce. It added that as well as the usual courses of classical studies, French was taught by two eminent Parisian professors, while a resident native German speaker offered opportunities to learn German. Moreover, an additional four acres had been added to the grounds for the 'healthy exercise' and recreation of the students, whose 'wants and domestic comfort' were given every possible attention. In 1857 the advertisement was much fuller, similar to the ones quoted earlier, but omitted any mention of its being a seminary, claiming instead to offer all the subjects that comprised a 'liberal and polite education' and to provide 'every accommodation the most anxious parent could desire'. Rather oddly, after detailing the two vacations in the school year (seven weeks in the summer, three at Christmas), parents were urged to send their sons back promptly after these breaks in time for the start of lessons.

In practice, the college could not have survived as just a junior seminary: as late as 1860 the number of ecclesiastical students was only six; presumably the majority of the clergy continued to favour Ushaw, which had opened a new junior house in 1859. Throughout these years there appear to have been just three priests on the staff, including the president, Canon Fisher.[17]

Evidence of its success as a school is not difficult to find. In its first year, Daniel O'Connell visited it and lavished praise on the new foundation. More tellingly, Alfred Austin, who was to become poet laureate in 1896, paid a glowing tribute to the regime; he had entered St Edward's at the age of eight in September 1843 and stayed until June 1849. He wrote,

> We were most comfortably housed and fed, Dr. Fisher personally superintending our needs, and amply providing for them. Nor can I praise too highly the thoroughness of the tuition I there received. . . . I was well grounded in Latin and French, if less so in Greek; and even in the latter, I had read, before I was 14, Xenophon's Anabasis, the Gospel according to St. Luke, the Symposium of Plato, and the Antigone of Sophocles, and, not in class, but under the personal supervision of Dr. Goss, some of the Odes of Anacreon. The teaching of one's own language was still more thorough.[18]

Austin also commented on the high level of general culture, Dr Fisher's opposition to 'rough games', the 'stimulating international atmosphere' and the freedom from excessive supervision. When he later moved from St Edward's to Stonyhurst he compared its regime unfavourably with his earlier schooling.[19]

The early register of the college confirms the claim that it had something of an international character. There were boys from Chile, Brazil, Peru, Central and North America, Italy and Ireland, though the majority were always English and, indeed, local – of the first seventeen entries, eight were from Liverpool. 1846 was something of an exception with one entrant from Liverpool, two from Cork, one from Guatemala, six from Peru, two from Nueva Granada, four from

Trinidad and one from Montevideo. Not all those from abroad were necessarily foreigners; some had English surnames, presumably indicative of merchant or consular expatriate families. It appears that by the 1870s the majority of the boys were from Lancashire, with only occasional foreign names; the last two seem to have been from Lisbon in 1883. As we have seen, Austin had been only eight when he had started at the college. Unfortunately, in the early years the register does not give the age of every new entrant, but it is safe to say that the majority seem to have been older and by the 1850s were more likely to be 12 - 14-year olds, with only occasional 8 or 9-year olds. In 1849 a 7-year old from Trinidad entered but left after a year; another 7-year old (from Liverpool) entered in 1861 and (the last) in 1878, while 9-year olds were not unknown, the last one apparently entering in 1881. It would be interesting to know whether any special arrangements were made to deal with these youngsters, but the records are silent on the subject.[20]

Extending and Developing St Edward's

Bishop Bernard O'Reilly (1824-1894) became bishop of Liverpool in March 1873 and almost immediately set about extending the provision of priestly training in the diocese through the establishment of a senior seminary (opened, as we shall see in the next chapter, in 1883). Meanwhile, in 1875, the buildings at St Edward's were enlarged at a cost of almost £20,000 to accommodate double the existing number of students.

At a time when the bishop was trying to raise funds for the building of his new senior seminary, this seems a surprisingly expensive move. Perhaps it was undertaken because some were hoping that St Edward's would itself become the senior seminary, or because it was hoped a larger body of students at St Edward's would automatically mean more students going on to the new senior seminary.[21]

Whatever the reason, the extensions resulted in the addition of new wings to the original house, designed by the architect James O'Byrne. His family was from Waterford in Ireland, but he was born

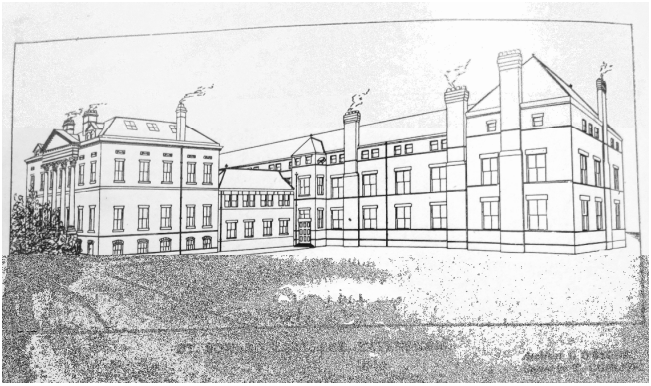

Fig 2: Line drawing of extensions to St Edwards College

in Lancaster in 1836 and spent most of his later life in Birkdale. He had probably served his apprenticeship in Joseph Aloysius Hansom's workshop in Bristol and became a disciple and promoter of the Victorian Gothic Revival. His main interest was in church architecture and he was responsible for at least a dozen churches in the North-West, along with presbyteries, extensions to existing buildings and convents. His largest building by far was to be the new college at Upholland, opened in 1883.[22]

At the same time the classical and humanities side of the curriculum at St Edward's was extended and a sixth form added (named, in the Douay tradition, Poetry and Rhetoric), so that students no longer had to transfer elsewhere if they wished to study beyond the age of sixteen. Two years later a priest was appointed to teach philosophy, in order to prepare students for the theology courses they would undertake at Ushaw or in the new senior seminary in Leeds, opened in 1878. This presumably explains why students wearing cassocks and birettas can be seen in early photographs. The bishop was concerned about what would constitute a suitable course in philosophy and in 1877 asked Mgr Northcote, Rector of Oscott, for advice about what books might be recommended on such a course. Northcote passed the letter on to the Rev. William Barry, the polymath professor of divinity at Oscott. In his reply, Barry claimed

there were next to no English Catholic philosophers worth talking about, except perhaps for the Jesuit, Fr Rickaby; even if there were, he added, they would probably only reproduce the current Italian and Latin text-books. Then he gave a list of standard Latin manuals, which would enable a man to give a 'thoroughly good course of *Scholastic* philosophy'.[23]

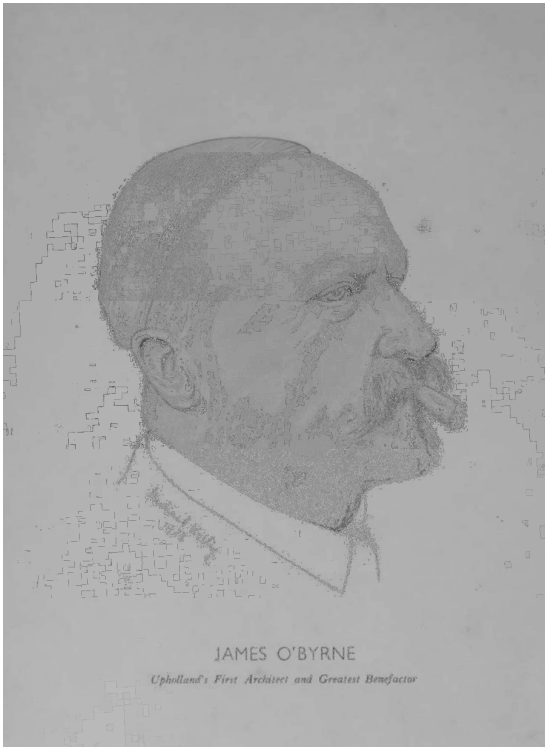

Fig 3: James O'Byrne, architect

The qualification was important, for Barry went on to say that to deal with important questions of the day other authors would have to be consulted, including one Catholic writer 'of real eminence, Mr St George Mivart', whose writings would help to refute Darwinism and cognate errors. Barry then praised a number of non-Catholic authors,

including the utilitarian philosopher Henry Sidgwick who, he thought, had much to say that was valuable in his *Methods of Ethics*, though many things in it were 'doubtful'. Others he condemned as 'unsound and very dangerous'. It is interesting that Barry added, almost as an afterthought, Newman's *Grammar of Assent*; this he called a 'great work', but 'of mixed and not altogether clear treatment'. Whether O'Reilly found this advice useful or not is not clear; Barry was not above showing off his knowledge and a bit of name-dropping.[24]

The first lecturer in this subject was the Rev. Dr Ernest Commer, who only stayed until July 1879, and was succeeded in August by the Rev. Edmund Walsh, who remained on the staff until April 1886. Interestingly, the curriculum for the philosophers included astronomy; perhaps the course resulted from and revolved around the new telescope, donated by the builders, Messrs Roberts and Robinson, and housed in a specially-built observatory (later, the observatory and telescope were moved to Upholland). There appears to have been a general desire to be up-to-date and keep up the high academic standards initially set by Canon Fisher.[25]

If anyone deserves a biography, it is Mgr Canon John Henry Fisher (1812-1889), in charge of St Edward's from his appointment at the age of thirty in 1842 until his retirement in 1884 – a remarkably long period of service. Born in Manchester in 1812, he was one of six sons, five of whom became priests. Ordained in 1836, he served as curate/chaplain in various places around Manchester (including a stint as co-curate with his brother George) until appointed to St Edward's. He was a very accomplished Latin scholar and teacher. He was appointed a member of the Chapter in 1851, Vicar Forane (Rural Dean) in 1855, and Vicar General in 1868; he more or less ran the diocese when Goss was seriously ill and became very involved in work for Catholic schools. He became vicar capitular on Goss's death in 1872 (they had been close friends throughout) and provost in 1878. He was buried alongside other members of his family in Great Crosby in 1889.[26]

From September 1883 philosophy was taught in the new seminary of St Joseph's at Upholland. For its part, St Edward's was gradually

becoming more and more exclusively a junior seminary. Although it continued to take lay boys for several years, their number gradually diminished; the last lay student left in 1910 (having entered the college in 1906), when there were a total of 97 students in attendance. Thereafter the college was strictly an ecclesiastical seminary and remained so down to its move to Upholland. It was also the bishop's residence, though this had more to do with economics than with adhering to the Tridentine model of allowing close episcopal supervision. Bishop Goss had continued to live at St Edward's after he became bishop; his successor, Bishop O'Reilly, initially chose a house in Hardy Street and then 33 Rodney Street in Liverpool, as his residence, but moved into St Edward's when he found the upkeep of the house too expensive; henceforth, the college remained the episcopal residence down to its closure in 1919.

A notice in the 1884 *Directory* described how the college had been greatly enlarged by the building of a 'Private Chapel, Refectory, Infirmary, Study and Classrooms', along with 'spacious Dormitories exceedingly well fitted up'. At the same time a quite different type of extension also took place: in 1884 Mgr Canon James Carr (1826-1913), Mgr Fisher's successor as president, opened

> a select high school, in connection with the college . . . to enable non-residents to pursue (if required) the complete course of classics, mathematics and natural sciences, or to receive special attention in English and commercial subjects.[27]

It is not clear why such a day school was opened as part of St Edward's since Liverpool already had two such schools. St Francis Xavier's, opened by the Jesuits in 1842 as a preparatory, classical and commercial school (it opened with two pupils, rising to three after two months). It claimed to be England's first Catholic day secondary school and by the 1870s was obviously very successful, with about 250 pupils. The other school was the Catholic Institute, opened in Hope Street in 1853 and run by the secular clergy. This had gone through a low period in the late 1860s and early 1870s; indeed, the Chapter had ordered its closure in 1872, but by the 1880s

it was flourishing again, with over 110 pupils and sound academic achievements. The reason for Carr's initiative may have been a need to use the additional space that had been created by the extensions of 1875: the philosophy students had moved to Upholland and there had not been the expected large increase in student numbers that the extensions had presupposed.[28]

Carr's venture, however, had a short life, which is not surprising given that the 1890s were a difficult time for secondary schools in Liverpool, both Catholic and Protestant: established schools closed, while others saw their numbers fall drastically; St Francis Xavier's, for example, had only a quarter of its former pupils while the Catholic Institute retained only half. For various reasons, the middling classes of the city saw little value in paying for additional education and the merchants of the city had little need for a skilled workforce. It appears that the new day school attached to St Edward's lasted to the end of Canon Carr's presidency, for it was still advertised in the 1893 *Catholic Family Annual* but not in that of 1896. It was probably Canon Evan Banks (prefect of studies in 1887 and then president until 1919), who discontinued it when he became president in 1894, either on his own initiative, or, more likely, on the orders of the new bishop, Dr Whiteside, who had appointed him. Whiteside was against mixing lay and ecclesiastical students, an issue that divided the hierarchy down to the 1920s, with claims and counterclaims about the effects on both sets of students and their parents.[29]

We do not know when it was first suggested that the abler students should take the London Matriculation Examination and, later, the external degrees of London University. Ushaw had formed such links in the 1840s but the scheme soon fell into abeyance, to be renewed in the 1860s. In 1888 the *Directory* carried an advertisement for the college that stated that it prepared students for the 'London University, Oxford Local, and other Examinations'. The first successes in that examination at St Edward's had been in 1881, and Canon Banks was strongly in favour of this particular way of showing that in point of intellectual training the college was able to hold its own with any school in the country (he had himself gained

an external BA from London while at Ushaw). He was the first to enter students for the further London University Examinations, since this was first done in 1889, when John Cotton gained First Class Honours in Latin in the Intermediate Examination (following it up in 1891 with a Pass B.A., First Division, and in 1893 with an M.A. in Classics). The canon was presumably proud of this first success, but his policy was for a time looked on askance by some; it is said that there were many years when he paid the fees out of his own pocket. Those who opposed the taking of the London examinations argued that the system relied too heavily on coaching and cramming: Bishop Casartelli of Salford, who had been an outstanding student at Ushaw in the 1870s and had been very successful in the external examinations, condemned the way it had dominated the teaching and had become 'a fetish, a tyrannous fetish . . . [and] all idea of what we might rightly call true scholarship' had disappeared The practice continued, however, at St Edward's until it moved to Upholland.[30]

We can get some insight into life at St Edward's in its later years from accounts written by members of staff who had also been students there. There are, for example, the diary and some letters of Fr Edmund Walsh, a student at St Edward's from 1866-1871, who then moved to Ushaw before going to Rome, where he was ordained in 1879. On his return to Liverpool he was appointed to the staff at St Edward's, where he taught from 1879 to 1886. Most of his diary and letters concern student life in Rome, but there are some interesting comments about his life as a professor at St Edward's. The new academic year started on 23 August; he had expected to be teaching French, Latin and Greek to Low Figures (second year; a class of only 13 boys) but found instead that he was teaching physics and astronomy to those studying philosophy (he succeeded Fr Commer here); he had them for three-and-a-half-hour sessions two days a week and, not surprisingly, found it 'really hard work'. He also taught Christian Doctrine to the Lower Line (years 1-3). Outside class times he enjoyed the freedom to come and go as he pleased; the staff, he found, were all 'delightful fellows' while the president, Dr Fisher, was 'all anxiety to make everything comfortable'. In the light of later arguments it is worth noting that he expected to have no

more than one day at home over Christmas; the 'generous spirit' of his 'brother professors' made them stay at the college in order 'to make the vacation pleasant for the students'; and this involved taking classes out, providing entertainments and joining in games with them.[31]

A much fuller account comes from a notebook written by Mgr Thomas Turner (1889-1975). He had been a pupil at St Edward's before moving to the new senior seminary at Upholland. Ordained in 1918, he immediately returned to St Edward's to become prefect of discipline, a post he continued at Upholland until 1926, when he became procurator until 1936. He then became administrator and fund-raiser for the new cathedral until his retirement in 1968; he died in 1975. He was not above criticising the way of life at the college. He described how the boys at St Edward's dressed differently from other schoolboys and he thought they must have 'looked freaks' on their walks around the city in their short pants, stiff Eton collars and bowler-style hats known as 'blockers'. Apparently the locals referred to the boys as 'the blocker brigade'. An event from 1919, unimportant in itself, highlights the same sense of separateness, and even, one might add, a touch of arrogance. When the government ordered a two-minutes silence on 11 November 1919 the president refused to acknowledge it and ordered the boys to continue with their football. Unfortunately, three trams stopped outside the grounds with a full view of what was going on; Turner commented, 'Passengers must have had their own thoughts about us'.[32]

In addition to his duties at the college, it was his 'privilege' [*sic*] as prefect to take all the funerals at nearby Anfield Cemetery on Saturday afternoons, and as many as possible during the week; the honorarium, he added rather ruefully, went to the college, not the priest. He commented that on Saturday afternoons the roar from Liverpool's Anfield ground, when the team scored a goal ('and they scored a lot in those days') nearly toppled one into the grave. Seriously, he was on duty during two epidemics of Spanish 'flu when people were 'dying like flies'; many of the graves had to be dug by the families of the deceased who also had to use makeshift coffins as the undertakers could not keep up with demand; some

babies were even buried in brown-paper parcels. His record of burials was 26 in one day.

Turner records that the teaching staff was relatively small; usually about five professors who were priests, supplemented by five or six junior professors, who taught for three, sometimes four, years after completing their Edwardian course before going on to a senior seminary somewhere. They not only taught but did invigilating in study place, looked after dormitories and took the students on walks. They sat at a small table in the middle of the refectory, wore winged sopranos (black robes), like Jesuits, got £10 a year and certain privileges, including one night at home at Christmas and leave to go out on bank holidays when the students were always kept in.

Mgr Turner's account gives us a detailed view of the private world of St Edward's and of its traditions, very few of which survived the transplant to Upholland. He talks about days out in New Brighton. He also gives a graphic account of skating, when study might be suspended altogether for three consecutive days, a tradition that lasted until the winter of 1974. The boys travelled by tram and on foot to the lakes in Sefton Meadows (the prefect had to go to a local shop to phone to find out whether the ice was strong enough because the college never had a telephone). The president, Canon Banks, took on the care of the students' health, doling out medicines and treatments of doubtful value every morning.

We have already seen Turner's comments on the unusual dress code of the boys; it is worth quoting here a little more about this:

> The 'List of Outfit' sent to parents of prospective students, had not changed for many years, (and) certainly up to the First World War contained relics of the 19th century. One item always puzzled dear mothers: one polo cap. Even the most antiquated boys' outfitter could never discover this curio. If you ever see pictures of the Lancers of last century, you would see the round cap they wore, but I never saw one in use at college. Of course, everyone wore long night dresses.[33]

It was the custom for the college to supply clothing to the students and each year they were fitted out with what became known as 'buffalo suits' (presumably because of their texture); Turner's account continues:

> At the end of Underlow (& every year after) the College provided what were called serviceable boots, a salt & pepper suit, & a blocker . . . As the years went by, a smarter & lighter blocker was provided & finally about 1908 [this] gave way to the ordinary College caps, surmounted by enamel badges. (At Upholland, by the way, before St. Edward's was closed, all students were given . . . frock coats & silk hats. If seen today, they would be taken as nuisance inspectors, station masters, or a bunch of bridegrooms.)[34]

In the context of the provision of suits for the students, there is in the archives an invoice dating from July 1919 for the supply of seventy-five suits, ranging from £3. 9s. to £2. 12s. The tailors were Atchley Thomas & Co. of North John Street, Liverpool. The invoice is particularly interesting in that it lists all the students who received a suit; among the recipients were some names of later well-known members of the clergy, including T. Adamson, W. Butterfield, L. Curry, J. Garvin, J. Halsall and J. Ibison. Also from 1919 is a copy of the president's return to the Board of Education; this gives the number of students as ninety-four, aged from 12 to 19; all were boarders, following a secondary or professional education, in preparation for the Roman Catholic priesthood. Both this return and the invoice are dated July 1919; the discrepancy in the numbers may be explained by the fact that the suits were supplied 'at the end of Underlow' and presumably not to those leaving the college in July.[35]
There are a number of other descriptions of life at St Edward's. Two of these appeared in the *Magazine* in December 1926 and Spring 1929, written by Fr (later Mgr Canon) Thomas Crank (1863-1946) who was at St Edward's in the 1870s and who was ordained at Upholland in 1887. His account highlights one of the advantages of St Edward's being in Liverpool: the large number of distinguished visitors who visited the college while they were in the town and who

Fig. 4: St Edward's students at leisure (late 19th century)

addressed the boys and even on occasion mixed with them. His list is impressive enough: Archbishop Errington (at that time professor at Prior Park), Bishop Chadwick (of Hexham and Newcastle), Bishop Bewick (Chadwick's successor), Cardinal Moran (then bishop of Ossory), Bishop Verdon of Dunedin, Fr Lockhart (Rosminian), and Dr Northcote (rector of Oscott). Among the laymen were the Marquis of Ripon, Lord O'Hagan (Lord Chancellor of Ireland), and Mr Wilfrid Ward. Most memorable of all in Crank's account was Cardinal Manning, who visited the college every autumn while on holiday and always spoke to the students with the 'same distinct utterance, the perfect accent, clear thought in cool distilled English, simple language in sentences that could not be improved by the removal or substitution of any word'. More striking, perhaps, for the modern reader is what Crank writes about Archbishop Errington. The students knew nothing, of course, of the troubled relations between the Cardinal and the Archbishop, but writing much later when they were part of history, Crank was at pains to praise Errington and give him his due, which he felt historians had not always done. He claimed the two had been equal in ability and talent, 'the one greater as a statesman, the other a distinguished Churchman'. Errington had clearly won the boys' hearts: according to Crank, while teaching at

Prior Park he had spent his Christmas and Summer vacations at St Edward's with Canon Fisher, a great friend (as he had been of Bishop Goss, who had lived at the college for thirty years, until his death there in 1872). The archbishop joined in the boys' recreation, even occasionally taking part in snow fights; he would take the 'little ones' out for walks, including into St John's Market in the centre of Liverpool, where the students delighted in showing him off to the women stall-holders. They also noted his asceticism and 'intense recollection' in chapel; overall, Crank believed that the picture of Errington in most of the accounts of the period was a caricature of the 'saintly and gifted Prelate' they had known.[36]

Another source of information about life at St Edward's comes from the centenary issue of the *Magazine*, 1943. As well as an article on the history of the college by Mgr J. F. Turner this issue carried an article by an anonymous 'Diehard' that gave a student's eye view of life at St Edward's during the First World War and the removal to Upholland. Amongst much else, this gave an uncomplimentary picture of the president, Canon 'Bunker' Banks as 'a man to be feared rather than loved', and said of the students 'we studied mainly because we were afraid'. The writer claimed that the diet was sparse (it was, after all, wartime) and the discipline strict; under Fr Richard Rigby (1876-1919, prefect of studies, procurator and, briefly, president) he spoke of birching as a 'not uncommon' punishment for what seem to have been relatively minor breaches of discipline; other punishments included the use of the tan (the strap) and, bizarrely, being detailed to pump the chapel organ. However, the writer also speaks of the 'many happy hours' they enjoyed and the friendly companionship between the students, and gives his own amusing account of the 'buffalo suits' provided annually.[37]

Finally, as a source for information on student life in the early days of the college, there is a diary kept by a young boy, Richard Barton, in the early 1880s (b. 1866, ordained 1890; died 1908.). He began it in August 1880 and kept it going until January 1884. It is mostly schoolboy jottings, with some detail about the studies, cricket, skating, and so on. A musical entertainment by Mr Wilfrid Ward was 'very grand' and two visits by Cardinal Manning again get

honourable mention, mainly it seems because they resulted in days off for the boys. On the whole the diarist gives a happy-enough picture; in addition to games, formal entertainment consisted of shortened versions of Shakespeare, Gilbert and Sullivan (already established as favourites), and that Victorian staple, recitations. On the spiritual side, he comments on the retreats and mentions the introduction of 'October devotions' in 1883 as a novelty. Not all was happy, however: 1883 in particular was a troublesome year with 'general discontent in the College, a spirit of revolt, a general gloom', with a whole class threatened with expulsion, though only several actually departed, 'producing great consternation'. Unfortunately the diary does not cover the student's senior studies.[38]

Moving towards its final closure as a seminary, the Thirty-Seventh Report of St. Edward's Society, dated 13 October 1918, states:

> The increasing number of successful Grammarians in the Matriculation Examination is a matter of special congratulation. The first-named in the above list gained a further and unprecedented distinction in July last by obtaining First Class Latin Honours in the Intermediate Arts Examination. When it is known that some thirty Candidates sat for the Examination and that he alone was successful the merit of his achievement will be appreciated.[39]

The last sentence may well be true, and shows that the college had no need to doubt the thoroughness of its scholastic training. It is not, however, true that to gain First Class Latin Honours was unprecedented, for this distinction was gained in 1889 by the first student to take the Examination, and again by others in 1891, 1910, 1912, 1914 (when two were awarded First Class Honours in both Latin and Greek), and in 1916. So the scholastic success, first noted by Alfred Austin in the 1840s, was continuing.[40]

There was an attempt to publish a college magazine, *The Edwardian*. There is a reference to this running from 1913-1920, but the only extant copies seem to be from the years 1913-1915, and the issue for 1913 calls itself Volume 1, with three other volumes to

follow. What is very unusual about these magazines is that they were hand-written and produced in the form of school exercise books with more than 100 pages in each issue; they give details of a full editorial team, including 'transcribers', and have a list of contents; the 1915 issue has photographs pasted in. The college archive has a similar issue for June 1920, called now *St Joseph's Magazine,* and claiming to be Volume 1; no other issues have been traced. This was, in fact, a Higher Line production, there being no senior students at Upholland at the time because of the war. It carries some interesting photographs of the library, the top lake and its bridge, the chapel, some of the grounds and of the move from Everton to Upholland. It talks about the desirability of having a Lower Line issue as well, and that Fr Wilcock had indeed published a volume of 'Underlonian' essays 'some years ago' entitled *Lilliputian*; unfortunately, no copy has come to light. What was to be the *Upholland Magazine* first appeared in July 1923 (volume 1, no. 1), founded and edited by Fr Thomas Turner and properly printed and published. That year also saw the formal amalgamation of St Edward's Society (founded in 1878) and St Joseph's Society (formed at Upholland in 1896 to be a 'bond of union and to promote the spiritual welfare of its members'), under the title of the Josephian Society; for some years a separate fund, the St Edward's Fund, continued to make grants for academic prizes and external examination fees.[41]

Leaving Liverpool

St Edward's moved out to the site of the senior seminary at Upholland in December 1919 and January 1920. Canon Banks had resigned in the summer of 1919, not feeling able to face the removal and a new start; he had been at St Edward's since 1878. The task of moving devolved on the new president and procurator, Fr Richard Rigby, but he was struck down by pneumonia and after a very short illness died on 6 October that year. Dr Joseph Dean was then called in as acting president and procurator to organize the work. It is not clear when the date for the move was fixed. It appears that St Edward's began a new academic year in September 1919 as normal, with 89 students on roll. While numbers in the top classes of Poetry

and Rhetoric were very small (6 and 7 respectively, presumably because of the effect of conscription), there were twenty-five new students in all. An entry in the official diary for 18th December refers to a 'sudden resolution' to move the whole college to Upholland 'at once'; parents were notified by post a few days later and the Lower Line were sent home on the 23rd and told to 'return' to Upholland on 24 January; the diarist recounts how they were 'almost frantic with delight'. With their departure the diarist notes, 'So ends St Edward's'. It was not quite the end; the Higher Line remained to help with the move and consoled themselves by going to nearby Goodison Park on Boxing Day to watch Everton.

Eventually, on 29 December, some fifteen older boys - the 'Pioneers', as they referred to themselves - led by the prefect, Fr Thomas Turner, took part in the 'great trek', walking from Liverpool to Upholland by way of St Helens, the enthusiasm of the moment looking on this as the most fitting manner of entering their new home. When they arrived hungry and weary (and rather late) and the prefect proudly announced their feat, Provost Walmsley, who delighted in deflating anything that seemed to him to be a bubble of conceit, called them 'silly fools', but eventually let them have dinner. The 'Pioneers' in due course received the loads (44 in all) packed by the 'Diehards' who had stayed behind, and by January 24 1920 every stick of furniture that could be removed and every student was safely transferred, Dr Dean being the last to leave St Edward's; the diary tells us that the unpacking was helped by 'the little girls from St. Lucy's' in residence at the college. It had been a major logistical exercise that, not surprisingly became the stuff of legend. In all, eighty-eight students took part in the transfer, along with a staff of seven priests and five minor professors.[42]

The college started its new life with a staff of seven priests: the Very Rev. William Provost Walmsley, rector (in residence since September 1894), the Revv. J. Dean, D.D., Ph.D., vice-rector and procurator, C. L. Waring, MA, J. Wilcock, MA (headmaster, 1920-1924), J. Blundell, BA, R. W. Finnesey, BA, T. A. Turner (prefect of discipline). There were also five minor professors: Messrs. J. W. Macmillan (later rector of the Venerable English College, Rome), H.

Tootell, W. Butterfield, W. Ball and J. Cole. The students numbered eighty-eight, fifty-one in the Lower Line (years 1-3), thirty-seven in the Higher Line (years 4-7); as there were no senior students at the time of the move because of the war, the juniors had the college to themselves. According to Fr Turner, the occasion of the move was marked by the staff's drinking of the last bottle of 1847 port, 'brought in as carefully as if it had been a new-born babe'; it had travelled years before from the bishop's house in Rodney Street in Liverpool. It was, indeed, the end of St Edward's as a seminary.[43]

As far as can be made out from the College Diary and Register from 1843 until 1919, 1,365 students had been admitted as boarders to St Edward's. Many had gone on to become priests, at least 250 of them for the diocese of Liverpool; the lay boys, one assumes, had played their part in building up the English Catholic body throughout the country. Here it must suffice to mention those who became bishops. Thomas Whiteside: St Edward's 1868-1873, Ushaw, ordained in Rome, consecrated Liverpool's fourth bishop in 1894, becoming its first archbishop in 1911; Robert Dobson: St Edward's 1879-1886, Upholland, Auxiliary Bishop for Liverpool 1922-1942; John Patrick Barrett: St. Edward's 1890-1900, Upholland, Auxiliary Bishop for Birmingham 1927-1929, when he was translated to the diocese of Plymouth; Richard Downey: St Edward's 1894-1901, Upholland, consecrated third archbishop of Liverpool 1928; Thomas Edward Flynn: St Edward's 1893-1902, Upholland, consecrated Lancaster's second bishop in 1939. James Bilsborrow, consecrated bishop of Port Louis in 1911 and translated to Cardiff as archbishop in 1916, came from Douay to St Edward's at the age of eighteen in 1881, but left in 1882 to join the Benedictines.[44]

When the junior seminary moved, it took with it a very large statue of St Edward, carved in mahogany by a William Weston of Ellesmere in 1846, perhaps after a design by Augustus Welby Pugin. It was donated by the Catholic philanthropist and benefactor, Edward Challoner of Old Swan. This was to dominate the new entrance hall at Upholland until the college finally closed. The Diocesan Trustees then agreed to an indefinite loan to the 'new' St Edward's, West

Derby, on the occasion of the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Catholic Institute's foundation in 1853.[45]

While the junior seminary moved to Upholland and became part of St Joseph's College, the buildings in Everton passed under the care of the Irish Christian Brothers. They had been running the Catholic Institute (a 'Grammar and Commercial High School') in Hope Street since taking it over from the diocese in 1902, and needed new premises for its more than 640 pupils. Archbishop Whiteside had suggested that they should buy the now vacant college site in Everton (valued at £27,500); one of the conditions attached to the sale was that they should change the name of their school to St Edward's, to keep the name alive. So the Catholic Institute of Hope Street metamorphosed into St Edward's, St Domingo Road, becoming a highly successful grammar school. Eventually in 1937 it moved to its present site in Sandfield Park, West Derby, when the original college buildings were compulsorily purchased by Liverpool Corporation and demolished to make room for housing.[46]

Fig. 5: 'The Diehards' and the last load

Notes

[1] V. A. McClelland, 'The Formative Years, 1850-92', in V. A. McClelland, and M. Hodgetts (eds), *From Without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales 1850-2000* (London, 1999); T. Burke, *Catholic History of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1910); Peter Doyle, '"A Tangled Skein of Confusion": The Administration of George Hilary Brown, Bishop of Liverpool 1850-1856', *Recusant History* XXV (2) (2000), pp. 294-313.
[2] P. Doyle and L. McLoughlin, *The Edwardian Story: The History of St Edward's College, Liverpool* (Liverpool, 2003), pp. 8-16.
[3] J. F. Turner, 'St. Edward's', *Magazine*, 1943, pp. 71-86.
[4] Ibid., pp. 72-73.
[5] Peter Doyle, *Mitres & Missions in Lancashire, The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* (Liverpool, 2005), p. 231.
[6] J. F. Turner, p. 76; Archives of the Archbishop of Liverpool (AAL), St Joseph's College (SJC), S4 XI B/5: St Edward's Register.
[7] J. F. Turner, p. 77.
[8] *Magazine*, 1938.
[9] J. F. Turner, p. 77.
[10] Peter Doyle (ed.), *The Correspondence of Bishop Alexander Goss, Bishop of Liverpool 1856-1872* (Catholic Record Society LXXXV, London, 2014), p. 2; AAL, Early Bishops, S3 I A/3, ad clerum of Bishop Brown.
[11] Doyle, *Mitres & Missions,* pp. 36-51.
[12] David Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Ushaw, 1964), p. 224; Doyle, *Correspondence,* p. 3.
[13] *Decreta Quatuor Conciliorum Provincialium Westmonasteriensium 1852-73* (2nd ed., London, n.d.), p. 161.
[14] Ibid., pp. 162-70.
[15] Ibid., p. 168; Doyle, *Correspondence*, pp. xxviii, 3, 101-2.
[16] J. F. Turner, p. 76.
[17] *Catholic Directory*, 1857, p. 156.
[18] Alfred Austin, *The Autobiography of Alfred Austin, Poet Laureate, 1835-1910* (London, 1911), pp. 25-34.
[19] Ibid.
[20] AAL, SJC, S4 XI B/5: St Edward's Register.
[21] J. F. Turner, pp. 78-81; *Liverpool Catholic Directory*, 1886, 'St Joseph's Diocesan College, Walthew Park', part 1, pp. 104-9; 1887, part 2, pp. 109-14.

[22] Brian Plumb, 'James O'Byrne (1836-1897): North West Catholic Architect', *North West Catholic History* XXXIX (2012), pp. 36-49; J. Garvin, *Magazine* (January 1934), pp. 3-5.
[23] AAL, SJC, S7/1/A/27, for Barry's letter, 14 November 1877; Sheridan Gilley, 'Father William Barry: Priest and Novelist', *Recusant History*, XXIV (October 1999), pp. 523-51.
[24] McClelland and Hodgetts, pp. 32, 357-8; J. W. Gruber, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* 38, pp. 465-8.
[25] AAL, SJC, S8 I E/2; *Magazine*, (July 1932), p. 117.
[26] *Liverpool Catholic Directory*, 1890; Plumb, *Found Worthy*, p. 59.
[27] J. F. Turner, p. 83.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Doyle and McLoughlin, pp. 28-9; Francis A. Bourne, *Diocesan Seminaries and the Education of Ecclesiastical Students* (London, 1893), pp. 40-63, 66; AAW, Bo.1/116.
[30] Milburn, p. 277; J. F. Turner, p. 82.
[31] A. Laird, 'The Diary of an Edwardian Professor', *Magazine,* 1964, pp. 13-16.
[32] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/19, Mgr T. Turner's 'Diary'; this very long MS in a substantial notebook is more a series of notes, staff lists and biographies, accounts of buildings, reminiscences, etc., all unpaginated.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] AAL, SJC, S7 I A/37, 19 July 1919.
[36] *Magazine*, December 1926 and Spring 1929; Serenhedd James, *George Errington and Roman Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2016).
[37] *Magazine*, 1943; this also has a detailed list of all the staff (clerical and lay) who had served at St Edward's and Upholland up to 1919.
[38] Vincent Hughes, 'An Edwardian of the "eighties"', *Magazine*, 1952, pp. 113-7, describes and gives extracts from the diary.
[39] J. F. Turner, pp. 82-83.
[40] Ibid.
[41] *Magazines* for 1913-39 in AAL, SJC, S6 XII A/1-2; for 1940-82, including random in-house and short-lived issues, ibid., XIII A/1-2; AAL, SJC, S7 I A/14, 2 June 1896; Fr G. Mitchell, 'The Josephian Society', *Magazine,* January 1959, pp. 11-12.

[42] The fullest account of the move is a MS diary in an unknown hand in AAL, SJC, S3 I A/13. Another useful source is an official diary for 1919-21 in S5 I A/1; J. F. Turner, p. 85.
[43] T. Turner, Diary.
[44] J. F. Turner, p. 86.
[45] Doyle and McLoughlin, p. 43, with photo; AAL, SJC, S3 I A/2.
[46] Ibid., pp. 64-5.

Chapter 2

A Senior Seminary

Building Upholland

Along with the other English bishops in the 1860s, Bishop Goss (who had succeeded Bishop Brown in 1856) had to deal with the strongly worded recommendation from Rome that each diocese should make every effort to establish its own diocesan seminary on the lines laid down by the Council of Trent. He decided that at a time when resources of both money and manpower were scarce, his priority had to be the building of churches and schools. The diocese, after all, was well served by Ushaw in which it had a considerable investment and of which he considered himself a joint trustee.[1]

No doubt motivated at least in part by the ideas of his fellow bishops as expressed in their fourth synod in 1873, Goss's successor, Bishop O'Reilly decided that such a large and populous diocese could no longer ignore Rome's wishes and adopted the establishment of a diocesan senior seminary as his main objective, 'the cherished child of his heart, even to his last breath' as Mgr Nugent described it. He convinced his Chapter that steps should be taken without delay in that direction, so that, as he argued, he could provide adequately for the increasing needs of religion across the diocese, in line with Trent's ideals that students should be trained 'under his own eyes'.[2]

At their Fourth Synod, in 1873, his fellow bishops had tried to find answers to two related questions: what sort of institution should their future priests attend, and what should they be taught there? In particular, how far should the bishops adopt the ideal of an almost complete separation of their church students from the world? Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham gave the opening sermon. It was a moving and inspirational call, dwelling on the sacred role of the pastoral priest who above all else needed holiness to serve 'amid the miscellaneous hosts of daring unbelievers who scoff at the priesthood'. Even some priests had eyes with 'too secular a colour';

they must not think that perfection was 'an ivy that only grows on monastic walls'. The bishops followed his lead, stressing the need for seminary training to concentrate on developing holiness at every stage, for while all the faithful were called to be holy, priests must ascend to the very height of sanctity. The priesthood, they argued, had been established to be in men's eyes a living reflection of the life of Jesus, labouring in lonely places, in poverty, and in the face of human opposition. The dignity of the priest rested on a double title: first, he was the companion of Jesus and had accepted a share in the divine mission; secondly, he had jurisdiction over the real and the mystical body of Christ. It was a very strong and positive ideal, though perhaps rather daunting for would-be aspirants.[3]

At the same time, however, the bishops were pessimistic when they viewed the world in which the future priest would be working. Not surprisingly, they attacked the love of luxury and pursuit of leisure and its pleasures by those who lived in the world. But they went beyond this traditional trope of spiritual writers down the centuries. The disturbances and rebellions of human society, they were sure, arose from intemperate liberty and an unrestrained spirit of criticism. In particular, they condemned the *pestifer spiritus* [the destructive spirit] of private judgement which was propagated everywhere by books, pamphlets and newspapers. These, they believed, mixed up and confused sacred and profane matters and criticised both, leaving it to private judgement to decide what was right and wrong, as heretics did. Young seminarians must be taught respect for authority and unquestioning obedience, and students studying philosophy and theology must be separated from lay students; moreover, young boys who hoped to be priests should ideally also be educated apart from other children. Finally the bishops laid down that, as part of their commitment to the Lord, seminarians should not visit their parents even in the holidays without the permission of their bishop.[4]

After the synod the hierarchy issued a joint pastoral letter to be read in all churches. This claimed that the times were more dangerous than those their forefathers had lived through: active persecution might have killed the body but had not harmed the soul,

whereas the present 'days of subtil [*sic*] errors and poisonous refinement' were more perilous than ever and the whole atmosphere of the nineteenth century was charged with hostility to God and the Church, to divine revelation and even to the 'truths of the natural order'. What made it all worse, in the eyes of the bishops, was that the 'unprecedented activity of the press' was spreading this spirit through every class, 'reaching even to the skilled and unskilled' parts of the population: 'from the highest to the lowest class', unbelief had its literature and its apostles. They accepted, however, that the rising intellectual standards of the age, both among Catholics and non-Catholics, demanded a higher intellectual culture in the clergy than had always been the case.[5]

This was the context, then, in which Bishop O'Reilly set about founding a senior seminary. His Chapter was strongly in favour of any new seminary being in Liverpool. The Provost, Canon Cookson, summed up the arguments in a letter of June 1874. He argued that the Council of Trent had directed bishops to build their seminaries near their cathedral churches or at least near some large church, so that the students should have an opportunity to attend High Mass and other ceremonies there. Moreover, he continued, it was laid down that the bishop should often visit his seminary and so it had to be close to his residence. Furthermore, Liverpool as the site of the seminary would have the great advantage of containing many schools and churches and so could offer the opportunity of a practical training in preaching and catechising. It might be argued, he admitted, that Liverpool would demand the imposition of a stricter discipline than a place in the country, but that would have the advantage of 'testing the obedience of the students and their fitness for the holy state to which they aspire'. The Chapter later argued that the best plan to achieve all this would be to transform St Edward's into a senior seminary and move the junior house out of town.[6]

It is not clear when the decision was taken to look for a new site for the senior seminary instead of using St Edward's. Various buildings around Liverpool were examined for their suitability. Amongst these were Woolton Hall (turned down after an unfavourable survey), Burscough Hall and its estate (there were

problems with the water supply) and other properties at Blundellsands, offered by Mr Blundell, and Lydiate. In March 1877, O'Reilly began to consult his clergy formally about the feasibility of establishing a full diocesan seminary, without giving any details of where it might be or what might happen to St Edward's. He announced the results of these consultations the same month:

> The clergy of the diocese have emphatically declared their conviction that the establishment of a Diocesan seminary is an immediate necessity. Wherever I have met them and have had the opportunity of speaking to them upon the subject (and this I have done in Liverpool, Preston, Lancaster, Chorley and Kirkham), they were unanimous in expressing their opinion that this great work should be at once undertaken.[7]

This clerical support was not a figment of the bishop's imagination, for he was able to add a list of subscriptions promised by the clergy that amounted to £5,615; by 1875 this had risen to £6,725. No wonder he concluded, 'In the name of God, and trusting to the prayers of our Mother, Mary, and our Protector, St Joseph, we will begin'. A few weeks later he issued a pastoral letter in which he asked for support for the new seminary. As with the clergy, the response was overwhelmingly positive and subscriptions of nearly £34,000 were pledged.[8]

Meanwhile, a possible site had been found, a property known as Rough Park (also referred to sometimes as Walthew Park, a name that survived) just outside the village of Upholland, about four miles from Wigan and twenty from Liverpool. Formerly the property of the Earls of Derby, in the eighteenth century the lease was held by William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely 1714-23, whose family then bought it outright. Later in the eighteenth century the estate was owned for a time by the Rev. Mr Prescott, vicar of Upholland.

When the estate came up for auction in 1877, the highest bid, £8,000, came from the diocese's representative at the sale and so Walthew Park, consisting of a farmhouse, a small wood and 150 acres of land, became the site for the planned diocesan seminary. In

1878 another sixty acres were added to the site; this later became the college football pitches.[9]

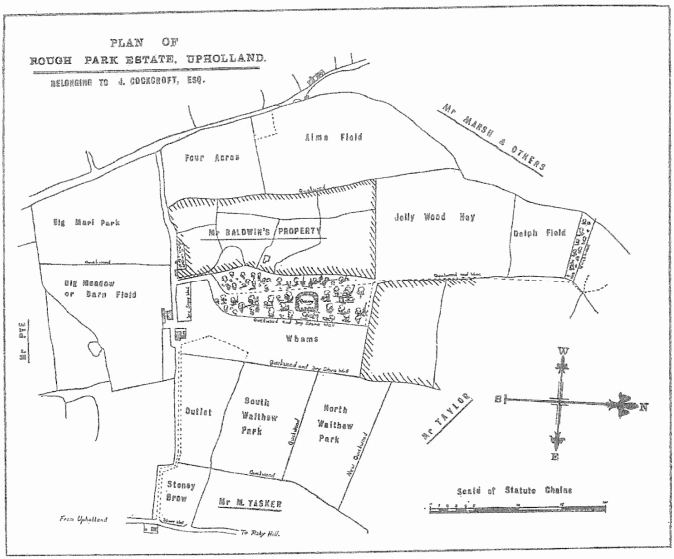

Fig 6: Plan of the Upholland Estate

Bishop O'Reilly immediately appointed Canon John Worthy (1815-1893, parish priest of St Mary's, Euxton, since 1852; he was a cousin of the bishop) as manager of this estate, and he set about re-draining the land, planting trees and laying out paths, kitchen gardens and an orchard on the northern side of the Whams (a name apparently of Scandinavian origin and, appropriately, meaning something like a 'hollow meadow'). He also had the foresight to buy for £20 the rights to quarry stone in what is termed Stoney Brow on the map; this provided almost all the stone for the new college, a lodge, and two cottages (opposite the later Carmel Convent). Building work began at the west end of what is named 'South Walthew Park' on the map, and the foundation stone was laid on 19 March 1880, the feast-day of St Joseph, to whom the new college was dedicated. Since there was no building on the property apart

from a small farmhouse, the bishop had the opportunity of starting completely from scratch in the design of his seminary. The Chapter advised him to plan for an eventual intake of 200 students, with initial space for 120 if contributions would allow, but the bishop was chary of over-spending and the initial plans, drawn up again by the architect James O'Byrne, would have provided accommodation for a mere 30 or 40.[10]

Given the early strong belief in favour of a location in Liverpool, it is surprising to find that the seminary was eventually built out in the country. The reasons were mainly economic and practical: as we have seen, large houses with sufficient grounds in and around Liverpool had proved to be either too small or too expensive. The relatively isolated rural site then became the ideal: the students would be away from the temptations of a large town and seaport, and the college would have a more secluded nature, even though this meant they would not be close to churches or schools that could be used for training purposes.

It is interesting that an article about the proposed college appeared in the Liverpool *Daily Post* in February 1879. The paper's founder had been Michael J. Whitty, an Irish Catholic. He had not always been supportive of the Catholic authorities and had had a number of run-ins with Bishop Goss and with the Catholic *Northern Press*, though he had generally supported the Catholic cause against the Protestant interests in Liverpool. He had died in 1873 and the editor at this time was (Sir) Edward R. Russell, a Protestant Liberal. The article about Upholland was, however, very sympathetic in tone. It commented on the shortage of priests and the use of Irish clergy as temporary assistants, but these were always liable to be re-called. Also, there had been a loss of clergy in epidemics, when priests were 'swept down, not infrequently in their prime', sometimes only a few years after ordination, such were the dangers involved in ministering to the sick and the poor. The paper listed those promising donations for the new building – clergy, prominent laity, and others, and ended:

> The building will be such as to provide for Lancashire Catholic wants for many years to come, and we understand that a site on advantageous terms has been

> purchased at Upholland on which to build. There is little doubt but that in a short time substantial progress will be made with the building.[11]

A substantial legacy of £17,000 from Mr Gilbert Heyes enabled the bishop to add a whole north wing to the original plans and so accommodation for 70 students was provided: a large marble plaque outside the dining room was erected to commemorate the generosity of the donor and for a time it was known as the 'Gilbert Heyes Wing'. Another legacy, of £2,000, had been received from a Mrs Santamaria of Liverpool (untraced - there had been a student of that name at St Edward's in the 1860s). The builders were a Liverpool firm, Roberts and Robinson, and most of the workmen came out from the city, staying in lodgings and going home at weekends.

The new college was in a commanding position, with wide views across the Douglas Valley to the Lancashire fells. The building itself was serviceable and built to last rather than to strike viewers with external beauty or decoration: the local grey stone was hard-wearing but unfortunately darkened with the years and gave the building a rather forbidding exterior. O'Reilly later praised the architect for fully supporting the bishop's wish to keep expenses as low as possible by cutting out all unnecessary ornamentation: 'he sacrificed his own views, but has produced a work for which we have reason to be thankful and which will add to his reputation'. The interior was spacious and remarkably light for a Victorian institutional building.

Fig. 7: Upholland College, the original wing

By 1885, £58,006-3s-1d had been spent in all. This was more than had been anticipated, largely because of the cost of ensuring an adequate water supply: the college needed its own reservoirs and filter bed which cost over £3,870. Towards these costs, £27,700 had come from church collections and clerical and lay donations. There had been other donations and gifts of books, furniture and pictures which helped to reduce the costs. The bishop, in a pastoral letter of 1885, paid special tribute to 'the late Mrs Mary Agnes O'Byrne, a most generous benefactress'; she was the architect's mother. Despite all this generous support, however, two years after the opening the bishop had to appeal for more money to help clear the remaining debt, and in his pastoral letter he dealt with

> a subject than which nothing is dearer to our heart, nothing dearer to you, nothing so important for the salvation of souls in this Diocese, nothing that can so promote the honour of God in this portion of his vineyard … our new Diocesan College.[12]

After a detailed account of the purchase of the site and the building works, he moved on to financial matters. He was very disappointed that of the initial £34,600 promised, only £27,700 had materialised; even allowing for deaths and other factors he had not expected such a large deficiency. The small number of students (by now twenty-five divines and eleven philosophers) would produce only a very small income, with nothing to spare to pay off debts such as rates, taxes and the other expenses 'incidental to a large building', hence his present appeal for £6,800 so that the diocese could call the college its own. He made a special appeal to the younger priests of the diocese who had not been among the initial subscribers in 1878 and concluded his appeal:

> Contribute, then, in God's name, so as to enable us to send more labourers into His vineyard to rescue those souls who are perishing because there are none to feed them, to save those for whom He shed His Precious Blood. Contribute generously, according to your means, and God, to Whom you give, will bless and reward you.[13]

This appeal realised over £2,000, but there remained a debt of more than that amount, with over £5,000 of original promises still outstanding in July 1885. What at first sight seemed to be an unexpected opportunity to raise funds came that same year when the Liverpool Corporation was looking for a site to build an isolation hospital. It decided to locate it in Everton and made approaches to the bishop about possibly buying the site of St Edward's for the purpose. From the diocese's point of view, it seemed worthwhile to think of closing the college and moving it to Upholland, or to find another site for it, and thus realise the value of the city site. O'Reilly had the site and buildings valued at £56,000 and was recommended to ask a market price of £75,000. The Chapter agreed to the sale but when it turned out that the Corporation only wanted to buy about three acres, the bishop refused to consider a partial sale and the deal fell through. In the end, St Edward's remained the junior seminary until 1919 when, as we have seen, it was sold to the Irish Christian Brothers for use as a secondary school.[14]

Staffing the New College

The physical building of a Tridentine seminary was, of course, only the beginning. Despite occasional hiccups, the bishop found it easy enough to find the required funds, especially with the help of generous legacies, but much more difficult to find suitably qualified staff and to decide on the ethos and curriculum of his new institution. We have already seen his attempts to settle on a suitable philosophy course. In 1882 he had agreed with the Chapter's suggestion that a board should be set up to draft a constitution for the new college. The members of this board were Canon William Walker (1820-1893; he had taught at Ushaw); Canon Charles Teebay (1824-1892; he had taught at St Edward's), Mgr Robert Gradwell (1825-1906; of considerable private means, he donated the Gradwell Library, works of art and various funds to the college), and Fr James Swarbrick (1822-1898; he had taught mathematics at St Edward's; in retirement he began farming and was acknowledged to be a fine judge of shorthorn cattle).[15]

The board produced its proposals in July 1883. These were not so much a detailed constitution as a set of principles designed to outline what the ethos and aims of the new college should be. They began by laying down the objects they had in mind: to train up officers in the army of Christ, full of zeal driven by union with the Sacred Heart; to cultivate the intellect to think soundly on 'all the great problems of life', so that the students would not become 'blind guides or dumb dogs', and, finally, to form the students in polite and proper habits of behaviour and conversation. If it kept these objects in mind then St Joseph's would become an 'Olive Garden', with each student becoming a tree that would produce the oil that 'nourishes, enlightens, heals, and so verify in himself the words spoken of Jesus Christ: *oleum effusum nomen tuum* [thy name is as an oil poured out]'.[16]

In such a 'nursery of missionaries', they continued, poverty should be the root of the apostolic life and the 'cure for all the evils of the present day'. No luxury or excess should be allowed 'in hall or chamber, at table or in dress', for history taught that a priest who loved 'good cheer' or for whom 'luxurious civilization' had any appeal could not live 'the Baptist's robust life'. The board had one practical resolution to help clergy develop the required spirit of poverty: all professors and students should keep a careful record of income and expenses and regularly put aside a mite for God's poor. They stressed the need for the college to be a peaceful house; students who could not rid themselves of resentment, moroseness, isolation or irascibility should leave, and all should strive to develop 'a cheerful mien, gladsome manner, graceful speech and a large-hearted sympathy with others'. Changing their original metaphor, they urged the new college to be a hive where 'drones' did not dwell: the proof of diligence would be the steady attention given to prayer, study and recreation and the door should always stand open for the idle or slothful student to depart. Finally, the report turned to what it called the 'lily of chastity' and urged the would-be priest to follow the example of the Holy Family of Nazareth, so that the lily would grow and find shelter from 'the heats of temptation'. A radical,

crucial test of a priestly vocation was an unfeigned exterior modesty growing from a well-disciplined heart and constantly watchful mind.

Whether the report met the initial request for a constitution for St Joseph's is doubtful. The ideals it espoused were more in the nature of a mission statement – lofty and inspiring, if generalised and rather pietistic. Fr Swarbrick also produced another document, which was both more specific and more liberal in outlook than the above would lead one to expect. Its guiding principle was that advanced students should have as few explicit rules as possible, consistent with good order and regularity. In correcting students, supervisors should try very carefully to bring out what was good in the individual and avoid suspicion, mistrust and harshness. The writings of St Francis de Sales should be the 'classics of St Joseph's, supplemented by the practical spirit of St Vincent de Paul'. It was an enlightened approach that applied also to academic matters: lectures should be limited to an hour, 'to prevent tedium in listeners and diffusiveness in speakers'. In philosophy and theology, lecturers (and a lecture system was the best) should follow approved authors and 'lean always to the side favoured at Rome'. Swarbrick believed that students had to be mentally stretched and not just given a practical training: lecturers should ensure that students' minds were not 'cramped by confinement to the practical only: some speculation is needed to develop the mind'. Additionally, he recommended that some branch of science should be studied alongside moral philosophy, not only because of the increased attention that was being given to scientific studies in general, but 'mainly to foster precision in thought and expression – a requisite most important in Philosophy and Theology alike', and not always present even when students knew their subject reasonably well. In an odd afterthought, he suggested the new college should adopt the Ushaw practice of a cup of tea for the students at four or five o'clock in the afternoon. It is not clear whether Swarbrick's paper represented the thoughts of the board or just his own, but given what was to happen under the rectorship of Canon Teebay it is highly likely that it reflected at least the canon's views as well.[17]

It was bound to be some years before the college could enjoy the necessary stability and the whole-hearted acceptance by the majority of the clergy that it was the right place to send students: the pull of Ushaw and the old Douay traditions was very strong. The choice of staff, therefore, was all-important. When the new college, dedicated to St Joseph, opened on 22 September 1883 it had four members of staff: Canon Charles Teebay, as rector; Fr John Bilsborrow (1836-1903), as vice-rector and professor of moral theology; Fr Ernst Commer, as professor of philosophy; Fr Franz Steffens, as professor of dogmatic theology. They were joined by Daniel O'Hare (1857-1893); brought from Ushaw to teach moral theology and to be procurator of the new college, he was only ordained the day after its opening. Staffing remained a problem for some years. Of the two Germans initially on the staff, Dr Ernst Commer left after a year to become professor at Münster, a leader in the neo-scholastic revival and a noted anti-modernist. The other, Dr Franz Steffens (1853-1930), also only taught at Upholland for one year; a prolific writer on Latin palaeography, he became a professor at Fribourg, Switzerland. Fr O'Hare served at Upholland for two years as procurator, before leaving for parish work in Bootle; he died of tuberculosis eight years later. Fr Thomas Whiteside (1857-1921; the future archbishop) joined the staff in September 1885, after his ordination in Rome, as professor of dogmatic theology; he became successively vice-rector in 1888, rector in 1893 and bishop of Liverpool in 1894 (archbishop from 1911).[18]

As first rector it was up to Canon Teebay to set the tone of the new college. He had been on the staff at St Edward's for thirteen years and then a parish priest before his appointment to Upholland. It was soon evident, however, that his approach to seminary discipline was too liberal for many, perhaps most, of the clergy. While the majority of the latter had supported the new college (at least to judge from the financial support they provided for its building), some of them were soon vocal in their opposition to the way it was being run. The basic issue was the loss of confidence in Teebay, who was accused of raising ill-disciplined, worldly students. The attack was led by Canon Carr, the president of St Edward's, who visited

Upholland in September 1885 and wrote to O'Reilly the same day to voice his astonishment, indeed horror, at what he had seen there. He threatened to resign immediately if the bishop did not take steps to remedy the situation: what was the point, he asked, of providing a good education in an ecclesiastical atmosphere at St Edward's if his

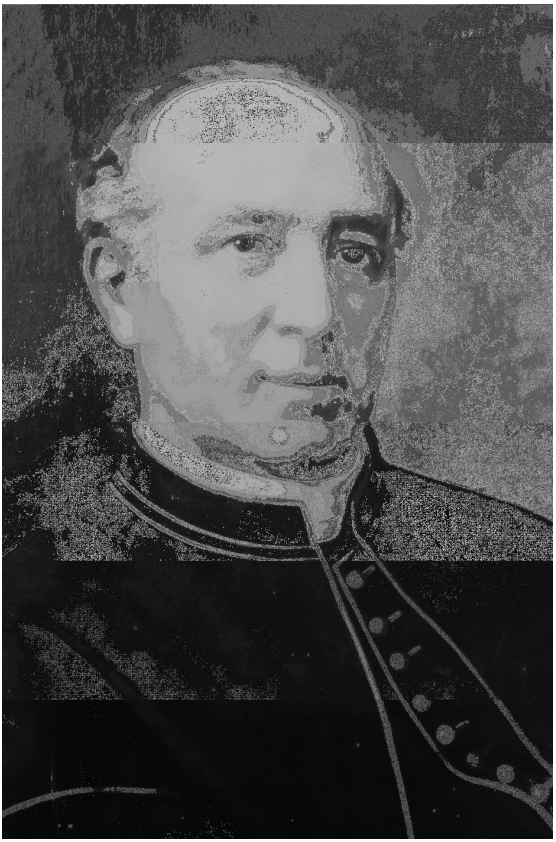

Fig. 8: Canon Charles Teebay, Upholland's first rector, 1883-86.

his students were then to lose everything when they entered St Joseph's? To help to get a sense of proportion about his complaints it should be added that his severest criticisms related to seeing the

students playing football in 'full costume', including white trousers and what he called 'variegated jackets and caps'. Moreover, they were doing this on a study day and so just for an hour; this meant wasting time getting changed before and after and altogether implied a 'sad tone of worldliness and vanity'. His companion on the visit had been a Dr Richards who, like Carr, had been 'simply amazed', adding that it all must lower the tone of the ecclesiastical spirit and of the future priests; it might be understandable for university people but he 'could not have believed it possible for Catholic priests'. It appears from the letter that Carr had tried to get rid of such practices at St Edward's, claiming he had attracted 'odium' in doing so; surely, he concluded, the bishop could not expect him to stay in post when his efforts must be in vain given the 'shocking' example of St Joseph's?[19]

Surprisingly, at least to modern minds, the bishop took such complaints very seriously and wrote to Teebay:

> My Dear Charles,
>
> I am very much pained to hear that the students at their games continue to dress in fancy costumes. I spoke to you on a former occasion saying how strongly I condemned this practice and forbidding its continuance, and you promised that it should never again be allowed. During the past week I received a letter from one of our priests in the diocese stating that these costumes were still being used, and expressing his dissatisfaction and that of others that such a practice should be allowed in an ecclesiastical college and by ecclesiastics. Indeed, the letter was couched in such strong language that I was startled at reading it. . . . The practice must never again be allowed.
>
> + Bernard.[20]

Teebay replied that he was aware that some students had worn jerseys over their waistcoats at football and a few flannel trousers: he thought this would preserve their clothes and never thought it would be considered 'a uniform or fancy dress.' Very soon after this the bishop received another complaint: a student had been seen playing

games in an 'unbecoming head-dress'. This time the embattled rector excused the fault by saying the student in question was new to the college and the bishop could 'rest assured that nothing of the kind will be worn in the future'. (In this context it is interesting that Mgr Thomas Turner, in his reminiscences, reported in October 1914 that Canon Walmsley allowed the wearing of shorts at Upholland for the first time, at the urging of the Josephian Society. Later the rector decided that these were not decent and that knees had to be covered; the students resorted to pulling their stockings up over their knees and adding bits of lining or other cloth to their 'pants').[21]

It was not just the ultra-conservative Carr, however, and the petty issue of games wear. A member of staff at Upholland, Fr John O'Reilly (1858-1937; ordained at Ushaw in 1883, he became first provost of the Lancaster Diocese in 1925 and was appointed a Protonotary Apostolic in 1933) added other details. He believed that Teebay was inadequate as rector: there was poor discipline; the students were allowed to read newspapers including 'the most revolutionary and anti-religious of dailies', the *Pall Mall Gazette*. There were charges of favouritism and too much communication with the servants and the outside world. The whole place compared badly, in Fr O'Reilly's view, with both Ushaw and Lisbon. As part of his argument, he reported the views of an unnamed American student who had studied at Ushaw before moving to Upholland. He had compared the new college favourably with the older institutions, on the grounds that it had no hard and fast rules because Canon Teebay did not want them. Instead, he felt, the system was 'beautifully broad, general and liberal, so different from Ushaw where the students were mere machines'. At Upholland, he continued, everything depended on the rector, whose slightest nod was law and who was never severe, trying instead to follow the example of St Francis de Sales. Ushaw, he went on, had been an unpleasant shock after the freedom of American life, but at St Joseph's he noticed hardly any change at all. Also, there was more intellectual activity among the students than at Ushaw, and he felt the new seminary would turn out priests of liberal views, priests who would be 'immensely popular', and who would make themselves 'all

to all'. The American student, however, also implied that there were major differences between Teebay and the rest of his staff over discipline, with perhaps only Dr Commer adopting the same liberal stance. What was praiseworthy in the American student's eyes was enough to condemn Teebay in those of most of the clergy.[22]

More worrying for the bishop than Fr O'Reilly's complaints were those he had received from various clergy in the diocese. According to these, students claimed they could go where they liked and, when staff were out of the way, could do as they liked; they were frequently seen in Wigan at private houses and shops, sometimes late at night, while others were known to visit their parents. They had also been seen singly or in twos and threes on the railway at a considerable distance from the college, while during the vacations some were known to read 'objectionable Novels' and when reproved said there was no supervision over them at college. Members of the clergy reportedly regretted having subscribed to the college building fund, when they saw its fruit as judged by the 'tone of conversations of students during the vacations, which showed a want of Priestly discipline and Priestly spirit'. One priest feared the bishop was 'rearing a crop that would give endless trouble when ordained'. For his part, the bishop was annoyed that those who made these reports would suggest no remedy for the ills, and for this reason he refused to meet them. One of the things they wanted was to test clerical opinion on the relative advantages of a college in the country compared with one in the town, but O'Reilly refused to allow them to circulate this and other questions. Perhaps any suggestion that he might have been mistaken in siting his senior seminary at Upholland instead of developing St Edward's would have been too painful for him to deal with. There is also an air in some of the reports of anonymous rumours of the 'Have you heard the latest about Upholland?' type. In as far as these criticisms were a fair reflection of the views of the clergy, they indicate a strong support for traditional ideals and practices and a refusal to consider any modernisation.[23]

Internal differences about the proper approach to seminary discipline seem to have been ended with the resignation of Canon

Teebay in 1886. He was succeeded as rector by one of the staff, Fr John Bilsborrow (1836-1903), vice-rector and professor of moral theology since the opening of the college. Then Bilsborrow was appointed Bishop of Salford in 1892, and was succeeded in turn as rector by Fr. Thomas Whiteside, who had taught dogmatic theology since 1885 and had also been vice-rector. He remained in post for barely two years, becoming Bishop of Liverpool in August 1894. For those outside the college who had been critical of the regime under Canon Teebay, this rapid change-over of rectors can have offered little re-assurance.

There were also frequent changes in the teaching staff, and the establishment of a stable and qualified staff remained an issue. In 1897, for example, the Diary noted the appointment of Dr Andrew Trigona to teach philosophy. He was a Sicilian, ordained for the diocese in 1894, who had served the needs of Italian immigrants in Liverpool until 1897; unfortunately he died the following year. He had replaced Fr Robert Dobson (1867-1942, the future auxiliary bishop) who had been on the staff for five years before going off to Rome to study canon law. We have seen O'Reilly's initial attempts to ensure that the philosophy course at Upholland should be up-to-date, but the use of traditional text-books in Latin remained the order of the day. Criticisms of such an approach were widespread and the last years of the century saw considerable debate about what a philosophy course should cover, best summed up, perhaps, by an Irish priest, John Hogan, who had taught philosophy for many years in Paris and the United States. Although in no sense a liberal, he poured scorn on the traditional methods of teaching philosophy in seminaries and the manuals used. 'The subtleties and refinements of the [medieval] schools' were, he believed, important in the study of medieval philosophy, but that was all:

> They have little or no business in our text-books. . . The numberless possible forms of the syllogism, the various degrees of the materia prima, the entities, the entelechies, and quiddities in which our forefathers revelled and lost themselves, may have been very well

> in their day, but their interest henceforth must remain largely of a purely historical and archaeological kind.[24]

He was also severely critical of the use of Latin in seminary teaching, claiming that it was a language only good for formulaic learning. It is easy to find similar criticisms in contemporary writings, both clerical and lay, but they had no effect on either the content or the presentation of the two-year philosophy course at Upholland or the other English seminaries. The isolation of the *hortus conclusus* [an enclosed garden] was not just geographical.

Moreover, O'Reilly's final years were troubled by what contemporaries referred to as a 'crisis of vocations'. Initially the number of students had seemed healthy enough: the college had received its first students on 22 September 1883, sixteen of them studying philosophy and fifteen theology; in November there were the first ordinations: four deacons, five sub-deacons, and six minor orders, while sixteen received the tonsure. At Whit, 1885, eight students were ordained priests (of the original thirty-one students, an amazing twenty-nine were eventually ordained priest). By 1885 there were thirty-six students, twenty-five studying theology and eleven philosophy. Gradually, however, the number of students fell, so that in 1892 there were only seven studying philosophy and the same number studying theology. This decline was probably indicative of the loss of trust on the part of the clergy as a result of Teebay's liberal approach. The bishop received a number of petitions on the subject of the shortage of students; one of these was signed by thirty-three of the clergy worried that steps might be taken to help the new foundation at Upholland that would damage St Edward's. They feared in particular that 'protracted disorganisation' and a possible lowering of standards in the training of ecclesiastical students might follow from interference in the successful scheme of education that they claimed was being consolidated at St Edward's under its 'able and experienced administration'. While willing to support warmly and sympathetically any steps to help Upholland, they warned that St Edward's must not suffer in the process.[25]

Other clergy thought differently and one suggestion was to increase numbers by moving the top two classes at St Edward's

(Poetry and Rhetoric) to Upholland. There were, the writer claimed, sound reasons for doing so, because young men of eighteen years of age would benefit from the greater liberty in the new college and by association with older students: the atmosphere at St Joseph's was 'conducive to a more interior spirit' and would make the students 'more manly in tone'. St Edward's, he concluded, would not lose out because it could lower its age of entry to take in nine-year olds. (The writer of this letter of February, 1892, was Fr James Swarbrick, whose views on seminary discipline we have already seen.) This 'crisis' at Upholland may have been partly behind Canon Taylor's (1831-1908) proposal a few years later that the bishop should sell St Edward's altogether and move the whole training of clergy for the diocese to Upholland. His argument was not financial: he wished to give the new college, which he believed was experiencing some problems in establishing itself in the minds of some of the clergy as a worthy alternative to Ushaw, 'a tradition and history' which it all too clearly lacked.[26]

If a pamphlet published in 1895 is anything to go by, there were still serious questions in the clergy's minds about the training of priests for the diocese. Its author, the Rev. George Teebay (1849-1920) lamented that the huge sum of money spent between 1875-1894 on ecclesiastical training for the diocese at all the colleges (home and abroad) – estimated at £160,000 - had produced very little: a total of 148 priests over twenty years; in only four of those years was the total ordained more than ten; in another four of them, only 'a miserable' two. The writer's criticisms were not directed only at St Edward's and St Joseph's; he had much to say about Ushaw, too. There was in all the colleges, he argued, a lack of proper spiritual direction and fostering of ecclesiastical students; there were too many lay boys; at Ushaw, in particular, the lay element had 'smothered or dried up the old, grand ecclesiastical spirit'. In addition, there was a too-ready acceptance of ecclesiastical candidates without proper investigation of whether they had a true vocation or not, and too much stress on external examination results (with the whole curriculum at Ushaw, he claimed, drawn up to meet the demands of London University). In this last context, he asked

whether among all the most zealous and respected clergy of the diocese, those justly looked up to by their fellows, there was 'a single University man'. The whole thing, he concluded, was a 'miserable waste of energy and money'. A week after the pamphlet appeared, Teebay issued as an addendum to it a list of emendata and withdrew the criticisms he had made of Bishop O'Reilly and unnamed 'diocesan authorities'. It must be stressed that we do not know how widespread these views were among the clergy. We do know, however, that the new bishop, Thomas Whiteside, shared the opinions the author expressed about the dangers of having lay boys in the seminaries; during his episcopate they were to disappear altogether from St Edward's, the last one leaving in 1910.[27]

Canon William Walmsley (1841-1928) was appointed rector in succession to Whiteside. He had been educated at the English College, Valladolid; after two years of parochial work he had spent nine years back on the staff there. At the time of his appointment as rector he had been parish priest of Sacred Heart mission in St Helens; he was to be rector for a record thirty-two years. His long period in charge at Upholland gave the college the stability it required to become firmly established. He was what people called 'a plain, blunt, Lancashire man', a firm disciplinarian with a bluff and not unfriendly exterior and often referred to as 'Old Bill'. He spoke Spanish fluently (even writing up his occasional diary in Spanish) and his special interest lay in St Teresa of Avila; he lectured in ascetical theology. Moreover, he got on well with the local people, who had not been particularly friendly towards the college in its early days; in 1906 he was invited to be patron of the Upholland and District 'Annual Horse, Dog, Poultry and Pigeon Show' (surely a first in English Catholic history). He was deeply conservative with an 'unswerving loyalty to authority'; for him the bishop's 'slightest wish became law'.[28]

While the stability of regime he brought was welcome after a period that had seen four rectors in eleven years, his early years in charge saw considerable discussion about the need to extend the college; in some of these discussions there was talk of its 'completion', in others of a need to accommodate three-hundred

students. It is possible that the idea of moving St Edward's to Upholland was never far away: as we have seen, its site in Everton had been valued at £75,000 in the 1880s, when there had been an unsuccessful attempt to sell it to the Liverpool Corporation. Everton itself was rapidly changing as the city expanded: no longer a leafy suburb, by the 1870s it had become home to 'clerks and artisans' and by the First World War was one of the most densely populated parts of the city, and less suitable, it may have been thought, as the site of the college. Ironically, perhaps, parts of the area were to become Protestant strongholds and the site of bitter sectarian conflict. It would surely be advantageous, many felt, to sell such a valuable site and re-locate its college to rural Upholland, as suggested in a letter from Canon James Taylor to the new bishop in August 1895.[29]

Any talk of extension of the buildings at Upholland, of course, implied considerable cost, but this problem was removed when Bishop Whiteside told his Chapter in 1897 that the architect, James O'Byrne, had made the diocese the main legatee of his considerable estate. In his will he left £16,000 directly to the college and the residue of his estate, valued at about £40,000, to the bishop with absolute discretion as to its disposal (though £10,000 of it would only be available after certain annuities had expired). He also left 'his library and curios', an extraordinarily rich collection of china, coins and medals (said at one time to be the finest private collection in the country), pictures, books and other works of art. When Whiteside asked his Chapter about how this money should be spent, they unanimously decided it should be spent on extending Upholland. (A plaque inside the new entrance at Upholland would carry a fine relief bust of the donor and a record of his outstanding generosity.) A later bequest from a Miss Howett in 1900 gave the bishop an additional £11,000, so any possible financial obstacles had been removed, without recourse to the selling of St Edward's.

Plans were ready by July 1898: these proposed a south wing (where the future professors' wing was eventually built) with alternative proposals for towers at the ends of the two arms of the proposed inverted 'L'. The architect was Mr Daniel Powell. The Chapter discussed the plans further in 1899 and 1900, but in August

1900 Whiteside announced that owing to the prevailing high costs of labour and materials he had decided to delay any start on the building. The Chapter pushed for an immediate start, especially given the extra money available, but the archbishop refused and nothing was done until his successor, Archbishop Keating, took office in 1921.[30]

Matters of Discipline

Both rector and archbishop had other important issues to deal with. Two papal documents, *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili*, of 1907, were concerned to condemn the principal tenets of the more extreme liberal Catholic thinkers, ideas that they labelled Modernism, a 'synthesis of all the heresies'. As part of the ensuing largely negative campaign to rid the Church of any possible Modernist contamination, each diocese had to establish a Vigilance Committee, whose brief was to examine and report on any suspicions of liberal approaches to theology among its clergy. The campaign created a general air of suspicion and necessarily included in its sweeping coverage the seminaries, particularly their teaching of dogmatic theology and sacred scripture. Each seminary was to be subject to a visitation, with a resulting detailed report to Rome. In 1916 the Sacred Congregation in Rome sent out a detailed questionnaire to all bishops, in an attempt to gather an accurate picture of the condition of seminaries worldwide, no doubt as part of this campaign. It is not clear whether Whiteside replied to this; knowing his normal conscientiousness he probably did, though, given the situation at Upholland during the war, there would have been some major gaps in his replies; moreover, he did not think Modernism was a serious problem at all in his diocese and had told his clergy not to read out the Roman documents concerned with it.[31]

Besides the obvious factual questions about buildings, finances and student numbers, the Congregation wished to know what role the rector played. Did he have 'paternal care' of the students, see them individually, and correct and encourage them? Was there a Spiritual Director whose sole job was to 'develop in the students a sincere and solid piety'? What language was used for teaching philosophy and

theology? The questionnaire stressed that newspapers and 'non-official' books, even if not bad in themselves, should be avoided as a distraction to the students. Finally, did the bishop visit each year and listen to the students while 'exhorting them to piety'? There were issues here that were to recur over the next forty years or so: the use of Latin for lectures in philosophy and theology; access to newspapers and the control of students' reading matter; the importance of individual spiritual direction, and the role of both bishop and rector in discerning and encouraging individual vocations.[32]

Archbishop Whiteside (Archbishop since 1911) was also involved in questions of day-to-day seminary discipline and it is worth looking at one of these in some detail, for it reveals something of the official Roman attitudes to priestly training and the perceived need to keep students isolated from the world in a *hortus conclusus* [an enclosed garden]. The issue itself was seemingly minor and concerned what seminarians should be allowed to read, in particular whether they should be allowed to read newspapers and journals. We have seen that this had been raised as one of the criticisms of Teebay as rector of Upholland and a diary note of 1895 had mentioned that *The Catholic Times*, *The Tablet*, *The Ransomer* and something called the (weekly) *Graphic*, were all available to students. The issue had arisen again following Pope St Pius X's *motu proprio 'Sacrorum antistitum'* of September 1910. This contained a long repetition of anti-Modernist principles and the text of the anti-Modernist oath. A section on seminary studies argued that there was so much that clerics had to learn that they should not waste their time or be distracted by other matters, and so the Pope completely forbade the reading of daily newspapers and journals, even those that could be considered 'very sound', and urged that it was a religious duty on the conscience of their teachers and guides not to allow this.[33]

In England, Cardinal Bourne was in favour of easing this total prohibition. He argued that the freedom to read newspapers existed in all the English colleges, lay and ecclesiastical, and had had good results. Moreover, as all English educational institutions for young people were based on this principle of freedom, it would be almost

impossible to require the students, especially the older ones, to say goodbye to the journals and papers which they had enjoyed before entering the seminary. In addition, he argued, such reading increased learning and helped their general education, while any prohibition would astonish and even scandalize Protestants. There is a rather sharp tone in this short letter and none of the usual diplomatic language found in such correspondence; it is almost as though Bourne took it for granted that the Congregation would agree with him. Before replying formally, however, the Consistorial Congregation wrote to Bishop Whiteside of Liverpool to seek his views, at the same time making it clear that it opposed any relaxation: the proper ecclesiastical training of young men called for the maximum of mental recollection. The reading of newspapers, the Congregation argued, only made them *leves* [Latin for 'superficial'], while distracting and alienating them from study, as well as encouraging dissension over political and social questions; anything worthwhile in such publications could be passed on to students by their teachers.[34]

In his lengthy reply, Whiteside tried to avoid a blanket ban by first of all distinguishing between the students' study time and free time, and then by distinguishing between the secular and the Catholic press. In general he agreed that the Holy See was correct in keeping a worldly spirit, bad opinions and distractions away from the seminaries; greater diligence and stricter discipline were required in these matters. It would be dangerous, he argued, to allow the students access in their study time to the current flood of writings on matters of theology, philosophy, history, sacred scripture and the like: the approved authors would be neglected, students might pick up ideas not approved by the Holy See, or even confuse and pervert their minds; their teachers, he agreed, could pass on any worthwhile information to their students. He also concurred with a complete ban on the reading of secular papers even in the students' free time, dealing as they did with politics, sporting events and light-hearted matters. Such reading, he was sure, fomented a less than healthy interest in political matters, with the danger of disagreements and, with regard to sport, a passion that priests later exhibited in attending

sporting events. Teachers could provide extracts from the papers for those sitting public examinations if they needed to know about current affairs, such as the Antarctic expeditions.

He viewed the Catholic press, however, somewhat more favourably, featuring as it did sermons, expert discussion, refutations of Protestant errors and calumnies, and news of the Church abroad. Such reading would strengthen the faith of the clergy as it did that of the faithful; indeed, seminary students ignorant of such things were thought to be uneducated by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. He was sure, he continued, that with this amendment the bishops would welcome these regulations as a way of keeping a worldly spirit and other dangers away from the seminaries.

By way of analogy, he went on to deal with the Index of Forbidden Books. A few years before, he argued, the Holy See had agreed with the bishops' request that this need not be imposed too strictly in England nor publicly promulgated. Therefore, it would hardly be possible or prudent for the Holy See to forbid altogether the reading of newspapers in the students' free time. Students had open access to seminary libraries that were full of 'forbidden' books and used them to acquire a deeper knowledge and general culture. The Holy See had given the bishops the fullest faculties to allow 'reading and keeping, under due custody, forbidden books, even if against religion, and also of granting the same permission to the faithful'. The bishop claimed that no serious damage had occurred because of this lenience. Central to the English seminary system, he went on, was the cultivation of a prudent spirit of freedom, at least in older students, so that they would be best prepared for the proper use of full freedom as they went into the Lord's vineyard. Given this greater freedom towards the Index, he concluded, it would scarcely be possible to adhere strictly to the regulations of the Holy See about the press.[35]

The whole letter is another example of Whiteside's belief, rigorist though he was, that rules laid down by centralising Roman authorities had to be interpreted to suit local conditions. Cardinal De Lai of the Consistorial Congregation, however, would have none of it. His fundamental argument was that seminarians should be

separated from the world and its learning because their task as ministers and dispensers of God's mysteries was not to provide worldly knowledge, still less political information, but to cultivate their own relationship with God to enable them to become exemplars of religion and piety. The development of piety, obedience, humility, mortification and 'all the virtues', could be severely damaged by the unhindered and regular reading of newspapers. It was a 'law of nature' that the attractive delights of the press too easily occupied the mind and heart and became powerful distractions. Knowledge picked up from the press was fragmentary and usually one-sided: such superficial and incomplete knowledge often turned people away from God and clerics should be guarded from it.

De Lai continued that, as long as their teachers told the students about important issues, then young clerics going out into the world could converse without embarrassment and know enough for public debate or examinations. Moreover, Catholic papers shared some of the evils of the ordinary press, covering as they did theatres, shows, dances, sporting events and frivolous leisure activities, so that the mind, always prone to evil, necessarily turned away from work and study to these attractions. The cardinal's tone is pessimistic throughout, with references to the dangers of party and political divisions, often fomented by the press and leading to bitterness and conflict; future priests must be 'fathers, friends and teachers to all equally'.

Finally, picking up Whiteside's point about how difficult it would be to get seminarians to obey such a prohibition, De Lai predictably demurred: there would be no loss of vocations because of it and, if any did find it difficult to obey, the Church would be better off without them. After all, what could be hoped for from such a student if he were to be ordained, where would be his obedience to his superiors and the Holy See? Better to have a small number of fervent and faithful priests than many who were out of line and scarcely obedient. The cardinal concluded briefly and decisively that for all these reasons the Holy See insisted that the prohibition against the reading of newspapers must be upheld in the seminaries. It is very surprising that after such a clear statement the prohibition was not

entirely enforced at Upholland, as we will see later, at least with regard to Catholic papers.[36]

The general disciplinary stance adopted by Walmsley was strict, marked by a strong suspicion of the world and the temptations it held, so that the training provided bore many of the marks of a religious novitiate, preparing its members for a communal life that was not to be their lot as members of the secular clergy. An account of student life at Upholland in the years 1910-1916, (written, it should be noted, many years later, probably by Fr William Rylance who had been ordained at St Joseph's in 1916), paints a picture of restriction and isolation: there were no visitors, and parents were not even allowed to attend their sons' ordinations. When leaving the college for the summer holidays they dressed in frock coats, top hats and Roman collars (they discarded the top hats at the end of the drive). Smoking was forbidden under pain of expulsion or postponement of Orders (though the taking of snuff was allowed). The small number of students, only about thirty in all, restricted social and sporting activities: as the writer said, there were hardly enough for two teams (and when they did play games they were not allowed to wear shorts); there were no theatrical plays and only a single society, the Debating Society. A few lantern lectures were provided by 'brave' students; the only outside speaker was John Godfrey Raupert KSG (1858-1929), a prolific writer on spiritualism, and licensed by the Holy See to speak on this and related subjects in seminaries. A highlight for the author was the O'Byrne museum and library, which they were allowed to visit only on rainy days; few students, however, 'and no professors', took advantage of 'this Aladdin's cave' that was for him an 'escape from the drabness of college life'. As no newspapers, not even Catholic ones, were allowed they knew 'so little' of the world in general and relied on the professors for bits of news (such as the sinking of the Titanic).

The account also tells us something of the teaching: Dr Milner (1865-1935; on the staff from 1907-1913 and again from 1929-1934) taught moral theology from the textbook by Noldin; he put the books on one side of the lectern, his biretta on the other side and his snuff box in the centre. Dr George Rigby (1859-1928; on the staff 1892-

1918; vice-rector) taught dogma, 'of which he knew nothing'; he had been professor of philosophy for 25 years before being 'advanced' to dogma. Mgr Dean taught scripture and church history. Fr Timmons (1873-1928; on the staff of St Edward's 1902-1916) came out from St Edward's to teach logic, while Fr Gorman (1873-1934; had taught at St Edward's for 10 years, then at Upholland 1908-1917) taught philosophy 'of which he knew nothing'. Regarding canon law, since the Codex had not been published, they 'knew nil'. As catechists and preachers they were 'woefully wanting in practice'.[37]

Even allowing for the vagaries of memory after forty or fifty years, the picture is indeed a rather drab one. Although a few of the clergy may have feared that such an isolationist approach did nothing to equip future priests to deal with increasingly educated lay Catholics or to answer the arguments of increasingly secular opponents, the majority view prevailed.

The Impact of War

From 1916 the numbers of students at the college fell drastically because of conscription; others had already left to volunteer. Those in Major Orders were exempt from conscription as long as the Church provided enough priests to be chaplains to the forces. By July 1918 there were only ten students left: four of these were ordained that month and the rest were sent to continue their studies at Ushaw.

No sooner had the college closed as a seminary than, on 18 July, the first group of seventy orphans arrived from St Elizabeth's Industrial School, Liverpool, in the charge of the Sisters of Mercy. In October more children joined them from Blackbrook, St Helens, followed by the children of soldiers and sailors, with the staff necessary to look after them. Canon Walmsley seems to have been the only priest to remain and he was still at his post when the college re-opened in January 1920. But it did so as a junior seminary only, with the transfer of the St Edward's students from Liverpool, as we have seen. Since there was not room for both seniors and juniors, when twenty-one students returned from military service in 1919 they were allocated either to the English College, Rome (five

students) or to Oscott (twelve students), while four of them became minor professors at Upholland, that is, teaching and looking after discipline but not themselves studying.[38]

It seems the move from Everton was very popular, at least at first; the new college was regarded as something of a 'promised land' after the 'busy, smelly streets of Liverpool' and the bricks and mortar of St Edward's. This enchantment, however, did not last: the old wing was seriously over-crowded and the new wings (started in 1923) created all the chaos of a building site, causing frequent upheavals and moving around of students. For his part, Fr Thomas Turner admitted that the old wing at Upholland might not have been architecturally beautiful, mainly because Bishop O'Reilly did not want to spend a penny on its elaboration 'even if that meant it looked like a workhouse'. He claimed, however, that it was structurally probably the finest building in the diocese and that the masons working on the new wings in the 1920s admired it and claimed it would still be standing long after their own work had perished.[39]

It was probably neither the architecture nor the rural setting, however, that had caused the initial popularity of the move, but the changes in routine introduced by Canon Walmsley. Although he has gone down in college history as a strict disciplinarian with no time for student feelings, in January 1920 he decided that corporal punishment should not be used except in extreme cases and only with his consent. Two years later he changed his mind and announced that the prefect might use it when the usual warnings had failed. If it had to be used a second time on the same boy, then the boy had to be interviewed by the rector. The *Magazine* diarist added, presumably indicating that there had been differences of opinion about the practice, that the rector had added, 'Let us work together in this matter'. Another key change was the decision he announced in December 1921 that the students should go home for the Christmas vacation; apparently, the older students had asked the new archbishop for this relaxation. In announcing it, Walmsley said it was to be 'an experiment'; it lasted until 1930. When it ended, presumably on the next rector's initiative, the juniors stayed at the

college for their Christmas holiday while the Upper House went home, a regime that created its own problems, as we will see. That Walmsley retained a suspicion of the world and its influence is illustrated by a story told of his disagreement with the Josephian Society over the question of providing a proper cricket pitch at Upholland. In 1926 the Society wanted to fund this, but the rector was hesitant. Eventually he gave in, writing to the Society's secretary that it was probably useless 'to keep the flood of worldliness out of our colleges (and so) with reluctance I submit. You can have cricket pitches'.[40]

Fig. 9: Canon William Walmsley, rector, 1894-1926.

Overall, the move to Upholland did not have any noticeable effect on numbers: in September 1921 there were ninety-seven students on roll, forty-six in the Higher Line and fifty-one in the Lower Line. This meant, however, that the college was providing for nearly three times its pre-war numbers, necessitating a complete overhaul of the domestic arrangements. Archbishop Whiteside approached the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul to take on this work, including the running of an infirmary. They felt it was 'morally impossible' to refuse the archbishop's request, and worked at the college from 1920. They were never happy, however, with doing so, as the work lay outside their core purposes, and they left in 1930, handing over to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.[41]

Notes

[1] *Decreta*, p. 161; Doyle, *Correspondence*, pp. 19-21; O'Reilly's Pastoral Letter of 1885, p. 2.
[2] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/14, typescript 'The Diocesan Seminary: involvement of the Chapter 1868-1920', pp. 4-5; Burke, p. 236.
[3] William Bernard Ullathorne OSB, 1806-89, Bishop of Birmingham 1850-88; Ullathorne, *Discourse at the Opening Session of the 4th Provincial Synod of Westminster* (London, 1873), p. 31.
[4] *Decreta*, pp. 220-24.
[5] Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster (AAW), Box AFW: *Pastoral of the Bishops on the Conclusion of the 4th Synod,* 12 August 1873, pp. 7, 12-15.
[6] AAL, SJC, S3 II A/4, 19 June 1874.
[7] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/14, typescript 'St Joseph's Diocesan College, Walthew Park', pp. 1-2.
[8] AAL, *Liverpolitana*, O'Reilly Pastoral Letter, April 1885.
[9] AAL, SJC, S3 II A/26: Short Abstract of Rough Park Estate, 1889; Revd F. Callon, 'The History of the College Grounds', part. 1, *Magazine*, 1965, pp. 11-15.
[10] AAL, SJC, S1 II A/1 and VI A/1, for O'Byrne's sketches and plans.
[11] AAL, Press Cuttings collection: cutting dated by hand, 'Daily Post 4 Feb. 1879'.

[12] AAL, *Liverpolitana*, O'Reilly, April 1885, p. 1.
[13] Ibid., p. 9.
[14] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/14, Copies of Chapter Minutes, 14 November 1882.
[15] *Magazine*, January 1935, for a life of Mgr Gradwell; his extensive papers are in AAL, SJC, S3 I C/1-20. See also AAL, SJC, S7 I A/ 14, 20, 24 and *Magazine*, 1955, pp. 174-5; obituary of Teebay in AAL, SJC, S3 III G/2; committee's report in AAL, SJC, S3 III F/3.
[16] Quotation from the Song of Songs, 1:3.
[17] AAL, SJC, S3 III F/7, *Monit*a, July 1883.
[18] *Magazine*, Spring 1928, on Commer. A list with biographical details of 65 priests who served at St Edward's and/or Upholland, 1843-1929 (and beyond in two cases – Mgr T. Turner and Mgr Dean) was compiled by Mgr J. F. Turner, *Magazine*, 1943, pp. 143-9.
[19] AAL, SJC, S3 III F/4, Carr to O'Reilly, 21 September 1885.
[20] Ibid., O'Reilly to Teebay, n.d., but September 1885.
[21] Ibid., Teebay to O'Reilly, n.d; T. Turner's comments about shorts are typed in at end of Teebay's letter in F/4.
[22] J. O'Reilly: AAL, SJC, Early Bishops, S3 III, F/4, 3 March 1885; *Lancaster Directory,* 1939, p. 106.
[23] AAL, SJC, S3 III F/4, various unnumbered items on the troubles, March-September 1885.
[24] John Hogan, *Clerical Studies*, Boston, United States, 1898, pp. 66-70; Maisie Ward, *Insurrection versus Resurrection* (London, 1938), pp. 24-42.
[25] AAL, SJC, S4 XI B/1; S3 III G/20.
[26] AAL, SJC, S3 III F/2, (n.d.); F/5, 11 February 1892; Canon Taylor to bishop, 12 August 1895.
[27] The Rev. George Teebay, *Diocese of Liverpool Ecclesiastical Education Fund. A Retrospect 1875-1894.* (Privately printed and circulated to the Clergy, July 1895.) Both he and Charles, the rector, came from Preston; it is not clear if they were related.
[28] *Magazine*, December 1926.
[29] P. J. Waller, *Democracy and Sectarianism: A political and social history of Liverpool 1868-1939* (Liverpool, 1981), pp. 124-5, 156-7; AAL, SJC, Taylor to bishop, August 1895.
[30] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/20, Chapter Minutes about Upholland, 1885-1900.
[31] Doyle, *Mitres & Missions*, p. 101.
[32] Seán Finnegan, *In Hope of Harvest; The Story of St John's Seminary, Wonersh* (Wonersh, 2011), pp. 107, ff. *Quaestiones de Seminariis* are in AAW, Roman Documents VIII (1912-18), f. 161, 16 July 1916.

[33] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (*AAS*), II (1910), pp. 665-80, for papal *motu proprio*; AAL, SJC, S5 I A/2, for list of newspapers.
[34] AAW, Roman Documents VII (1906-11), f.225, Bourne to Cardinal De Lai, 28 December 1910.
[35] AAL, Early Bishops, S1 VII A/5, Consistorial Congregation to Whiteside, 11 January 1911; this includes Whiteside's undated reply.
[36] AAW, Roman Documents VIII (1912-18), De Lai to Bourne 17 April 1911.
[37] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/4, 'College Life, 1910-1916'; *Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook*, 1923.
[38] AAL, SJC, S4 XI B/2, Student Records.
[39] J. Ibison, 'Thirty-five Years – Man and Boy', *Magazine*, Summer 1955, pp. 167-9. T. Turner, 'Diary' under '1926'.
[40] Mitchell, p. 12.
[41] Susan O'Brien, *Leaving God for God. The Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul in Britain 1847-2017* (London, 2017), pp. 166, 403.

Chapter 3

A New Upholland

Building

Archbishop Frederick William Keating (1859-1928) succeeded Archbishop Whiteside in 1921, having been Bishop of Northampton since 1908. He decided that Upholland, if it were to house both junior and senior seminaries for the archdiocese, would have to be greatly enlarged. The foundation stone of the first new, north, wing (to house the Higher Line) was laid in October 1923. The architect was Mr Pugin Powell, grandson of the great Victorian gothic architect, Augustus Pugin; he planned for three new wings to complete a quadrangle, with an almost free-standing chapel off the south-western corner. The original plans had been for this quadrangle to be at the rear of the 1880s building, leaving the main entrance where it had been before. In 1919, however, a new building had been erected to house temporary wash-places for the students moving from Everton; this 'wing', never a thing of beauty, was built of brick and faced with pebbledash and became a permanent feature. The new wings were to be built of brick, faced with red sandstone since the local quarries could no longer supply enough of the original grey stone.[1]

The new wing (named St Edward's wing) was ready for occupation by the end of January 1925. Its ground floor eventually consisted of class-rooms; the first floor housed a large study place and a library for the use of the Higher Line; the top floor housed the Higher Line dormitory. In the basement were storage facilities, washrooms and, eventually, the Walthew Press. Work on the third wing of the quadrangle, the east wing, began immediately; this was intended to house the Upper House and consisted of lecture rooms on the ground floor and individual rooms for philosophers and theologians on the first and second floors. The tower at the corner of these two wings provided space for an observatory to house the

telescope transferred from St Edward's. For its time it was a fine instrument with a 7½ inch lens, and the new observatory was fully fitted out for sophisticated use. It remained largely unused, however, and astronomy did not feature in the Upholland curriculum as it had done for a time at St Edward's; apparently there were few 'searchers of the starry skies' among either staff or students, although occasionally interested students were given permission to stay up beyond 'lights out' to use it. The east wing was divided at ground level by an arched carriage-way that gave access into the quadrangle and had a flèche centrally placed on its roof. The building, complete with a tower in the south-east corner of the quadrangle, was ready for use by the beginning of the autumn term 1926.

Work on the third side of the new buildings, the south wing, began in 1926. The foundation stone, laid in October by Bishop Pearson of Lancaster, referred to it as 'the Professors' Wing', built under the patronage of St Bede, Confessor and Doctor of the Church; the dedication to St Bede seems to have been forgotten in subsequent years. The wing provided a striking frontage to the whole college with three towers and an impressive triple-arched entrance. It provided accommodation for the staff with suites of rooms along a fine oak corridor, with the Gradwell Library on the top floor and a suite of impressive reception rooms at ground level, including a suite for the rector; on the first floor was a suite for the archbishop.

A one-storey ambulacrum linked this south wing to the new chapel, on which work began in 1927, with its foundation stone laid by Archbishop Keating in July of that year. The chapel was a large building in modern gothic style, laid out in traditional English collegiate style, with an ample ante-chapel containing the Lady Altar, and an ornate organ loft. The organ was built by Messrs Ainscough of Preston to a design by the eccentric J. H. Reginald Dixon of Lancaster (not the popular Blackpool performer), at a cost of £2,500. The original plan was for the chapel to have a bell tower topped by a spire, but financial constraints led to the abandonment of the spire. A large number of side altars, dedicated to various saints, provided facilities for private Masses said by the staff. The chapel was completed with all its fittings by the end of 1929. In May 1930,

a week of celebrations took place, known as Consecration Week (5 – 11 May), when the new chapel was consecrated by Cardinal Bourne in the presence of the Archbishops of Cardiff and Edinburgh and nine diocesan bishops; the occasion also saw the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of Upholland in 1880.[2]

The 1930s saw a few relatively minor additions. For several years there had been suggestions that the college should have a swimming pool, and a fund set up for this had raised about £1,200 by 1933. The authorities decided that year that a gymnasium was a more realistic aim and by October 1935 this was in place in the form of a wing attached to the original buildings of the 1880s, approached from the north wing corridor. It consisted of a fully equipped gymnasium and small viewing gallery; the gymnasium also served as a theatre with a fitted stage, lighting console, orchestra pit and green room. The extension also included a small music practice space and ten piano rooms for individual use. The first floor was planned as a dormitory, but does not appear to have been used for this purpose for some years. No further additions were made to the buildings until the 1960s.[3]

Overall, it had been a successful expansion; indeed, it had resulted in what could be regarded as a new college, making the most of the potential of the site and providing a magnificent building with excellent facilities for a diocesan seminary in the Tridentine mould. The *Magazine* spoke of 1 July 1925 as the college's Second Foundation Day. Archbishop Downey (he had succeeded Keating in September 1928, having been on the college staff for two years) was exaggerating, perhaps, in his flamboyant claim in 1929 that Upholland was 'the pride of the North, the envy of the South and the admiration of the East and the West'. Some might question the wisdom of having juniors and seniors on the same site, especially as it meant students spending up to thirteen years in the same building, but without doubt it was one of the finest architectural achievements by English Catholics between the wars.[4]

That the archdiocese could build on such a scale and complete the project in only six years was due to the generosity of a number of donors, above all the original architect James O'Byrne. Mgr Robert

Gradwell (1825-1906), in addition to making several gifts while still alive, left a substantial legacy; he endowed the new library and four 'chairs', in Dogma, Moral Theology and Canon Law, Scripture and History, and Philosophy, each with a substantial annual stipend in the 1940s and 1950s of £100. He also paid for the bell for the new chapel, known in his honour as 'Big Bob'. Mgr Canon James Taylor (1831-1908) had left £3,000, while Mgr Canon Joseph Clarkson (1853-1940), with a life-long interest in art and collecting pictures, donated enough works of art to line the extensive corridors of the new building.[5]

A new institution called for a new coat of arms. Its blazon, or technical heraldic description, is: Azure on a bend Or three lilies Argent slipped Vert between in the sinister chief a cross flory between five martlets and in the dexter base semee de lys a lion rampant guardant of the Second. In non-technical terms, the shield had three sections: first, the cross and five martlets of St Edward in gold on a blue background; secondly, a diagonal band of gold, bearing three white lilies for St Joseph, and thirdly, a white lion rampant on a blue background between several fleur de lys, from the coat of arms of the ancient Holland family, medieval lords of the manor of Upholland. The motto chosen was *In te, Domine, speravi* [In you, O Lord, I have put my trust], from Psalm 30:2; the quotation continues, *non confundar in aeternum* [I shall never be overcome].

The college sat in very extensive grounds. Since its beginnings in 1883 substantial efforts had gone into making full use of these, to provide a fitting setting for the buildings, develop sporting facilities and lay out kitchen gardens. The developments in the 1920s necessitated considerable re-planning. While professional expertise was employed for some of this transformation, most of the labour was undertaken by staff and students (willingly or unwillingly). The whole process, still on-going in the late 1960s, was best described by a later procurator, Fr Frederick Callon, who was himself responsible for much of the later planning and overall success of the project.[6]

A New Venture

Archbishop Keating regarded the restart as the beginning of a new era for the college, if not the start of a wholly new venture. He was aware of the difficulties of establishing a new institution that could not rely on an inherited tradition stretching back centuries, as was the case with the older English seminaries. He had outlined his hopes in the first issue of the *Upholland Magazine* in July 1923:

> The College will be what they (coming generations) will make it . . . (with) its robust piety, its untarnished orthodoxy, its sensitive loyalty to those who exercise the pastoral office, its intense cultivation of fraternal charity and of that 'esprit de corps' so essential to efficiency, its manly scorn for idleness and effeminacy, its enthusiasm for scholarship, its esteem for literary and artistic culture, its laudable ambition to excel even in games, and thus maintain the *mens sana in corpore sano* [healthy mind in a healthy body].[7]

There was both a challenge and an opportunity, he continued, to develop a justifiable pride in its achievements and to seize the opportunity to develop something new that would not be hidebound by tradition or complacent because of past glories; the outlook of archbishops and rectors would be all important.

Later, in 1926, the archbishop addressed the academic staff formally at the start of the fresh academic year and laid out what today might be called a 'mission statement'. Not surprisingly, he began by stressing that he had great expectations of the recently expanded institution: it was to be a centre of sacred learning, an exemplar of religious observance, and a treasure-house of ecclesiastical culture. To realise these ideals, he went on, the staff would have to be of the highest quality, with a faith 'unsullied by liberalism' and adorned by 'deep and accurate learning, defended …. by patient study'; the phrase 'unsullied by liberalism' is a telling one in the post-Modernist period of the 1920s, as is the complete obedience to the Holy See and the hierarchy that Keating went on to advocate. They should, he stressed, always *sentire cum ecclesia* [be of one mind with the Church] and accept the authority of the Holy See and the hierarchy.

In academic matters they must continue what was an excellent tradition in 'Lower Studies', and he congratulated them on the achievements to date in the University Joint Examinations; they should also, however, take special care of the backward students. In 'Higher Studies' (i.e. philosophy and theology), for the present 'they would have to create their own' (standards, presumably); they should leave no room for slacking, and while lectures would be in English he would welcome the introduction of the Syllogistic disputation in Latin. At all times members of the staff should be careful to preserve 'professorial dignity' by wearing academic dress, and insisting on proper forms of address and observance of the rules. At the same time, he would welcome the development of a respectful familiarity with the students through informal contacts with them and taking an interest in student associations.

Most of the rest of the archbishop's talk was taken up with the internal organization of the seminary: the rector was to be accepted as the archbishop's representative and in overall charge in all matters of discipline; the prefects of studies were responsible for drawing up syllabuses and timetabling which had to be approved by the archbishop and then adhered to strictly at all times. The archbishop laid down that all staff should normally return to the college before 10 pm, and should not normally take on regular supply work in parishes. Finally, the archbishop returned to the necessity of developing an 'esprit de corps': this should not result in the narrowness of mind that refused to see good in other institutions, but should encourage a strong sense of loyalty and devotion to their Alma Mater. He ended:

> Believe in yourselves – in your ideal – in your power to attain it. Hence do not belittle the work nor the workers – be generous in your esteem of each other – a mutual admiration society [is] better than a mutual contempt society. Guard yourselves in conversation about the affairs and personnel of the house – it is the criticism that is repeated.[8]

The 1920s were, necessarily, a period of settling in, with students often in temporary accommodation as buildings were not always

ready in time and a certain amount of rule-making on the hoof took place as new regimes were established in search of the communal ethos desired by Keating. A valuable source of information on these years is the Dean's Diary, kept by James Ibison, who held the position of student dean for an unprecedented six years as the first class of philosophers moved through the Upper House to ordination in 1930. (He later became a member of the teaching staff and then procurator from 1946 – 1955). Among matters great and small we learn of the first wireless presented to the student common room by the archbishop in December 1925, and of the popularity of *The Universe* and the permission to have also *The Catholic Times* the following year, with the wry comment of the diarist, 'Thus, little by little, we are emancipating ourselves'.[9]

We also learn about the curriculum and how well or badly the staff delivered it; some of the criticisms are surprisingly outspoken. While Dr Traynor had given a good foundation in logic, critica and ontology, Dr Flynn had presented too many ideas too speedily in physiology and psychology. On the other hand, Dr Dean, in scripture, was the 'slowest, the most thorough and finest' teacher they had. This was in complete contrast to Fr Waring, who in church history was described as the 'shoddiest, least thorough and worst teacher' anyone could have, incapable of teaching and with no sense of differentiating between important and trivial events. The diarist was also critical of his fellow students for their cliquishness and unfair attitudes to those in authority, including rather strangely Fr Thomas Turner, prefect of the School; Ibison believed that much of this could be settled if the staff would only mix with the students from time to time and show them their more human side. These minor criticisms of the student body aside, he claimed that they were committed, kept the rules and on the whole were 'good students' with a 'deal of solid piety' ingrained in their make-up.

As noted earlier, use was still being made of minor professors in the School. An example may be given here of such a teacher, who was later to become a member of the Senior House staff and vice-rector of the college. John Campbell (1901-1982) completed his schooling at Upholland and was appointed a minor professor,

teaching classics, in 1922. While doing this he gained an external B.A. from London and in 1925 went to Rome to begin his senior studies at the English College, gaining doctorates in philosophy and divinity en route to returning to Upholland to teach classics once more. In 1939 he succeeded Dr Macmillan as professor of philosophy; three years later he became vice-rector and in 1944 succeeded Dr Patten as professor of dogmatic theology, which subject he taught until appointed a parish priest in 1949. His progression 'upwards' through the staff was not atypical and raises some questions regarding staffing for the modern reader; for some of the clergy at the time, educated in an altogether different system, such a teaching career only underlined the complete isolation of the English seminaries. Another such Pooh-Bah figure was Fr Wilf Lennon: in a farewell article, the *Magazine* reported how he had 'ranged through almost the whole gamut of studies – all the languages, doctrine and scripture, ascetical and moral theology, and philosophy' – all this on the strength of a Roman DD.[10]

From 1926 the rector of the new college was Mgr Joseph Dean PhD, DD (1875-1960). After ordination at Upholland in 1901 he had studied in Rome before returning to the college in 1905, to teach scripture and history until 1916; we have seen that he returned in 1920 after organising and overseeing the move of St Edward's from Liverpool. His national reputation as a Scripture scholar has been overshadowed by his reputation as a stern disciplinarian: Brian Plumb calls him an 'outstanding and unyielding prelate' who remained for those who trained under him 'the Dreaded Dean'. The Senior House staff in 1926 included the Rev. Richard Downey PhD, DD, LLD (1881-1953, the future archbishop; on the staff from 1926-1928 as vice-rector and professor of dogmatic theology, though apparently he would have preferred to teach philosophy). Another member of staff at the time was the Rev. Thomas Edward Flynn MA, PhD (vice-rector from 1928-1932; editor of *The Clergy Review*; later bishop of Lancaster in 1939). Both of these men had been educated at St Edward's and Upholland. Mgr Tom Turner, also a member of staff at the time, relates that the new professors, especially Downey and Flynn, tried to have nearby Wigan removed from the new

college's address, for fear of the town's association with music hall jokes and a consequent loss of reputation among clerical friends in the south; he ends by adding, 'but the ancient and loyal borough won through'. The senior staff included Dr Joseph Cartmell MA, DD, PhD (1895-1967, professor of philosophy and, later, of dogmatic theology); Dr Albert Bentley MA, PhD (1897-1969, professor of liturgy and later procurator) - he would regale students with accounts of his adventures as a pilot in World War I - and the above mentioned Dr Walter Traynor LCL, PhD (1885-1948, professor of Scripture at Oscott and of philosophy at Upholland 1924-1928) and Fr (later Canon) Cuthbert Waring MA (1884-1961, professor of church history, Master of St Edmund's House, Cambridge 1929-34). Dr John Macmillan PhD, DD (1899-1957; professor of philosophy 1930-9, vice-rector 1933-1939; later rector of the English College, Rome) joined the staff in 1930.[11]

Guidance from Rome

In addition to Liverpool, the new college served the Northern dioceses of Salford and Lancaster and both from time to time provided members of staff. It was, however, essentially a diocesan college under the control of the Archbishop of Liverpool, unlike Ushaw which was the joint responsibility of the Northern bishops. It was, therefore, the archbishop who was required to send every three years a detailed report to the Roman Congregation for Seminaries and University Studies. The Congregation's eight-page reply to Downey's 1932 report shows that this was not regarded as just a box-ticking exercise. It was the first report since the completion of the new buildings and the establishment of a comprehensive Tridentine seminary. While full of praise for the new buildings, and indeed for the whole enterprise, the Congregation picked out some areas for comment. Not surprisingly, it was most worried by the fact that of the 76 students who had entered the seminary over the previous three years, 52 had since left: everything must be done to find the causes lest all the fine buildings and the hard work of the staff be wasted. The Congregation wondered whether the longer holidays enjoyed by

the students at home, especially at Christmas and during the summer, might not be to blame.[12]

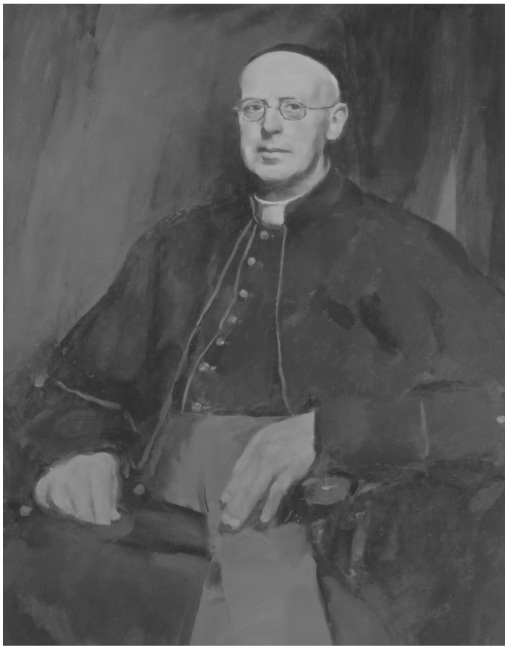

Fig. 10: Mgr Joseph Dean, rector 1926-1942.

A further concern, yet again, was the issue of what the students should be allowed to read. Downey had reported that newspapers and periodicals approved by himself were permitted, despite the earlier total prohibition. The Congregation, in the longest section of its response, reminded him of that prohibition, quoting in full the decree of 1910 and underlining the phrase *omnino vetamus* [we completely forbid] in the original. In a shorter section, the Congregation requested that copies of the college magazine should be forwarded to it, along with copies of any publications by members of the staff. It justified this request by saying it was *honoris causa* [a mark of honour] and to bring Upholland into line with practice elsewhere;

one cannot help wondering if there was not here a shadow of anti-modernist suspicion.

The Congregation then turned to the issue of the use of Latin. The timetables showed that the students were being taught to read and speak this universal language competently; why then were philosophy and theology lectures not in Latin? Not to do so ran counter to the explicit regulations laid down by Pius XI in his Apostolic Letter *Officiorum omnium* of 1922, which had made clear that the use of Latin was necessary for a full understanding and defence of doctrine.

Finally, the Congregation's response raised a number of issues that might be loosely taken together as dealing with general discipline and morals: care must be taken to ensure that the large number of female servants did not pose a danger to the students' vocations or morals; the different elements of the institution must work together to produce worthy priests, and this included proper recreation, health and games (though students must not become too involved with these lest they become a distraction); if, for example, a swimming pool be thought necessary, though the Congregation clearly thought it was not, then every care would have to be taken to adhere strictly to 'the ecclesiastical rules of modesty and reserve'. The archbishop was asked to reply to the Congregation after due consideration.

It was Mgr Dean, as rector, who composed the reply. He assured the Congregation that copies of all publications, as requested, would be forwarded to Rome. As regards the fifty-two students who had left, he pointed out that only seven were from the senior seminary, and none of them had left because of the longer holidays. One had left for family reasons, two for health reasons (one was returning), one had come from another seminary and had only stayed a month, another, whose vocation had been unsure for some time, had left after the first year in the senior seminary, while two from Ireland were judged not to be of the right character. Moreover, he added, the Christmas holidays could not be blamed for the number leaving the junior seminary, since they had not had that holiday at home since 1931.

With regard to the use of Latin, Dean assured the Congregation that from January of the current year, the professors of dogmatic theology and philosophy were using Latin for their teaching and he was strongly hopeful that its usage would extend to other subjects in due course. Finally, he also assured the Congregation that the female servants were kept completely apart from the students and posed no threat to their vocations or morals. Any other points raised by the Congregation, Dean concluded, would be carefully considered by the seminary authorities and any necessary changes would be carried out to the letter.[13]

Dean's reference to the use of Latin is interesting. An ultra-conservative, it is surprising to find him shortly afterwards (in 1934) writing to the archbishop to commend a request by three members of staff (Drs Cartmell, Butterfied and Macmillan) that the use of Latin for lectures should be dropped. He agreed with the petitioners' principal argument that learning theology in English would be more useful to priests in parishes who had to preach, catechise and instruct converts. This was especially so, he believed, because the Upholland students were not 'picked men' (i.e. not particularly able academically). 'We have been obedient and tried hard' to introduce Latin lectures, he claimed, but the loss in teaching effectiveness outweighed the gain from using the universal language of the Church. The archbishop appears to have conceded the point. The textbooks for moral and dogmatic theology, however, remained in Latin.[14]

On the issue of newspapers and periodicals, Dean just stated that the Holy See's regulations about them were strictly adhered to, although this ran counter to Ibison's earlier comments on the Catholic papers and to Downey's report that he had given permission for some to be read; presumably Dean had changed this practice. Certainly the prohibition was henceforth in place down to the 1950s. Some minimal knowledge of world affairs was available to senior students at the college through the refectory reading of selected extracts from *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*. (For some reason, St John's Seminary, Wonersh, did allow papers in the senior common–room in the 1930s, even though only a single copy of the

Daily Telegraph.) Another long-term result of this approach to the students' reading habits was the censoring of their private book holdings; down to the 1950s they were required to provide the prefect of discipline with lists of the books they owned beyond the official textbooks. This led to what seemed inexplicable decisions: a student studying philosophy was not allowed to have novels by Dostoevsky, while another was allowed to take the monthly *Gramophone* magazine but only 'occasionally'; such decisions were justified to the students concerned as 'being required by Rome'.[15]

It would appear that the Roman authorities remained dissatisfied with certain aspects of the English seminaries (at home and abroad) in the 1930s. In 1937, for example, they ordered the Oscott authorities to stop allowing the students home for an Easter holiday. Eventually, in 1937, they ordered a general visitation of the colleges, to be carried out in the case of England by Mgr William Godfrey (1889-1963; later Archbishop of Liverpool and Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), at that time rector of the English College in Rome. He spent a week at Oscott, but no record of his findings seems to have survived. What happened at Upholland is also unclear. In advance of the visit the rector prepared three long documents dealing with every aspect of college life: one on the staff, the second on the senior students and the third on the School. These were sent to the Roman Congregation on Seminaries and Universities, which acknowledged receipt of them in September 1937. No account of Godfrey's visit or findings has been found.[16]

The archbishop sent the normal triennial report on Upholland in 1942 and in December 1944 received in reply a long letter from the Congregation. This was full of praise for what was being done at the college and the general level of studies and discipline. There were, however, some issues that the Congregation felt needed attention.[17]

First of all, the letter stressed that the Holy See had frequently prescribed the use of Latin in seminary teaching, but in several countries teachers were now using the vernacular. Lest students should forget the language of the Roman Church, which they would need to know afterwards in explaining the faith to Catholics and non-Catholics, the Congregation was laying down what it called 'a

middle way'. Textbooks should be in Latin; the lecturer should give an outline or synopsis of the topic also in Latin, but might then explain the topic more fully in English. The archbishop, however, must take care that young men who wished to go forward to ordination should study Latin with all diligence. Unless clerics had a thorough understanding of Latin, the language the Church used when addressing its sons, the Congregation was sure that they could not fully understand or retain the dogmas of the faith. In practice at Upholland, the textbooks remained in Latin while lectures were entirely in English.

Another issue raised by the Congregation was the amount of holiday time spent by the students at home. While happy with a holiday of seven or eight weeks at home in the summer, they objected to any of the Easter holidays being spent away from the college. The Northern bishops had already taken action on this, issuing what became known as the 'Ushaw Rescript' in 1942. This decreed that in future no Easter holiday time should be spent away from the seminary; that there should be a maximum of two weeks at home at Christmas, and that all the seminaries should have the same length of holidays in the year; finally, they suggested that even the Christmas holidays should be spent in the seminary, but if this ran counter to custom a holiday at home might be allowed. As we have seen, the custom at Upholland was for some (the seniors) to go home at Christmas while others (the juniors) remained in the college. This obviously made any reliance on custom as a guide difficult and when the matter was raised later by the staff their argument was based entirely on much more practical issues.[18]

Next, the Congregation's letter returned to a long-running issue when it stated that it was necessary for all seminaries to have a nominated spiritual director who would be separate from the teaching staff and available to students for individual spiritual guidance. We have seen that this had been raised by Rome in its questionnaire of 1916; it had also been a requirement of the new Code of Canon Law that had come into force in 1918 (canon 1358). It is surprising that such direction had not been thought necessary in the English seminaries. Cardinal Bourne, when he had been rector of

St John's Seminary, Wonersh, had insisted on the students having personal direction based on the Sulpician model of training that he favoured, but a later rector had done away with it as unnecessary and perhaps even dangerous because it might make students too self-obsessed. As rector at Upholland, Walmsley had interviewed each student annually, but this did not meet the need for individual direction separate from the confessional. Eventually, in 1931 Archbishop Downey had written to Mgr Dean, saying that a spiritual director should be appointed as soon as possible, in accordance with Rome's wishes. Moreover, he had consulted the Chapter about it and they had agreed. He suggested Fr Thomas Roberts (1876-1932) of Garston, who had been prefect at Ushaw in the early years of the century and was apparently willing to accept the post if appointed; unfortunately he died in March 1932.[19]

The next reference seems to have been in the 1937 documents prepared by the college for the apostolic visitation: there is a clear statement about the role of a spiritual director. He should live at the college and be available at all times for consultation by the students; he should not have any other role that would interfere with his duties as spiritual director; at least once a week he should give spiritual instructions; he should help the students to make progress in prayer, especially meditation, and, finally, he should support them in all spiritual matters by assistance and support. Such a clear statement, that could have been written by the secretary of the Roman Congregation himself, makes it all the more surprising that Upholland did not have a spiritual director at the time.[20]

It was a lasting issue and not just at Upholland. In 1960 Heenan and Beck argued strongly for individual spiritual guidance in their report to the Northern bishops on Ushaw and Upholland. It is not clear why the English seminaries on the whole were reluctant to follow Rome's strongly worded guidelines here. Perhaps they found it difficult to justify having another priest on the staff when student numbers were relatively small and the demand for clergy to meet expanding diocesan needs was insistent. Or was it just not an 'English thing' and even 'dangerous', as the rector of Wonersh had suggested? Some of the rectors regarded themselves as the 'spiritual

father' of their students, but their guidance was given through general talks and spiritual conferences. Nothing seems to have been done at Upholland until the 1950s when Fr Bernard Dickinson (1907-1984; he had been on the teaching staff from 1939 to 1943) was appointed to the staff as spiritual director; he had no teaching duties. He held the post for two years, from 1956 until 1958 and was followed in the role by Fr James English (1912-1989) from 1959 to 1969.[21]

Fig. 11: The completed chapel (east end)

The issue was not only whether a specified priest was appointed as spiritual director, but whether the need for individual direction was ever impressed on the students, or whether they were expected to be content with their confessor and to be regular in observing the

seminary spiritual exercises. These were for the most part group exercises carried out for set amounts of time – the day began with half an hour's meditation in the chapel before Mass; there was a short visit to the Blessed Sacrament just before lunchtime, while the Rosary was said in common in the chapel before evening study began (also for a set period of time), with spiritual reading for fifteen minutes before supper; the day ended with communal night prayers or Benediction in the chapel. There was a value in these arrangements in creating a sense of community, of course, but little in the way of training for those whose adult life would be spent working (even if not living) on their own.

Celebrations and Ideals

During the week of celebrations in May 1930 to mark the consecration of the new chapel and the golden jubilee of the foundation of Upholland, Downey referred in his typically rhetorical way to the early years of the college as the beginnings of an *hortus conclusus*,

> the makings of a garden enclosed, a nursery bed of tender plants, a plot of seedlings sown upon the hill-side, but, in the fertility of its virgin soil, giving fair promise of flowers, and of fruit, and of foliage in the summers to come.[22]

After paying tribute to his predecessors, Archbishops Keating and Whiteside, and the long rectorship of Canon Walmsley, he continued,

> Here in this massive structure we have the most recent embodiment in stone of the centuries-old spirit of the ecclesiastical seminary, a spirit of which the bustling world and its educational establishments know little or nothing. It is the spirit of seclusion, of solitude, of separation; the spirit which makes the college to be a garden enclosed, sheltered from the harmful winds, shut off from baneful influences, hidden from the vulgar gaze, *hortus conclusus*.[23]

This ideal of separation, Downey added, had always been insisted on by the Church: those who were to be ministers at her altars should be a 'class apart, like the Levites of old', not having walked in the paths of secular life, but moving directly from the shelter of the family home to 'the shelter of the seminary'. Of course, he admitted there would always be those who, like St Paul, received the call 'out of due time' but they would always be exceptional cases calling for 'special treatment'.

The ideal of the Tridentine seminary ethos could hardly have been put more clearly, and it was an ideal adopted by the staff and put into practice for a generation to come, at least in theory. The seclusion, however, was never complete: summer holidays were spent at home, as were those at Christmas (at least for the senior students). A short-lived experiment in 1931 saw the establishment of 'visiting days': in early July of that year the college was thrown open to the public for two days and on each day no fewer than ten to fifteen thousand people visited it. The diarist commented that it was a good thing for people to know about the college and they 'should be in close relationship with it'; he hoped the event would become as regular a feature as the annual Reunion Day (a vain hope, as things turned out). And, of course, the students were allowed out, not just on local walks, but further afield as well: in May 1936, for example, they travelled on an excursion day variously to Liverpool, Manchester, Longridge, New Brighton, Preston and Chester. By and large, however, the world was kept at bay.[24]

In his pastoral letters throughout the 1930s on the occasion of the annual collections for the Ecclesiastical Education Fund, Downey repeatedly put before the people his image and ideal of the priest's vocation. In 1931, for example, he wrote that the priest was not to be

> the purveyor of cunningly-wrought fables, nor is he the coiner of phrases to tickle the ears of his listeners; he has not to echo the latest cries of the market-place, nor to impose his personal views, nor to pander to the modern mind. The gospel that grows not old is his theme, handled with dignity and reverence . . . unchanged, unalloyed, undiluted . . .[25]

In his 1934 pastoral, he returned to the same idea: aspiring priests were not called on 'to be abreast of fleeting novelties' or to break away from 'the abiding traditions of the Church'. The seminary would provide the 'intensive culture of charity, chastity, humility and obedience' required so that the student's 'soul would not lose its lustre'. To help the candidate achieve the personal holiness required, the Church in its wisdom laid down that he be withdrawn from the world at an early age to within 'the sheltering walls of the seminary'. In 1939 he pointed out that only long years of 'prayer, meditation, spiritual retreats and exercises . . . and patient application to study in the secluded atmosphere of the seminary' would prepare the applicant properly for Holy Orders. The study he had in mind had to include Christian ethics, 'in all its ramifications'; the principles of ascetical theology; pastoral theology; canon law; sacred scripture; liturgy; church history, and the subjects subsidiary to these studies. In the previous year he had referred to the 'thirteen years of preparation' as obviously necessary from the academic point of view, let alone the need of a long period of spiritual formation, a 'spiritual moulding' for the priesthood 'from the tender years of boyhood'.[26]

It would be easy to see a strain of holy anti-intellectualism here, with no reference to the need for any post-ordination study or further intellectual development. If one wondered what priestly model was dominant in these pronouncements, one would have to conclude it was St John Vianney, the saintly Curé d'Ars, canonised in 1925 and declared in 1929 to be not only the heavenly patron of the parochial clergy, but their model as well. The pastoral letters quoted above were, of course, directed primarily at the laity in order to raise money for the ecclesiastical training fund, and no doubt the humble and 'simple' Curé had much more appeal than the other patron of learning canonised at about the same time, the intellectual giant St Albert the Great; but the image of the pastoral clergy portrayed in the pastoral letters is still limited. There was a dichotomy between that image and Downey's own practice. He was undoubtedly a scholar, if within strictly Scholastic limits, a founding editor of *The Clergy Review* and a frequent contributor to Catholic publications, though

his writings very frequently have an apologetic and defensive tone to them.

Two papal documents of the period give a completely different picture: Pius XI's *Deus scientiarum Dominus* (1931) and *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii* (1935). Both made clear that ecclesiastical learning alone in a priest was not enough in the modern age; he had to have the same degree of knowledge and culture as a well educated person of the day. The priest, therefore, must dedicate himself with 'unremitting zeal' to life-long learning, building on the solid foundations laid in his seminary: it was not enough to be content with what had been learned in those years, even if those studies had been done at university level. In this way, a priest would become 'healthily modern' and be able to exercise his pastoral duties effectively: such *formatio permanen*s [on-going formation] was not something to be fitted in if or when these duties had been completed, but a necessary prerequisite for that completion. The pope was quite adamant:

> None should remain content with a standard of learning and culture which sufficed, perhaps, in other times. They must try to attain – or rather, they must actually attain – a higher standard of general education and of learning.[27]

On an earlier occasion the pope had referred strikingly to such learning as the eighth sacrament for priests.

One may ask what contribution the new seminary made to the supply of priests for the archdiocese. The number of priests ordained for Liverpool in the early years was not high and even by 1937 only amounted to a third of the total ordained for the archdiocese. During those years the archbishop was recruiting regularly from the Irish seminaries and there was a steady number of ordinations from the English colleges abroad, especially Rome.

Year	Upholland Ordinations for Liverpool	Total Liverpool Ordinations	Ordinations for other Dioceses
1930-1934	35	107	14
1935-1939	31	67	29
1940-1944	37	82	12
1945-1949	28	66	17
1950-1954	26	35	17+
1955-1959	30	43	18
1960-1964	33	53	34
1965-1969	29	29	20+
1970-1974	13	24	
1975-1976	3	10	

Notes:
1. In only 5 years was the number of ordinations at Upholland for Liverpool in double figures: 1933: 10; 1938: 10; 1945: 10; 1954: 14; 1963: 11.
2. Other dioceses: the large majority of these ordinations throughout were for Lancaster and Salford, with students in almost every year group. Other dioceses included Leeds, Shrewsbury, Menevia, Northampton, Nottingham, Southwark, Cardiff, Portsmouth, Brentwood. A plus sign in the above figures indicates a probable under-estimate.
3. The numbers for 'Other Dioceses' include 2 for Scotland, 7 Poles, 2 Jamaicans, 1 'African Missions', 8 FDP (Sons of Divine Providence).
4. Those ordained, particularly for other dioceses, were not necessarily long-term Upholland students; in a small number of cases they had transferred to the college for their final few years or even their final year.
5. The diocesan total for 1930-34 was inflated by the recruitment of at least 27 priests ordained in Ireland in 1933 and 1934.[28]

Fig 12: Ordinations in the college chapel (1954)

Spiritual Assistance

Mention should be made here of the Carmel Convent 'attached' to the college. In 1905 a community of Carmelite nuns had to leave Carcassonne in France because of the anti-religious legislation introduced there. They settled eventually at Orrell Mount, an old house about two miles from the college. Both Archbishop Whiteside and Canon Walmsley made them welcome and for the next ten years

their chaplain was one of the professors, with the canon himself frequently walking there to say Mass. The lease on that particular house ran out in 1915; renewing it and putting the house to rights was deemed too expensive. The nuns negotiated with the archbishop, who had from the start regarded them as a 'powerhouse of the seminary', and bought one-and-a-third acres of college land (originally part of Finch's Farm) for £70. By 1917 a new monastery had been built; it was within sight of the college, about a hundred yards from the college entrance. In 1937 the college donated a further acre to complete the site.

The new community failed to thrive and in 1927 the French nuns decided to return to Carcassonne; they had failed to learn English properly and so found it difficult to attract English subjects, while also being very short of money, despite the generosity of the Catholics of Wigan. The convent was effectively rescued by a transfer of nuns from Notting Hill, London. In an anonymous article written for the *Magazine* in 1954, the writer (one of the nuns) referred to the period after their re-establishment in Upholland as 'long years of suffering and privation', adding that only those who had lived through the darkness knew how black the night often seemed; it was only the thought of their 'great mission for priests' that gave them courage to continue. No details are supplied, but the feeling behind the account is palpable and very moving.[29]

Their chaplain for twenty-five years was Fr Francis Turner from the college. In 1953 they made their solemn professions and were placed under full Papal Enclosure. Their links with the college and its students remained strong, if anonymous. Newly ordained priests said Mass in their chapel and appreciated their prayerful support; perhaps for many younger students they were the source of beautifully illuminated hand-made Christmas cards while their convent chapel, visited on 'walks', was a place of some mystery, particularly if the visit coincided with the rather ethereal sound of the nuns singing the office behind the sanctuary grill. Their hidden life of prayer and penance continued after the closure of the college and into the twenty-first century.

Notes

[1] J. Ibison and J. Maxwell (eds), *Upholland College: A Record of the New Buildings, 1923-1930* (Upholland, 1930); copy in AAL, SJC, S3 III G/6; *Magazine*, various issues 1923-1930.
[2] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/8; Ibison and Maxwell, *Upholland College*, pp. 76-9, has a full technical description of the organ written by Dixon. I am grateful to Mr Terence Duffy (former organist and music teacher at the college) for copies of Dixon's correspondence about the building of the organ.
[3] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/8.
[4] Ibison and Maxwell, *Upholland College*; Anon., 'Tuesday, May 6th 1930', reprinted in *Magazine*, Summer 1955, pp. 171-2; *Magazine*, Winter 1954-55, p. 152.
[5] Taylor's legacy went in part to fund an elocution teacher and a chair in canon law; AAL, SJC, S7 I A/26.
[6] F. Callon, 'The History of the College Grounds, Parts I-IV', *Magazine*, 1965 pp. 11-15, 1966, pp. 18-35, 1968, pp. 4-15, 1969, pp. 2-14.
[7] Foreword to the first issue of *Magazine*, July 1923.
[8] AAL, SJC, S7 IV A/107, 18 September 1926.
[9] AAL, SJC, S5 I A/6: student dean's diary, I (1925-7), under January 1926.
[10] *Magazine*, 1950, p. 15; 1948, p. 95.
[11] AAL, SJC, S3 III G/19, T. Turner's 'Diary', under 1926.
[12] AAL, SJC, S5 IX G/10, Sacred Congregation to Downey, 14 November 1932.
[13] Ibid., G/13, Dean's replies to the Congregation.
[14] Dean's letter re staff request, AAL, Downey, S5 I B/12, 18.
[15] Author's communications with former students.
[16] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/20, 1937; Williams, pp. 88-9.
[17] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/2, 20: reply of 1944 from Rome.
[18] See below, pp. 103-108; Ushaw Rescript, AAL, Downey, S5 I B/21.
[19] Congregation's letter, AAL, SJC, 5 V A/1, p. 7; Downey's letter to Dean, AAL, SJC, S5 IV C/5, 6 October 1931; Finnegan, pp. 260-1.
[20] AAL, SJC, S5 VI A/1, p.7.
[21] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/62, 12 September 1956; Williams, *Oscott,* pp. 37-9.
[22] Ibison and Maxwell, *Upholland College*, pp. 45-51.
[23] Ibid.
[24] *Magazine*, 1932, p. 41; 1936, diary entry for 5 May.
[25] AAL, *Liverpolitana*, Ecclesiastical Education Fund appeal, 1931, pp. 6-7.

[26] Ibid., 1934, p. 11; 1939, pp. 7-8; 1938, p. 7.
[27] John Broadley, 'The Eighth Sacrament in the Life of a Priest: The Sacrament of Learning' in J. Broadley and P. Phillips (eds), *The Ministry of the Printed Word. Scholar-Priests of the Twentieth Century* (Downside, 2016), pp. 19-39; *Deus scientiarum Dominus* in *AAS* XXIII (1931), pp. 241-84; *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii*, (1935), English trans., CTS, London, 1948.
[28] Statistics from *Magazines* and *Liverpool Directories*; there are occasional minor differences between these two sources.
[29] O.D.C., 'The Upholland Carmel', *Magazine*, 1954, pp. 68-70.

Chapter 4

The 1940s and 1950s

World War II

The impact of the 1939-45 war was not as drastic as that of 1914 had been, when the college had lost almost all its students and had for a short time closed as a seminary. The conscription of students over the age of 18 was still a possibility, however, and so Cardinal Hinsley asked the government to allow clerical students to be regarded as in a 'reserved occupation' and so exempt from the general call-up. The government decided that such exemption would apply to a man who had been established before September 1939 in a course 'recognised by any religious denomination as a training institution for holy orders' and who continued in that course with a view to qualifying for holy orders or appointment as a regular minister. Archbishop Amigo of Southwark decided that all the students at his senior seminary at Wonersh should receive the tonsure, to ensure they would be able to wear clerical dress outside the college so that people would not question their non-conscription; some of them looked so young that locals took to calling them 'baby parsons'. There was no junior seminary attached to Wonersh. At Upholland a problem arose with the older boys in Rhetoric (upper sixth), some of whom were over 18 and so liable to call-up. Various suggestions were made to avoid this, ranging from giving the whole year tonsure, abolishing the year altogether and re-naming it 1st Year Philosophy (after all, it was pointed out, they studied logic and scripture, not normally part of a school curriculum). In the end, however, Mgr Turner sensibly thought it would be unwise to adopt any of these subterfuges: anything that seemed like 'dodging' would cause ill-feeling and might jeopardise the favourable terms already granted by the government about the conscription of clerics. He told the archbishop that they would have to resign themselves to losing their 'post-September 1939' men to the forces, unless tonsured

according to the normal practice, hoping they would return safe and 'justify the efforts spent on their early education'.[1]

The total number on roll in September 1942 was 176: 18 were studying philosophy, 39 theology, with 119 in the School. This total of 176 students was served by 17 members of staff, which seems to have been a generous staff-student ratio. This last point is of interest in the context of a possible loss of priests from the staff to replace those who had volunteered to be chaplains to the forces and those injured in enemy bombing. A Consultation Group, consisting of Mgr Dean, Fr J. F. Turner and Dr Patten, met in January 1941 to examine how far the college could help fill the gaps arising from various emergencies. While opposed to any long-term reduction in staffing, their report showed a willingness on the part of the college to help and suggested a number of possible short-term steps: those newly ordained in the following June might be released immediately instead of returning to complete the scholastic year; priests studying at the universities could be used as supply priests in their vacations; a dozen or so of the staff could be released to supply at week-ends; more drastically, it might be possible to reduce the teaching hours, thus reducing the staff necessary and freeing students to work on the college farm (as they had done picking the potato harvest the previous autumn); finally, teaching minors could be re-introduced to fill the gaps left by staff reductions (interestingly, given their previous use, Mgr Turner regarded this as 'a last resort'). No decision appears to have been reached after the consultation: it was a case of how the college might help if the 'worst came to the worst'. Another possible threat was that the college buildings would be requisitioned for use as a military or emergency hospital; the rector did his best to convince the government inspectors that there was no spare room, while admitting that perhaps larger rooms like the study place or gym could be fitted out with beds in an emergency. The heavy blitz of Liverpool in May 1941 passed without any of these threats to the on-going life of the college being realised.[2]

The Beda College at Upholland

Even though the upper house held fewer than sixty students, the rector's claim that there was no spare capacity was valid. The Beda College had arrived from Rome in September 1939, under Mgr Duchemin as rector, and stayed for the best part of seven years. No indication has been found about who took this decision, either in Downey's papers or in the minutes of the hierarchy's meetings. There were thirty-six students, of whom six were ordained priests the following April; a photograph in the *Magazine* for 1946 shows twenty-eight Beda students. The bringing together of two quite diverse institutions on one site was bound to impact on both; indeed, a writer in the *Magazine* shortly after the Beda's return to Rome in 1946 spoke of difficulties and inconveniences 'demanding sacrifices on both sides'. The Beda was described by one of its members as a cross 'between an English seminary, a university college and an officers' mess', and there can be little doubt that the principal sacrifices were on its part: as their magazine put it, they had moved 'from the metropolis of Christendom to a village in England'. Deprived of the amenities of their own college in Rome they had to accommodate themselves to living alongside a very much younger community, bound by more rigid regulations, and yet keep as far as possible their own ethos and way of life. The *Magazine* frequently referred to their time at Upholland as a period of exile (occasionally 'bitter'). Yet other accounts and reminiscences concentrate on the positives and speak warmly of the contacts between the two widely differing bodies and even of the lasting friendships formed; once the initial difficulties passed it was by no means a bleak experience. On the whole the experiment was deemed successful, with goodwill on both sides and the tact and friendliness of Mgr Duchemin winning over any doubters.

The Beda took over what had been the philosophers' corridor in the east wing, while the philosophers moved into the Gradwell library, suitably divided into cubicle-rooms and with all the books relocated to the former chapel room in the old wing. The Beda common room was the large room under the observatory and their chapel the board room; a note in the 1940 *Magazine* (January issue)

said that they provided members of the Schola, so there must have been joint services as well. They shared the dining room, but had their own lectures and teaching staff in what was known as the Hebrew Room.[3]

They brought a fresh variety to college life. The *Magazine* recounted sporting ventures between the two student bodies, at football (matches only lasted an hour to allow for the older students) and cricket. There were also social occasions – the Beda's freshers' concert was a great success, especially when one of the older students appeared on stage as a 'young female' and caused 'convulsions' in the audience. They also put on plays, again with female characters, showing 'high levels of ability'; there was a shared production of 'The Merchant of Venice'. The Beda had an *Ad primum* society that put on a number of talks for all the students – one by Pat Keegan of the YCW and another by one of its students who had been an Anglican chaplain in the First World War; another convert and Oxford graduate spoke on 'The Anglican Approach to Catholicism'. Adding to this variety was a champion heavy-weight boxer, Con Kelly, who had represented Great Britain at the 1924 Olympics and who apparently gave sparring lessons to the younger students. The *Magazine* claimed that the general arrangement was 'beneficial to everyone', with the convert members of the Beda gaining from their contacts with cradle Catholics and the latter learning to appreciate the contribution that the converts who were coming 'into the vineyard at the ninth or the eleventh hour' could make to the Church.

Mgr Duchemin was a protonotary apostolic, 'outranking' both Mgrs Dean and Turner, and on occasion celebrated Mass in full pontificals including mitre, gloves, buskins, train-bearer and bugia-(small candlestick) bearer. But he was a 'mild, gentle and courteous character' who acted as an unofficial spiritual director to a number of Upholland students. His silver jubilee in 1943 was marked by a Mass in the college chapel celebrated by Archbishop Downey, and a special orchestral concert which the report in the *Magazine* noted as 'beyond criticism . . . superb'. At the same time, in a remarkable tribute, the diarist noted how 'to each one of us he has become a

friend, showing an interest in our hobbies and societies'; it was that 'debt of friendship' that the college wished to repay on the occasion of the jubilee.[4]

Among the first group of Beda students was Gordon Wheeler, an Oxford graduate, convert clergyman and later administrator of Westminster Cathedral and Bishop of Middlesbrough; he was to be ordained in April 1940. While he believed 'there was a sort of bathos in changing your address from Rome to Wigan' he found the experience advantageous and felt privileged to be in 'such a magnificent place', especially with its recusant traditions. The Upholland people were, he thought, a 'splendid crowd' and his year there was 'very enriching', both personally because of the friends he made among the students, and later as a bishop in allowing him to understand the sort of seminary life experienced by so many of his priests.[5]

A letter from Duchemin to the archbishop in 1949 summed up the experience as 'valuable in many ways . . . it is wonderful how it enabled us to retain our continuity'. On a much more mundane level, the college procurator lamented in 1947 the loss of the over £2,000 per annum that the Beda had contributed to the college finances.[6]

Mgr Dean as Rector

Mgr Dean was rector when the Beda arrived; it is difficult to imagine two churchmen of such different outlook and character as he and Mgr Duchemin, the 'very gruff and forbidding' compared with the 'mild and courteous'. Dean's term of office was approaching its end, however, brought about by a matter of discipline in which he was over-ruled by the archbishop at the request of all the staff. At Christmas, the senior students were allowed home for the Christmas holidays (starting on Boxing Day), while the juniors were kept in college. It seems that most of the staff also left, with only two members remaining in residence. This upside-down situation looks very odd to modern readers; if any group did not go home one would have presumed it would have been the seniors. It is not just modern readers who find it odd: there was considerable opposition from students and staff, and contemporaries believed it had a disastrous

effect on discipline and roused strong feelings among the students, especially those in the Higher Line. The latter took the unusual step of presenting a formal petition, signed by all the students in the Line, to Mgr Dean, two years or so after the 'experiment' introduced by Canon Walmsley had been ended. The petitioners began by asserting that the spirit among the students was far below what should be expected in a seminary and that an 'immediate and powerful remedy' was essential in the guise of a Christmas holiday at home. They continued:

> Faced with the prospect of forty-five weeks at College, the great majority of the students have come back with an outlook displaying but little energy, in either the academic or the social side of College life . . . Despite the fact that the greatest incentive to hard and earnest work, for a good student, is the fulfilment of his vocation – the Priesthood – nevertheless, we feel that a more immediate incentive would be beneficial to all.[7]

No doubt anticipating the rector's likely response, they admitted that a vocation that could not last forty-five weeks at college was a poor one, but tried to turn the tables by saying that a vocation that could not withstand two weeks at home at Christmas was an even poorer one.

More seriously, they claimed that there were already signs of the ill-effects of the policy in the recent increased number of students leaving the college, up by almost 70% in the years since the holidays at home had been stopped, a great 'shipwreck of vocations'. Finally, they pointed out that they were the only seminarians in England not allowed home at such 'a happy time of family re-union'; they took it much to heart that they, unlike all the other clerical students in the country, were not trusted at home for two weeks at Christmas.

Mgr Dean duly consulted the archbishop, who said that he could not possibly agree to the petition, since the Roman Congregation for the Seminaries wanted to reduce the time the students spent at home 'and to eliminate their living at home with their people as much as possible'. He added that the abolition of the Christmas holiday at home had had the full support of the Chapter and that the other

seminaries were being admonished by Rome to follow suit. There is a certain and obvious irony here: in these years in particular the family was being heralded, in both papal statements and in the writings of Catholic commentators, as the ideal seedbed for the growth of personal and civic virtue, a domestic sanctuary modelling itself on the Holy Family, and the place of celebration of all that was good in Catholicism. There remained an unresolved contradiction between this rich imagery and the practical policy of removing boys from the family's strengths and benefits at an early age and particularly during the difficult years of adolescence.[8]

While we have no indication of any reaction from the student-petitioners, it may be of interest here to read what one of them thought of the regime in general. Ordained in 1939, Fr (later Canon) Michael Casey CF was a highly respected priest of the archdiocese. He said of his student days that the discipline was 'very severe' and life 'austere'; he would not, he added later, want any boy to go through what he and his fellow students had endured, as 'only their comradeship had made it bearable'.[9]

The issue of Christmas holidays did not go away. A detailed and strongly worded memo, signed by all eighteen members of staff, was presented to the archbishop in December 1941, arguing for a change of policy. The staff were, it said, deeply disturbed by the current state of affairs and urged a change that would see the junior seminarians spending the Christmas holiday at home. They outlined forcefully the principal objections to the current arrangements: overall, they claimed, during the Christmas holidays spent in the college the 'breaking of serious rules is, in the Higher Line, the normal state of affairs'. These infringements included smoking, picture-going (a new temptation with cinemas within walking distance) and even 'on known occasions, drinking', and all this although the offenders had met with serious and lengthy punishments and even expulsion. Far from being a place of Christmas happiness, the memo continued, the college became the headquarters where plans were laid 'for a more exciting happiness to be snatched beyond the walls'. The minority of students who wanted to keep the rules were handicapped: 'the holiday becomes a penalty for the very good boy and a dissipation

for the rest'. Moreover, such 'systematic disobedience' had long term effects: the general spiritual health of the college was harmed, serious rule-breaking extended into the following term and the fact that their senior brethren had enjoyed a holiday at home became a lasting and frequently voiced cause of discontent. This picture was so bleak that one wonders why action had not been taken earlier.

The memo went on to claim that there would be three principal benefits if a change were made. Firstly, for boys who had to spend thirteen years at the same college under ecclesiastical discipline, a short break at Christmas and in the summer seemed desirable; this would help the boys 'to bear willingly and not suffer unwillingly the discipline of the house'. Secondly, the holiday would provide an opportunity for the unsettled student, who could leave during the holiday without spreading unrest and without causing others to go with him, as had been the sad experience recently. Thirdly, the psychological and ultimately physical advantage of a complete change at Christmas could hardly be overestimated.[10]

It is interesting that Fr Joseph Turner (1892-1982), who was headmaster and vice-rector at the time, as well as signing this memo, sent an even longer individual letter to the archbishop. He justified himself as being the oldest Edwardian on the staff and the one who had spent longest at the old college. He had experienced the holiday system because for a few years on the staff he had stayed in the college for several days over Christmas, although now he got away as soon as he could (in itself a revealing confession for those who knew him as rector). His main argument was that the present system was unsatisfactory because it divided the college and 'half the family' was detained while the other half went home. Formerly, at St Edward's, the buildings were full and cheerful, now they were half-empty with much of the college cold and in darkness (even the chapel services were affected since it was half-empty and there was no organist to accompany the singing); the psychological effect, especially on the Higher Line, could not be ignored. Indoor games and entertainments did little to help and though students could go on walks there was little enthusiasm 'for going about the country and noticing the subtle changes in the winter scene'. He went on to argue

that the only reason for the split that had any weight at all was the fear of the younger students bringing back sickness, but this he thought was groundless. As with the student petitioners earlier, it was, he claimed, a matter of trust, though this time a trust in the parents: they would be sensible enough to prevent the holidays being spent in dissipation. Moreover, there was far more time during the summer holidays for so-called dangers; 'if a boy wants to flirt he has many an opportunity in theatres or on tennis courts', opportunities that some had always taken advantage of and always would. Finally, Turner admitted that there were arguments for and against the students spending Christmas holidays at home, but the present system of dividing the student body on the issue was not working and even those who had been in favour at the start were now sure that as an experiment it had failed.[11]

These petitions persuaded Archbishop Downey, despite his earlier total opposition to the suggestion, to appoint a commission 'to enquire into the general conditions affecting the discipline at Upholland College and in particular with regard to the Christmas holidays'. The four members of the commission (all respected parish priests, two of whom had formerly been on the college staff) formally interviewed the rector and the staff. In their report of March 1942 they voted 3 – 1 in favour of all the students being allowed home for a Christmas holiday, from Boxing Day to the Epiphany. On the general state of discipline, they reported that Dean was critical of the 'new generation' who had, he believed, 'less and less respect for authority, (being) independent minded, and difficult to rule', and whose parents expected less respect from their children. On the whole, however, he believed that the general state of discipline was good and that Christmas holidays at home would only whet the students' appetite for rule breaking on their return to college. He had defended the division of the college over the Christmas holiday period, using what he called a 'parable', that young seedlings required more care and protection, while older plants were more able to withstand the world's 'rough blasts'. The commission members totally rejected this: such a parable might, they thought, apply to a convent school but not to 'such a manly college as Upholland'.[12]

Turning to the views of the staff, the commission reported that half the staff thought that general discipline was good, while half thought it bad especially over the Christmas period; but all agreed that it was unacceptable to have the Christmas holidays spent in the college: the half-empty place was 'dismal' and just like 'Dotheboys Hall'; indeed, the latter was by comparison a 'veritable paradise'. Altogether, the commission listed no fewer than eighteen points of complaint raised by the staff about the current arrangements, from the chapel looking desolate, Rhetoricians who betrayed the trust placed in them, the difficulty of providing acceptable entertainment within the rules, and the problems of re-enforcing the rules strictly after the holiday relaxations (approved and unapproved). Moreover, the students in the School felt they were being punished in comparison with their elders, and in comparison with students at other colleges who were all allowed home.

As well as making their recommendation about Christmas, the commission members recommended some general disciplinary changes: there should be separate prefects of discipline for the Higher and the Lower Lines; the younger boys should have their own retreats, suitable to boys of eleven or twelve; the Lower Line library should be more attractive, and, finally, no boys, even those in the top class, should be allowed out in threes on walks. More telling than these suggestions, the commission reported that staff believed they knew the boys and their needs better than did the rector, and, overall, encouraged the rector to consult his council more often and trust them more fully. The chairman of the commission, Canon Arthur McCurdy, added two telling quotations in the margin of the draft: 'It is good for the brethren to live in unity', and 'Charity can be damaged even though nothing is said'. Dean was unpopular with his staff, who regarded him as unbending and unreasonable in his attitudes to such things as smoking in the building and the use of personal radios (i.e. by members of staff, not the students) and the lack of consultation. This last criticism may have been harder for Dean to accept than the suggested change of policy over Christmas holidays; he responded by offering his resignation, which the

archbishop immediately accepted. The rector was reported to have left the college humbly as others did, by bus.

The archbishop replaced Dean as rector with the headmaster, Fr (later Mgr) Joseph Turner. It is interesting that the *Magazine* carried an article about the new rector, written by a former member of staff, Canon Joseph Cartmell, who had been professor of philosophy and then of dogmatic theology from 1924-1939. In summing up the tasks facing the new rector, he claimed that the priority was to instil in the college a proper 'spirit', to prevent it from becoming 'mechanical and lifeless'. Upholland, he went on, was

> very much in need of that vivifying and unifying influence; for, though materially almost complete, it is still spiritually only adolescent. A spirit grows more slowly than a material structure.[13]

The question of Christmas holidays did not disappear altogether. In its letter of December 1944, the Congregation for Seminaries and University Studies unwittingly supported Downey's earlier claim that the Roman authorities were opposed to the practice. While it praised the tradition of seminary students having a holiday at home in the summer to enjoy some quiet relaxation of mind and a period of happiness with their families, the new habit of allowing them home at Christmas and even Easter was to be deplored as 'pernicious to the good spirit of a seminary'. Parents fully understood why their sons would not come home at those times and would not put it down to a lack of filial devotion, which indeed was strengthened and made purer as a result; in support of this the Congregation quoted Pope Pius XII in an allocution to parents. Despite all this, the rector reported to the archbishop in October 1945 that there were no discernible ill effects from the students' spending their Christmas holidays at home, any more than their summer holidays. It could indeed be argued, he claimed, that it was good for a student to be tested twice a year regarding keeping up his spiritual duties and prayers, in preparation for the time when a supportive college routine would be left behind for good. He concluded that the break at home after Christmas was 'a relief at a depressing time of the year'. Presumably Downey agreed as the practice continued.[14]

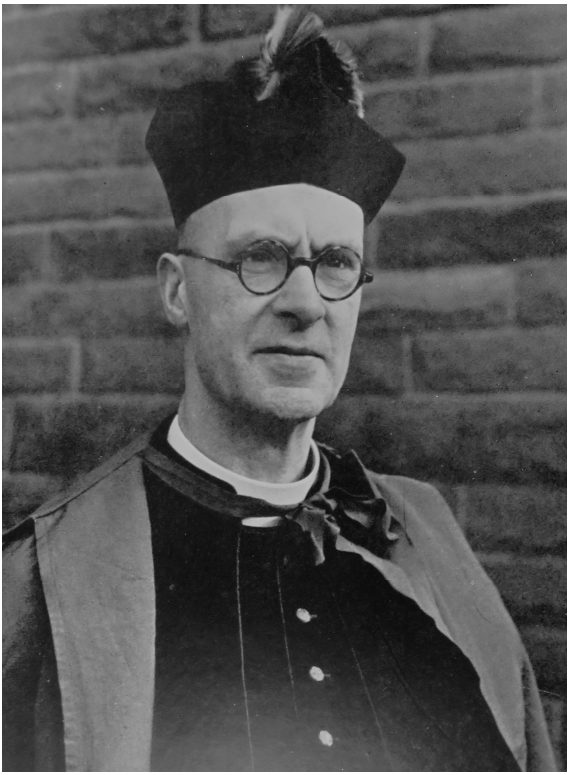

Fig. 13: Mgr Joseph Turner, rector 1942 – 1958

A New Rector

Fr Joseph Turner (a keen classicist, with two university degrees, but best known nationally for his expertise in plain chant) began his period in charge in 1942 with a student complement of 176 (not including the Beda students). The largest number, 128, were for the archdiocese; 37 were for Lancaster, 8 for Salford and 3 for Leeds. In December of that year he was appointed a Domestic Prelate. When he wrote to the pope (in very polished classical Latin, as one would expect) to thank him for the honour, he took the opportunity to report the imminent centenary of the college or, at least, of the St Edward's part of it, which had taken in its first student in January 1843. He

gave a very brief sketch of the history of St Edward's, the first Upholland of 1883, and the combined new college of St Joseph's in the 1920s. A reply from Rome contained congratulations and a papal blessing on the joint enterprise.[15]

The same issue of the *Magazine* carried a foreword by the archbishop. He claimed that for an institution to have survived 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' for a century was something to be proud of and its vicissitudes were only 'to the good as not only light but also shade is necessary for an attractive picture'. He did not, of course, elaborate on what these bad or difficult times might have been, but continued,

> The picture is attractive, especially to those of us who spent the formative years from Underlow to Ordination within the college walls. We are proud of our alma mater, and feel that as she grows older, she grows gentler, wiser and more endeared to her children. *Vigeat, floreat, crescat* [Let her thrive, flourish, grow].[16]

The wartime celebrations for the centenary were necessarily more muted than those in 1930 that had marked the golden jubilee of Upholland. The Diary notes a special High Mass to mark the occasion and an 'off-day' on 18 January to mark the arrival of the first student at St Edward's on that date in 1843 (although, according to Mgr Turner's own account, it seems he had actually arrived on 17 January). There were no special visitors or other events, a lack more than made up for in the students' minds, no doubt, by the granting of an extra week's summer holiday later that year. There was no relaxation, however, in discipline: when, after the extended holiday, the students were found to have contraband in their lockers and 'hide-outs', the rector decreed that all would have 'plain bread and butter' for supper. The Josephian Society marked the centenary by organising a fund to decorate the chapel dedicated to St Edward, finally completed in 1948-1949. At the same time, the Society commissioned a portrait of the new rector by Stanley Reed RA; completed in 1947, the portrait formed the frontispiece to the *Magazine* the following year.[17]

Notes

[1] Finnegan, p. 223; for various Turner letters to Downey about the impact of the war, AAL, Downey, S5 I B/21.
[2] Ibid., Report of Committee, 17 January 1941.
[3] *Beda Anthology,* p. 15; *Beda Review*, September 1940, p. 19. References throughout *Magazines*, 1940-46. There is no indication why they chose Upholland as their refuge.
[4] *Magazine,* diary 23 February 1943; reminiscences of Fr John Gaine, 2017.
[5] James Hagerty, *William Gordon Wheeler. A Journey into the Fullness of Faith* (Leominster, 2016), p. 36; W. G. Wheeler, *In Truth and Love* (Southport, 1990), p. 45.
[6] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/12, Duchemin to Downey, 21 June 1949.
[7] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/20-21, for file of papers on Christmas holidays. The Higher Line petition is not dated but appears to have been written in early 1933.
[8] AAL, SJC, S5 VI B/1; P. Doyle, 'Marriage and the Family' in McClelland and Hodgetts, pp.192-216.
[9] Mary Whittle, *He Walked Tall: The Biography of Canon Michael Casey* (Wigan, 2002), p. 30.
[10] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/20-21.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., Report of the Archbishop's Commission, 5 March 1942.
[13] J. Cartmell, 'The New Rector', *Magazine*, 1943, pp. 31-33.
[14] AAL, Downey, S5 I B/4: *S.C. De Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus*, 1944; ibid., Turner to Downey, 4 October 1945.
[15] *Magazine* 1943, pp. 141-142.
[16] Ibid., Archbishop Downey's foreword.
[17] *Magazine*, 1948, Turner's disciplinary notice, *Magazine*, 1944, *Diary,* 11 October 1944.

Chapter 5

Upholland in the Age of Catholic Action

Catholic Action

The 1930s had seen important developments in what became known as Catholic Action and which were to have an impact on seminary training. Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), had urged Catholics to revisit and implement the principles that his predecessor Leo XIII had detailed in *Rerum Novarum* forty years before. The English and Welsh bishops responded positively by proposing a National Board of Catholic Action composed of themselves and clerical advisors (but with no lay people). Under Cardinal Hinsley's leadership this idea developed into a highly bureaucratic scheme that was as likely to put activists off as inspire them to greater efforts. Archbishop Downey took the lead among the bishops in drawing up a much more practical scheme for the archdiocese, based on the hierarchy's statement of 1935 that the only effective way to combat the evils of atheistic communism was to organise an Apostolate of the Laity, built on the spiritual renewal and formation of 'lay apostles' who would be active in every parish. Their work would, of course, be guided by local clergy responsible to the bishops. Downey established a Liverpool Archdiocesan Board for Catholic Action in 1936; this defined the whole movement of Catholic Action as 'the official organisation of the Catholic laity to enable them to take their part and assist the clergy in the work of the Church'. Its aims were threefold: the preservation of the faith of Catholics and reclamation of the lapsed; the spreading of knowledge of the faith among non-Catholics, and the solution of the 'social problem'. Each parish should have its committee or council, with a lay president, supported by inter-parochial councils under the guidance of a priest.

After eighteen months a striking number of these parish committees had been established – 130 throughout the archdiocese –

and area councils existed in the main urban centres. Plans had also been made for a radical and innovative Catholic Action College to train lay apostles; its prospectus was ambitious and comprehensive, and it launched its first courses in September 1938, with no fewer than 600 registered students. The initiative put the archdiocese well ahead of others, but the war and the blitz on Liverpool forced its closure.[1]

Clearly, these initiatives to train the laity called for a response from the seminaries to ensure the clergy were equipped to give a lead to their people. Pius XI had called for 'intense study of social matters' on the part of ecclesiastical students, to fit them for their future role of instructing and leading 'lay apostles'. This seemed to mean the introduction of another subject in the seminary curriculum; if so, who was qualified to teach it? Mgr Dean raised the issue in 1941; one of those he consulted was Fr (later Canon) Patrick Hanrahan (1905-78), later professor of moral theology and canon law. Dean suggested that the subject might come under the wing of moral theology (probably hoping that the new professor would be the one to teach it), but Hanrahan quickly dismissed this idea: there was not enough time as it was to cover the whole of canon law, let alone introduce something new. He was all in favour of introducing some form of social studies, but not as an additional formal subject that would be compulsory and examined. Far better, he concluded, to use visiting lecturers and profit from the undoubted enthusiasm of the students, as evidenced by the success of the Catholic Social Guild operating voluntarily in the students' own time; perhaps some official study time could be allocated to this as well. Interestingly, in an article in *The Clergy Review* for February of that year, he had addressed the issue of how priests working in parishes might be helped to get acquainted with this new area of study. He put forward the deanery clergy conferences (as long, he said, as they were properly managed and not just social occasions) as a means of in-service training that would cover the 'social question' and the papal encyclicals. Some commentators queried whether such a voluntarist approach met the pope's demand for intense, systematic study of

contemporary social problems on the part of all candidates for the priesthood.[2]

Hanrahan's recommendations were more or less a description of what was already happening at Upholland: the *Magazine* in 1938 noted the existence of four 'study circles' in the Upper House which was showing a 'growing interest in social studies'. Visiting lecturers aimed to develop this interest: among them were Dr O'Donovan, the lay president of Catholic Action in England and Wales; Dr Cartmell, who spoke on Social Justice, and Mgr Adamson, from Liverpool, who spoke about the achievements of Catholic Action in the archdiocese and the work of the Central Social Service Bureau in helping the poor and unemployed; he later liaised with the Irish seminary at Maynooth, where an innovative Chair of Catholic Action had been established. The *Magazine* for 1941 contained very positive accounts of the Catholic Social Guild (CSG) and the Catholic Evidence Guild (CEG). Indeed, the CSG had become so popular in its short life that there seemed to be a danger of its 'crippling other societies'. It was divided into a number of sub-groups: the papal encyclicals, the Young Christian Workers (YCW), general social principles, and Catholic Action; incidentally, a note in the annual report said that the practical experience of the Beda students was 'invaluable' in assisting these discussions. *The Christian Democrat*, published by the Guild, was popular among students. The CEG was also popular, but wartime conditions meant there were no 'street-corner' meetings for the students to attend during the holidays, so no practical experience could be gained of genuine hecklers: fellow students pretending to be hecklers and enquirers did not give the feel of the real thing.

Eventually the formal curriculum was enlarged to include a course of Social Studies/Sociology, run by Fr Thomas Cummins (1916-2000). After ordination in 1942 he had studied for two years at Maynooth's Department of Catholic Action before returning to teach French and Sociology at Upholland until 1966. He was also actively involved in the CSG in Liverpool and his college course gave a thorough introduction to the papal encyclicals and Catholic social teaching and its possible applications to various sectors of society.[3]

At one stage, CSG branch meetings were allowed to take place in official study time, no doubt increasing the movement's popularity among the students. A small number of students attended the national summer schools from 1953 onwards. It is interesting that in 1954 Mgr Turner wrote to the archbishop to say that for some time staff had thought that it was time to train somebody formally in sociology. Both Fr Cummins and Fr Jones (Dean of Studies) believed that James Dunne, a current student, was well-suited for this; he was, Turner agreed, a 'very solid and discreet' student with experience of working in the mines as a 'Bevin boy'. As a student he was heavily involved in the CSG. They suggested he might study after ordination at the Catholic Workers' College in Oxford, to gain the two-year diploma in Political Economy; this would be very useful whether he returned to the staff afterwards or undertook parish work. After ordination in 1954, he did study in Oxford and subsequently played a leading role in developing Catholic social services in the archdiocese. He later became a Vicar General and chaired the Nugent Care Society, the archdiocesan society for the care of Catholic orphans.[4]

College Life in the 1940s and 1950s

The Beda left in the summer of 1946, having given the Upper House a variety and colour it had not known previously. September 1947 saw the arrival of a mini international brigade to add its own variety: some eight or nine mature Polish students. They received minor orders later that year and four of them were ordained priests in May 1948, and another two in June 1950 – the Revs Niedzielski, Szefler, Gatnarczyk, Rataj, Borek, and Polak. They were part of the national Polish Resettlement scheme, having had their clerical studies interrupted by army service. The Catholic Council for Polish Welfare, established by Cardinal Griffin, was also involved, being concerned by the lack of Polish priests to serve the large number of Poles settling in the country after 1945. In addition to the Poles, there was a group of older students, at least one of them a convert Anglican clergyman, who would normally have gone to the Beda, as well as a small number of returners from war service (a 'desert rat',

an ex-commando, a couple of RAF men and at least one D-Day veteran; a corner of the senior common-room was known as 'the sergeants' mess'). All of them added some of the variety that the Beda had brought and certainly broadened the outlook of the student body.[5]

By September 1949 the total number of students had risen to 224, but the rector reported that, because the results in the public examinations of that summer had been 'the worst ever', some of them would have to be asked to leave. It is not clear what happened. In September 1952 a larger number than ever entered philosophy, so much so that they over-flowed from the east wing and had to be accommodated elsewhere – in what the diarist calls the 'luxury of a room in the west wing' or in the 'nether regions of the north-east tower'. The following year, the total number on roll was 218, with 84 in the Upper House and 134 in the School - 57 in the Higher Line and 77 in the Lower Line. In 1954 the number of Upholland students ordained priest was the highest to date: of the twenty one, fourteen were for Liverpool, three for Salford, two for Northampton and one each for Lancaster and Leeds. (The number was exceeded in 1960, with twenty-two ordinations: ten for Liverpool, eight for Salford, two for Lancaster and one each for Menevia and Nottingham).[6]

Two Bumper Years
Fig. 14: New Priests, 1954, with Archbishop Godfrey

Fig. 15: New Priests, 1960, with Mgr S. Breen, Rector 1958-72

It was a flourishing time for the Upper House, with a general air of optimism. There was also something of an openness to change as the 1950s saw the beginnings of the reforms that would eventually revolutionise the liturgical life of the college. 'Revolution' is not too strong a word: whatever other events might happen, whatever excitements occur, the centre of college life was the liturgy. Community Mass, special devotions and highlights such as Holy Week were key markers. Dialogue Masses were gradually introduced and also the radically reformed Holy Week services, firstly the new Easter Vigil (celebrated now on Holy Saturday night instead of Saturday morning); the changes were very well, even enthusiastically, received. The new Palm Sunday service was, according to the diarist, generally acclaimed, while the Tenebrae services switched from the late evening to the morning. Some found the new Good Friday service a little 'disappointing', although the opportunity to receive Holy Communion was welcomed. It is interesting that the diarist commented that the new service was very popular in parishes, so the general aim of the reforms – a greater participation in the liturgy – was being achieved.[7]

Social life revolved around a wide range of clubs and societies. In addition to the above mentioned CSG, the *Magazine* for 1954, for example, gave reports on the Josephian Debating Society, the

Catholic Evidence Guild (CEG), the Bedian (historical) Society, a Young Christian Workers (YCW) Study Group, the Legion of Mary, the Rover Scouts, the Third Order of St Francis, the Apostolic Union and the Apostleship of Prayer. Organised and run for the most part by students, some of these were clearly more directly linked to pastoral preparation and spiritual development than others. These societies, especially the YCW and the CSG, had a well-established tradition of inviting outside speakers to the college; in the case of the YCW, the tradition went back at least to 1939. The list of visiting lecturers and speakers in these years is impressive: Mr R. P. 'Bob' Walsh, editor of *The Catholic Worker;* Mr Douglas Woodruff, editor of *The Tablet*; Mr T Casey, National Vice-President of the YCW; Mr J R Kirwan of the Catholic Workers' College; Fr Anthony Hulme of the Northampton Travelling Mission; Fr John Fitzsimons and Fr Charles Pridgeon SJ, both of the CSG, and Mr Frank Sheed of the Catholic Evidence Guild (his wife also visited the college, in 1954, and spoke of the work of the CEG). Without doubt, among the highlights of such occasions was the inspirational visit of Mgr Cardijn, founder of the YCW, and, in 1959, that by Fr Roland de Vaux OP on the finding and interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls; his presentation was both 'delightful and stimulating'.[8]

Not all the visitors to the college reported in the 'Social Activities' section of the *Magazine* were academic or pastoral. In January 1953, for example, an event 'unique in the records of Upholland' took place (according to Fr Ness, who reviewed it): a piano recital by Miss Yvonne Catterall, a young concert pianist of great promise. She quickly won over the audience with her natural charm and her performance, according to the reviewer, 'richly deserved the acclamations of an enthusiastic audience'.

While membership of the various societies was optional, it is probably true to say that most students participated for at least part of their time in the Upper House. In addition, there was attendance at summer schools for the more committed. Though largely isolated from contemporary society and most of its problems, and unable to take much practical part in Catholic Action, the students were encouraged to keep abreast of what was being discussed and the new

approaches that were being experimented with in parishes. The *Magazine* carried annual reports on the societies and the following information on the Legion of Mary, the CEG and the YCW is taken principally from that source.

The Legion of Mary was popular among the students. Its remit was mainly spiritual, but student members ran an enquiry bureau in the early 1950s designed to answer queries sent in by Catholics or non-Catholics. For the former, it was hoped to help them answer objections to Catholic faith and practice, while to the latter it would present clear statements on what Catholics believed. Their annual report in 1954 said the bureau had dealt with fifty enquiries in the previous year and it is clear that this outside catechetical work continued into the early 1960s in a 'question and answer' format based on Fr Frank Ripley's *This is the Faith*. By then half of the students in the Upper House were active members and four members of staff were spiritual directors. (Given this popularity, it is intriguing to read in the recent history of Wonersh seminary that the Legion was disbanded there in 1950 because the rector objected to its 'preciosity').[9]

The writer of the report on the Catholic Evidence Guild highlighted a problem that was not limited to its own experience: for five-sixths of the year the students had no direct contact with non-Catholic society and so could not play any active part in the Guild's principal activities, taking part in public speaking and debate about the Faith. To remedy this, two schemes had been trialled in the summer holidays. The first of these involved students taking over the Guild's pitch at Liverpool's Pier Head for two days, from 12 noon until 6 p.m., giving an opportunity to twelve novice speakers to gain some realistic experience. The experiment was considered a success. The second, much more adventurous, scheme involved a team of three experienced speakers working for a week in Newtown in Wales. Their main difficulty was the very basic one of getting people to stop and listen (they only once got a crowd of any size) though they succeeded in handing out a good number of leaflets to passers-by. On the whole, the experiment was considered a failure, yet it must have been a useful, if traumatic, experience for those taking

part and a reminder of the gap between practice and reality in pastoral work. The Guild also arranged for outside speakers to address the student body, for example Frank Sheed in 1953 on 'Crowd Psychology', and Dr George Dwyer (later Archbishop of Birmingham) of the Catholic Missionary Society on 'Conferences with non-Catholic Christians'. Things were changing, however: in 1957 the regular 'pitch' in Wigan was said to be doing very well, while an entry in the diary for July 1958 noted that the year had seen 'at least as many outside meetings as inside', with Manchester in particular 'having more than its fair share of the Upholland CEG'.[10]

A feature of the YCW movement in the post-war years was the running of Study Weeks or Summer Schools, a result of national initiatives to provide training for seminarians that would prepare them for their future role as chaplains to parish groups, and to help them share in the growing enthusiasm for the lay apostolate. Several students from Upholland attended a summer school at Finchley in 1948 and returned determined to launch their own study group at the college. In 1953, its membership had grown to twenty-five, five of whom attended a seminarians' Summer School held in Newcastle, while college activities consisted of a study-group approach to 'The Priest and the YCW' and drawing up a booklet on the sacraments for parish groups to use (this latter initiative had come as a request from YCW national headquarters). Growth was rapid and within a few years members were attending study weeks in Manchester, Warrington, Wigan and Liverpool, and visiting factories, juvenile courts, youth clubs and YCW sections during the holidays. There is solid evidence here of pre-Vatican II change involving the forming of links with Catholic society outside the college. Much effective work was being done to equip the future clergy with both the theoretical basis and the practical knowledge they would need in the developing world of the lay apostolate.

Looking ahead here briefly, while only a single delegate from Upholland attended a national study week in January 1964, again held in Newcastle, when a study day was held in Liverpool, forty delegates from the college attended and heard talks such as 'Catholic Grammar Schools and their effect on Parish Life', given by Dr Joan

Brothers of Durham University. The day was rated a great success, and was witness to the continuing popularity of the movement among students. Meanwhile, the regular monthly meetings in the college were devoted to study of the mass media and its effects on schools and young people. Membership among the students was to fall away later in the 1960s and its secretary in 1968 admitted that 'inevitably the Y.C.W. in the college tends to be artificial . . . but (remains) a valuable means of Christian formation for the youth we will meet' as priests. Meanwhile, the CSG continued on into the 1960s, mainly as a study and discussion group.

The above societies provided opportunities for discussion and the development of individual ideas and interests, and the *Magazine* launched a 'College Forum' to encourage students to write in on key issues of the day (it did not last). The formal teaching programme in the Upper House, however, consisted of a completely lecture-based system, without the writing of essays and holding of seminars and tutorials that were considered a normal part of the English higher education system. There was the officially approved text-book in each major subject, to be expounded by the teacher and learned by the students: nothing else was required. In moral theology, for example, the three-volume moral theology manual by Noldin was the set text. It claimed that its teaching was 'according to the mind of St Thomas', but in reality it would be truer to say that its inspiration was canon law and its aim was to determine without any room for discussion what was 'right' and what was 'wrong' or, at least, what was 'probably' so. That St Thomas had been attempting to deal with the problems of his day and had adopted a critical, questioning approach in his theology, was not considered to be part of his legacy. Seminary teachers were concerned to hand on a centuries-old tradition, but students were not given any idea that that tradition, to be truly Thomistic, had to be seen as a living thing, developing and being enriched by a Christian community living out its faith. There was almost no encouragement to go beyond the set texts and very little individual use of the well-stocked Gradwell Library.[11]

Yet even here change was beginning. It is not unfair to others to pick out two members of staff who inspired a mini-renaissance,

especially in biblical studies, once the dead-hand of Dean's rigid anti-modernism was removed. The first of these was Fr Alexander Jones (1906-1970) who had joined the staff in 1936 and who taught scripture, Hebrew and biblical Greek. He studied at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem and gained an international reputation as the editor of the English translation of the *Jerusalem Bible*. As a teacher he was inspirational and liberating, too much so, perhaps, for those dependent on the 'listen and learn' principles of the past. He was also instrumental in developing a more professional, specialised approach to teaching in the senior seminary He was followed by Fr Thomas Worden (1920-1973), who joined the staff in 1951 after post-ordination studies in Fribourg and Rome. A foremost figure in scriptural studies, he attended the Second Vatican Council as a 'peritus' and edited the academic journal *Scripture* (the Quarterly of the Catholic Biblical Association); it brought the fruits of continental scholarship to an English readership. His main impact at Upholland came after the Council and will be dealt with later in this history; it is enough here to quote one of his students about both men: 'their spirit of critical enquiry was infectious and was not restricted to biblical studies'. Deserving of mention in this context is Fr (later Mgr) William Dalton (b. 1925; ordained 1949; later rector) who studied theology for four years at Louvain before returning to Upholland in 1953, to lecture in theology. Fr (later Canon) John J Gaine (ordained 1951) returned to the college in 1955 after philosophical studies in Louvain and Oxford; he succeeded Fr Breen as professor of philosophy.[12]

It is worth saying something briefly about the Gradwell library. After the Beda students left in 1946 the library floor in the south wing was restored to its original use. Advantage was taken of this to rationalise and re-organise the various collections, including part of the old eighteenth-century library of the vicars apostolic, the library from St Edward's and various substantial collections given by clergy over the years (including Mgr Dean); to replace some of the old shelving, and to start work on producing a modern catalogue to replace the hand-written one of Mgr Thomas Turner from the 1920s (running to an amazing 25,000 entries.). A modern classification

system (modified Dewey) was introduced at the same time. This work went on for some years under various student librarians (especially F. McHugh, G. Willacy, D. Holmes, B. Alger and T. Delaney), supervised by the priest-librarian Dr B Forshaw (1919-1993); their efforts resulted in an up-to-date, easy-to-use, very pleasant library.[13]

An HMI Inspection

The junior seminary was in many ways a world on its own, though not quite the *hortus conclusus* that earlier bishops and staff had planned. There were signs of change, such as the introduction of a Christmas holiday at home for the boys in 1942. On the academic front, there was the first ever visit by schools inspectors in 1952. The inspectors clearly found a world very different from anything they were used to. They commented that throughout the Junior House, as they called it, the educational tradition led to work characterised by 'brilliant teaching' and the willingness of the boys 'to absorb instruction', rather than by the exercise of the pupils' initiatives; they thought that those who completed the course made 'good progress'. Throughout their report they returned more than once to the point that the pupils should be given more opportunity to 'rely on their own intellectual powers' (an unconscious parallel with the all encompassing lecture system in the Upper House?). They praised the various clubs and societies in the Higher Line and the opportunities for both playing and listening to classical music. Their rather brief overall conclusion is worth quoting in full:

> The valued traditions and high aims that are fundamental to the life of the College are admirably allied to the wise treatment of the boys. While the discipline is strict, it is clearly founded on respect for the individual and on a profound communal purpose. To all who come to it, whether for a short or a long period, the College is generous with its gifts.[14]

Given such an overall judgement, rectors and headmasters, past and present, could rest easily in their beds (or graves). No immediate changes were made to the curriculum or teaching methods as a result

of the visitation. The inspectors' concerns about the lack of personal initiative allowed to students may have been exaggerated; certainly for the more able sixth formers there was considerable opportunity for unsupervised study and individual responsibility. Indeed, one such student, who later became a noted academic, could describe the system as 'most humane and enlightened', in terms interestingly reminiscent of Austin all those years before.[15]

While the focus in this study is very largely on the rectors, who were the ultimate policy makers (under the archbishops, of course), the contribution of headmasters must not be neglected. Their distinct role is not always clear, and much depended in practice on how much autonomy rectors allowed them. But they led the School staff, chaired staff meetings, organised timetables and allocated classes; the smooth running of the School and its ethos was their responsibility. All were Cambridge graduates, mainly in classics. Mgr Joseph Turner had been headmaster from 1928-1942, when he became rector; he played a major role in getting rid of the 'teaching minors' scheme (he had been one himself). He was followed by Fr (later Canon) William Byrne (1905-1989), a church historian, who served as headmaster until 1947, when he was replaced by Fr Timothy Morrissey (1905-1976), a quiet classicist, in charge during the above HMI inspection. In 1952 he was succeeded by Fr (later Mgr) Joseph Leo Alston (1917-2006) who had been on the staff since 1945, after gaining a first class degree in classics at Cambridge. He was in charge during the early days of modernisation and was described as a 'cautious innovator'; young members of staff who served under him noted the caution more, perhaps, than the innovation. He was a man of wide culture, a keen supporter of student societies and especially eager to share his deep appreciation of classical music. He left in 1964 to become rector of the English College in Rome and, later, parish priest of Sacred Heart Church, Ainsdale. The work of his successor, Fr Thomas Cheetham (1929-2001), will be detailed in due course later.[16]

The Schola

The annual report on the Schola (the chapel choir) in the *Magazine* for 1948 began with a rather laconic statement that the 'busy weeks of Lent and Easter, 1947, when Upholland gave three broadcasts in less than two months', were followed by a year of routine, with a solid diet of Mass-chants, antiphons and psalmody providing the staple fare for the regular liturgy. Extending his metaphor, the reporter added that motets and polyphonic settings served as a sweet course or perhaps an hors d'oeuvre. The mention of broadcasts is interesting: the first seems to have been in May 1944, when vespers were broadcast from the college on the BBC Overseas Service and included Palestrina's *O Filii et Filiae*. One of the 1947 broadcasts included an address by Archbishop Downey; it had been suggested that this should take place in the Liverpool pro-cathedral, but Mgr Turner had argued that the college would be preferable, with better acoustics and a congregation used to singing plain chant. The annual reports in the *Magazine* always included a list of the polyphony sung during the year; the 1948 list may be given as typical: for Christmas matins responsories by Mitterer, in Holy Week those by Ingenieri and Vittoria. Throughout the year, there were Byrd's Mass for five voices; Arcadelt's *Ave Maria* and *Haec Dies*; Aichinger's *Factus est repente*; Shebbeare's *Regnavit Dominus*; Gabrieli's *Maria Magdalene*; di Lasso's *Christus resurgens* and *Expectans expectavi*; Vittoria's *Ecce Dominus veniet* and *Pueri Hebraeorum*; Palestrina's *O Filii et Filiae*, and Lotti's *Salve Regina*. Some of the reports (normally written by a senior member of the choir) contained criticisms of the Schola's performance in either the motets or the plain chant, along the lines of 'there are difficulties yet to overcome and improvements yet to make', but generally there was praise and especially so for the efforts of Mgr Turner as choir master. When he left the college in 1958 he was succeeded by Fr Kevin Snape, just as the wider use of English was being introduced.[17]

The Sisters

In April 1951 the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (known as the Chigwell Sisters) celebrated the 21st anniversary of their coming to the college (they had served the Southwark junior seminary at Mark Cross since 1924 and so came with some experience of the tasks ahead). They had their own chapel, normally with the procurator serving as their chaplain. The *Magazine* diarist summed up the general feeling: 'long may their good work continue and may God bless and reward their labours'. To mark the occasion, the Mother General of the Congregation attended a special Mass for them, and at Benediction the Schola performed several items requested by the Sisters. Students were most likely to come across them in the infirmary, at least until the late 1960s when two sisters were part of the full-time teaching staff of the School. Most of the Sisters' work was necessarily 'behind the screens', organising the kitchens and the domestic work of the college; they also made the costumes for plays and pantomimes, even appearing occasionally as characters in the latter. When the Sisters finally left in July 1975 (the teaching ones had left in 1972), they were described in the *Magazine* of that year with the old cliché of their having been the 'unsung heroes (or heroines, rather) of the college'; their going was marked by 'sadness'. This was scant enough notice of their long years of essential service to the college community, though there had been frequent appreciative mentions of them in the *Magazine* throughout the years.[18]

Entertainments and Sport

Life was not all serious, of course, and within the confines of the system social life flourished. In the Upper House, this was organised by a Social Circle which had first met in 1924, with its own constitution (dating from 1928) and motto, *Pax et Bona Voluntas* [Peace and Good Will]. It comprised various student officials including the Dean of the House, an Entertainments Dean, a Dramatics Dean, a Chairman (or Manager) of Debates, a Master of Games, a Gaffer of Work, the Editor and the Manager of the Magazine, and the Presidents of the CSG and the other societies

mentioned above. Its responsibilities included running various shops (tobacco, books, stationery, and something intriguingly known as 'boots and fruit'), producing the *Magazine*, looking after the upkeep and improvement of the common rooms, and, in general, overseeing the social life of the House. A much more informal forum for student opinion were the daily gatherings in 'the club' by the lower lake.

Fig. 16: 'The Club', the smokers' haven and daily forum

There was a long and happy tradition in both houses of plays and operettas performed for the entertainment of the whole college. It had not always been so. Fr Ibison reported that when he was a boy in the School 'there was no theatre, no stage and no dramatics'. The change came in 1923 (when he was in Rhetoric) and appears to have started with a St Cecilia's Day concert-cum-performance and a production of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Yeoman of the Guard* in 1924 (adapted to have male characters only). The facilities in those early days were rough and ready (the college was still being built): there was no theatre proper and plays were produced in the study place, the refectory, the 'old billiards room' (later part of the senior refectory) and the Old Theatre (this had served as the chapel; half of

it had been taken over to extend the senior refectory). Eventually the players could strut their stuff on a fully-equipped stage in the new gymnasium (opened in 1935), with excellent facilities. A pattern developed of Upper House and Higher Line plays each year, with an operetta as an occasional extra. When Ibison became prefect in 1930 he began the tradition of the prefect being responsible for the production of the annual Higher Line play. In his series of *Magazine* articles, 'The History of the Upholland Stage', he mentioned Mr Parker Lynch as the producer of the first complete performance at Upholland of a Shakespare play (*Julius Caesar*) in 1931. He was better known to generations of students as a long serving visiting lay master; one might add 'and long suffering', given the frequently unresponsive attitude of students to his attempts to teach elocution (down to the late 1950s). In this context it is worth noting the comments of the inspectors in their 1965 and 1974 reports that highlighted the continuing need for some speech training and the hope that the introduction of drama as a subject in the curriculum would bring improvement.[19]

Ibison also commented on the issue of female characters in these productions: he claims that 1928 witnessed the only play (*The Dear Departed*) in which the female characters were performed by the students. After that, female characters were either cut out entirely or changed into 'some insipid male vainly attempting to pose as a genuine creation'. Amazingly, in 1936 there was a production of *Hamlet* without either Gertrude or Ophelia. The reviewer, perhaps even more amazingly, thought this did not damage the production, since while the two characters were 'never visible', they were 'ever vivid, especially Ophelia'. The Beda students had introduced a temporary respite, as we have seen, in their productions but it had not lasted. The reviewer of *The Gondoliers* in 1951 was sure that 'the opera suffered greatly in the process' of becoming an all male production, with characters 'weak and thinly disguised'; earlier, 'three little maids from school' had somehow morphed into 'three gentlemen from town'. Fortunately, the ladies were back by the mid-1950s – otherwise there would have been *Ruddigore* without Mad

Margaret, Shylock without Portia, and even Macbeth without his Lady.[20]

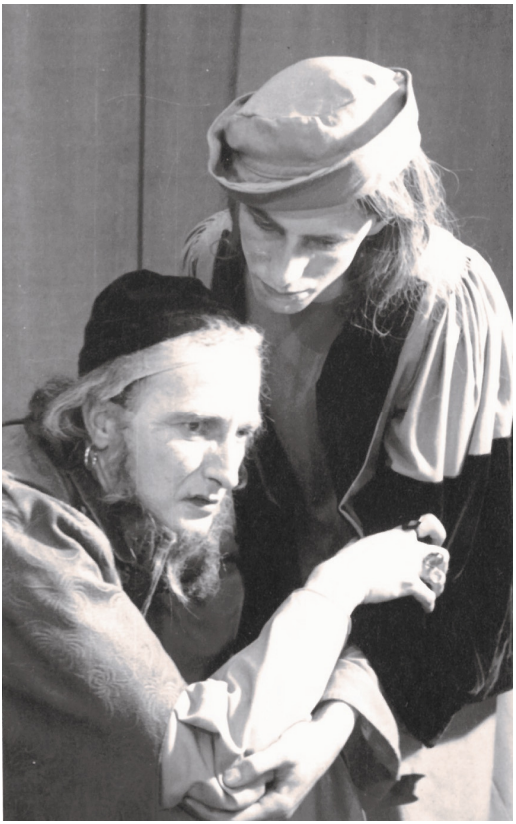

Fig. 17: Upper House drama, the serious, 'The Merchant of Venice' 1954

There were, of course, pantomime dames. The production of a Christmas show, performed by the youngest boys on Christmas Day evenings, started when Christmas holidays had to be spent at College (from 1931). Fr Ibison (by then prefect) organised a show-cum-concert for the whole college. For the first three years or so these productions were of a rather serious nature, though with a good deal of humour. Then Dr Butterfield (1901-1971; on the staff

Fig. 18: Upper House drama, the comic, 'Arsenic & Old Lace' (1954)

1929-1936) took over and produced two true pantomimes that received 'roaring applause', according to the reviewer. Fr Ibison returned as author and continued to write and produce the show until 1945, with help from the Sisters as costumiers and other members of staff, especially Fr Alec Jones as chief songwriter. Most pantos had a traditional name, but the plots turned a mildly satirical eye on college life and people, and borrowed heavily from recently produced plays and operettas – Ibison even rewrote Macbeth as a Mac-panto. Some lines could be trusted to bring the house down: for example, as the opening of a love duet, 'You're a footnote in my Noldin', or the 'Beda Boys' bidding farewell to Upholland in 1945 with,

> Romam appropinquamus, and that's the cat's pyjamus;
> Clamore guadeamus - hip,hip, hiporamus!

or the 'Walthew man' (with apologies to Gilbert and Sullivan),

> who might have been Oscotian,
> or a Warey bird or Ushan,
> or perhaps Eye-tal-ian.
> But in spite of all temptations,
> to alight at other stations,
> he remained a Walthew man.[21]

The tradition continued unbroken (under the authorship over the years of Frs Cummins, Harvey, Callon, Doyle and Dalton) – fixed firmly, as its historian put it, as one of the 'old, observed, traditional things', indeed a family observance that united the whole college in an unparalleled way. The last panto ('Arabian Nights') was produced in 1966; after that, Christmas Day was no longer spent at the college.[22]

Some years, of course, offered richer dramatic pickings than others. Outstanding in this regard was 1964: in March the Higher Line performed Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*; in May the Upper House performed Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and in November Brecht's *Life of Galileo*. In 1961 the Upper House had performed both *Richard III* and Bolt's *A Man for all Seasons*.[23]

Operettas without an orchestra would not have been so enjoyable. In 1950 a reviewer in the *Magazine* claimed that the orchestra was 'the most representative organisation in the College' composed as it was of students from both Senior and Junior Houses, members of the teaching staff, visiting music tutors and one of the lay support staff. As well as accompanying the operettas, the orchestra performed annual concerts, often including solos by the visiting instrumental teachers and other outside soloists. Although limited by having only a small pool of possible players from which to recruit, the orchestra was successful, due as always to the skill and dedication of its conductors. Its first 'public' appearance had been in 1929 as a string ensemble of about a dozen players under the direction of a student, Mr Wm. Hannigan (1903-1956; ordained 1930 for Lancaster diocese). He was followed by Dr R. L. Smith (1900-1977; Lancaster diocese) and then Dr J. Hampson (1895-1981), before the first of the long-term conductors took over: Fr (later Canon) Francis Kieran (1904-1980), on the staff from 1932 to 1944. He was succeeded as conductor in 1942 by Dr Francis Ellison (on the staff from 1939 to 1957; he was also the college organist) and then by Fr John de A'Echevarria, who took over in 1958; he had joined the staff in 1957 after ordination at the Beda.[24]

Another legacy of Fr Ibison was the Walthew Press which he had established in 1935 and ran for a number of years, with the help of a

select Higher Line group of volunteers. Situated in the bowels of the Higher Line wing it produced letter-press work of a high standard, especially programmes of every description for college events, often featuring lino-cut illustrations by the students. It also produced the official college Christmas card, with embossed crest and motto. A small amount of external work and the sale of the cards raised a profit, some of it going towards the School library fund. Not surprisingly, it featured in the annual pantomimes; for example, in 1942:

> And when at last this swindle's over
> and the last Sports' programme dried,
> when Printer James lies in the graveyard
> with his minions by his side;
> his ghost no doubt will ask permission,
> in its enterprising way,
> to set to work and print the programme
> of events for Judgement Day.[25]

After Ibison left the staff, the press was managed for a few years by the prefect, Fr Basil Walker, before Fr Cheetham took over. He extended its range of productions to include in-house magazines written and illustrated by the students in the School; half-a-dozen members of the Higher Line provided the labour.[26]

Sport was a major feature of student life. Football was played on the two half-days a week in the autumn and spring terms (Tuesdays and Thursdays; Saturday was a normal full study day). Inter-House and inter-class rivalries were intense, especially perhaps the Higher Line v. Philosophers games. The College XI had a small number of matches against visiting teams: annually against the Liverpool and Lancaster clergy; in some years even an 'away' match against Roby Mill village. Other visitors included the Simmarians, Old Xaverians (Liverpool), St Mary's, Crosby, and Hopwood Hall. Visiting teams were usually entertained in the evening of match days with a common-room get-together or concert. The School XI played teams from other junior seminaries (such as Thornleigh and Underley) and from St Francis Xavier's School (Liverpool). While soccer was the College's principal sport, an occasional rugby team appeared in the

1950s with outside fixtures in the Christmas holidays and there were also visiting cricket teams in the summer term.

Without doubt, Sports Day was the major sporting event of the summer term. While only the School participated actively, all watched and took sides in their support; decorated birettas among Upper House spectators were not unknown, but were generally frowned on as 'unbecoming'. Sometimes the previous year's new priests returned for the occasion, helping to make it more than just a sporting competition. There were some oddities among the events, no doubt legacies from former times and another sign that Upholland was different and followed its own path: the Lower Line ran 700 and 300 yard races; there was a cricket ball throw, a potato race and handball finals. A highlight of the afternoon session was the obstacle race – seen as an ingenious 'entertainment' for the spectators rather than a sporting competition. It might even include balancing jars of water on the head, consuming treacle buns and blowing up balloons.

Fig 19: Sports Day, the tug of war

Sports Day results were published in full in the *Magazine*, along with a full length review of the day. In later years, under the guidance of Fr Cheetham, the day was modernised, with more mainstream events added and the former eccentric or fun events removed. House masters strove to train their boys in throwing the javelin or the discus, but in many cases this was 'the blind leading

the blind' – one was heard to comment that after a week's coaching he had reduced his javelin thrower's distance by thirty feet.[27]

Fig. 20: Sports Day, athletics

There was no formal coaching in any of the sports played, though an outside gym master did take PE classes in the Lower Line. Cricket and tennis were played in the summer. Games were compulsory on half-day afternoons throughout the year. Non-sporting types might hope for them to be replaced by walks, or by being 'bound in' because of the weather to read in the library, or by opting for one of the 'gangs' working on the grounds under the guidance of the 'gaffer'. From 1954 there was a Higher Line workshop-cum-hobbies room, properly fitted out for use by the newly formed Technical Society and providing facilities for woodworking and book-binding. About twenty students took part in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, with its stress on community service, outdoor activities and hobbies (including mountaineering, photography, printing and archaeology); during a visit to the college its director, Lord Hunt, presented certificates to successful students.[28]

There was a long-standing tradition, going back to St Edward's days, of allowing the students up to three days off study if the lakes froze sufficiently to permit skating. Some winters, for example that of 1947, were so severe that they became part of college folk-lore.

Most of the skating took place on the college lakes, but there were also organised days' skating on those at Wrightington, similar in many ways to those described by Mgr Thomas Turner at Sefton Meadows. The variety of skates was matched only by the variety of winter wear and ice hockey sticks. The last recorded 'skating days' were in December 1974 – a Saturday and a Sunday, so no off-days were involved.[29]

It is clear that these varied activities were important in creating and upholding a community spirit. In its everyday life the student body was strictly segregated, and communication between the two Lines in the School, and between it and the Upper House, was forbidden under threat of expulsion. That the college did not divide into two completely separate institutions was due to a number of factors. There was, above all, the shared chapel, creating its own sense of common purpose and reminding students what they were about. There was a united staff, some of whom taught in both sections of the college, and there was the important (albeit minor) contribution of the above 'entertainments'. The community spirit was most obvious on Ordination Days, when there was a shared sense of joy and celebration throughout the college, and to a lesser extent on Reunion Days when the sense of community was seen to extend beyond the college bounds. Archbishop Keating had prayed that the 'new college' of the 1920s should develop its own particular esprit de corps; he would surely have been heartened by how it had developed in its first thirty years.

Some Problems

Underlying the day-to-day situation in these years, however, was a seriously deteriorating economic position, initially outlined by a report from Fr Ibison, who had become procurator in 1946. His first report to the Diocesan Finance Board in 1947 (he claimed it was based on the first balance sheet since 1942) outlined the budget for the coming year. The balance sheet showed a deficit of £2,025, despite including a payment from the Beda College of £4,348 (this covered their 'rental' payment for the two years 1944-1945 and 1945-1946). The return of the Beda to Rome meant this payment was

now at an end and so the deficit would only increase in coming years. The main cause of the deficit was the increase in costs of three items, food, wages, and lighting and heating. Whereas in the years from 1929-1941 the income from student pensions had at least covered the cost of these three necessities, and in some years had led to a surplus, this would not be so in the foreseeable future. He detailed some of the rises: while professors' wages had not risen, those of other staff had; in particular the cost of Health and Pension stamps: for women employees the college now had to pay 1/8d per week as against the previous 10d. The price of coke had risen from £1 per ton ten years before to at least £3.10s. currently. In addition, there were capital projects that would need an extra grant to the college of £5,500, to cover the cost of a completely new kitchen and the purchase of Vicarage Farm. His inescapable conclusion: student pensions would have to rise. His claim that things had been better in the 1930s is open to challenge: Archbishop Downey's correspondence makes it clear that in several years of that decade the college had had to apply to the Finance Board for 'special grants' to keep it going. Some years after Ibison's report, the new procurator, Fr Sidney Breen, was reporting that the income from students' fees of £23,500, even with a top-up grant from the archdiocese, had produced a net deficit of £3,300 for the year 1954-1955, on an average monthly expenditure of £2,500. (Since the great majority of all the students were from Liverpool, most of the fee income was paid by the archdiocese as well, of course).[30]

We have seen that the HMI report of 1952 had rated the teaching in the junior seminary as 'brilliant'. Most of its staff were Cambridge graduates, but none had any teaching qualifications (in line with the common practice in English public schools of the period). The 'grace of state' would, it was hoped, make up for any lack of formal qualifications or natural abilities. Fr Breen was himself a prime example of this strong belief. Without any formal qualifications, he served on the Beda staff, teaching philosophy; he was, in turn, prefect of discipline in the School; taught philosophy in the Upper House for several years, and was in charge of discipline as well; as we have seen, he was procurator, then vice-rector and eventually

rector in 1958. Others, after post-ordination studies in theology or canon law in Rome or Maynooth, found themselves teaching, more or less successfully, in the School. Some taught in both junior and senior houses, or served their time initially in the junior seminary before moving up to teach philosophy or theology.

Notes

[1] Doyle, *Mitres & Missions*, pp. 274-5.
[2] AAL, SJC, S5 VI B/17, Hanrahan to Dean, 24 July 1941; *Clergy Review* XX (February & May 1941), pp. 95-107; 394-405.
[3] On Fr Thomas Cummins, *Magazine*, 1967, pp. 16-17.
[4] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/60, Turner to Godfrey, 1 April 1954.
[5] *Magazine,* issues 1948-50; Michael Hope, *Polish Deportees in the Soviet Union: Origins of Post-War settlement in Great Britain* (London, 1998).
[6] AAL, Downey, S5 I C/5, 18 September 1949; *Magazine*, 1953, p. 170; Summer 1954, pp. 78-9; Summer 1955, p. 184; 1961, pp. 21-2.
[7] *Magazine*, Summer 1956, pp. 66-7.
[8] *Magazine*, issues 1954-1960, Summer 1957, p. 121.
[9] Finnegan, p. 295; apparently the rector there thought such spiritual groups distracted students from 'the one thing necessary'.
[10] *Magazine*, Summer 1957, p. 120; January 1959, p. 18.
[11] K. Kelly, *50 Years Receiving Vatican II: a Personal Odyssey* (Dublin, 2012), p 17; 'College Forum' in *Magazine*, 1953, pp. 183-6.
[12] J. L. Alston, 'Father Jones. A Silver Jubilee Tribute', *Magazine*, January 1959, pp. 8-9; Kelly, *50 Years*, pp. 19-20, Appendix 7, p. 362.
[13] Dr B Forshaw, 'The College Library', *Magazine,* 1960, pp. 1-5.
[14] AAL, SJC, S5 V D/1, HMI Report May 1952, p.4.
[15] Anthony Kenny, *A Path from Rome* (London, 1986), pp. 39-41.
[16] *Magazine* 1964, p.22; *Liverpool Directory* 2002, p. 148; 2007, p.156.
[17] Annual reports on Schola in *Magazine*; AAL, Downey, S5 I B/3, Turner to Downey, February 1947; *Magazine*, 1947, p. 67.
[18] *Magazine*, 1975, p. 7; 1967, p. 23; 1964, pp. 24-5, and 1951, pp. 82-3, Diary for 19 April, their 21st anniversary; Winter 1954-5, p. 145, on Sister Imelda, who served at Upholland from 1930-55.
[19] J. Ibison, 'A History of the Upholland Stage', *Magazine,* July 1940; January 1941 and July 1941.

[20] *Magazine*, January 1941, p. 105; July 1936, p. 104; 1951, p. 97.
[21] T. Cummins, 'This Rough Magic', *Magazine,* 1948, pp. 89-93.
[22] Ibid., p. 93.
[23] *Magazine*, 1962, 1965.
[24] J. P. D'Arcy, 'Orchestral Jubilee', *Magazine*, Winter 1954-55, pp. 146-8.
[25] T. Cummins, p. 92.
[26] J. Ibison, 'The Press Gang: 25 Years' and T. Cheetham, 'Stop Press', in *Magazine,* 1961, pp. 16-17.
[27] *Magazine,* 1949. Author's conversations with later house masters.
[28] *Magazine*, Summer 1955, p. 173; C. J. Ryan, 'The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme', *Magazine*, 1967, pp. 11-12.
[29] T. Turner, Diary; *Magazine*, 1975, p. 17.
[30] AAL, SJC, S5 I B/3, 'Balance Sheet 1946-47'; Breen's report, AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/66, 28 October 1955; second report, ibid., 7 February 1956.

Chapter 6

The 1960s: All Change?

Roman Intervention

In late 1961 the Roman Congregation for Seminaries and Universities asked a number of questions of diocesan authorities, presumably to put together a picture of the state of vocations throughout the country, about which there had already been some concern. It chose two three-year periods, 1929-1931 and 1959-1961, to compare the number of ordinations: for Liverpool the figures were thirty-one and twenty-six respectively. They then asked for the number of seminarians in December 1960: in the junior seminary there were 169; in philosophy, 29, and in theology, 42. The copy of the return in the Liverpool archives also gives (handwritten) numbers for November 1961: the junior seminary numbers had risen to an unprecedented 194; in philosophy, they were also up, at 41, while in theology there had been a smaller rise, to 50. The next question asked for the numbers leaving the seminary in the year 1960-1961: from the junior seminary, four had left (this seems to be an improbably small number), while philosophy and theology had each lost a single student (again, a remarkably low number). Finally, the numbers entering the different sections in the same year were junior seminarians: 56; philosophers: 13; theologians, 8 (these numbers obviously refer to new students entering from outside). Interestingly, the Congregation added three non-statistical questions: firstly, what was the occasion of the improvements in vocations? In reply, the return said it was due to the use of more scientific and better co-ordinated methods; for example, talks in schools and sermons in churches, and visits to the seminary organised by the Serra Society. Secondly, and rather oddly, it asked why vocations had declined; the reply was the difficulty of keeping the idea of a priestly vocation before the eyes of children and parents. Finally, it asked what had helped those who had persevered, to which the reply was the reduced

discrepancy between the discipline in the seminary and that in similar secular schools. While care had obviously been taken to compile the statistics, the answers to the three questions have an air of rather superficial haste about them; indeed, the questions themselves were hardly probing enough to elicit well-considered replies: the whole section takes up less than a third of a page.[1]

Those hoping for changes in the seminary system in the early 1960s had been encouraged by the beginnings of liturgical reform in the previous decade, with the introduction of the new Holy Week liturgies and the dialogue Mass. Mgr Turner had allowed the use of the latter once the students had requested it, telling the dean in 1957 that he had been waiting for them to do so for some time. But there had also been setbacks to the reforming agenda, not least the 'unexpected bombshell . . . which burst upon an astonished world' in February 1962. The event referred to here by the pope's English biographer was the publication of the encyclical *Veterum Sapientia* [The wisdom of the ancients]. In it the pope praised the use of Latin and declared it to be the language of the Church, to be used everywhere in the teaching of philosophy and theology and not to be ousted from the liturgy by the use of the vernacular.

The reaction was mixed: there was consternation among seminary staff at the thought of the implications of the encyclical on their teaching. When the bishops as a whole, however, discussed the matter at their May meeting later that year, they agreed, firstly, that there should be a common policy across their seminaries on the use of Latin; secondly, that a start should be made in the coming autumn to use Latin for lectures; thirdly, that they should issue a directive requiring Latin to be taught in all 'Catholic Public and Grammar Schools', and, fourthly, that Latin should be a compulsory subject for all church students.[2]

Archbishop Grimshaw of Birmingham imposed the decree fully the following year at Oscott, while Bishop Cowderoy of Southwark left it to individual members of staff at Wonersh to do what they thought best as long as they used Latin for some portion of each lecture; the resulting compromises were little short of chaotic. Archbishop Heenan wrote to the president of Ushaw in June 1962

that, while he agreed with the views of those members of staff who had expressed their serious concern over the injunction, he could not see how they could avoid implementing it. He pointed out that a later document from Rome had specified which subjects were included: philosophy, theology (both dogmatic and moral), the introduction to scripture, and canon law, adding that the bishops had already agreed that at least parts of the lectures had to be given in Latin; they were meeting again in July to discuss the matter further. Yet the issue did not feature again on the agendas for the hierarchy meetings in 1962 or 1963. The Northern bishops, however, did discuss the issue in July 1962 and decided that nothing needed to be done until 1963; the 'year's grace' would allow time to consider how the decree should best be implemented.[3]

Despite the archbishop's views, it appears that nothing was done to implement the decree at Upholland. There was some talk of resignations by members of staff if any attempts were made to do so, with one newly appointed member even saying it would be more intelligible to students if he lectured in French (he had just returned from Louvain). The diarists are entirely silent on the issue. Interestingly, Heenan commented to the president of Ushaw that if the decree resulted in fewer lectures and more tutorials, then it would prove to have been beneficial. The opening of the Second Vatican Council in October 1962 as a result of Pope John XXIII's call for *aggiornamento* [updating] in the Church necessarily turned episcopal minds to more fundamental, even threatening, issues; the English and Welsh bishops who attended the council were largely conservative; Cardinal Heenan reported that his predecessor, Cardinal Godfrey, had encouraged them to vote *non placet* [no] to all its decrees.[4]

An Episcopal Visitation

There had, indeed, been a number of episcopal voices already talking of the need for scrutiny of, and perhaps change in, the traditional seminary system. The Northern bishops along with the Bishop of Shrewsbury had decided on a thorough investigation and 'to take a more active and personal interest in the seminary' (not before time, some might add). In November 1960 Heenan reported

the findings of the resulting official visitation of Upholland and Ushaw, which he sent to Mgr Sidney Breen, Mgr Turner's successor as rector from April 1958. No doubt the archbishop, whose choice he had been, saw him as the person who would modernise Upholland, though unfortunately his earlier career on the staff had not indicated that he had the leadership qualities necessary to guide the seminary through a period of major change. It is worth mentioning here that the departure of Mgr Turner had been accompanied by a major change of staff such as had not been seen in any previous year: seven mainly long-serving members had departed (Frs Ellison, Ness, Holland, Walsh, Walker and Kilkenny from the School staff, along with Fr Dickinson, the spiritual director), to be replaced by a generally much younger cohort (Frs Cheetham, Burke, Shaw, Snape, Harvey, de A'Chevarria, Maxwell, Doyle,Higham and Newns; Fr James English joined the staff as the new spiritual director).[5]

There were two parts to this report. The first section raised issues that Heenan considered common to both Ushaw and Upholland, though arising in practice from a visitation of Ushaw alone. The second section was the result of a separate, official visit to Upholland by Heenan and Bishop Beck of Salford (the team should have included Bishop Flynn of Lancaster but in the event he had been unable to take part). The report dealt principally with two obviously important issues, academic studies and spirituality. While Heenan ended by assuring the rector that the visit had been 'both consoling and vastly encouraging' and that the visitors had been 'deeply impressed by the spirit of the professors', it is clear that its recommendations amounted to a serious questioning of several aspects of seminary life, while their implementation would amount to serious changes in seminary practice.

The context was stated straight away: before long the bishops would have to decide on a building programme that would enable increased numbers to be trained, but without requiring any of the increased number of students to remain in the same place from boyhood until ordination. Perhaps surprisingly, before looking at any general principles, the report raised two precise practices: the public 'Holy Hour' and the public recitation of the rosary. The visitors

were, it claimed, unanimous in thinking there should not be regular public recitation of the rosary, despite the danger that it be considered unimportant. The practice of holding Holy Hours should be continued, not for everyone together but for smaller groups where devotions and meditations could be more geared to different age groups. While these concerns might seem relatively unimportant, a key principle was involved: the seminary should train the future priest to take control of his spiritual life when working alone, rather than having everything arranged as though he would continue to live in some sort of religious institution with set hours for fixed devotions, even for visits to the Blessed Sacrament: 'we are anxious that future secular clergy will learn in the seminary to use initiative in choosing to sacrifice their free time for acts of devotion'.[6]

Heenan's report then turned to more general questions of spiritual direction and development. Apparently, one or more of the bishops had suggested that the Sulpician methods were worth examination in this context, and Heenan had consulted them. Without detailing either their methods or his consultation, he picked out one area of their approach that he thought would be fruitful. In doing so he underlined a major weakness in the current system:

> it is possible for a student to go through his course with little or no contact with any of the priests . . . some students most in need of (spiritual) direction would take no initiative to consult members of staff or the Spiritual Director.[7]

Here the report was pointing up the weakness of a system that may appear almost incredible to modern readers: that a student, preparing over six years for a life of personal devotion, celibacy and the almost inevitable loneliness of the clerical life, could pass successfully through those six years without any individual spiritual direction outside the narrow confines of the confessional. The solution, according to the report, was for each student to be allocated to a named professor as his director, whose duty was to see the student once or twice a term and whom the student could consult at any time. Ideally, the students would be given a priest of their choosing, but clearly not all could get their first choice. Members of

staff might very well need help in developing this role; the provision of such help would be looked into.

On the question of studies, the visitors had been impressed by the scholastic standards achieved, but, again, suggested radical changes to the current system. The tutorial system should be extended (or, even, introduced?) and essays and 'practical exercises' written frequently. The aim of the seminary was not to produce scholars but pastoral priests and so students had to learn how to absorb what they were being taught and to be articulate enough to pass it on to their people, otherwise much of their learning in the seminary would be wasted. Here again the report, despite its praise for the academic work being undertaken, was questioning the fundamental approach that was essentially lecture and text-book reliant, with no place for essay-writing or discussion. Other recommendations in the report were that the rector should interview each student annually to assess their vocation and that seminary staff should be punctilious in attending public spiritual duties; whether the second of these implied that some staff had been found wanting in this regard is not clear. All this related to both Ushaw and Upholland.

When it turned to purely Upholland matters, the report again stressed how impressive were the zeal and self-sacrifice of the staff, while noting that most of them believed that there should be a complete separation of the senior and junior houses. Moreover, they believed that too many students could go through the whole course 'because there was nothing against them': more positive signs of a vocation should be sought. Some staff members believed that modern seminary life had become too easy and that there was a place for having strictly observed rules 'for their own sake'. Some also believed that the junior curriculum should be changed to give less importance to the classics and more to science and English. But all these issues, the report concluded, were for the staff to discuss and not for the archbishop to impose; he had complete confidence in the rector and the staff. One can only surmise that his findings were the subject of further discussions, and recommendations for change, between himself and his new rector.

Expansion

Adding to a general sense of cautious optimism, especially perhaps, with regard to the junior seminary, the numbers of younger students were higher than ever before, with a two stream entry in all three lower classes by autumn 1961. The provision of new classrooms was imperative, for the streaming of these three particular classes was likely to continue as they moved through the School. The Old Theatre, for example, was being used as the Lower Line library, as a meeting place for the Higher Line societies, and as a classroom, while the gymnasium was being used for gymnastics, indoor games, play-rehearsals and performances, and orchestra and choir practices. The School curriculum was also expanding under the headship of Fr Thomas Cheetham, with the possibility of students' taking art, Spanish, the sciences, and geography up to public examination level; it would be necessary to have proper facilities for these subjects, and a dedicated library.

For these reasons, in November 1961 Archbishop Heenan agreed to a proposal to build a new wing in the space between the end of the Old Wing and the Lower Line basement, in effect making the former rose garden into a new, smaller quadrangle. The architect was Mr Brian Marsden and the main contractors were Messrs Bickerstaffe of Wigan. Work began in August 1963 and the building came into use in May 1965. On the ground floor were a biology laboratory and a large art room with a pottery kiln, while upstairs were a Lower Line library, a modern languages laboratory and a geography room. The Old Theatre was freed to become an audio-visual room, with access to school television and radio programmes, and evening access for Higher Line societies. Externally the new wing was faced with grey sandstone similar to that used in the original buildings of the 1880s and acquired by Mgr Thomas Turner with remarkable foresight when he was procurator in the 1930s; the copings, doorways and windows were of artificial stone.[8]

The whole enterprise was paid for by Heenan's decision to sell the outstanding O'Byrne collection of coins and medals, among the finest private collections in the country. At the same time, what had been the museum became additional dormitory space to

accommodate the extra students. While the loss of the museum was considerable, no use, as far as one can see, had ever been made of it and access had not been allowed to students, most of whom may not have known of its existence; what might have created a unique artistic and formative experience had been a museum in the worst sense of the word.

Fig. 21: The new wing, opened in 1965

It is interesting that the Northern bishops, meeting in March 1960, had agreed to the building of a new junior school to accommodate increased numbers at Ushaw. This was to be a new building at nearby Cornsay to take 180 boys, with its own resident staff and its own rector, functioning independently of Ushaw but under the bishops. At the same meeting, the Bishop of Lancaster reported the acquisition of 'much larger premises' to use for his junior seminary of Underley.[9]

Other changes were also happening at Upholland in the early 1960s, before Vatican II (for those who praise, or blame, the council for everything). In January 1961 a new chapel was opened for the Lower Line. This was not just to answer the need for increased space

with the larger numbers entering the early years, but a recognition that the liturgical needs of younger boys might be better served by a more intimate setting for the liturgy and by services prepared with their needs in mind. The chapel (in a room that had had many uses over the years) was attractively decorated and its windows were given coloured lead lights. Also that year all the students went home for the Easter holidays. They returned to experience the first full dialogue Mass. Later that term, two sisters of the Little Sisters of the Assumption took a prominent part in a study week-end organised by the Catholic Social Guild. Another development saw the Schola travel to Preston to perform at an English Martyrs Rally. In May 1960 the college opened its doors to a coach load of lay visitors; in June the Serra Society held its second Vocations Rally at the college, this time for boys and parents from parishes outside Liverpool. The diarist was exaggerating when he declared, 'The Seminary is now a well-established reality for many of the faithful of the Diocese', but his enthusiasm is understandable. Much remained as before and tradition was still a key determining element, but perhaps one can say that the ground was being prepared for a more radical reconstruction.[10]

Studies

There is a detailed account in the archives of both the junior and the senior curriculum about this time. It is undated, but internal evidence would indicate that it was written in the early sixties or even the late fifties; it may have been connected with Heenan's report, mentioned above. The part relating to the juniors was signed by the headmaster, Fr Leo Alston; that for the seniors is unsigned but reads as though it might well have been the work of Fr Worden, prefect of studies from 1962. Both reports contain quite serious criticisms and suggestions for change. The report on the junior seminary is headed, 'A Note on the School Curriculum of Studies'; what follows here is a fairly full summary.[11]

In general, the curriculum was planned on the understanding that all the students would take the General Certificate at Ordinary and Advanced levels of the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board.

Seven subjects was the maximum taken at 'O' level, English Language and Literature, History, Latin, Greek, French and Elementary Mathematics; a few weaker students took fewer than seven. The percentage of passes was 'fairly satisfactory – surprising successes being more frequent than unexpected failures'. At Advanced Level, most students took two subjects: Latin (including some Roman History) and one from English, French, History and (occasionally) Mathematics. A few more able students would take Greek and Ancient History in addition to their Latin. The 'A' level standard was high, and 'it must be admitted that successes are not as frequent as is desirable. On the other hand, the ground has been covered'.

In addition to these subjects, other parts of the curriculum included Christian Doctrine (in the first four years), Scripture (throughout the course), Geography (taken only in the first year), Logic (in Rhetoric, taught by the professor of philosophy), and Plain Chant. There were problems in finding a suitable textbook in Christian Doctrine for use in the early years, where they needed an 'elementary Christocentric and Liturgical course of doctrine, which seems desirable nowadays'. The Higher Line library was reasonably well stocked with apologetical works, the *Faith and Fact* series, for example, while the scripture teachers, 'highly competent men', did not neglect the apologetic aspect of their course.

Science was taught in all years except Rhetoric, though the amount was 'not large'. The Senior Science Master was preparing to introduce the subject at 'O' level. To allow it the necessary room in the curriculum something would have to be dropped; the Cinderella subject was Greek and the time given to it might be better given to Science – 'certainly the boys appear to find Greek very difficult these days' – and the amount necessary for biblical studies could be learned later in two years.

Outside teachers taught physical education to the first three years, and music teachers gave lessons (usually during formal study time) to individuals learning various musical instruments. The Higher Line cultural societies had a long and good tradition: the Debating Society, the Acton Society (for history) and the Literary Society; the

meetings were supervised by professor-presidents but chaired by students. The activities of the Lower Line Society were 'sporadic'. Worthy of mention was the twice-yearly Higher Line Magazine, produced by the students 'for their own satisfaction'. There were practical clubs in radio, carpentry and model aircraft building, and a regular gramophone club for classical music run by one of the staff. There was also a flourishing orchestra (with members from the staff and both senior and junior seminaries). Dramatics provided scope for team-work and artistic expression.

This was clearly not a glowing description of the junior seminary; both the curriculum and the academic achievements of the students were limited. When it came to the report on the senior seminary, 'Studies and Studious Activities in the Senior Seminary', written by the Prefect of Studies, there was, first of all, a concern to show that the requirements of canon law and of the Roman Congregations were being observed, apart from the teaching of sacred art and archaeology which had never been part of the curriculum. The divines had five lectures per week in dogmatic and four in moral theology; in the case of the latter, there was a considerable amount of private tuition and special tutoring of students 'who arrive late' having followed a different cycle in another seminary elsewhere, something which, the report claimed, applied in all subjects and 'constituted a considerable difficulty'. Scripture, church history and canon law each had two lectures per week; in scripture this should be four, especially given the direction dogmatic theology was taking. There was no professor of church history and the lectures were given by the history teacher from the School (for the divines) and the professor of dogma (for the philosophers). There was one class per week in sermon, chant, and ascetics.

The philosophers' curriculum included five lectures per week in philosophy and two per week in ethics (alternating annually with sociology), scripture, church history and chant. Other subjects had just one lecture per week: biblical Greek (for those with no classical Greek background), Hebrew and ascetics. Both philosophers and divines had a lecture per week in public speaking. There were a number of 'studious activities' listed. The Catholic Social Guild was

large and enthusiastic, with no lack of speakers (often external) and energetic discussion. The Catholic Evidence Guild was, if anything, even more popular, especially with philosophers who were attracted by 'apologetics without profound theology'. While the debating society was in poor shape, there were sermon groups run by small, informal bodies of the divines.

It is very clear from the report that for both sections of the senior seminary the curriculum comprised a heavy lecture load; there was no mention of any seminar work or the writing of essays or pastoral work. The concluding observations are noteworthy. First of all, it was pointed out that the report gave insufficient idea of the amount of tuition provided in private for backward ('and some forward') students; this was not a feature that students in earlier years would have recognised. Secondly, and more tellingly, the writer claimed that having the senior and junior seminaries together obscured the shortage of staff in the senior, 'besides all the other disadvantages which it is not in place to enumerate here'. Finally, he remarked sadly that there was a 'strong bias' among the students for what they saw as 'practical studies', for example, moral theology, canon law and sociology; they perhaps forgot that 'not all that was practical was superficially observable'.

The School

Despite the shortcomings outlined in the above report, the sense of optimism created by the new building and increased intake to the junior seminary was strengthened by a very successful HMI visit in February 1965. By then, there had been considerable changes and the HMI report noted that over the previous year or so a 'vigorous policy' had been developed of introducing what was considered to be best practice from the contemporary secondary school scene. More room was allowed in the timetable for private study and the former stress on instruction had been modified to allow a greater emphasis on enquiry and experiment. The teaching week had been altered to allow more contact with outside schools, including on the part of teaching staff, and, importantly, more lay teachers contributed to an enlarged curriculum (there were nine part-time lay teachers at the

time of the inspection). New subjects had been introduced: Spanish, art and craft, geography, advanced level mathematics and science, and Latin (Modern Studies). The inspectors noted that these considerable changes had been made at the instigation of a new headmaster, who had been in post for about a year, and after full consultation with the clerical staff. This was Fr Thomas Cheetham, headmaster 1964-1974, who had been on the staff since returning from Cambridge in 1957. He was not named in the report, but clearly had made a major impression on the inspectors who praised him for his 'inventiveness' and 'eager desire to compare and contrast the school with the outside world'. Undoubtedly an outstanding headmaster, he did more than any other to modernise the curriculum.[12]

The inspectors also commented on the unpredictable numbers entering each year; the two-form entry of the previous few years had now become a small one-form entry of mixed academic ability. Currently there were 163 boys on roll. Overall, the inspectors concluded that small classes and a good deal of individual attention enabled all to undertake a varied programme of studies. There was some evidence, they believed, that greater precision of thought and expression might be demanded and that some of the brighter students might be worked harder, while indistinct or slovenly speech was a common failing. General standards of achievement, however, were very satisfactory and in some subjects were 'distinctly good'. The full-time staff were praised for their 'sensible, affectionate and yet detached care' and a survey of the educational life of the School revealed a 'vigorous and flourishing community'.

The Second Vatican Council and After

Movements for change were already active before the modernising spirit of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) began to have its profound impact. Liturgical reform had started some years before and if the liturgy, that touch-stone of Catholic orthodoxy and self-identification, could change, what could not? The Council was seen by many as a green light for experimentation and as encouraging a modernisation that was not always supported by the

Council documents. Those who hesitated were not all die-hard conservatives: continuity, certainty and caution had been for too long the watchwords of orthodoxy to be abandoned easily. Not surprisingly, confusion was for many the principal characteristic of the times.

An editorial in the *Magazine* for 1966 asked 'What is a New Age?' and went on to outline briefly fundamental changes to the academic regime in the Upper House. It was to take some time for the new system to bed in, but eventually by 1968 it was fixed. The 'guiding principle' behind the new approach was clearly laid out in a document of February 1968, presumably written by Fr Worden:

> The student must himself be truly responsible for acquiring a proper knowledge of theology, in such a way that his studies not only make a deeper and more lasting impression, but also in order that through his work at the seminary he might attain that greater maturity which is required for the increasing responsibilities of the priesthood.[13]

Turning to the teaching and learning methods to be used, the exclusively lecture system was to be abandoned as not in accord with this guiding principle; also abandoned was the single text-book approach; even novels might be included in the syllabus, as providing insights into modern society. The student should produce written work at regular intervals and attend tutorials in order to receive individual help and build a relationship between himself and the tutor. There should be seminars, in line with all modern educational systems, and lectures, to ensure the student acquired the basics of each course and the lecturer could make his own specialist contribution. The academic year was to be divided into four terms, each of eight weeks, with no student studying more than two modules in any one term and examinations every half year, in effect a semester model. In each term a student studied one major module and one minor, with three lectures in the former and two in the latter. Over his six years of study (no longer divided into philosophy and theology) a student would study twenty-three major modules and twenty-six minor ones.

The document summarised the six-year syllabus as follows. In the first year there was a 'general initiation into theology' in the form of a concentration on scripture and liturgy, aiming at the student's 'realising the significance for his own religious life of the Bible and the liturgy'. The second year was wholly given over to philosophy, in four major modules, while years three to six covered the traditional syllabus, divided into sixteen modules and with the biblical themes always studied first in each – scripture did not appear as a separate subject. The twenty-six minor modules covered ascetics, church history, canon law, patristics, liturgy and apologetics. In the light of the discussions over links between seminaries and universities, it is interesting that the document added a note that while no university courses were currently available to Upholland students, the new syllabus and methods were such as 'could the more easily be accommodated'.

The basis of this new approach was the Second Vatican Council's *Decree on Priestly Formation*, which aimed to place the onus on the individual student to organise and undertake his academic work, in itself a formative discipline that should permeate the whole of seminary life. Only those who had endured the former 'sit and listen' system could appreciate fully the novelty of the new. All would surely welcome the decree's strong recommendation that excessive multiplication of courses and lectures should be avoided, as well as those questions which 'scarcely retain any significance or which should be left to higher academic studies'.[14]

A marked feature of the new system was the introduction of active pastoral work to be undertaken outside the college. Thursday became Pastoral Day, with different years undertaking organised activities: visiting the elderly or house-bound in their homes and children in a nearby care home, hospital visiting in Wrightington Hospital and Wigan Infirmary, taking assemblies and catechising in local schools, and house visitations and census compilation in nearby Skelmersdale and Kirkby. Developing some of these schemes underlined the difficulties created by the college's relatively isolated geographical position; in some instances only a minority of students in a particular year could be occupied in meaningful work, in one

extreme case, only three out of a total year of twenty-five. An interesting experiment consisted of a series of vocations evenings, run in different parishes with the aim of promoting vocations by bringing home to the people their responsibility to encourage vocations, with the students giving talks and taking part in group discussions. The final-year deacons spent Sundays and Thursday evenings working in their designated parishes in Bootle, Skelmersdale and Kirkby, house visiting, preaching, baptising, distributing Communion, and sharing in a small way in presbytery life.[15]

All the students enjoyed the pastoral experience gained through these activities, though there was also comment that there was not enough co-ordination between this pastoral work and the academic side of the training, and that it would be rewarding to have parish clergy visiting the college formally as part of that training. It was not so much the details of the pastoral work carried out by each year of students that were important as the overall break with the age-old form of training in which pastoral theology had been devoid of any practical element, apart from a knowledge of the rubrics of the Mass and administering the sacraments, limited instruction in preaching techniques and taking a Sunday School session at nearby St Teresa's. It would be difficult to exaggerate the psychological impact of the new approach, soon to be taken for granted, for those (both students and staff) brought up to believe that the isolated seminary training had provided all that the young priest needed; it was a change demanding serious re-orientation. Perhaps a minor sign of the effects of these changes was the decline in some of the societies that had been so flourishing a part of life in the Upper House. By 1967 the Legion of Mary was in decline, with only one active group; the *Magazine* report claimed that several students had realised that its particular spirituality 'was not relevant', despite their having more liberty under the new regime to work with outside members in Manchester and Liverpool. There was no Legion report in the 1969 issue of the *Magazine*.

The various societies had been proof of a strong interest in social concerns among the students, although for much of the time that

interest had necessarily been largely theoretical. The new regime encouraged a more practical involvement and an outstanding example of this was the work of students with regard to Northern Ireland. This initiative dated from the early 1970s and resulted in the setting up of the Northern Ireland Children's Holiday Association in 1972. This helped to fund and organise joint holidays in Donegal for children from both communities in Northern Ireland. Additional funding for the work came from St John's Seminary, Wonersh, which took over the entire scheme when Upholland closed in 1975; the work is still ongoing (in 2017).[16]

At the same time as the academic changes were being introduced, a new disciplinary regime was announced. According to the *Magazine* in 1967, the 'many and sweeping changes regarding discipline', like those in the academic sphere, were aimed at giving more responsibility to the students, to enable them to develop a greater sense of personal commitment and dedication and so make them 'better equipped to face present-day problems'. As with the academic changes, in February 1968 there was an official document outlining the disciplinary changes (produced by Fr John Gaine, senior prefect of discipline). This also began by laying down a guiding principle:

> To replace a system of detailed rules and general surveillance by one in which the emphasis is laid on a high standard of practice and personal responsibility assisted by individual guidance; rules to be concerned with positive formation and public order.[17]

While the document made clear that the prefect of discipline retained his overall traditional role, as did the student dean and the 'Social Circle', a major innovation was to ask the deacons to accept special responsibility for the 'fraternal correction' of breaches of discipline and ultimately of reporting serious matters to the authorities. Each student should belong to a small group of five or six students (drawn from across the years), under a member of staff, to meet on days of recollection or more frequently, with the aim of discussing problems affecting the students' lives in 'an atmosphere of complete confidence'. There was, clearly, a positive move towards a greater

degree of self-development and spiritual direction, to help towards a fuller development of each student's capabilities, personal and pastoral.

The document went on to give details of how these principles would affect the daily life of the students. Among these may be noted, first of all, the removal of the daily study timetable, to be replaced by an insistence on punctuality for chapel services, meals and teaching sessions and the prompt handing-in of written assignments. Secondly, there would be no set 'lights out' time, though silence after night prayers would remain; during the day students could use radios or tape-recorders, but not TV, in their own rooms. Thirdly, bicycles could be used and access to local shops was allowed, but permission was still required for visits to cinemas, football matches, theatres and trips further afield; pubs were out of bounds but not cafés. Finally, there was the rather terse statement that no minor sanctions would be imposed.

It was never going to be easy to introduce such a major regime change, particularly for those who had experienced several years of heavy external regulation and 'keep the rules and the rules will keep you' attitude. It is not surprising that the writer in the *Magazine* added a cautionary note at the end of his article: in the year since the changes were introduced, not all the students had shown the responsibility expected of them by the new regime; more time and experience would be needed to see what, if anything, was wrong and how it could be corrected. Upholland, of course, was not the only college to experience the sometimes disturbing effects of radical change; indeed, Cardinal Heenan claimed that all the English seminaries at the time were 'undergoing a period of turmoil', leading, amongst other things, to an unusually large loss of students.[18]

The disciplinary regime continued to change as new approaches developed; some were discarded, others developed beyond their initiators' imaginings. Staff/student discussion groups and 'teach-ins' became a regular feature; what had seemed novel and even revolutionary became the accepted. After one such teach-in in October 1969, the diary reported the rector's telling comment that he

had heard nothing new. It seems to have taken until 1974 for the final details to be decided; the long-awaited new regime was formally launched by Mgr Dalton (rector since March, 1974) in September that year. The timing was ironic in that the college was to close as a senior seminary at the end of that academic year.

It seemed that, at long last, the issue of individual spiritual guidance was being addressed positively. In this context it is worth noting that at their meeting in April 1968, the rectors of the English seminaries issued strongly worded recommendations on the role of spiritual directors. Each seminary should have a resident spiritual director who had received training geared to the needs of the pastoral clergy and who was constantly available for consultation by individual students. He would also be responsible for giving group seminars and conferences. Individual students would be free to choose a different spiritual director and it was a responsibility of the rector to ensure that each student had, and consulted, a personal director. The rectors went on to stress the burden that lay on the spiritual directors to ensure the proper spiritual development of the student, as well as a proper attitude to other aspects of seminary life such as study, recreation, pastoral work and even health.[19]

The Liturgy

Liturgical life had also changed. A dialogue Mass had been introduced (still in Latin, of course) for the community's early morning celebration in 1957. In the *Magazine* the diarist noted that in October 1964 the practice began of having the Epistle and Gospel at the principal Low Mass read in English by one of the deacons. Twelve months later, in November 1965, it noted that the 'full liturgical changes' came into force on the First Sunday of Advent. As was only fitting for such a fundamental shift in the liturgical life of the college, there had been by way of consultation a special conference 'to end all conferences'. In future there was to be only one Mass on Sundays, with a sermon. The daily community Low Mass would be in English and on special occasions (e.g. Ember Days) this would be accompanied by the singing of hymns and psalms instead of the traditional High Mass. Rather surprisingly,

perhaps, on Christmas Day there was no High Mass, just a Low Mass accompanied by singing and, for the first time, concelebrated; the diarist added that this was 'an event which was welcomed in many quarters'. At this distance in time it is difficult to realise the excitement, and in some cases apprehension, roused by such changes to the liturgy, the centre of the spiritual life of the seminary.

As we have seen, Fr Kevin Snape had succeeded Mgr Turner as choirmaster in 1958. He faced the problem of adapting a long and successful tradition in the light of modern liturgical thinking, and of finding a suitable balance to ease the transition. The annual Schola notes in the *Magazine* regularly praised him for his hard work, patience and initiative; this last included the novelty of arranging trips to outside events 'of interest to the choir'. The 1964 report mentioned his introduction of what it called 'relatively new modern music': George Malcolm's *Missa ad Praesepe*, Douglas Mews' *Missa Festiva* and Hermann Schroeder's *Credo* (from his *Missa Gregoriana*). Also that year, some of the junior members of the choir were chosen to sing at a performance of Britten's *War Requiem* at the Liverpool Philharmonic Hall – tribute, surely, to Fr Snape's work on the younger voices. The following year, the report raised an issue that, it claimed, was causing great trepidation in many 'church-musical breasts'. What impact would the Liturgical Constitution of Vatican II have on church music and in particular on the college's long and prominent tradition of the *Schola Cantorum*? Surely, he claimed, the contemporary fad of attaching 'irrelevant' to any custom more than ten years old would apply here; there could no longer be any place for the beauties of Palestrina or Vittoria, and Plainsong itself could not be long in becoming little more than a memory or the specialism of musicologists.

The writer continued that not all, in fact, would be lost: it was becoming clear that the position of the choir would be even more important in the new liturgies than it used to be, as long as it were seen in the context of the whole assembly rather than as a group of experts engaged 'in a concert to God'. The number of High Masses slowly reduced in favour of sung concelebrated Low Masses, and by 1966 the reporter was noting 'a sore point': the Schola had reduced

the number of polyphonic Masses to encourage more congregational singing, but often there had been little response and most seemed to find the chant a 'bore'; he did not suggest a remedy for this sad development. At the same time, new motets by Mews and Byrd had been added to the repertoire.

The first Sunday High Mass in English seems to have been celebrated in July 1967 and for the first time the Christmas office that year was also in English. There was some concern about singing the Gelineau psalms in English, and critics thought that these tended to produce a certain artificiality; overall, however, the Schola still sang with 'enthusiasm and confidence' and Fr Snape was praised for his tireless search for 'good' hymns. A year later, the 1968 *Magazine* mentioned a side-effect of the liturgical changes. As English sung Masses were replacing former celebrations, with the result that fewer motets were being sung, some students wondered why the Schola still sat separately from the main body of the congregation. In its justification, it was argued that the congregation still needed leading and on important occasions the Schola could tackle music beyond the ability of the congregation. Whether the critics found this justification convincing is not clear. The Schola had for so long been the foundation of the college's sung liturgy, and plain chant so much a part of its repertoire, that it was difficult for many to think of the two separately. The Holy Week singing of Tenebrae in English, using the Bevenot psalms, was truly noteworthy that same year (even though the Lamentations and Responsories remained in Latin), as was the new practice of singing the new form of Sunday Vespers in English. Surely a milestone of sorts was passed when in March 1974 the principal Sunday Mass was a folk Mass in English, with instrumental backing provided by the college's 'Logos' group and 'vocal backing' from a group of students.[20]

The college continued to broadcast liturgical ceremonies from time to time. In March 1960 the BBC broadcast vespers from the chapel on the Home Service and in November a Mass for its Overseas Service. On Palm Sunday, 26 March 1962, High Mass with the solemn singing of the Passion was broadcast, and two years later, in January 1964, the college sang vespers on the BBC Home Service,

and again in June 1967, this time with a *Magnificat* specially composed for the occasion by William Tamblyn. In addition, ITV televised a concelebrated Mass in 1967, at which Fr Worden preached.[21]

The Junior Regime

The later 1960s saw further developments in the junior seminary, outside the academic sphere. There were key changes to the regime: Christmas Day and half-term holidays were spent at home and the introduction of parents' days ended the former total exclusion of families from their sons' schooling. This development culminated in 1971 with a decision to invite parents to visit their sons at three or four intervals during a term on a Saturday or a Sunday. Parents could either spend the time (six and a half hours on a Saturday, five and a half on a Sunday) in the college or take their sons out or even home. The aim was to increase the contact between home and school because the authorities believed it would help the boys 'realize the ideal which brought them to College'. At the same time, the rector decided that the Lower Line should attend the Holy Week services in their home parishes instead of at the college and so would begin their Easter holidays on the Wednesday of Holy Week – a truly striking break with tradition.[22]

Other changes, less obviously momentous in themselves, were nevertheless heralding a key transformation. More and more it seemed that students were regarding themselves as 'ordinary' students, on a par with those from other Catholic boarding schools up and down the country. One example here was the launching of a branch of the Young Christian Student movement in the Higher Line in 1968; there were two groups in Poetry and Rhetoric and four in Grammar and Syntax. Members were involved in national study weeks: a report in the *Magazine* for 1969 mentioned students from the Higher Line attending three of these that year, in Carlisle, on 'Leadership and Ecumenism'; at Belmont Abbey, on 'Student Power', and in Manchester, on 'Education and Examinations'. As a report in the same issue of the *Magazine* put it, they were starting to 'open out and take on projects'. They organised a sponsored student

walk from Manchester to Liverpool and raised over £400 for the Liverpool Simon Community. They were also involved in running the Wigan Oxfam shop on Saturday afternoons (interestingly, in the context of change, it was stated that this commitment had lost some of its popularity because it became easier for students to attend football matches.). Local 'area days' involved Catholic and non-Catholic students; three sixth-form days involved fifteen local schools.

Internally, a Higher Line Council was established in 1969 and was regarded 'as absolutely necessary for any school that believes in student participation', drawing the Line together and putting an end to 'a period of inactivity' – the council had been partly responsible for the decision to increase parental visits mentioned above. Much more importantly, after finishing their A-levels, many students went on to some form of external higher or further education, instead of progressing automatically to the senior seminary – universities, technical colleges, the Liverpool College of Commerce and so on. The initiative for these changes came largely from junior members of staff who had themselves been through the traditional system; they were not revolutionaries, but they did believe that *aggiornamento* had to be more than a catch phrase.[23]

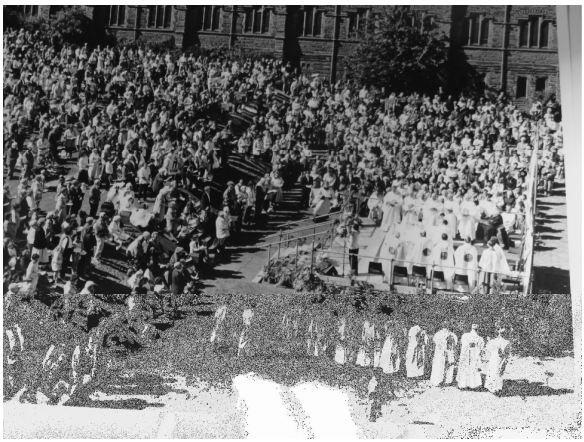

Fig. 22: Celebration of Mass in the quadrangle, 'open to the public'

Notes

[1] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/53. The Serra Society: an international lay organisation whose aim is to foster vocations to the priesthood and religious life.
[2] Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Council* (London, 1984), pp. 403-5; AAW, Bishops' Meetings, *Acta*, 1903-77, May 1962.
[3] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/51, Heenan to Ushaw, 28 June 1962.
[4] Ibid., A/52, Heenan to Ushaw, 16 July 1962; Author's correspondence with J. J. Gaine, May 2017, on Upholland; Williams, *Oscott,* p. 116; Finnegan, pp. 318-20, 325.
[5] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S5 VIII D/1, Heenan to Breen, November 1960 (n.d.); *Magazine,* 1960, pp. 14-16.
[6] Heenan to Breen, p. 3.
[7] Heenan to Breen, p. 2; Mark Vickers, *By the Thames Divided: Cardinal Bourne in Southwark and Westminster* (Leominster, 2013).
[8] John Short, 'The New Wing', *Magazine,* 1965, pp. 10-16, with pictures; Finnegan, p. 324.
[9] AAL, SJC, S4 I A/27.
[10] *Magazine,* 1960s, passim; 1961, p. 23.
[11] AAL, Godfrey/Heenan, S4 I A/65.
[12] AAL, SJC, S5 V D/6 HMI Report, 1-5 February 1965; Fr J. Austin, 'Farewell', *Magazine,* 1975, pp. 5-6.
[13] AAL, SJC, S5 VI B/13, referencing the Second Vatican Council's decree *Optatam totius* on priestly formation, §11, in W. M. Abbott SJ (ed.), *The Documents of Vatican II* (London, 1966), pp. 447-8.
[14] Abbott, §17, p. 453.
[15] *Magazine,* 1968, pp. 30-38.
[16] AAL, SJC, S6 X E/7; Finnegan, p. 396.
[17] AAL, SJC, S5 VI B/14, February 1968.
[18] *Magazine,* 1967, p. 14; Nicholas Schofield, *The History of St Edmund's College* (Ware, 2013), p. 162.
[19] AAW, HE1/S10, 'Seminary Training 1964-74'.
[20] *Magazine*, 1966-68, passim; 1975, p. 13.
[21] Ibid.
[22] AAL, SJC, S5 VI, B/21, 23: Fr J. Butchard, School Prefect, to parents, 2 April and 1 May 1971.
[23] *Magazine*, passim; author's correspondence with former members of staff and students.

Chapter 7

University Links

Opening Moves

The changes outlined in the previous chapter, proposed and actual, were not merely internal and disciplinary, but also structural; again, they pre-dated the Second Vatican Council. As early as the 1950s, Fr Gordon Wheeler (later Bishop of Leeds), while chaplain to the University of London, had argued for much closer links between the seminaries and the universities; otherwise, he wrote, seminary education would be 'incomplete'.[1]

Later, in 1963, the hierarchy asked Archbishop Beck to set up a committee to look into the relations between the English seminaries and the universities. He decided to do this through the Conference of Catholic University Teachers. The committee's membership consisted mainly of university staff: Professor Armstrong, Professor Beales, Mr T Potts and Mr J Gosling; the sole priest was Fr Edward Sillem, who had taught philosophy at Wonersh. They issued a draft report in July 1964: 'Preparatory Draft of a Memorandum considering the Seminaries and the British (or non-Catholic) Universities'.[2]

It was a long document (fourteen typed pages) and what strikes the modern reader is not so much its detailed suggestions as its general attitude to the seminaries: despite the many changes that had taken place over the previous century in British universities, the intellectual isolation in which the seminaries had existed during that time had persisted until the 1960s:

> . . . the Seminaries have maintained unimpaired their best traditions, many of which have been gradually adapted to modern conditions of life. But, not unnaturally, the one to which they cling with the utmost tenacity is that of their own independence of the British Universities in all matters philosophical and theological.

> As a consequence independence has now become practically equivalent to a self-imposed policy of educational isolation desired for its own sake.[3]

Elsewhere, the memorandum spoke of two 'separate and independent cultures' developing in English Catholicism, one predominantly clerical and the other predominantly lay, as more and more English Catholics attended universities and were part of a society increasingly affected by the secular university world. There was, it continued, a growing gulf between the two, which could not be in the interests of the Church in the modern world, and which was likely to widen if the seminaries maintained their traditional approach to the training of the clergy, no matter how justified that approach may have been in the past. The memorandum's practical suggestions (including an end to the continental-style lecture system and the introduction of a tutorial and essay system) were aimed at maintaining the independence of the episcopal colleges while helping to resolve the problem of the 'two cultures', that is, of the universities and the seminaries, a problem that needed a thorough investigation directed by the bishops themselves.

Archbishop Beck sent the report to Cardinal Heenan, asking for it to be discussed by the hierarchy. At the same time he gave his own reactions to it: parts of it he thought unbalanced (particularly on the teaching of philosophy), but other sections were 'a genuine attempt to make positive and constructive proposals'. Since the well-being of the Church in England and Wales, he added, depended on the training and quality of the clergy, he felt the document merited careful attention.[4]

The bishops discussed it at some length in November 1964 while they were in Rome for the Council. Their response was not unsympathetic, though they noted that there would be practical difficulties in, say, adopting a tutorial system that would demand a considerably increased number of members of staff; on the other hand they welcomed a suggestion that practical pastoral work be included in the curriculum. Their conclusions were rather bland, though that surely was understandable in the circumstances: they stated that the authors of the draft should be thanked for their work

and assured that the issue of seminary education was under review by the bishops; a broader-based committee, including at least the seminary rectors, should look into the whole question after the views of diocesan clergy and seminary staff (at home and abroad) had been gathered.[5]

Unsurprisingly, the bishops' response made no reference to any consultation of the laity in these matters. Yet the increasing number of Catholic graduates and university staff, along with the increasing number of ecumenical contacts (even if still 'unofficial'), meant that the context in which these discussions were taking place was quite different from that which had existed even five years previously. As an example of these changes, a symposium held at Downside in April 1963 resulted in a book called *Theology and the University*, a collection of papers by Catholic and non-Catholic clergy and laity, prefaced by the statement:

> Theology can choose: it can remain dead and neglected or take the pressure of the times and live; but if it chooses life it has need of three things: a university setting, lay participation and the ecumenical dialogue.[6]

An accompanying article, by the Rev. Charles Davis, stressed the danger of isolation if English Catholic theology continued to be confined to the seminaries. Theology, he argued, could not develop if restrained to the utilitarian purpose of training future priests, for it would remain 'clerical and Latinized', based on a text-book approach of proving theses (most of them out-of-date and not serving contemporary needs) and using scripture mainly as an 'armoury of proof-texts'. It was not surprising, Davis continued, that such theology was largely ignored outside the seminaries. It is noteworthy that he was chosen to lead a study week-end at Upholland in February 1964, on the theme 'The Layman', which the *Magazine* diarist called 'A Feast of Theology'.[7]

Whether as a result of these discussions or not, a meeting of seminary staff and Catholic university teachers took place at Upholland in July 1965. Among those attending were Thomas Worden, Charles Davis, Brian Wicker, Michael Richards and John McHugh. The main suggestion of the meeting was that a three-day

summer school for seminary students should be held, to be run on a seminar model by Catholic university staff. The aim, presumably, was to introduce the students to a new way of learning that was being introduced gradually in various seminaries. At the same time, however, more far-reaching proposals were being made that, if implemented, would mean the end of the traditional seminary training altogether.[8]

Radical Proposals

After the Council had closed in December 1965 the movement for change had accelerated and we have seen how the internal regimes in both the School and the Upper House at Upholland had altered. The atmosphere seemed favourable to those who wished to make even more adventurous changes. As far as Upholland was concerned, the lead here was taken by Fr Thomas Worden, prefect of studies in the Senior House. Worden had been an invited peritus (expert) at Vatican II. A man with a mission and an inspiring vision, he approached both Lancaster and Manchester Universities early in 1967 to see what links could be established between them and Upholland. At first he seemed to favour Lancaster, as offering a wider range of theological study in its Religious Studies programme, whereas he thought Manchester was over-biblical in its approach. He received a surprisingly warm reception from both institutions: Professor Ninian Smart of Lancaster said he would be delighted to help and had often regretted the lack of links between the university and Catholic institutions and theologians, while Worden explained how the seminary training was changing from a lecture-based system to a more English type of tutorial system. There were, however, two major obstacles to developing links with Smart's department: the distance between the two institutions and the fact that Lancaster offered only full degree courses, which many of the seminarians would not be qualified for. Those particular links did not develop any further. Canon Preston of Manchester was equally enthusiastic, visiting Upholland soon afterwards and meeting staff and students there.[9]

Worden wrote to Archbishop Beck in January 1967 to say that students who came to study at the age of eighteen did not want to give up their chance of studying for a degree, to which the archbishop replied that he understood the problem but could not see any general way out of it. Eventually, several months later, after a further letter from Worden stressing the urgency of the situation, the archbishop agreed to have the matter discussed by the college governors. In a detailed discussion paper, Worden argued the case for six proposals:

> 1. The seminarian should have experience of university education at undergraduate level.
> 2. The candidate for the priesthood should go to the university after a period of special preparation.
> 3. The seminarian's university education should be at least partly theological.
> 4. Experience of university education is necessary for all candidates.
> 5. Formal application should be made as soon as possible to the University of Manchester for the status of Recognised College.
> 6. The Church should make a contribution to theology in British universities.[10]

The first of these proposals was the foundation of the others and it is worth looking at Worden's case for it in some detail. Basically, he argued (as the former draft memorandum had done in 1964) that the pattern of British society and its educational needs had been changing and that that change would only accelerate in the immediate future. Educated people were now expected to have studied at university level and if a priest had not experienced this there was a fear that he would be alienated to some extent from society. Moreover, the seminarian and his family faced an increasing sense of isolation and inferiority: it was increasingly the case that he belonged to a circle of family and friends in which university education was taken for granted. At school his education had conformed to the patterns and standards common to the country; now as a seminarian he was to be completely isolated from those patterns

and his contemporaries. Worden faced the obvious counter-argument that a would-be seminarian might, if qualified, go on to university from school, and only then enter a seminary; rather weakly, perhaps, he argued that that would be a 'wasted opportunity from the point of view of his training for the priesthood'. The years between 19 and 22 were, he claimed, particularly important in a young person's development and provided the best opportunity for 'establishing a sense of commitment to the priesthood'. That 'sense of commitment' would be fostered by a year's intensive spiritual formation between school and university, which would also enable him to face the challenges of studying in the pluralist environment of a university.

The document before the Governors went on to argue that the university course should provide, at the very least, a part of the seminarian's theological training, as long as such studies were 'supervised and safeguarded' by Catholic tutors who would be theologians and priests. The experience of studying theology in a non-denominational setting would, it was claimed, enable the future priest to accomplish certain aspects of his mission. One might ask, why Manchester? First of all, the university offered a range of courses at degree, diploma and certificate level, to suit the academic abilities of the seminarians while still offering the advantages of participation in university life. Secondly, there was every indication (admittedly informal and unofficial) that Upholland would be granted the status of Registered College, with its students attending a proportion of their courses in the university itself.

Finally, Worden broadened his case by making a heartfelt appeal for the Church not to continue to neglect an important part of its mission: it was deplorable, he claimed, that the Church which was increasingly being recognised by all other churches as possessing 'the richest and most vital theology', should make no contribution to, and have very little influence on, the theology of British universities. As he was to write later:

> It is irresponsible to complain about the unenlightened and the false attitudes which underlie policies and procedures, if we make little or no effort to share the light of the Gospel with those who initiate them.[11]

So there were, in effect, two sides to his vision: the responsibility of the Church in England to accept and develop its role in the fields of higher education, and, secondly, to offer its seminary students an education that would be recognisably 'higher education' in the minds of the society in which they would live and minister. In a heartfelt passage, he put the second part of his case as strongly as possible:

> Are there sufficiently serious reasons for continuing to require of the candidate for the priesthood the sacrificing of this opportunity (of a university education), the accepting of an isolation from his contemporaries during a particularly crucial period of his life, and the willingness to face his future work in a society which will increasingly question his qualifications for the work? . . . Education for the priesthood would seem to demand . . . a sharing to the full of the educational experience of those whose influence . . . grows constantly greater, in order that the priest may understand and sympathise with the people he is to serve.[12]

He was certain that changes would have to be made in the seminary system, however complex the problems of making the changes might be; it was inevitable in the long run, but 'things done in the long run are usually done grudgingly, without the positive determination and enthusiasm needed for anything worth doing'.

On the admittedly difficult question of residence in Manchester, an imaginative proposal had already been made. This involved the planned re-development of Hartley Victoria College, the Methodist Training College that was already a Recognised College of the university. Its authorities were planning to rebuild and hoped to be joined by two Anglican colleges; the site was large enough for Catholic extensions to be added, in so far as separate facilities would be required. It would have been a genuine ecumenical solution. There was obviously a reluctance on the part of some of the Catholic authorities about 'losing' their students for two or three years; as was pointed out, training for the priesthood involved far more than academic training. On the other hand, if seminary students only

attended for lectures and missed out on the social and communal life of university students, could they be said to be having a 'university experience'?

The Upholland Governors reacted cautiously but not negatively to all these ideas. Their caution was strengthened when they realised that some sort of house of studies in Manchester would be necessary, rather than a daily commute from Upholland. The practical question of finance was never far away from these deliberations. In the end the archbishop decided in March 1968, after meeting with Canon Preston and a second time with representatives of the theology faculty, that while it might be desirable for a few students to take the Certificate in Biblical Knowledge and the Certificate in Theology (involving attendance for an hour or so a week at the university for a year), any affiliation of the college to the university would be out of the question, at least in the immediate future. The overwhelming reasons seemed to be joint geographical-financial problems, but it is not clear how far these were genuine and how far they were welcomed by some as an excuse. As a member of the Upholland staff (Fr Kelly) put it in a written comment to the archbishop, if the links were genuinely believed to be desirable, then a positive approach to overcoming the practical problems was possible; if the links were only believed in half-heartedly or as a token, the practical problems would become a major inhibiting factor. In the end nothing further was done to provide a 'university experience' for Upholland students.[13]

One minor change that did result from the discussions was the recognition by the University of Manchester that the Roman qualification of STL (the Licentiate of Sacred Theology), gained after study at the Gregorian University in Rome, was equivalent to a first degree. Priests with this qualification could, therefore, be admitted to post-graduate courses of study. One beneficiary of this system was Fr (now Cardinal) Vincent Nichols who, after ordination for the archdiocese in Rome in 1969 and at the instigation of Fr Worden, undertook a two-year diploma course in the Faculty of Theology at Manchester.[14]

In the context of these discussions and decisions it is of interest to read what the rectors of the English seminaries decided at their meeting in 1968. It was very unusual in England, they stated, to have any breaks - they used the French *étage* - in the period of seminary training, and any such break was normally unacceptable. They were supportive of the idea of changing the traditional six-year structure, but only in terms of making the first year an introductory one to test students' commitment and to lay proper spiritual foundations, and giving consideration to the idea of all students (but especially the deacons) spending part of their course living in a presbytery.[15]

Clearly, there was no room in such a structure for a period spent in a university. The idea was not dead, however, and as we shall see it became an integral part of the proposals made by a committee set up by Archbishop Beck in 1971 and which reported in May 1972. In the end, the matter was overtaken by the move of the senior seminary from Upholland to Ushaw, where external links were established with the University of Durham in the form of a Certificate in Theology (launched in 1978 for a very small number of students), but with nothing like the hugely fundamental changes envisaged by Fr Worden and some of the Upholland staff.[16]

Embracing Change

Meanwhile, while these major changes were being discussed, what might be called the spirit of Vatican II had been diffusing slowly through the senior seminary at Upholland. One sign of this was that the traditional isolation was giving way to involvement in external groupings and events. Attendance at the national Clerical Students' Conference at Hawksyard Priory in 1965, for example, involved students in discussions about the role of the priest in a godless society; one of the papers was given by Terry Eagleton. Upholland students undertook the organisation of the following year's conference at Spode House, when the theme was 'The Priest and the Laity'. For the first time, Anglican, Methodist and Church of Ireland representatives attended, and speakers included Archbishop Dwyer, Fr Laurence Bright OP and Dom Sebastian Moore OSB. Also in 1966, students from Upholland attended the Student

Christian Movement conference at Swanwick - Upholland was the only English diocesan seminary to be represented. The theme was 'The Shape of the Ministry'; as important as the papers and discussions was the ecumenical nature of the enterprise: as the report in the *Magazine* quoted, 'Never before in the United Kingdom has such a widely representative gathering of theological students been held'. As well as these national events, local involvement was also growing: attendance at an Open Day at Liverpool University in May 1965 was noted in the *Magazine* as being the first occasion when the senior students wore 'civvies' (at least, said the diarist, this avoided the impression of a Vatican takeover). Later that year students attended the Catholic chaplaincy in Liverpool for evening Mass followed by discussion and informal contacts with the university students. For the first time, the Senior House attended the annual Academic Mass celebrated by the archbishop in the cathedral in November 1967.

That year had also seen an even greater change: the new priests had not been ordained in the college chapel but in the cathedral in Liverpool – allowing more lay people to participate in the event but depriving the students of what had been one of the highlights of their year. Finally, it may be noted that the *Magazine* diarist noted with suitable elation that on 23 December that year all the students went home for Christmas Day 'for the first time'.

Liturgical changes continued, in line with those being introduced throughout the Church. The diarist commented on the appearance of a Presidential Chair in the sanctuary (with the odd comment, 'That it should have come to this'); more importantly, a concelebrated low Mass on Easter Sunday replaced the usual solemn celebration. As we have seen, Fr Worden, as prefect of studies, had introduced a radically new academic system in February 1966, what the diarist that year termed 'The New Age' and summed up, inadequately, as 'fewer lectures, more private study with seminars and tutorials to offer guidance'. There was much more to it than that, as an article in the 1967 *Magazine* made clear. Also, it was a revolution in its own right, and indicative of much that was changing, when the parents of the cast attended a production of *Pygmalion* by the Upper House in

November 1968. The evening included a buffet supper in the senior common room.

Overall, as has been said earlier, it is difficult to realise at this distance in time the impact of these changes, often apparently minor in themselves. They amounted to a revolutionary regime change, resulting in a senior seminary that would have been unrecognisable to the hundreds of students (and almost all the staff) who had passed along its corridors in the previous eighty years.[17]

Fr Worden had been right to highlight the changes in Catholic society, although he may have over-played them in making the case for university training as part of priestly training. Obviously, it would have been simplistic to blame the problems facing the Church in England and Wales on the lack of university education of the clergy compared with lay Catholics. One of the more obvious of those problems was a startling decline in that traditional measure of Catholic orthodoxy: attendance at Sunday Mass. In the mid-1960s, Sunday Mass attendances across the archdiocese totalled 255,000; by the early 1980s this was down to about 170,000, by the 1990s it was under 130,000 (and the fall continued: by 2000 it was below 95,000). Other changes in the Catholic body were less obvious but just as telling, as Catholics assimilated to a post-modern society that was beginning to question the importance, and even the desirability, of long-term commitment, while probing authority of every kind. Whatever the complex causes of such changes, traditional structures in the Church seemed to be losing their validity or importance; what would replace them? How would priestly ministry respond to the development of non-parochial comprehensive schools, the decline in home visiting, the end to long hours spent in the confessional, and the introduction of lay Eucharistic ministers (introduced in the archdiocese in 1973)? Collaboration between priests and committed lay people would be essential, but what did the people now expect of their priests? How involved should they be, for example, in social issues? It is outside the scope of this study to try to answer such questions, but the issues involved had to be a key element in the context of priestly formation for the 'real world' that the clergy would be working in.[18]

Notes

[1] Hagerty, pp. 61, 64; W. G. Wheeler, 'The Universities and the Seminaries', *The Dublin Review*, no. 472 (Winter, 1956-7), pp. 114-19.
[2] Finnegan, pp. 333-7.
[3] AAW, HE1/S10: 'Seminary Training 1964-74'.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., Meeting at the English College, Rome, 8 November 1964.
[6] J. Coulson (ed.), *Theology and the University, an ecumenical investigation* (London, 1964), p. 1.
[7] Charles Davis, 'Theology in Seminary Confinement', *The Downside Review* LXXXI (October, 1963), pp. 307-16.
[8] AAW, HE1/S10: 'Seminary Training 1964-74'.
[9] AAL, SJC, S5 VIII D/1-49, 'University Links and Professional Training'.
[10] Ibid., Paper to Governors, 24 September 1967.
[11] Revd. T. Worden, 'Seminaries and Universities', *Magazine*, 1969, pp. 15-18.
[12] Ibid., p. 16.
[13] AAW, HE1/S10, 'Seminary Training 1964-74', Archbishop Beck, 15 March 1968; 'Notes on a Meeting with Representatives . . . in the University of Manchester'; AAL, SJC, S5 VIII D/19.
[14] Vincent Nichols, *St John Fisher. Bishop and Theologian in Reformation and Controversy* (Stoke, 2011), pp. 11-12.
[15] AAW, HE1/S10: '"Seminary Training 1964-74": *De Relatione Institutionis Sacerdotalis*. A Report drawn up by the Rectors of the English Seminaries . . . at Oscott College, 5-6 April 1968', p. 17.
[16] John Lowe, 'Studies at Ushaw: Developments since Amalgamation', *Ushaw Magazine*, XCIII (no. 259, June 1982), pp. 2-15.
[17] *Magazine,* 1960s, passim.
[18] Doyle, *Mitres & Missions*, pp. 340-341, 375, 386-387; Michael P. Hornsby-Smith (ed.), *Catholics in England 1950-2000: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (London, 1999); Kelly, *From a Parish Base*, pp. 1-65.

Chapter 8

The 1970s: Confusing Times

Guidance on Modern Priestly Formation

While it was generally accepted that the seminaries could not remain the same after the revolutionary changes introduced after Vatican II into so many aspects of the life of the Church, there was a possibility that keen reformers would make sweeping changes in how priests should be trained, while the more cautious would adopt a drip-by-drip approach to reform that might satisfy neither liberals nor conservatives. The Synod of Bishops, meeting in Rome in 1967, decided that a safer approach would be to issue general guidelines on priestly training that could then be adapted by the hierarchies of each country to suit their specific circumstances. This resulted in 1970 in the publication of the *Ratio Fundamentalis Institutionis Sacerdotii* (English version, *Basic Norms for Priestly Formation*), a comprehensive seventy-page document that aimed at covering every aspect of priestly formation. It set out 'to preserve unity in variety' by laying down basic principles while allowing for (indeed, encouraging) national differences and interpretations. Its approach was, it claimed, 'deeply penetrated with the spirit of the Second Vatican Council' and offered all the guidance required by national episcopal conferences to prepare their own schemes for priestly training. The document is too long to be summarised here, but its common sense and sensitivity, and the break with the past, may be illustrated by two short extracts; the first deals with the relationship of the student with the world outside the seminary:

> Worthwhile contacts [should] be established between the Seminary and the world outside. A Seminary is not to be thought of as a hermitage, where the students feel forcibly cut off from the real world and society. . . This practical preparation for the apostolate [means that] the students be put to worthwhile work, not only with the

> diocesan clergy but also with the laity . . . [helping] to bring home clearly the dignity and the complementary character of the priesthood and the lay state.[1]

The second extract looks at a particular pastoral issue, that of the relationship between priests and women:

> Particular attention should be paid to the preparation of students for a correct and healthy relationship with women. This will involve instruction in the character and psychology of women as it is affected by the sort of life they lead and by their age. The purpose of this is to enable them as priests engaged in the pastoral ministry to undertake a more effective spiritual care of women and behave towards them with the normality and prudence that befit ministers of Christ.[2]

The English and Welsh bishops decided that they should issue a corresponding *Ratio Nationalis* that would be, basically, a translation of this document, amended or expanded to take account of local needs and traditions; their first draft was ready by April 1971. When they met later that year, however, they decided to withdraw this draft and to operate under the *Ratio Fundamentalis* until it became clearer through experience 'what particular rules' were needed. In the meantime, individual bishops with seminaries would discuss possible changes and make an annual detailed report to the hierarchy's commission on what was happening; once collated, these reports would be submitted to the Roman Congregation for Christian Education with the hierarchy's general comments. The Congregation's reply, however, insisted that the bishops had no choice in the matter: the Council's document *Optatam Totius* had ordered hierarchies to produce national guidelines and the English and Welsh bishops should get on with doing so; no one expected such documents to be perfect and they would be open to regular revision. The bishops accepted this judgement and re-instated their commission to work on a national scheme.[3]

It was a generally (and genuinely) confusing period as bishops, priests and people sought to interpret and live out the declarations of Vatican II as expressed in documents such as the above. A number of

reports were produced, some commissioned by Archbishop Beck and others by the Northern bishops (who included Beck, and the Bishop of Shrewsbury), yet others by unofficial groups and commentators, frequently overlapping in date and content. The confusion was evident in the discussions of the Liverpool Council of Clergy on issues raised by the reports and by episcopal statements, with voting on one occasion being 29 in favour, 2 against and 21 abstentions.

It would have been inconceivable that this atmosphere did not affect Upholland. Joint staff/student discussion groups were established to examine traditional seminary structures and to suggest modernisation programmes, some more radical than others. The earlier discussions about university links were an obvious part of this, but there was also a more basic critique of priestly training taking place. For example, a small working group (two students, John Cullen and Arthur Fitzgerald, and two members of the senior staff, Kevin Kelly and John O'Hara) was established at Upholland in 1970-1971 to report back to the full staff/student representative group. Its overall conclusion was that there was a fundamental flaw in the traditional system that would have to be addressed in any re-structuring. The principle behind this conclusion was that there was a key difference between a 'discerning' approach and a 'forming' approach to priestly training: the former, traditional, approach was based on the idea of the seminarian already possessing the attributes of a mini- or novice- priest, with the role of the institution being mainly to discern whether a student possessed these attributes; this led to a student culture (conscious and subconscious) of displaying the attributes thought most likely to impress the staff and hiding away any traits thought to be unacceptable.[4]

The alternative proposed by the report was a 'forming community', based on an open acknowledgement that neither staff nor students were already the people that God was calling them to be. The insights of the Council, that the Church itself was composed of a 'pilgrim people' on a journey towards what God wanted, were important here: the community had to help each of its members to develop and grow through self-awareness and openness into a closer approximation of what God had in mind for it. It is difficult to assess

how influential this report was, among all the other reports and discussion papers of the period; its conclusions were not accepted by all, even among keen reformers, some of whom thought it was too negative in its account of the traditional system; yet its ideas seem to have had a lasting effect and were certainly part of the context of a much fuller document published in 1972: the *Report on Priestly Formation*. This was the result of a decision by Archbishop Beck to set up a formal archdiocesan commission in April 1971 (about the time that the above working staff/student group was presenting its report) 'to consider the professional preparation and training of priests and to make recommendations'.

The Very Rev. Canon G. Walsh, VF, was invited to act as chairman and the following to serve as commission members: Fr. K. Nichols, MA, MEd, of Christ's College, Liverpool; Fr. V. Malone, BSc, FCP, chaplain to Liverpool University; Fr. W. Dalton, STL, Fr. J. J. Gaine, PhL, and Fr. T. Worden, STL, LSS of the Upholland senior staff, with Fr. F. Callon (Bursar, Upholland College) to act as secretary. The first meeting took place 11th May 1971 and after 32 sessions the commission concluded its work on 2 May 1972.

From the outset the commission concentrated on matters of principle, while admitting that practical considerations (mainly, the existence of a number of colleges) could not be ignored: 'we have to keep within the bounds of what we consider practicable, and to spell out our findings in concrete terms'. Regarding spiritual formation, it is interesting to see that the recommendations were broadly in line with what Archbishop Heenan had put forward in his 1960 report. Trained spiritual direction on an individual basis was essential 'as more personal decisions are required of the individual priest, and his moral and spiritual life needs to have strong roots in his own personality'. It was no longer adequate to rely on students' following a common regime, though a community life would still provide a very important element in student development. With regard to celibacy, the commission urged that this must be seen as a positive decision freely adopted by the aspirant, with steps being taken to avoid the necessary asceticism from leading to a suppressing or stunting of emotional development: the priest had to be able to form

effective relationships and his religious life should be marked by warmth and idealism, both of which should be fostered by the students' communal life.

It was when it turned to the issue of re-organising the six years of seminary training that the commission ran into the practical questions that they had stressed at the outset must not be avoided. In the end, they ignored the practical issues and put forward a radically different scheme of training, which would incorporate a period of study at a university, with the other three years split into separate sections. The influence of Fr Worden's idea of university links is evident in the final report. The commission's plan was for the student to spend a first year of initiation in Liverpool, while continuing (or starting) a secular occupation; this year would lay down spiritual foundations and introduce the student to theological study. This would be followed by three years at Manchester University, studying theology under Catholic tutors in a Catholic house of higher studies. Finally, there would be two years of pastoral and spiritual formation at Upholland. The report, interestingly, did not mention junior seminaries at all as part of priestly formation: the ideal age of entry to formal training and commitment was stated to be 18+, though it was important also to recruit older candidates who would follow a different pattern of training.

The Council of Clergy discussed the report at a meeting in June 1972. There was opposition to its findings from a small number of traditionalists led by Fr Frank Ripley (the high-priest of the certainties of a by-gone age), who argued for its total rejection on the grounds, interestingly enough, of its incompatibility with the statements of Vatican II on priestly formation. In the end, however, the report was accepted by 47 votes to 4 and recommended to the archbishop for urgent implementation.[5]

Practical Issues

Practical issues remained. Unfortunately, the geographical isolation that had been welcomed when the seminary had been established meant that Upholland was badly placed when it came to establishing links with universities or other places of higher

education: the University of Liverpool was the closest, but its statutes forbade it to have a theology or religious studies faculty. Lancaster was developing a name for its Religious Studies courses, while Manchester had a well-respected Theology Faculty, but neither was within daily commuting distance. Both Lancaster and Manchester had the added disadvantage of being in other dioceses, an important factor if change meant financial investment. The favoured institution, as we have seen, was Manchester, but finding a suitable house there was bound to involve expense and so the bishops were not supportive: they could not think of paying for yet another property.

More fundamentally, the general context was changing: as early as 1965 Archbishop Beck had given statistics in his Lenten Pastoral that underlined his basic concern about vocations. Based on the number of students in all the seminaries used by the archdiocese, and the fact that 40% of the working clergy had been ordained for 30 years or more, he forecast that there would be a shortage of 160 priests in fifteen years' time. His forecast was based on past figures: whereas between 1935 and 1949 there had been 221 ordinations for the archdiocese, between 1950 and 1964 there had been only 131, and that at a so-called 'golden period' of English Catholicism. Four years later, in 1969, he was equally pessimistic: there had been sixteen ordinations for the archdiocese in the previous two years, but 22 priests had died or retired, while there were seven new parishes requiring priests. The number of students in all the seminaries would, realistically, provide fewer than twelve priests per year for the next six years. The archbishop concluded that it could no longer be assumed that there would be enough priests to serve the spiritual needs of Catholics in the archdiocese.[6]

Junior Seminaries

By the late 1960s, the number of junior applicants was already falling drastically: in 1969 only 9 boys entered Underlow, compared with 27 in 1965 and 39 in 1961. The total number on roll in the School in 1962 had been 202, all but fourteen of them for Liverpool; this fell to 159 in 1965, all but four of them for Liverpool, and to 122

in 1969, including twelve non-Liverpool students. Over the same period, junior numbers at Ushaw fell from 265 to 167, nineteen of whom were lay-boys. The numbers at Underley, on the other hand, rose from 119 in 1962 to 152 in 1966 (mainly, it seems, because of the addition of a sixth form) before falling to 113 in 1969. The Junior Seminaries' Teachers' Conference, which included representatives of several small religious juniorates as well as the larger diocesan colleges, addressed this same issue and in 1970 recommended that steps should be taken to amalgamate in some way the junior seminaries in England and Wales. They made a number of suggestions for dealing with the marked decline in numbers: the amalgamation could be on a regional basis, leading to perhaps three or four colleges across the country, each with at least 400 students; or there could be a single national campus, with a number of diocesan and religious houses around a central teaching block; or more lay boys could be enrolled to boost numbers; or, finally, there might be only sixth-form colleges, or a single national one.[7]

With these concerns in mind, and while the commission was drawing up its report on senior seminary structures, a committee set up by the Northern bishops was discussing the future of junior seminaries and examining ways in which they might be re-organised. This committee comprised three members of staff from each of the three northern junior seminaries, Upholland, Underley and Ushaw, under the chairmanship of Mgr Kershaw (rector of Underley). Between them they had many years of teaching and counselling in the seminaries; almost all of them had themselves gone through the system as students. In the light of what was to happen in a very few years' time, it was ironic that the bishops insisted that any suggestions for amalgamation or re-organisation of the junior seminaries must not involve the 'abandonment of a senior seminary in the North-West of England'. Before writing their report the members of the committee consulted the vocations directors of the Northern dioceses and, drawing also on their own experience as junior seminary staff, wrote an interim letter to Archbishop Beck in November 1970. This raised a very fundamental issue that might seem to undermine their whole enterprise: would there be enough

students to make the future junior seminary (or seminaries) viable? They wrote:

> We have serious doubts whether any adequate number of Catholic parents would consider allowing or recommending their son to go to any projected Junior Seminary. . . A large majority of parents seems to feel that they have an important part to play in the education of their children between the ages 11-16. Even though there seems to be less parental opposition to Junior Seminary education after the age of 16, there is still considerable opposition on the part of both parents and schools to any extraordinary break in the continuity of a boy's education.[8]

The letter stressed that positive steps would have to be taken to address this opposition, otherwise members of staff, vocations directors and the parish clergy would find it extremely difficult to convince parents that 'any projected Junior Seminary was an acceptable form of training'.

It is of some interest that at the same time other bishops, perhaps influenced by the recommendations of the Teachers' Conference above, were expressing concerns about the viability of the junior system, at least in its current state. In 1970 Bishop Langton Fox, then auxiliary bishop in Menevia and formerly, for a very short period, a reforming rector of Wonersh, drew up plans for the future of the junior seminaries. Cardinal Heenan agreed to put these ideas to the hierarchy for discussion, but added that his own views had changed: personally he thought that the day of the junior seminary 'had gone', though he was not 'bigoted' about it. He preferred to leave boys at their local grammar schools until they had finished the sixth form because their vocation was 'more likely to be nurtured at home than at St Edmund's' (the Westminster junior seminary); the latter, he felt, had become virtually a Catholic public school where a vocation to the priesthood had 'little chance of survival'. This, he added, had not been his view when he had been in the North (where, as we have seen, he was responsible for enlarging the junior buildings and facilities at Upholland).[9]

Beck's reply to his committee has not been found, but it is safe to assume that he told it to carry on with its work as laid down by the Northern bishops. This they did, first of all, by laying down some 'underlying principles'. These may be summarised as follows. Academic standards in the new college must compare favourably in range and attainment with those in good outside schools; the age of entry should normally be 13+, since 11 was too young an age at which to leave home; numbers attending the college must be sufficient to provide viability and a full range of subjects – about 200 to 250 would be the minimum - frequent contact between pupils and parents was essential, as were normal social contacts with outside peer groups; pupils should not spend eleven or so years in one place, so senior and junior seminaries should be separated (the committee assumed this would mean there being no senior seminary at Upholland). Despite their stress on the viability of the new college as a school, members of the committee recognised, of course, that its purpose was different: 'to strengthen in its pupils the notion of Christian vocation in life' and to provide a 'positive direction towards the priesthood' proportionate to the boys' ages.

It is striking that the longest section of these 'underlying principles' (more than twice the length of any other single section) was devoted to the recurring issue of having lay boys and lay staff in the new institution. The committee thought mixing the two types of pupils would have advantages in terms of training for a Christian vocation in life and would 'broaden the social and cultural background of the school' (an interesting phrase in its own right). Somewhere between a 20% and 40% lay intake would ensure the advantages without making the School just another Catholic grammar school. However, some expressed concern about creating a school for the privileged and questioned whether priests should be involved in teaching in it. All agreed that at least some lay staff should be employed, to broaden the experience of the pupils and the range of subjects, and, of course, to ease the problem of providing sufficient priests.

The committee's proposed solutions were:

1. There should be one college at Upholland to serve the needs of the catchment areas of the current three northern junior seminaries.
2. The college would serve in principle for boys aged 13 – 18, with provision for entry at 11+ where local educational circumstances dictated.
3. The college would take in a number of boys as boarders who are not expressly Church students.
4. There would be no Senior Seminary at Upholland.[10]

It is important to note the reservations expressed by members of the committee to these proposals: no member of the committee was prepared to give them unqualified approval and, in particular, two key reservations were noted. The first concerned the number of students likely to attend such a college; recent reductions in applicants (termed 'severe' in relation to Ushaw) underlined the difficulties in making the new institution viable as a school.

More importantly, half the committee expressed doubts whether a junior seminary was the best way of training for the priesthood. This, the report claimed, reflected some opinion in the north at large, and certainly 'there are doubts – and on the part of some, serious doubts – among the staff of junior seminaries'. In the end, after a long report that looked in detail at the several options available for reorganisation and included a number of telling statistical tables, the committee urged the bishops to make the changes as soon as possible and emphasised the need to 'stimulate enthusiasm for the project' throughout the Catholic community. The committee's doubts remained unresolved, however: just before its final conclusion, it added a strongly worded note to the effect that it had not considered the option of doing away with the junior seminaries altogether because that had not been in its brief, but 'it was clear from their discussions that they had doubts whether the Junior Seminary was a correct way of training for the priesthood'. They stressed this even though since the mid-1960s, as we have seen, major changes had been made to the junior seminary at Upholland, all as ways of reducing the isolation of the junior seminarians and in effect making

the junior houses more akin to Catholic boarding schools (as Heenan had feared).

This report went to the archbishop in January 1971 and in March the Northern bishops accepted its principal finding that Upholland should be the only junior seminary in the North. At the same time, however, they claimed that the implication of the report was that there should be only one senior seminary in the North, at Ushaw. Beck said this should go to the Liverpool Council of Clergy for discussion. The staff at Upholland objected strongly: the archbishop when setting up the committee had stressed that anything decided about the junior seminaries would not affect the senior seminary at Upholland. Moreover, the report itself explicitly precluded the question of senior seminaries. Despite all this, the document was now becoming the basis of a discussion by the Council of Clergy that would involve the future of Upholland as a senior seminary. Matters were moving quickly, however, and in June the archbishop announced to his clergy that the Northern bishops were setting up a major new committee on the Professional Training of the Clergy. This committee met regularly between November 1971 and March 1972. In the end it failed to come up with an unanimous report: the Ushaw representatives issued a very long minority report.[11]

In April 1972 the archbishop and the heads of the three northern junior seminaries issued a statement about the practicalities of amalgamating their three junior seminaries at Upholland. The first phase would see the younger students (years 1 and 2) at Underley and the older ones (including at least the 5th form from Ushaw) at Upholland; this would begin in September 1972. The Ushaw junior house would close altogether in July 1973. The statement acknowledged that these changes would cause upset for some students, but promised to make every effort to ensure that no student made more than one change of place. Finally, the statement announced that the final decision about the amalgamation into one junior seminary at Upholland depended on what would be decided about the two senior seminaries. And so, by September 1972, 160 junior students were on roll at Upholland; this was expected to rise to 200 by September 1973 (not including those at Underley).[12]

Beck, in his 1972 report to Rome on the state of the archdiocese, raised these and related issues. He pointed out that while in the previous ten years eighty-six priests had been ordained for the archdiocese, in the last three of these there had been only seventeen. At the same time there had been sixteen defections; all but two of these had been granted official laicisation. The number of Liverpool students in the senior seminary was 42, in the junior about 120. The presence in one building of an amalgamated junior seminary and a senior seminary was, he reported, 'considered unsuitable by many, but [was] dictated by the presence and size of the existing buildings'. He added that there had been a noticeable rise in the number of applicants to the senior seminary 'of more mature years' and that the clergy believed this tendency would grow in the coming years.[13]

A New Rector

As members of staff at Upholland were absorbing the implications of these changes they were also being consulted about the appointment of a new rector. Mgr Sidney Breen had resigned in July 1972 'out of consideration for my successor', as he put it in a letter to the staff; his going, he said, was 'a decision of the head, not of the heart'. He went 'quietly' and staff were not informed until the day after he had left, and when some of them had already left for their summer break. Ordained in 1940 after ten years as a student at Upholland, he had served all but two years of his priestly life at the college, including a year teaching philosophy to the Beda students and nine years teaching it to Upholland students. He had been rector since 1958, a period of major changes, when, as an appreciation of him in the *Magazine* put it, it was tempting 'to mistake the new for the better and to abandon what was good because it was not new'. Under his guidance, the writer continued, Upholland survived a very difficult transitional period without major upset. By 1972 he probably felt he was not the man to lead the seminary down yet more unknown ways. To give him his due, whatever his own limitations, he put no obstacles in the way of, and even encouraged, the two strong reformers on the staff, Fr Worden in the Upper House, and Fr Cheetham in the School. The staff consultation that followed his

resignation led to the appointment as rector in October 1972 of Fr Thomas Worden, in so many ways the obvious choice and certainly the popular one. As we have seen, he was a leading reformer and key protagonist in the campaign to alter the senior seminary regime completely, as well as being a respected scholar in his own right. One may speculate how different things might have been if he had been appointed earlier. Very sadly, he died in May 1973, aged only 53. Mgr William Dalton succeeded him.[14]

The Headingley Statement

Despite the apparent solution of the junior seminary question in 1972, the situation was becoming more complicated. By May 1973 the bishops were questioning in a joint letter whether it would be possible to maintain two senior seminaries in the north and even whether the new junior seminary would survive. They were concerned mainly, it seems, with what might be called the economics of the situation: they had a number of large sites that were becoming more expensive to maintain at the same time as the number of applicants to the priesthood was declining. When the Liverpool Council of Clergy met to discuss the bishops' letter, some speakers claimed that the junior seminary was no longer acceptable in principle as a way of training; others showed its lack of success in practice: in 1972, only three students had been ordained who had been through the complete system, and that out of a starting cohort of 42; the corresponding figure for 1973 was four out of 48, and for 1974, it would be none out of 33. The main issue for the clergy, however, was the retention of Upholland as a senior seminary and the Council voted on a proposition to urge this on the bishops. Again, however, there was confusion: while only two voted against the proposition and 29 in favour, no fewer than 21 abstained.[15]

Hardly had the clergy voted when in June the bishops met again and issued what became known as the *Headingley Statement*. Its principal points were:

a. They remained convinced of the continuing need in the foreseeable future for a junior seminary in the north

of England, and re-affirmed their decision of May 1973 that Underley should close in July 1974.

b. They were convinced that, despite the manifold and cogent reasons for maintaining a senior seminary in the North-West and the North-East of England, only one could in fact be financially viable and capable of providing the strong priestly formation which the Church in the north required of its clergy.

c. They were agreed, after careful study of all the possibilities open to them, that the senior seminary should be Ushaw College and the junior seminary Upholland College.[16]

The bishops also wished it to be known that this reorganisation, although made for the foreseeable future, was not irrevocable. If it became evident that a more efficient and practicable use of available property were possible and advisable, they would not hesitate to make further decisions with regard to the places where the education of students for the priesthood was to be undertaken. Meanwhile, they appreciated to the full that a theological presence in the North-West of England was a matter of priority, and pledged themselves to support and to recommend to their clergy the establishment of such a presence by means of a centre for the further education of the clergy in the North-West, where the major proportion of the Catholic population and clergy lived and worked.

There was immediate opposition to this statement by the Liverpool clergy, the staff at Upholland and Archbishop Beck himself. But when the Northern bishops met in July at Ushaw and repeated their decision, Beck backed down and accepted, for the sake of episcopal unity, that Ushaw should be the only senior seminary serving the North of England. He left the meeting early to inform the Upholland staff of this decision and met with an angry storm of opposition such as few if any English bishops can have faced in modern times. The archbishop then reversed his decision and telephoned the meeting at Ushaw to say he could not accept the closure of Upholland. The only solution to the ensuing impasse was to appeal to Rome and the Northern bishops (and Shrewsbury) did so

in October, while Beck sent his detailed case in December, arguing, amongst other things, that since Upholland was a diocesan college, only he as the Ordinary had the authority to close it or keep it open.[17]

This last point was accepted by the Congregation for Catholic Education (the Roman body that included seminaries in its brief), but they urged the amalgamation for which, they claimed, there were strong economic reasons; better that such an amalgamation be properly planned now than forced later in the face of an emergency. Amalgamation would be of general benefit and, in the long run, might well avoid 'long range disadvantages' (unspecified) to the Liverpool Archdiocese itself. Upholland could become a centre for 'theological and pastoral post-ordination training', while a junior seminary there would ensure that priestly education was not lost altogether. Finally, the Congregation called for a 'spirit of self-sacrifice' on the part of the archdiocese.[18]

There was no sign of any such spirit as Beck and the Upholland governors set about demolishing the Congregation's case. First, the economics: they pointed out that the Congregation was plainly wrong in its allegation that the number of senior students at Upholland was declining; student numbers were in fact as high as they had been for twenty years, with seventy-five senior students. Moreover, this figure included a dozen or so new-style day-students from two Religious congregations (the Don Orione Fathers and the Sacred Heart Fathers) which had opened houses in the locality so that their students could attend Upholland for their philosophy and theology courses. They also argued that if the Congregation were concerned about the financial costs of running the college, then it was the junior seminary that should worry them most because it was the most expensive and most uneconomic section. To prove this last point, they showed that of the 139 students who had entered the junior seminary between 1958 and 1961, only 8 had been ordained at a cost of £23,000 each for the junior part of their course. On the other hand, between 1965 and 1968, 42 students had entered the senior seminary, of whom eleven had been ordained, at an average cost of just less than £4,000 each. Finally, on the economics of the proposals, they pointed out that since Upholland was cheaper to run

than Ushaw, it would be more sensible for any amalgamation to take place there, or to continue to run both senior houses. Furthermore, the governors queried how the presence of a considerably enlarged junior house in the college would allow for the development of a 'theological presence' of the sort promised by the Northern bishops.

Turning to the question of the junior seminary, the archbishop made the point that numbers were already declining at Upholland and that, increasingly, clergy and people, including the priests teaching there, were questioning the whole rationale for junior seminaries. Finally, to the Congregation's appeal to 'take the wider view' and adopt a 'spirit of sacrifice' as a matter of conscience and not in a partisan manner, Beck and the governors replied that they were truly concerned that the closure of the senior seminary at Upholland would reduce the number of vocations in the most populous Catholic diocese in England and Wales. In February 1974, the archbishop went to Rome to make the case for Upholland in person, urging the Congregation at least to delay for some time the implementation of any amalgamation.[19]

In its reply in April 1974, the Congregation refused to alter its decision but recommended that the bishops should consider Beck's suggestion of a delay. It also repeated that any decision to close the seminary was the archbishop's to take or refuse: its letter had no juridical status and it had no intention of putting pressure on him. The Northern bishops and Shrewsbury considered the matter again at the Low Week meeting the same month and stuck to their former decision that Upholland should lose its senior seminary and become the site of the single junior seminary for the north of England. Beck, reluctantly, gave in and an *ad clerum* and press release in May announced that the diocese had accepted the 'preference' of the Holy See for the Headingley agreement: Ushaw would be the amalgamated senior seminary, Upholland the amalgamated junior seminary and also, 'as desired by the Holy See', a Theological Institute supported by and serving the Northern dioceses and Shrewsbury. All this should be implemented as soon as possible and preferably by September 1975. Despite further attempts by Beck to delay matters, and a strongly-worded letter to the Northern bishops

from the senior students at Upholland, by June a working party to plan the details of the changes was meeting, and the last senior students left Upholland for Ushaw in September 1975.[20]

It was ironic that the closure came just as the long-discussed reform of the whole senior seminary system at Upholland was instigated under Mgr Dalton as rector. As we have seen, important changes had been taking place for some years (obvious examples were the introduction of practical pastoral work; a tutorial teaching system, and individual spiritual direction) and the old idea of the seminary as a *hortus conclusus* had already lost its credibility; but those changes had been piecemeal, too radical for some, too cautious for others. An article in the *Magazine* for 1975 (its cover carried the by-line 'The Final Issue') pointed to September 1974 as the official start of what it called the 'New Life-Style'. As this made clear, some of the changes involved might seem trivial (a later hour of rising in the morning, for example), but others were fundamental and geared to giving the student much greater personal responsibility in developing habits that would better serve the life of a priest on the mission. Doing away with early morning meditation in common, and providing regular personal spiritual direction and small group Eucharistic celebrations, were, perhaps, the most obvious outward signs of the move away from a traditional seminary regime and the acceptance of pastoral realities.[21]

The editorial in the same issue of the *Magazine* acknowledged another reality: having the two re-formed institutions, the senior and the junior seminaries, on the same site during a period of 'immense upheaval and uncertainty' had caused serious problems. On the whole, however, these problems had been met by a 'spirit of generosity, co-operation and mutual acceptance' by the staff of both institutions.

St Joseph's senior seminary at Upholland had lasted less than a century since its foundation in 1883, and less than fifty years since its rebirth and the massive extension to its buildings in the 1920s. Over the years it had contributed substantially to the number of priests ordained for the archdiocese: between 1940 and 1976, for example, the figures were 195 out of 357 (54.6%), a lower

percentage, perhaps, than might have been expected; the highest percentage had been in the 1960s, when it had risen to 64%. As we have seen, it had been slow to win the wholehearted support of the diocesan clergy in its early years, but as the proportion of diocesan priests trained there had risen it had won their support and loyalty. Without doubt its closure caused considerable upset and even bitterness, coming as it did after so much genuine consultation and discussion on the best way forward in the training of pastoral clergy: a sense of excitement turned into a sense of loss which was not eased by the nebulous idea of a theological institute, something that many suspected had been thought up in haste; certainly the commitment of some of the Northern bishops to it did not last very long.[22]

The short history of the Upholland Northern Institute (the name given to the proposed institute) will be dealt with later. Here it may just be said that Beck's fears about the co-existence of such an institute and a junior seminary on the same site were soon realised, as were those that he and most of his advisors had expressed about the contribution of junior seminaries in any form to priestly training. The latter fears showed an awareness of social and religious realities in the 1970s that neither the other Northern bishops nor the Roman authorities shared or, in the case of the bishops, wanted to admit.

A Junior Seminary for the North

So Upholland College entered its third stage, as a combined junior seminary for the north of England, without a senior seminary on site, but soon to be joined by the Upholland Northern Institute (or UNI). Both institutions came under Mgr Dalton as rector but in fact were quite separate entities, one under a head teacher, Fr Peter O'Neill (previously rector of the junior house at Ushaw), the other under a director, Fr Kevin Kelly (previously on the staff at Upholland). When Mgr Dalton left in 1982 his place was taken by Bishop John Rawsthorne, auxiliary bishop of Liverpool, with the title of President of Upholland; his was a purely titular role.

Meanwhile, a third general inspection by HMIs had taken place, in June 1974. Their reports on individual subject areas were detailed and balanced. It was evident that the School was in a state of flux,

awaiting the completion of new teaching and living facilities and the arrival of new full-time staff that would result from the amalgamation of the three junior seminaries. There were two particular areas of concern for the inspectors: echoing the previous report of 1965, they commented on the 'poor and indistinct quality' of informal speaking in class and hoped that the imminent introduction of drama as a subject would improve matters. Secondly, they thought the junior wash places were below standard and even 'scruffy' (cohorts of former pupils would have agreed; what had been built as a temporary stop-gap in the early 1920s had long passed their 'use-by' date). Interestingly, despite the changes already introduced to open up the college, the inspectors recommended more contact with outside schools in order to avoid the danger of isolation. Overall, however, they found the general atmosphere to be 'excellent' and the teaching approach 'liberal' (they did not elaborate on this).[23]

By September 1975, when the amalgamation was complete, the School had 216 students on roll, with a staff of 19 priests and 3 laymen; 19 of the students were lay boys. An article by Fr O'Neill was defensive in the face of criticism of the whole scheme, but also cautiously optimistic: he pointed out that in the previous three years forty students had proceeded to senior seminaries, even though they had been years of upheaval and some uncertainty. Current trends, he thought, indicated that about half of Rhetoric (the upper sixth) made applications to enter senior seminaries; of those who opted to go to university, very few continued their ecclesiastical studies afterwards and so this was not a recommended option. He was clearly worried about the academic standards of some of the students: not all could gain A-levels and so the senior seminaries should take into account 'less academic qualities' and the strength of their vocations, although all should have a 'reasonable standard of English' and a willingness to study.

In order to increase the involvement of the students' families in their sons' education, O'Neill claimed that there were Family Mass Days, Parents' Days, as well as invitations to sports days, concerts and plays, while the start and end of holidays ensured frequent

contact between the college and parents, so that usually 'a close liaison' was established. Another welcome change with the past was the development of links with outside schools and institutions and some limited social work. Interestingly, the students' parish priests were also to be involved, especially during vacations; they received half-yearly accounts of their students' progress.[24]

O'Neill wrote sensitively about the devotional life of the new college and the need to develop a balance between individual responsibility and communal obligation. His intention was to direct the sixth-formers more explicitly towards thinking of the priesthood and 'the majority of the students entering the sixth form should be reasonably sure of their vocation'; contacts with the senior seminary should be maintained, with two-way visits, while much was made of the beneficial presence of lay boys – they were to be seen 'as a help rather than a hindrance in furthering the cause of vocation'; they were not treated any differently from the ecclesiastical students. In reality, however, their recruitment seemed to be dependent on economics and the need to fill the number of places available. No matter how much the new St Joseph's might approximate to a secular Catholic boarding school, its head teacher had no doubts about its ultimate purpose: it was 'a specialised school with the special task of encouraging vocations to the priesthood'.

An article about the college in the *Guardian* in 1983, and a follow-up documentary by the BBC Everyman team, painted what has been described as 'a fine work of delicate hues and dim vistas'; the boys who were interviewed spoke well, but 'were set amidst the plaster statues and holy pictures of a past spirituality'.[25]

Despite the many changes and all the moves since the mid-1960s towards an opening-up of the junior seminary, it remained a closed community. It has become clear in recent years that such communities run the risk of enabling abusers to operate. At Upholland in the 1970s and 1980s there were two cases of child abuse by members of staff; one of the two priests involved was recently (2017) found guilty and is currently in prison; the other committed suicide before being brought to court.

The initial optimism of O'Neill and others about the new junior seminary in 1975 was based in part on an expected steady intake of students or even on a small annual increase; instead, there was a rapid decline. Four years later the number had fallen from 216 to 122, with only 12 new boys (including some lay students) entering from all seven Northern dioceses. What the committee had said in 1971 about parental opposition to junior seminaries in principle was being proved true. By 1986 there were 54 church students out of a total of only 82, a number that made any attempt to run a broad curriculum impossible. The Northern bishops accepted the inevitable and decided that the junior seminary should close altogether in the summer of 1987. After that it became a residential hostel, named St Joseph's House, for a very small number of students: they lived in under Fr (later Canon) Christopher Cunningham as clerical director, and attended the local Catholic sixth form college (St John Rigby) for their studies. By December 1987 there were only six of them, a number that a reasonably large house could have accommodated. St Joseph's House closed in 1992; its last student to be ordained, in 1996, was Fr Mark Madden.

This was the end of Upholland as a junior seminary, and the end of a long tradition in the English church, a 'noble and not unworthy heritage', as one historian has claimed. The optimism aroused by the expansion across all three northern junior seminaries in the early 1960s had given way to effective closure twenty years later. Why had the warnings of the 1970s been ignored? With hindsight it is easy to say that much closer attention should have been given to the advice of vocation directors, who had been working in parishes, in schools and across the Northern dioceses. The serious questions underlying the 1971 Report had not been addressed.[26]

In particular, one might ask why the authorities had failed to talk to parents, with whom they had been in touch more than ever before and who were increasingly doubtful about and even opposed to the idea of junior seminaries. Perhaps the college was too complacent in thinking it had found a renewed and valuable role in the training of priests for the modern church. It was not until the National Pastoral Congress of 1980 that the laity were formally involved in the

question of the training of their priests, and then only with reference to in-service training. Traditionally, following the old dictum that the laity were expected 'to pay, pray and obey', the lay Catholic's role in ecclesiastical training was twofold: to contribute through the annual collections to the upkeep of the seminary and the costs of training students there and elsewhere, and, most importantly, to encourage their sons to think about a vocation to the priesthood and so become clerical students. Anything else to do with the seminary was purely a matter of clerical concern. There had been some softening of this approach in the 1960s, with limited lay involvement in the question of university links, while in 1969 the *Magazine* had carried an article on lay views of the priesthood which touched indirectly on some of the underlying issues. Moreover, parents' days had allowed for informal discussion with the staff about their sons' education and college life. It might well be argued, however, that from the mid-sixties onwards the laity indirectly made their views abundantly clear by steadily reducing the traditional flow of young aspirants and so eventually causing the closure of all the junior seminaries throughout the country. Overall, perhaps, the questions of the desirability of junior seminaries and their possible role in the society of the day were linked too readily to the idea of maintaining a theological presence in the north-west, in an attempt to satisfy those who had fought for the retention of Upholland as a seminary, and an undue, if understandable, desire to find a use for its magnificent buildings.[27]

Notes

[1] *Basic Norms*, pp. 69-70, n. 196, the English translation published in Rome, 1970; copy in AAL, SJC, S5 VII A/11.
[2] Ibid., p. 71.
[3] AAW, Bishops' Meetings, *Acta*, 1903-77: November 1971; Reply to Heenan, 21 January 1972.
[4] Author's correspondence with John Cullen, 2 June 2016; subsequent correspondence with Fr Kelly, 11 July 2016.

[5] AAL, SJC, S5 VIII D/ 'Priestly Formation', summary in Appendix 2, below; AAL, Beck, S1 XIV A/ Meeting June 1972, pp. 12-16.
[6] AAL, Beck, S2 XIV A/, Ad clerum notices; Lent Pastoral Letters, 1967-69.
[7] *Magazine,* 1969; AAL, SJC, S5 VII B/6, September 1969.
[8] AAL, SJC, S5 IX A/5, Report on Re-organisation of Junior Seminaries, 1971, p.2.
[9] Letter of 13 February 1970, in AAW HE1/S10, 'Seminary Training 1964-74'.
[10] Report on Re-organisation of Junior Seminaries, 1971, p. 5.
[11] AAL, SJC, S5 VII/E/11, 20, 22; F/12.
[12] AAL, SJC, S5 VII F/16, 17, Northern Bishops' statements, 14/29 April 1972.
[13] AAL, Beck, S1 IV A/1, Beck to Rome.
[14] AAL, SJC S5 IV D/1-2, Breen's letter to staff and Worden's appointment; F. Callon, *Magazine*, 1973.
[15] AAL, Beck, S1 XIV A/, Council of Clergy meeting, 6 June 1973, pp. 1-5.
[16] AAL, SJC, S5 VII F/, Headingley Statement, 27 June 1973, p. 2.
[17] AAL, UNI, S1 I A/1-25, 'Establishment'.
[18] Ibid., A/2: 'Notes on the Letter', and Governors' comments, 17 January 1974.
[19] Doyle, *Mitres & Missions*, pp. 347-9.
[20] AAL, Beck, S5 IX E/1, *ad clerum* of 13 May 1974, marked 'Confidential. Not to be communicated to the Press'; AAL, SJC S5 IX E/3, 30 May 1974.
[21] W. Redmond, 'The Order Changeth . . .', *Magazine*, 1975, pp. 64-9. There were some occasional issues of a college magazine down to 1982.
[22] *The Liverpool Directory* and *Magazine,* 1940 -1976, *passim.*
[23] AAL, SJC, S5 V D/9, HMI Report, 4-6 June 1974, p. 2.
[24] AAL, SJC, S5 IX A/68; Peter O'Neill, 'The Upholland Junior Seminary', *Ushaw Magazine* no. 247, June 1976, pp. 11-20.
[25] P. Phillips, 'Unless a Grain of Wheat. . .', *Ushaw Magazine* no. 267, 1986-7, pp. 28-34. *The Guardian,* 15 November 1983.
[26] Phillips, p. 33.
[27] Robert Marcus, 'Lay Reflections on the Priesthood', *Magazine,* 1969, pp. 19-22.

Chapter 9

The Upholland Northern Institute

What of the bishops' commitment to a 'theological presence' in the North-West? One response was to see this in terms of in-service training for the clergy, in line with the Sacred Congregation of the Clergy's letter of 1968, and the *Ratio Fundamentalis* of 1970, that had insisted that on-going formation was a professional duty of priests and that a corresponding duty lay on bishops to encourage their clergy by, among other means, providing opportunities for regular sabbatical leave. For its part, the National Conference of Priests, meeting in Liverpool in 1971, had recognized an urgent need for the organisation of post-ordination training on a serious and regular basis for all pastoral clergy. In a separate report, they urged that there was as much need for the careful planning of in-service training as of seminary courses themselves. The working-party report to the Archbishop of Liverpool on priestly formation in 1972, had envisaged the setting-up of a pastoral institute and commented that if the final training of seminarians could be linked with the in-service training of the clergy and the further education of both religious and laity, then there would be advantages for all those involved. In the following year, clergy in two of the Northern dioceses (Lancaster and Leeds) launched a number of residential courses dealing with theological renewal, one of which won national acclaim with an enthusiastic report in *The Tablet.* These developments showed how far thinking about in-service training for the clergy had moved beyond the traditional deanery conferences, designed largely to ensure in the pastoral clergy a professional competence as confessors and ministers of the sacraments. It is not surprising, given this context, that decisions about the future use of Upholland should be coloured by in-service considerations.[1]

There were, however, other important considerations. Some saw the change of use of Upholland as an opportunity to address a serious

failing in the pre-Vatican II Church: the failure to meet the need for adult Christian education and the formation of committed lay apostles. Effective adult Christian education had always come a very poor second to school-age provision in England and Wales. There was now an opportunity to see the theological renewal of priests and religious, and the apostolic formation of lay-people, as part of a single operation: to energise the whole People of God in his service and worship. It is interesting that the National Conference of Priests had asked for a clear set of priorities, at the top of which they saw the task of forming lay apostles to promote the growth of a genuine Christian community. According to many commentators at the time, there was a crying need in the Church for mature, adult Christians, and a new theological institute could hope to make a key contribution towards meeting that need.[2]

A working-party under the archbishop's chairmanship sought advice on the nature of a theological foundation of some sort at Upholland. The most thoughtful position paper was presented by Fr Kevin Kelly (ordained in 1958; after post-ordination studies in Fribourg and Rome and two years' parochial work, he had joined the staff in 1965). It was wide-ranging, dealing with the types of course that might be provided, the possible uses of the accommodation, the wisdom or otherwise of appointing an overall rector to head up both the junior seminary and the theological institute, as it was tentatively called at that stage, and the role of that institute in the other Northern dioceses. The fundamental part of the paper, however, did not lie in the suggestions for dealing with these practical issues, but in the approach to theology that it laid out. The purpose of Christian theology, Kelly stated, was to deepen our understanding of 'God's self-revelation in His Son, Jesus Christ, so that we may "know Him more clearly, love Him more dearly and follow Him more nearly"': theology should not be regarded as the select hobby of professional theologians, but a 'vital activity' of the whole People of God. The key purpose of the institute, therefore, should be to assist priests, religious and lay-people to reflect as mature Christians on their faith, and on their understanding of their lives and of the world in which they lived, in the light of that faith. This was, truly, an ennobling and

inspiring vision, quite different from what most people, including, probably, the Northern bishops, had in mind when they spoke about in-service training for the clergy or adult education for the laity. It was the vision that inspired the institute's team from the beginning.[3]

What of the practicalities? In 1975 the Northern bishops agreed to spend £43,000 on necessary changes and improvements at Upholland, the costs to be shared between the Northern dioceses and Shrewsbury. Fr Kelly was appointed director for an initial period of two years (he stayed for five), with four other priests appointed immediately, along with a religious sister, and with four other named priests as possible appointments. The name of the new foundation was to be the Upholland Northern Institute. The bishops also agreed that each diocese should appoint a pastoral director to liaise with the institute. Perhaps less positively, there was some discussion by the bishops of a rather spirit-destroying suggestion that these directors should meet to discuss the 'degree of compulsion' to be exerted on their clergy to attend. Finally, it was established that one governing body (comprising only the bishops of the Northern Province and Shrewsbury) should control and oversee the work of all three institutions: Ushaw Senior Seminary, Upholland Junior Seminary and the Upholland Northern Institute.[4]

The Upholland Northern Institute came into formal existence in January 1976, welcomed especially by those working in the field of Adult Christian Education. It would not have got off the ground without a major financial investment by The Porticus Trust (the charitable arm of 'C & A Modes' and the Brenninkmeijer family). David Barker, their administrator, was the senior person in all this. The Trust insisted that the institute should have an Advisory Commission, of which Porticus would appoint three members and the institute the other three. According to Fr Kelly, the three Porticus members were 'top-notch', and included Denis Oliver, a Director of Pilkington Glass, and Noel Timms, Professor of Sociology at Leicester. Their input into the whole development of UNI was key.[5]

In his first report six months later, the director spoke of the danger that the team might become a 'wandering band of one-night lecturers', achieving very little genuine apostolic formation among

their audiences. But they had made a good start, offering a very varied range of courses, some residential, some 'on the road', some long and some lasting only a day. The initial highlight had been a residential in-service training course for the hierarchy, attended by twenty-seven bishops and the secretary of the Bishops' Conference. Looking to the future, the director hoped to establish formal links with the Faculty of Theology at the University of Manchester and with the department of Religious Studies at the University of Lancaster, as well as with a number of Adult Education Colleges, the Workers' Educational Association and various departments of extra-mural studies.[6]

Over the first three years, residential bookings rose from nineteen to eighty, with about 40% of these being for UNI's own courses. Increasingly, outside bodies began to use the facilities – the Bishops' Conference, Marriage Encounter, the Catholic Men's Society, the Middlesbrough Liturgical Commission among others – along with various non-Catholic religious and secular groups. Clearly, in a conference-conscious age, Upholland was becoming relatively popular as a venue, although it suffered from the small amount of residential accommodation of a good standard that it could offer. These developments helped the financial position, but they were not part of UNI's core business, and here there were some worrying statistics. In the four years 1976-1979 an average of 211 secular priests attended in-service courses at Upholland each year; in 1980 this figure dropped to 184, rising again to 246 in 1981, all in all about 12% of the secular priests available. The staff of UNI also ran two diocesan-based courses in 1981, one in Salford that attracted 32 priests and one in Shrewsbury that attracted 10. In that year, fewer than 5% of the clergy of three dioceses, Salford, Middlesbrough and Leeds, attended courses at Upholland.

Why was UNI not attracting more clergy to its courses? This was the main question addressed by a review committee set up in 1979 by Archbishop Worlock and which reported in 1982 (the *Hazlewood Report*). The review members (all clergy, despite Fr Kelly's request that there should also be lay members) suggested four answers: first, a natural reluctance on the part of priests to undertake in-service

training, coupled with the practical difficulties of leaving their parishes. Second, they suggested that, despite the relaxed and welcoming atmosphere created by the UNI team, Upholland still carried the associations of a seminary regime (Fr Kelly had never been happy with the juxtaposition of the institute and the junior seminary and had even explored using other venues). Third, 'what was said by speakers (giving the courses) occasionally caused surprise to some people'; others felt the approach was too academic instead of being pastoral and spiritual, while some felt that the speakers sometimes resorted to 'shock tactics' in order to stimulate the audience. Finally, the reviewers believed that criticisms of UNI, which affected clerical willingness to attend, were 'frequently ill-informed or based on hearsay'.[7]

They then added a section that shows that the avant-garde nature of some of the teaching was clearly a major concern. They defended the freedom of theologians to 'penetrate further into the mysteries of the faith and to communicate them to the enlightenment of the People of God', but stressed that theologians must also be 'resolute defenders of orthodoxy' and their theology 'must be for the Church and in the Church'. There was then a long quotation from Pope John Paul II (from his *Catechesi tradendae*), dealing with the duties of theologians and catechists not to put forward as certainties what were only theories or matters of debate among experts; they had to be guided by the 'light of the Magisterium' and avoid troubling the minds of children and young people with 'outlandish theories, useless questions and unproductive discussions'. That this final sentence was put into the section of the report about the presentation of theology to the clergy was, to put it politely, bizarre.

The reviewers had started their report with a more fundamental point: the all-important concept of a 'theological presence' had never been clearly defined, though it had informed the whole debate on seminary reorganisation. Moreover, they claimed that the relationship between the two basic components of UNI, clerical in-service education and adult Christian education for lay people, had been 'subject to different interpretations'. With hindsight, we can see that it was a pity that the issue of setting up a theological institute to

serve the whole of the north of England was connected with the closure of the Upholland senior seminary. It was too easy to see the institute as essentially a way of 'keeping Upholland going' under a different guise, or as a handy way of finding a use for the extensive and expensive buildings, or even as a sop to Archbishop Beck who had been so obviously opposed to closing the senior seminary in the first place.

The report then went on to deal with the other aspect of UNI's work, Adult Christian Education (ACE), and declared quite baldly that if UNI had confined its activities to in-service training for priests it would have been a failure. Experience had taught the team, however, that the most successful courses were those run jointly for 'priests-with-their-people': the lay people were encouraged by the participation of their own priests, while the latter did not feel themselves separated from the lay leaders 'or threatened by their advancing knowledge'. Moreover, this coming together provided an impetus to more specialised priests' courses arising from the needs of their people, and therefore more 'natural' than simple revision or up-dating of the priests' seminary-originated theology. The reviewers again resorted to the pope's Apostolic Exhortation: this had arrived 'providentially' to show the type of institution UNI should become: its main work should be to meet the need throughout the Church to train lay catechists 'in the broadest sense of the term', for the catechesis of adults was 'the principal form' of catechesis; the pope went on to add that such work was a suitable area for diocesan, inter-diocesan, or even national, co-operation.

Fr Vincent Nichols (of Liverpool; the future cardinal-archbishop) had become director of the institute in January 1981 in succession to Fr Kelly. He reported in November that the staff remained 'happy and purposeful, aiming to deepen faith and to train local leaders in order that the basic aim of a Church in partnership might be better realised'. The main task, he went on, was the development of Adult Christian Education in the north of England, and for this there needed to be strong active links with ACE teams working in the various dioceses. The major work would be preparing, supporting and training lay leaders in partnership with the clergy. In his second

report he claimed that there was a fresh momentum resulting from the pope's visit in May 1982. It is interesting that his report made no mention of the original idea of a theological institute or of proper post-ordination training for the clergy, although the institute's programme continued to put on long courses for priests and shorter courses aimed specifically at their needs.[8]

The National Pastoral Congress, meeting in Liverpool in 1980, had discussed the provision of adult lay training and in-service provision for the clergy. In the ensuing report of the Congress, *The Easter People*, its episcopal authors agreed that:

> the continuing education and formation of adult members of the Church must be a priority in our Church's educational labours . . . we willingly accept the practical implications of this decision, including the allocation of personnel and resources that may be proved necessary.[9]

Regarding the in-service training of the clergy, one of the group reports from the Congress spoke strongly:

> It is a top priority that every priest should accept regular periods of in-service training and spiritual renewal as a normal part of his priestly life. This is so much a priority that it will lead us to accept that some parishes will be left without Sunday Mass during these times.[10]

It is interesting that delegates to the Congress had welcomed 'the research and other work of the Upholland Northern Institute'. Fr Nichols described its work as coming under the broad umbrella of Adult Christian Education, with three principal levels: firstly, parish or deanery missions, sometimes involving parish groups spending a day at UNI, sometimes members of UNI visiting the parishes. Secondly, the preparation and support of 'leaders in the Church', sometimes priests on their own, more often priests and people together, attending residential courses; here he was echoing *The Easter People*, in which the bishops had suggested that at least parts of the in-service training of the clergy should be 'carried out with lay people'. Thirdly, the pushing forward of 'the study and understanding of contemporary problems and issues' through courses

of evening lectures and summer schools. Overall, he claimed, the UNI staff believed that a solid basis for adult learning, whether by laity or clergy, had to be built on the 'real-life' experiences of people and priests. It is worth quoting here from Nichols:

> First of all . . . is a solid conviction that the life-experience of priests and people are one of the most important sources that have to be brought into any process of learning. Secondly, that input of a specialised nature, be it scripture scholarship, ecclesiology, liturgy . . . is best received by those already involved in a process of learning, already formulating real questions of faith. Finally . . . a major need in the Church today is the ability to plan action in a systematic way (to avoid the loss) of so much good-will and enthusiasm.[11]

Such an Incarnational approach rested on a conviction that God continues to reveal himself in people's every-day experiences. As Kelly had argued from the outset: the aim of the institute could not be to teach theology to non-theologians or to up-date for priests the theology they had learned in the seminary, because essentially:

> Theology is the Christian community reflecting on its encounter with the Risen Lord in the living world . . . (and) coming to recognise its Lord more clearly and achieving a better understanding of the life and demands of the Kingdom in our sophisticated, technological age.[12]

The key emphasis for the team was on deanery and parish-based Vatican II renewal, and a prime example may be quoted from experience in the Hexham and Newcastle diocese. Two or three of the team went over to sound out the needs of a parish/deanery and then returned to Upholland to plan the kind of input needed. They then went back and stayed in the parish for about ten days. These have been described as 'very invigorating experiences for all concerned', including the members of the UNI team. This was going far beyond simple in-service training for the clergy and the importance of the approach could not be over-estimated.[13]

With regard to in-service training, Nichols had claimed that the principle of an in-service training course for clergy once every two years had been generally accepted but was 'still far from a fact of life for many priests'. Perhaps if this had been realised, and UNI had been accepted as the best venue for such courses, then its future might have rested on more secure foundations. There appeared to be something of a paradox in his statement that UNI would only reach its full potential when each of the Northern dioceses had its own team and network for adult Christian education. While the institute would then be ideally placed to offer high-quality leadership training to those teams, there would surely be the temptation for bishops to decide that their own teams were sufficient for their dioceses' needs and any additional input from Upholland would be no more than an occasional luxury at best.

In 1985, however, a second report, *The Nelson Report*, painted an unpromising picture. It included a damning financial analysis, not in terms of the overall costs but concerning the absence of proper budgeting, the lack of financial responsibility in the accepted business sense and of financial guidelines, and the practice of offering open-ended subsidies to meet estimated deficits. Furthermore, the report commented adversely on the lack of clarity about the relationship of the institute to Upholland College (the junior seminary was still in existence at this stage) and particularly to its administrative processes, and on failing morale among the staff, who seemed unsure of their identity as the theological institute had gradually become the Provincial Centre for Adult Christian Education. At the same time, it appeared to be losing the leading national position in ACE that it had had for a few years.[14]

When the director (now Fr Joseph Smith of Leeds diocese) reported to the governors in December 1985 he was upbeat about the increased numbers attending all the courses, but stressed the need for more residential staff. The staff were even more optimistic in a document they produced a month later. They regarded the institute as a provincial responsibility and felt that it had delivered a 'remarkable service' to the Northern dioceses in the previous ten years, gaining in the process a national and international reputation for its ACE work.

Indeed, they saw its future in national terms and suggested it should become the 'Upholland National Institute for Adult Christian Education'. This would call for further financial commitment from the bishops to realise their vision and the golden opportunity for the Church it presented.[15]

This was wishful thinking taken to extremes. Bishop Moberley of Hallam made it very clear a few weeks later that he, for one, believed that the closing of the junior seminary meant that the agreement to support a theological presence in the North-West had been 'unwrapped' and was no longer binding. The practice of deficit funding was unacceptable to him and he had every intention of setting up his own pastoral centre that would be much more attractive to his priests and people. Finally, he believed that the idea of Upholland going national was a non-starter as others had stolen a march on them. When all the Northern bishops met in March they raised similar concerns, but agreed to continue to support the institute under a new, unspecified, contract.[16]

Fr Smith's next report, six months later, was altogether different, presenting a depressingly pessimistic picture. He described as 'distressing' the statistics of how many priests and lay people had attended courses in the previous six months: two dioceses, Hallam and Shrewsbury, had not been represented on any of the courses while the other six had provided only eleven priests between them for the long course. The decline continued and the estimated financial subsidy for 1985-1986 was £86,000. In 1987 the long course for priests had to be cancelled through a lack of applicants and the UNI team was down to four people: Fr Smith, Fr O'Hanlon from Nottingham, Miss Magee and Sister Bernadette O'Malley FCJ. The governors agreed that urgent steps should be taken to define the role of the institute in the light of 'the present and future needs of the province', and a working party was set up to do this. At the same time, the institute was still running successful courses in lay ministry – one of them as far away as Newcastle – and for the formation of religious. Mgr John Butchard, newly appointed overall director of Upholland in 1988 in place of Bishop Rawsthorne, reported that

income had risen through use of the facilities of St Joseph's Conference Centre (set up in 1986) by other, often secular, groups.[17]

UNI effectively came to an end in 1988 when Fr Smith retired as its director and was not replaced. Day and evening courses continued (e.g. for Eucharistic Ministers and other forms of pastoral formation), but it ceased to have any resident lecturing staff. In practice, episcopal support fell away and the Northern bishops refused to send their clergy there, preferring the no doubt cheaper alternative of running their own in-service training courses and being more able, perhaps, to control their content. Unlike Ushaw, Upholland had always been a single-diocese college, so no financial responsibility had to be accepted by other dioceses when things became difficult.

Notes

1 1972 Report, Appendix 2.
[2] Kevin T. Kelly, 'A New Venture in the North: Upholland Northern Institute', *The Clergy Review* LX (10) (1975), pp. 623-43.
[3] AAL, UNI, S1 I A/7, 'The Upholland Theological Institute: A Position Paper by Fr K. Kelly', 9 October 1974.
[4] AAL, UNI, S1 I A/10: 'Meeting of the Northern Bishops and Shrewsbury', 12/13 March 1975.
[5] Author's correspondence with Fr K. Kelly, 2017.
[6] AAL, UNI, S10 I A/34, 'The First Half-Year', July 1976.
[7] AAL, UNI, S1 I E/17, October 1982, pp. 1-41.
[8] Ibid., E/16; 19.
[9] The Hierarchy of England and Wales, *The Easter People: A Message from the Roman Catholic Bishops of England and Wales* (Slough, 1980), §§145-153.
[10] AAL, Worlock Collection, S6 38 A/20, 'All Sectors: Reports'.
[11] Vincent Nichols, 'Seven Years On: Upholland Northern Institute', *Ushaw Magazine*, XCIV (no. 262, December 1983), pp. 39-48; *Easter People*, §149.
[12] K. Kelly's original position paper, p. 2.
[13] Author's written communication with Fr K. Kelly, May 2017.
[14] AAL, UNI, S1 I E/29, May 1985, 'The Nelson Report'.

[15] AAL, UNI, S1 I E/25, Smith to Governors, 4 December 1985; AAL, UNI, S8 IV A/6: 'Reflections on the Future of Upholland: The Perspective of the UNI Team', 14 January 1986.
[16] AAL, UNI, S8 IV A/8, Moberley to Worlock, 17 February 1986; A/11.
[17] AAL, UNI, S1 I E/30, 10 June 1986, Smith's second report; E/27, Minutes of Governors, 10 December 1987; E/33, Butchard to Governors, December 1987.

Chapter 10

Closure

As the upkeep of the grade II listed buildings and the hundreds of acres of estate (all in the green belt) became more expensive and the number of students dwindled, it was essential that the archdiocese should find alternative uses and sources of income. In November 1988 Archbishop Worlock launched comprehensive and imaginative plans in a glossy four page leaflet 'Upholland Update'. In announcing the plans, he claimed that the project was 'theologically right, ethically correct, environmentally and architecturally excellent and financially feasible': Upholland would become again a great resource for the archdiocese as well as being a great asset to the local community, indeed, it would become a 'Christian centre second to none in the country'. A great deal was made of the idea of helping to create and sustain a local community, with a vision that was not without a certain irony for those who knew of the college's past relations with the locality. The plan would mean the creation of local jobs, leisure facilities, a conference centre, high-tech offices, flats for resident staff and retired priests, and even what was called a youth hostel for junior 'seminarians' attending local schools. Two of these projects and the overall conclusion may be quoted here to give a flavour of the whole:

> The present Gradwell Library will become a restaurant overlooking the lake and the great quadrangle transformed into a tiered amphitheatre for drama, music and outdoor Masses.
>
> (In summary) St Joseph's will never be an island – remote, inaccessible. It recognises more than most, perhaps, its obligations to community . . . it can serve the community best at this stage of its life by being bold (and) being adventurous for the sake of future generations.[1]

Various other schemes had been examined over the previous three years, the archbishop claimed, but there was no other way in which such a large building with its extensive grounds could be preserved; the only way was to accept the challenge to 'develop for the future rather than to live in the past'. Making the scheme 'financially feasible', however, would involve selling about 70 of the total 360 acres for housing development, so that about £9 million could be raised for the rest of the project. There was, in small print, a warning: 'Put frankly, the alternative for St Joseph's College and land would be dereliction'.

Clearly, considerable thought and consultation had gone into the development of such an ambitious scheme and Mgr Michael McKenna, Episcopal Vicar for Finance and Development, has been credited with pulling together various ideas and suggestions. In particular, the archbishop and his advisors had been careful to consult the local community. An exhibition had been put on in the college showing the provisional plans; over a thousand people had attended, and some of their suggestions had been incorporated in the final plans which were submitted to the local authority, West Lancashire District Council, in February 1989. Earlier consultation had appeared to show support for the scheme among councillors, but as soon as the detailed plans were announced such support vanished and the application, involving as it did building on the green belt, was turned down. Various modified plans, all involving the development of some housing, were proposed in the ensuing eighteen months, but all were rejected by the local authority because it refused to allow any development of the green belt area around the new town of Skelmersdale. Despite this hard-line stance, the successor local authority, West Lancashire Borough Council, did, some years later, allow the development of the Carmel site.[2]

In 1990 Mgr John Devine was given the task of finding new uses for the buildings. His achievement was impressive, from providing a retirement home for a number of clergy to persuading a range of agencies, Catholic and non-Catholic, to set up permanent offices there: the Associated Church Clubs, CAFOD, the Diocesan Commercial Services, the Archdiocesan Youth Office, and, from

1996, the Diocesan Archives under a professional archivist. Other groups used the residential facilities: the United Reformed Church ran courses for its ordinands, the archdiocese continued to use it for its annual clergy retreats, and the University of Central Lancashire and the Lancashire Chamber Orchestra each used it for their courses. Parishes used it for 'away days', and several organisations and societies held their meetings there: the North West Catholic History Society, Serra, the SVP, the Justice and Peace Commission, the Catenians, the Historic Churches Committee, the Archdiocesan Council of Clergy and the Pastoral Council. This activity brought in income (or, in the case of diocesan bodies, saved the costs of finding alternative accommodation) and, importantly, gave the place a sense of life and usefulness. In financial terms, however, the archdiocese was subsidising a facility for the benefit of others, as most of the demand for residential use came from non-diocesan groups.

There was no lack of suggestions for alternative uses and the list of potential developers and abortive plans shows imagination, although some of them have an air of enthusiastic unreality. They ranged from the Home Office, the Ministry of Defence, Giro Bank, Edge Hill University, a Moslem school for girls, or an equestrian centre. One interested party even explored the possibility of glassing over the quadrangle for use as a tropical wildlife park populated by giraffes, zebras, lions and tigers, while Prue Leith wanted to develop it as an interactive centre on the history of British cooking. Other developers' plans included the possibility of a narrow gauge railway network criss-crossing the grounds, moving local schools into the buildings, creating a seminary for Polish priests, creating a north-west 'Centre of Excellence' promoted by the Civic Trust, creating flats for community accommodation, and establishing a sports centre.[3]

Initial enthusiasms quickly waned when potential developers spoke to their surveyors and accountants. GIRO bank at one stage offered £3m for the whole site. The archbishop accepted this provisionally, with some reluctance, but the company later withdrew its offer and chose instead the Westwood Power Station site in Wigan. In reality, the building was too large for any single use and

its graded status forbade any demolition. Moreover, architectural consultants doubted the feasibility of any internal restructuring of the 1920s extensions, particularly the east wing – as Mgr Thomas Turner had reported many years before, they were not as well built as the old 1883 building. The creation of modern, fully refurbished, residential or office facilities would require financial investment on an altogether different scale that only commercial development of at least part of the estate could have provided, especially when efforts to obtain heritage lottery funding in 1996-1997 were unsuccessful. Relations with the local authority were not helped by the revelation of a toxic land-fill site in the college grounds and the involvement of the Environment Agency.[4]

In addition to the continued local authority opposition to such development, the site suffered from its relative isolation from the main centres of population in the diocese, making its use as a conference or administrative centre less viable. Eventually, in November 1999, Archbishop Kelly (Archbishop Worlock had died in February 1996) decided on its final closure and sold the whole site and its buildings to a wealthy developer, Mr Albert Gubay, KCSG, who was a major benefactor of the archdiocese. The agreed selling price was £4.675m, a figure arrived at by professional valuers on behalf of both parties and agreed with the Charity Commissioners. It was discounted to an immediate payment of £3.5m in anticipation of eventual planning consent and an immediate acceptance by the buyer of all liabilities such as insurance and security. It was agreed that subsequent profits from a successful development would be shared between the developer and the archdiocese. Some believed more could have been done to save the college, but once the decision to close had been taken, despite rumours and various 'denial narratives', it was a good deal and in the circumstances a satisfactory end to a sorry saga. The developer in question died in 2016 and left half of his estate for use by the Church as he had always promised to do.[5]

As a result of the closure, the diocesan archives moved from Upholland to the cathedral site in Liverpool, and are now housed in purpose-built facilities organised by a professional archivist. The

college library moved to Liverpool Hope University, where it is kept in a separate section known as the Gradwell Collection. Sacred vessels and vestments were transferred to the treasury in the cathedral crypt, while paintings, works of art, valuable books and MSS, and the remainder of O'Byrne's collection, were sold at auction at Christie's, London. Day conference facilities moved to a former school site in Sefton Park, Liverpool, which also housed the diocesan administrative offices. Mgr Devine was the last to leave, in November 1999. Since then, no approvals to develop the grounds or buildings have been obtained and both have become gradually derelict. In 2016 the buildings were listed among the Victorian Society's top ten important endangered buildings.[6]

Notes

[1] AAL, UNI, S1 IV A/1-26: 'Closure and Future Use': *Upholland Update*; *The Catholic Pictorial*, November 1988.
[2] Author's correspondence with Mgr John Butchard and Mgr John Devine, January to June 2017.
[3] AAL, SJC, S10 XVI A/4: 'Abortive Plans for Alternative Uses'.
[4] Author's correspondence with Mgr John Devine, May to June 2017.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Listed with photograph on The Victorian Society's web site: www.victoriansociety.org.uk, accessed June 2017; *The Catholic Times*, 16 September and 9 October 2016, and *The Wigan Observer*, 16 February 2016; AAL, SJC, S11 I A/1-2, II A/1-4; S11 II C/3.

Chapter 11

Conclusion

Over the years covered by this study, the Catholic Church in England and Wales that Upholland College was set up to serve changed largely beyond recognition. Yet its peoples' spiritual needs are still there to be met. Some might argue that we should not look at the decline in vocations to the priesthood that the period witnessed as a crisis, but rather as an opportunity to explore new structures of ministry, themselves demanding fresh approaches to training. Those who do come forward nowadays as candidates for the priesthood are themselves from that new background, with attitudes to authority fundamentally different from those of their predecessors, and a general acceptance of the importance of self-development and self-realisation. This study shows that institutions where diocesan priests are trained cannot be monastic in their isolation or in their reliance on a communal life; neither are they universities under another name, pursuing intellectual investigations in theology; nor are they vocational colleges, providing merely a training in practical ministry. Yet they can benefit from elements of all three approaches while developing their unique purpose and ethos.

In the 1920s, when St Edward's had left what had once been the leafy surroundings of Everton, and Upholland was re-born, Archbishop Keating understood the need to create a new esprit de corps in an institution at two removes from the traditions of Douay and the recusant past, though serving an area richer in those associations than any other. In 1943, a hundred years after the foundation of St Edward's, Archbishop Downey referred to that century as the 'great spiritual venture of establishing an ecclesiastical seminary' and of the reverence due to the 'pioneers' who had been so important a part of that venture. He referred also to the vicissitudes they had had to deal with and how in the process the college had become 'gentler, wiser and more endeared of it students'. Both men

were acknowledging the necessity of change and indirectly touching on an issue that faced any institution seeking to serve its contemporary society: to what extent should tradition be a guiding principle when devising or judging approaches to priestly training? Some, like Cardinal Bourne, had argued for small institutions as preferable to the larger contemporary colleges, in that they would be more effective in allowing a personal knowledge and individual spiritual direction of students. Once the larger institutions existed, however, it would have been unrealistic not to take account of the economics of the situation. Another issue over the years had been the mixing of lay and ecclesiastical students; this had been an economic necessity in the nineteenth century and a common enough practice in England and Wales based on the Douay tradition, but Archbishop Whiteside stopped it at Upholland at the beginning of the twentieth century. There was also the issue of educating juniors and seniors on the same site. Without doubt this created its own problems and tensions, and became an additional economic drain given the very small number of juniors over the years going on to ordination.

In the 1960s staff and students at Upholland readily accepted new approaches to teaching and learning and the end of an over-reliance on approved texts and set lectures, so that at last the senior seminary system was more like secular English higher education. The question of whether to link seminary education closely to the English university system was answered negatively in the case of Upholland, partly for economic reasons but mainly, one suspects, because it meant too radical a move away from the traditional six-year seminary course. As we have seen, in the years after the Second Vatican Council, there was no shortage of advice to bishops and rectors about the future of priestly training at Upholland as elsewhere. It is interesting that in 2001 the historian of Oscott College, commented:

> The post-conciliar Catholic Church bears many of the characteristics of a work in progress. A spiritual and mental re-building is taking place and the accumulated reports and resolutions make it like a building site

> littered with various materials, not all of which are ever going to find a permanent place in the edifice.[1]

A few advocated wiping all the old structures away to start with a fresh template, although one that would allow what was good in the old not just to survive but to flourish and be given a more heavily accented role. Others were more cautious, not altogether opposing change and new interpretations but influenced by the economic reality of the situation and the danger of losing the good in hankering after a perhaps unobtainable ideal. As Pope Paul VI had said of the Council itself, it was not a case of turning everything upside-down, but an honouring of traditions by stripping out defective elements to allow them to flourish more fruitfully.[2]

As a result of major re-thinking in the 1960s and early 1970s, internal regime changes were introduced, affecting the whole system of priestly training as traditionally practised. These changes were inspired by both theological insights and an awareness of current social and pastoral needs, but before they could be refined and regularised the Northern bishops decided that only a single senior seminary in the North-East of the country (at Ushaw) and a single junior seminary in the North-West (at Upholland) were sustainable. While perhaps understandable economically in the case of the senior seminary (although student numbers at Upholland at the time of its closure were healthy), the decision to continue with a junior seminary system ran counter to most advice at the time; above all, the growing unwillingness of parents to send their sons away at a young age meant that the combined School at Upholland had a short life. A serious fall in the number of older candidates affected the senior seminary and Ushaw eventually closed in 2011, leaving the most Catholic part of the country without any institution dedicated to priestly education.

There is a danger, looking back, of forgetting, or at least of minimising, the struggles of those who had to take the decisions amid the genuine complexities of a new situation. Perhaps the account given here has in parts been too critical in tone, and it would be grossly unfair to forget the hundreds of dedicated priests who were products of the old system, pastorally aware and in tune with

the outlook of the majority of their people. It would also be unfair to forget the many dedicated members of staff, most of them with no obvious vocation to teach but still winning praise from external, secular, critics. An obvious omission from the story are the hundreds of laymen who left un-ordained but who made valuable contributions to their communities, as fathers of families, teachers and other professionals. While never the *hortus conclusus* apparently idealised and planned for by some in the past, the college faced the common danger of all enclosed institutions: to become satisfied uncritically with a reasonably successful status quo, and even to reject criticism and suggestions for constructive change. Upholland cannot be said to have avoided these dangers altogether, an obvious example in modern eyes being the failure to provide individual spiritual direction for its students.

The history of the college also raises some age-old national issues: first of all, the relations of the English and Welsh hierarchy with Rome, whose authority was never questioned but whose practical regulations could on occasion be conveniently ignored or at least down-played. Secondly, there was the sometimes unsatisfactory relationship between the English and Welsh bishops themselves, keen to uphold their episcopal prerogatives and to promote what they saw as best for their dioceses and their family of priests. There was no national policy on how the colleges should be run. The ultimately sad story of the Upholland Northern Institute, initially inspired by a radically different view of theological formation for priests and people, highlights an episcopal failure to follow fine words with practical support for an inter-diocesan institute. Its Adult Christian Education programmes were revolutionary but in the end were not enough to keep the college open.

When change became desirable, clearly it would have been better not to have invested so heavily in the past in particular structures that became in themselves a reason for not allowing that change. But that is to use the historian's hindsight to question the wisdom of those who had, in all good faith, settled for a traditionalist approach. They put up imposing buildings and developed large institutions, trusting optimistically in the continuing progress especially in the North of

the Church in England and Wales, and in the model's proven success in supplying committed, pastorally-minded priests to meet the spiritual needs of its people.

Notes

[1] Williams, *Oscott*, p.128.
[2] *AAS* 55 (1963), p. 851, quoted in John McHugh, 'On Reforming Seminary Training', *Ushaw Magazine* XCI, no. 256 (December 1980), pp. 16-33.

Appendix 1

The College Chapel

This description is a shortened version of a piece written in 1978 by Canon P J Hanrahan (1905-78) who had joined the staff in 1933, later becoming professor of Moral Theology and Canon Law. He wrote it to mark his golden jubilee in 1978.[1]

The foundation stone of the Chapel was laid by Archbishop Keating on 26 July, 1927. Dr Downey, in his sermon, described it as "… the crowning glory of this noble seat of learning". Certainly, as one enters the ante-chapel one cannot fail to be impressed by the sense of strength, height and spaciousness. Triple arches spring from four massive columns. On the left of the door is a well-decorated altar dedicated to Saint Robert of Newminster. It was a gift of the trustees of Mgr Robert Gradwell, gracefully executed in white marble with rich panelling in finely coloured mosaic above the altar table.

The main rood-screen is made of oak and the carvings of the crucifix, Our Lady and St John, are by the Tyrolean Stuflesser family. In the wings of the screen are two wooden altars dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. Two statues, in oak, stand on the pillars, each beside his own altar. We now move to the recess formed by the base of the bell-tower, a point of special focus since it is the chapel of the English Martyrs. The altar immediately attracts attention, executed as it is in Cararra marble (by Cav. Umberto del Beanca, Italy), and adorned with statuary (by Alberti, Manchester), giving a vivid representation of persons and scenes from the time of the martyrs. On the left-hand side are statues of St Cuthbert Mayne and St Thomas More – between them is a delicately chiselled panel depicting statues of St John Fisher and St Margaret Clitherow, and underneath them, cut in the marble, is a realistic picture of an execution in progress. Below the altar-table, strongly chiselled in a

large marble slab, is a touching scene of St Philip Neri blessing the future martyrs with his greeting, 'Salvete flores martyrum' (Hail, flowers among martyrs). This altar is a lasting testimony to a learned and saintly professor of the college, to whose devotion and energy its erection was due - Fr. R. Wilfred Finnesey. One cannot miss the bell-rope which hangs from the tower and drops into the Martyrs' Chapel. The bell, affectionately known as 'Big Bob', is one of the many gifts which came through the munificence of Mgr Robert Gradwell.[2]

Leaving the Martyrs' Chapel, we have, on our left, the south wall of the ante-chapel. Here there is a small wooden altar in a narrow recess. Above it there is a dignified statue of the Sacred Heart. Carved in wood, it was presented by the former rector, Mgr Joseph Turner.

1954 was Our Lady's Year and the Lady Altar is a fitting memorial to that great celebration. It was consecrated by Archbishop Godfrey on 8 December 1956. The distinguished architect, Adrian Gilbert Scott, welcomed the invitation to design the altar and showed enthusiasm for the task from his first visit. Visitors can observe for themselves how brilliantly successful was his achievement. The altar is constructed in broad bands of coloured marble. The front displays dove-grey, cream-grey and a rich blue lapis lazuli (from Canada). The reredos is distinctly English and in the best traditions of English woodcarving (by Green and Vardy). The statuary is a fine example of the work of the Stuflesser family and Our Lady is depicted 'in her maturity, with a face quietly serene as one passing from all suffering to eternal peace'. On the left side is St Edward, on the right St Thomas of Canterbury. These statues are on traditional lines: the saints are diminutive in the quaint tradition of Christian art. The work was paid for by the Josephian Society.[3]

On the right of the Lady Altar stands the altar of St Thomas of Canterbury. It is unfinished and unadorned by an image or antependium. Doubtless a benefactor would have by now provided for its completion if the regular use of secondary altars had not become exceptional following the introduction and encouragement of concelebration after the Second Vatican Council.

We have now reached the west wall and on either side of the porch is a hidden chapel. The one on the south side is dedicated to St Edward. There is a quality of robustness and strength about this altar. Doubtless, views will differ about the artistic merit of the decoration but old Edwardians rejoiced to find the patron of their early school days being duly honoured by a special chapel.

Nearby, on the north side of the porch, is the chapel of St Teresa of Avila, the gift of Provost Walmsley, for many years rector of the college and an expert on Spanish mysticism. The table is, by his express wish, a thick slab of stone hewn from the quarry at nearby Appley Bridge. The statue of the saintly doctor, bearing a book and a pen, is manifestly a work of great distinction – the features are modelled from the death mask of the saint. Under the centre is the verse, 'Rejoice, Teresa, in Him who made thee'. One of the other panels is adorned with the arms of the Carmelite Order with the legend, 'Decor Carmeli et Saron'. All the panels are the work of Elphege Pippett of Birmingham.

In the small passage leading to the chapel of St Teresa there used to be, appropriately, a statue of St John of the Cross. The work of Philip Lindsey Clark RA (1899-1977), it conveys most vividly the sense of mortification and austerity. When the chapel of St Edward was provided with a door as a confessional, a door was likewise put at the entry to St Teresa's and Monsignor Breen decided to place the statue near the wall on the passage leading to the sanctuary. The inscription, in translation, is: 'Saint John, Lover of the Cross, Doctor of the Church, Helper of Teresa'.

Turning to the left as one leaves St Teresa's Chapel there is the entry to a recess which has an altar dedicated to SS. William and Alice. St William was Archbishop of York and St Alice was Abbess of the Benedictine Priory of Gatsby in Northamptonshire, and sister of St Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury. The saints were the patrons of the parents of the anonymous donor. As the altar table was too narrow to accommodate the altar cards which were a customary feature of the Mass for so long, the prayers feature in the altar panels themselves - a charming and artistic souvenir of the Tridentine Mass.

Three steps lead from the ante-chapel to the choir, which forms the main body of the chapel. From here one gets a full view of one of its outstanding features. When the golden jubilee of the college was celebrated in 1933 it was suggested that there should be some memorial of the occasion. Dr Dean proposed the idea of installing stained glass in the west window and the Josephian Society subscribed sufficient to pay for it – close on £450. There were considerable difficulties, however, especially since the tracery lacked any unity of design. Sister Margaret of the Mother of God, a Carmelite, was chosen to face the challenging task. The finished scheme has two parts, corresponding to the right and the left of the window. Surmounting the whole is the Holy Spirit with the flames of his love going down and round the whole scheme. The right half of the window shows the teaching and doctrinal side of the Church with the star of truth shining down on the gospels in the quatrefoil below. The sacrificial aspect of the Church is demonstrated on the left side of the window. Both parts are full of the traditional symbols of authority and sacrifice, while a straight line of quatrefoils at the base represents the Church overcoming evil. In colour and draughtsmanship the window can stand with the best of modern work.

From any part of the choir one can admire the double hammer-beam oak roof. Some may think this too heavy for the rest of the chapel, but this effect is alleviated by the loftiness of the roof tree and the high windows. There are fourteen mullioned windows, seven on either wall – long and slender lights, the traceries showing simple but interesting variations. The walls of the choir are panelled in oak and in the early days of Monsignor Breen's rectorship the walls of the sanctuary were also panelled, completing the original design, and giving the great structure a unity and harmony. Over each of the back stalls is carved in gilt lettering the name of a saint, apostle, pope, bishop, religious founder or martyr. The stalls, rising in four tiers, can accommodate about 300 students. On the left hand side, behind a marble balustrade, is the organ chamber. It opens to the chapel at first-floor level.[4]

From the choir one ascends three steps to the sanctuary. This is dominated by a high central arch – over thirty feet – on each side of which stands an arched and heavily moulded doorway. Beneath the archway is the high altar; it is made of Forest of Dean stone and grey-blue in colour. Towards the end of the fifties it was decided to have curtains hang as a permanent feature on the doorways and behind the altar; hitherto they had only been used on the greater festivals. At the same time the reredos and canopy were decorated in gold. Above the *mensa* is a quotation from Jeremiah, 'I will refresh my priests with rich food and all my people will have their fill of my good things', aptly chosen by Monsignor Dean, a noted Scripture scholar.

Behind the sanctuary is the retro-choir, with the four altars of St George, St Andrew, St David and St Patrick. Hardman's of Birmingham erected the windows of St David and St Andrew in 1932 and those of St George and St Patrick in 1955, a further gift from the Gradwell Trust. All four are rich in colour and appropriate symbolism. The windows of St George and St Patrick are more variegated and give less intense light than do the other two. In each the principal panel shows a full-length picture of the saint, flanked by smaller scenes illustrating stories of his life. The Cross of St Andrew marks his altar, while the leek of Wales is to be found on that of St David. High above these windows on the east wall, looking through the apex of the central archway, is an exquisite rose window, its beauty enhanced by the stained glass. The Holy Spirit is represented by the Dove with the Seven Gifts forming the coloured lights. The glass was the gift of Mr and Mrs Rimmer; he was for many years the estate agent of the archdiocese.

Two notable contributions were made to the chapel furnishing early in the career of Monsignor Breen as rector. One was the set of carved Stations of the Cross by Stuflesser, the other the green carpet on the sanctuary covering the fine block wood floor. A somewhat controversial innovation of the same period was the provision of chairs with fitted kneelers in the ante-chapel, the solid benches being transferred to the newly set up Lower Line Chapel, between the Art Gallery and the Study Place.

Mention may be made here of an alcove off the chapel corridor in which stands a beautiful marble statue of the Immaculate Conception, sculpted by Benzoni in 1875 and presented to Saint Edward's College by a former student. For long an important focus of private devotion for many students, its surrounds and setting were recently renovated under the guidance of the rector, Monsignor Breen.

Notes

[1] AAL, SJC, S3 III, G/16. A detailed description of the construction of the chapel may be found in ibid., D/8.

[2] The bell, weighing 22 cwts., had been presented to the college in 1897 with the inscription 'Robertus Gradwell, Claughton supra Brock, me fieri fecit 1897. Pie Jesu, miserere ei' [Robert Gradwell, Claughton-on-Brock, had me made 1897. Dear Jesus, have mercy on him.]; it is not clear where it had hung before the new tower was built. See AAL, SJC, S7 I A/14.

[3] See *Magazine*, Summer 1956, for an illustrated article on the Lady Altar by Fr J. L. Alston.

[4] J. H. Reginald Dixon, in J. Ibison and J. Maxwell (eds), *Upholland College: A Record of the New Buildings, 1923-1930* (Upholland, 1930), pp. 77-79, in AAL, SJC, S3 III D/6.

Appendix 2

Priestly Formation

The following are extracts from the key document on Priestly Formation presented to the archbishop in May 1972. The extracts are given verbatim but with minor changes to ensure continuity and with different referencing.

1. The Priesthood:

a. The priest, as we know him here in the diocese, is an accepted member of society, and in the Catholic community is regarded as a leader. In the parish he meets with a ready acceptance and is welcomed with good will and affection. He may be a figure of diminished importance to the teenager, but this is due less to his priesthood than to the 'generation gap'. He is still looked for in the primary school, is a welcome visitor in the homes of his parishioners and is sought out by those in trouble. His shortcomings are noted, but with affection and charity. In other words, he is seen as teacher, father and friend. In speaking of the priest as leader in his community one must accept the modern notion of leadership, which sees the leader as one who is himself committed to an ideal and whose influence therefore will draw others through sympathy and reasonableness rather than through reliance on authority and regimentation.

b. One must take full account of the frequency with which the notion of the specialised apostolate crops up in both clerical and lay discussion. People tend to see a need for the group ministry, the industrial chaplaincy and the chaplaincy of youth. There is evidence also of a deeper appreciation of the school chaplain and of the hospital chaplain. The local Church must give proof of its sympathetic awareness of these tendencies. Yet the essential ministry of the priest is exercised in his preaching, offering Mass with his

community, administering the sacraments, leading the community at prayer, counselling, making his priesthood generally available through the service of his flock.

2. The Candidate:

a. The priest with whose preparation we are concerned is required both by ecclesiastical law and by common expectation to be competent in expounding the truths of the faith, in inspiring both learned and unlearned among his congregation, and in administration. It is essential, therefore, that he be capable of profiting by tertiary education of a professional level; in our society that will normally imply obtaining the General Certificate of Education with passes in at least five subjects at Ordinary level (not all of which will be scientific or technical) and two at Advanced level. In the exceptional case, however, especially in a mature student, there may be evidence of the requisite intelligence without these paper qualifications.

b. 'Psychic health' is properly included as a measurable quantity as our knowledge of emotional and personal constitution advances. Among the qualities commonly listed as criteria of the maturity here implied are emotional stability and balance, responsibility for the making of decisions and in accepting their consequences, sociability, humour, ability to tolerate inconsistency and frustration in a meaningful way. The amateur interviewer will reach no depth here in a short encounter; well designed and well applied tests will be much more revealing.

c. General suitability seems to be the 'ability to bear the priestly burdens and undertake the pastoral tasks'. It is conceivable that a candidate with all the endowments so far mentioned might still not have the temperament or character necessary for the priestly life, might for example, lack an awareness of the total implication of celibacy, or might feel that his independence would be unduly circumscribed. The psychological testing already recommended

would make a contribution to assessing the candidate's suitability in this respect.

d. Candidates should in the main be sought among men of 18 years of age and upwards, who have obtained at least five O level and two A level passes in the G.C.E. Serious and positive promotion of vocations should therefore be taking place among the 16-18 year olds in the sixth forms of our schools. Vocations should also be sought among other mature men with suitable qualities, background and experience. Alternative courses of training might need to be devised for such candidates.

3. Spirituality and Spiritual Formation:

a. Two recent trends in Catholic spirituality are worth noting. The first is the integration with the rest of theology and especially with moral theology. This has two effects. It makes moral theology less legalistic since it must concern itself with ideals as well as rules. It must foster spiritual and human growth as well as present a code. Then spiritual theology is forced to come down a little from the heights; it must find a place for the more mundane matters which concern Christian moralists and fit them into its schemes.

b. The second trend is to integrate the spiritual life with personality development, so that it concerns itself with attitudes to work, with study, with relationships, as well as with overtly religious activities such as prayer, liturgy and asceticism. This connection seems especially important in view of the criticism sometimes levelled against the traditional approach: that the exclusive cultivation of a special and separate 'religious' life sometimes leaves the personality humanly undeveloped. There is a call for a more expansive spirituality which builds on human values; a call which is supported by the documents of the Second Vatican Council, notably *Gaudium et Spes*.

c. In addition to these movements towards integration we notice also an evangelical tendency in contemporary spirituality which

emphasises the radical demands of the gospel, such as poverty, self-denial, simplicity, fraternal charity and contemplative prayer. This tendency also seems important especially in the preparation for a celibate life in which a certain emotional deprivation must be accepted and turned to positive account.

d. Prayer is the most obvious means of spiritual formation. It is the chief means through which a Christian lives consciously in the world of faith, enabling the life of faith to grow. It is also the most direct way in which a person develops his relationship to God. It is therefore especially important for the priest. He should be familiar with the traditional wisdom of the Church on the subject. Contemporary tendencies must also be taken into account. One of these which is influential is that prayer should arise out of life and feed back into it: a reflection in faith on secular experience. Another is the renewed interest in prayer of a more contemplative character, to which in non-Christian circles depth meditation bears witness. The student needs to be taught about prayer. But more urgently he needs to find his own way of prayer, since individual and temperamental factors are important, and no single method or pattern is right for everyone. Competent spiritual direction which will enable each to find his own way is therefore crucial. It should be a spiritual direction which has a measure of psychological insight. For although prayer exists in faith and is supernatural, yet for the Christian it is also an important means through which he acquires self-knowledge and is helped to that life-synthesis held together by faith which is the mark of a balanced personality.

e. We have already suggested that spiritual direction is another important factor. Our society has become more tolerant and moral life is not greatly controlled by external pressures, whether of law or public opinion. In the Church of our times too, individual freedom and moral autonomy are more highly valued than they were a generation ago. There is less emphasis on an idea of clerical correctness maintained by the pressure of canon law, official disapproval and public opinion. More personal decisions are required

of the individual priest and his moral and spiritual life needs to have strong roots in his own personality. Therefore, the well-tried traditional ways of the spiritual life need to be complemented by methods which have an awareness of the development of the individual personality. These should promote the growth of inner strengths sufficient to be the basis of a self-directive life in accord with the main lines of the individual temperament.

f. In order to exist at all any institution needs a regime; that is a set of rules and norms which constitute the external framework of its life. Some think that the main value of this regime in forming the individual is that it creates a habit of self-denying obedience; for priests must learn to live with the framework of Church order. Others take a more positive view, and believe that a College regime should be so constructed as to embody certain spiritual values: for instance, the necessity of regular prayer and asceticism. They hope that through living a life shaped even externally by these values, students will make them their own. We accept that both of these lines of thought are important, but do not think a regime in itself can form an individual in the contemporary world. Personal responsibility is now more necessary than ever and formation should work towards virtues which proceed from inner conviction and are not dependent on external pressures.

g. The life of the community and the interaction of its members with each other can have very positive effects. Every effort should be made to see that students have an experience of community living which is open, healthy and friendly. We notice everywhere an increasing use of group methods in all forms of education and training. We consider that these methods have considerable potential for the spiritual development of priests. We recommend also those liturgical developments which aim to make liturgy both expressive and creative of a Christian community spirit. We hope also that careful thought will be given to the relationship between students and the priest responsible for their formation.

4. Spirituality and Celibacy:

a. It is very important that the choice of celibacy should be a fully free decision made really not just notionally. It should depend on an inner conviction which takes realistic account of the difficulties of such a life, and which is nourished by prayer, worship and the other practices of the spiritual life. The problems of celibacy should be discussed freely, in a way which does not cause excessive introspection but is evangelical and realistic. This attitude which needs to be encouraged is that of exploiting the positive possibilities of a celibate life undertaken as a sign of the kingdom. It is a particular mode of the Christian life and the Christian life itself should be dominant for only in this context will celibacy come to have meaning and value.

b. Only if celibacy is freely accepted and becomes part of a life-synthesis can it be peacefully and positively lived out. There is a real danger that the emotional asceticism required may lead to a suppression or stunting of emotion, a lack of warmth or a serious failure in the development of the personality. A priest should be able to form relationships which are affective as well as willed and must learn to cope in the difficult field of human relationships rather than shying away from it. There should be a warmth and idealism about his religious life. The community in which the student lives should help to make these things possible.

5. Theological Training:

a. In considering the theological training of the candidate for the priesthood, it is important to avoid separating the study of theology as an academic discipline from the spiritual training of the Christian, and more especially of the priest. It is true that there is no universal agreement on the exact definition of theology, and consequently on the essential conditions for studying theology. But a brief definition of theology, in accord with the traditional teaching of the Church might be so worded: the intellectual examination of God's revelation of Himself in Christ. The important consequence of such a definition is that the study of theology demands faith in a given Divine

revelation. But faith is not merely an intellectual quality. It is the commitment of the whole person to that truth which in its fullness lies beyond the grasp of the intellect; a commitment which is not the result of intellectual demonstration of the truth. Consequently, the student of theology must be a believer in Christ as the true revealer of God. This implies that the student must be living the life of Christian faith, in order to be able to study theology. And it further implies that such a study must affect his life of faith. Therefore, there cannot be any academic study of theology which is not at the same time a spiritual training of the Christian. But whilst these two aspects can never be separated, there can, and indeed there must be a varying of the emphasis to be put on the one or the other. If too much emphasis is put upon the spiritual training, the intellectual integrity of theology may suffer; if too little, theology will lose its specific identity, and become another academic discipline such as the study of comparative religion. But between these two extremes there is room and need for a varying of emphasis during the preparation of the candidate for the priesthood.

b. In order to prepare the candidate for the study of theology in a more academic setting, where its relation to faith, the living of the Christian life and the priesthood may not be so easily realised, the candidate should begin his training with an initiation year, designed to stress this relation. Unless there are special circumstances, such as the particular experience of a more mature candidate, all should complete this preparatory period, which should be a highly organised spiritual year, with a closely-knit community life, centred on the Eucharistic liturgy, in order to give the candidates the living experience of what the Church and the priesthood are. During this period they should be closely involved with other people, working alongside them in such a way that they may come to realise the nature of other people's lives, and their many needs, in order to deepen their own conviction of the importance of the Church, the priesthood and indeed the salvation of Christ. The theological training in this first year should be subordinated to this spiritual training, but the latter should be sustained and developed by the

theological study of a general conspectus of Christian doctrine and a more detailed examination of the theological developments concerning the nature of the Church.

c. Bearing in mind that the candidate is capable of profiting by tertiary education of a professional level, and that as a normal rule he has at least five passes at O level, and two at A level in the G.C.E., the committee recommend that he should carry out the second, third and fourth years of his theological training, in the faculty of theology of a British university, this to be followed by two years of further training. A number of considerations lead us to this conclusion:

> i. The pattern of British education is such that an educated person is now expected to have studied at a university. This is rapidly becoming a normal outlook of society, and there is a well-founded fear that the priest of the future may be alienated from society to some extent, if his education has not included this experience. Among those to whom he will minister, an increasing percentage will have studied at a university, and it is desirable that he should have had a similar experience. From the viewpoint of the candidate himself, it would seem that complete separation of the seminary from the mainstream of British education might create a feeling of isolation from his contemporaries and a feeling of inferiority.
>
> ii. It is preferable that the candidate should go to the university after he has firmly committed himself to the priesthood, and in direct pursuance of his preparation for the priesthood, rather than delay until he has taken a first degree. The three years devoted to the latter, usually from the age of 18 to 21, are of particular importance in his development; and the change from school to university is one of the most significant he will ever experience. It is therefore precisely at this

point that the opportunity is most favourable for the establishing of his sense of commitment to the priesthood, through theological studies at the university within a community life designed for this purpose.

iii. An essential requisite of the candidate's theological studies at the university is the guidance of Catholic tutors in addition to those appointed by the university. The question of doctrinal orthodoxy is an important one, when we remind ourselves that we are concerned with the student who is approaching the study of theology for the first time. There would however be no difficulty in providing a special academic staff to safeguard the theological training of the candidate. Any deficiencies in the syllabus of the university theology faculty would be remedied in the last two years of the candidate's training.

d. At no stage in the preparation of a candidate should the training be purely academic and it is important that the personal training should not be neglected, the more so since this period is to be spent at the university. To ensure that his theological studies are formative, the student should live in a community whose aim is to experience the living reality of the theology studied, a community which benefits by the guidance and inspiration of those who realise the intimate connection there can be between academic theology and the Christian life, and more particularly, the priesthood. 'This does not mean merely that they say their prayers and join in corporate worship in the intervals between other activities. It means that their study of theology is constantly brought to bear upon the daily realities of prayer and worship. In their turn, worship and prayer, activities specifically directed towards the living God, have a beneficent effect upon the study of theology. This study only becomes an effective component of the training of the priest when it comes into a living relationship with the inner life. And this relationship is something which must be fostered in such a way during his training that it will

continue to grow and sustain him throughout his ordained ministry'. (*Doing Theology Today*, p. 7).

e. The Committee recommend that these theological studies, within the university and the community life outlined above, should take place in Manchester. The only university in the North West which adequately serves the interests of candidates for the priesthood is the University of Manchester. There are honours degrees in religious studies, and in Biblical studies; an ordinary degree in theology, and the second degrees of B.D. and M.A., and a diploma in pastoral theology. The faculty also offers a certificate in theology, which may meet the needs of students whose academic background would otherwise deprive them of a university experience.

6. Pastoral Training:

a. During the final two years of training, the emphasis should be on pastoral theology and practical training. By pastoral theology is here meant that part of theology more directly concerned with the demands of the Christian way of life and the means of meeting them. From the academic point of view the courses would be principally in moral theology, liturgy and canon law. But courses in psychology and sociology, and training in methods of communication would also be needed. An important element of this final stage would be supervised pastoral work in local parishes, and this particularly in the last year.

b. Some pastoral work will be stipulated as part of the systematic training of the student, for priestly formation must be designed to prepare the student for the life of ministry and accordingly should not be exclusively intellectual. This systematic pastoral work needs careful adaptation to the needs of each student, and in assigning it the maturity, personality, background and previous training of the individual needs to be taken into account. How the student carries out this work will provide a valuable indication as to his suitability for the priesthood. Guided initiation into the life of practical apostolic activity will help to prepare the student for 'life on the

mission'. The need to provide both breadth and depth of experience must be taken into account in planning this aspect of formation. Lectures on particular activities or visits of observation will amply cater for some aspects, while supervised involvement will provide the depths of experience required for others.

c. Whichever kind of pastoral work is being considered it is important that it should be integrated with the student's spiritual and academic formation and that it should not be an isolated aspect of his life. His involvement in practical affairs should reflect his developing awareness of Christ and of the needs of the Church and the world.

d. Certain parts of professional secular training can also make a valuable contribution to the pastoral formation of the student. The priestly ministry can benefit from the application of expertise acquired from members of the caring professions, though pastoral training is not intended to quality the student as a member of these professions. This more formal aspect of his preparation comprises broadly speaking that knowledge and those techniques which are the common background of social workers, together with skills in communication. Inter-professional training may contribute a greater understanding of the role of social workers and their problems, and perhaps represents an ideal to be aimed at.

e. As far as the acquisition of knowledge is concerned it is a matter of making the student aware of facts and theories which are widely accepted in informal circles in our society. One basic theme for study is the normal and abnormal development, both psychological and social, of the human person, together with various factors affecting maturation and responsibility. Another important theme is the nature of society and the ways in which social change affects different institutions and groupings. A further theme deals with the social services available and the provisions made for remedying the needs of deprived people.

f. Pastoral training must reinforce the confidence of the student that the basis for his life's work lies in the priesthood itself rather than in any professional knowledge and skills he may have acquired. Prayer and theological reflection on his pastoral experiences are of the utmost importance. Human qualities, such as perseverance, adaptability, sincerity, which have been fostered by the spiritual and academic training should also be strengthened by the pastoral aspect of training. Pastoral training will be expected to develop the student's sensitivity to the needs of people around him and to help him discern the priest's role in answering these needs. To cope with a period of rapid social change the student must be able to view his work with an open mind, ready to adapt to changing circumstances and flexible in approach. The major outcome from the student's pastoral training must be genuine enthusiasm for the active work of the priest.

g. In conclusion, provision should be made for each student to receive suitable training in psychological techniques, to be given introductory courses in the social sciences, and to become adequately informed as to the scope and availability of the social sciences. These aspects of training should be regarded as especially suitable for the co-operation of lay experts, in appropriate secular agencies, under the general direction of the Pastoral Supervisor. This programme of training should be co-ordinated with the post-ordination training made available to the clergy.

7. In-service Training:

a. In the years since Vatican II the need has been felt increasingly among the clergy for some help in gaining an awareness and understanding of recent theological writing and in coping with the often disconcerting movements of ideas. While fully appreciating the value of the initiatives taken and of the work already being done to help priests the committee are of the opinion that the time has come to enlarge and co-ordinate such attempts as are being made so as to have an integrated policy for post-ordination training. We look forward therefore to the establishing of a pastoral institute as an

essential means to ensure the formulation and execution of such a policy. Although we are well aware that its programmes will not be designed exclusively for the clergy and their particular needs, the pastoral institute should be responsible for the ongoing education of the priests of the archdiocese. A pre-requisite for success would be the burying once and for all of any suggestion that priestly training ceases with ordination.

Appendix 3

The Rectors of Upholland

Most of this appendix, down to Mgr Dean's retirement and death, was written by Mr Brian Plumb, whose two biographical works Found Worthy *and* From Arundel to Zabi *are invaluable to any historian of the archdiocese, and in particular to the editor who completed this appendix.*

Upholland experienced nine rectors during its all too brief existence, all of whom may be safely said to have been priests of their time. Indeed, the first of them was in advance of his time which with his indifferent health and the discouraging comments of contemporaries explains the brevity of his tenure. **Charles Teebay** (1824-1892) was born in Preston where his father was a dealer in wines and spirits. After his clerical studies at Ushaw, where his refined manners and devotion to study were not always appreciated in those somewhat rough and ready days, his love of books remained with him for life and his vast collection was eventually bequeathed to Upholland. In the genial atmosphere of St John's, Kirkham, where he was appointed curate after his ordination in 1850 he had ample opportunity for reading and further study. After four years, he was moved to the teaching staff of St Edward's College, Liverpool, where he remained for thirteen years. In 1867 he moved to the new mission that had been opened in the fast-developing area of Birkdale where he stayed until appointed to be the first rector of the new college at Upholland in 1833. [1]

Canon Teebay's rectorship coincided with years of change in the substance of seminary training. In the Bull *Aeterni Patris* Pope Leo XIII commended a return to the principles of St Francisco Suarez and his counter-reformation disciples. Not everyone rejoiced at such an idea and although nobody would have used the dreaded word liberal in 1883, Teebay was regarded as very tolerant, far too

tolerant for some of the ardent traditionalists who formed the backbone of old Lancashire Catholicism. Allegations were made of ill-disciplined students playing football in coloured attire, and even being allowed to read newspapers and worldly magazines. Teebay argued that students should be mentally stretched and not simply crammed with the subjects of the approved syllabus. His critics among the clergy were plenty: one said Upholland compared ill with Ushaw and Lisbon, another feared what sort of priests would be let loose on the faithful with such want of discipline and priestly-spirit. Yet another said he had been told by several people that they regretted having subscribed to the place, having seen the results. In 1886 Teebay resigned the rectorship but was given the right to reside at the college for life. He died in 1892 and was buried in the college cemetery.[2]

John Bilsborrow (1836-1903), the second of Upholland's rectors, was quite a different character. He came from farming stock at Singleton, near Kirkham, with roots deep in old English recusancy. As rector of Upholland he took a great interest in the farm whose animals were able to raise the highest prices in the markets of Liverpool and Manchester. He had been educated privately at Mr Baron's Academy in Lytham and studied for the priesthood at Ushaw. He was ordained in Liverpool by Bishop Goss on 26 February 1865 and immediately appointed to begin a Catholic mission at Barrow in Furness, a rapidly growing place where mineral mining and iron workings made work heavy and dangerous. He joined the initial staff at Upholland in 1883 as Professor of Scripture and Dogmatic Theology, and also as Vice-Rector, and remained as such until becoming rector in 1886. His years coincided with increased vigour of teaching apologetics in the face of a rising tide of rationalism, and he was known widely as 'a strong champion of Catholic doctrine against its most powerful opponents.' He was not enthusiastic about Catholics being allowed to go to study at Oxford or Cambridge, claiming the only advantages would be social. Mgr. Bilsborrow was consecrated third Bishop of Salford on 24 August 1892.[3]

Thomas Whiteside was born at Lancaster in 1857 and educated at St Edward's, Ushaw and the English College, Rome, where he was ordained priest on 30 May 1885. At St Edward's he was present when Bishop Goss sustained the fatal heart attack in 1872, in fact Whiteside was the boy sent to ask a priest to bring the holy oils. The first nine years of his priesthood were spent at Upholland teaching theology. He became vice-rector in 1887 and succeeded as rector in 1892. His reign, however, was brief, as he was consecrated bishop of Liverpool in August 1892; his first task as bishop was to find another seminary rector and his choice was **William Walmsley** (1841-1928), rector of Sacred Heart Church, St Helens.[4]

Like Bilsborrow, his roots were deep in old Lancashire recusancy. Born at Brindle, not far from Preston, he was an alumnus of the English College, Valladolid, and a perceptive memoir by one of his students at Upholland, Cuthbert L. Waring (1884-1961) tells us, 'He read Spanish with ease and spoke it with elegance. Had he wished to display his knowledge he would have been one of the greatest authorities on St Teresa of Avila'. (Her altar at Upholland was his personal gift). Waring continues 'His memory was astonishing. In the Classics, there was not one book of which he could not give the gist. In theology, moral and ascetical, he was a master'. Appointed a canon within a month of his appointment to Upholland, he became Provost of the Chapter in 1914. He remained very much a Lancashire man, forthright in speech and robust in character. He forbade the use of the ferula as punishment for young boys but to one of them, tearful after an operation, he said 'You'd have made a real fool of yourself at Tyburn'. In chapel, even at the age of 80, he knelt upright, rigid as a grenadier.

Upholland ceased to be a senior seminary in 1918, the war having claimed so many students. From July 1918 to December 1919 the college was occupied by children from various orphanages. In 1920 came the great removal of the juniors from St Edward's. This, and much of the organisation of the enormous changes which followed, was assigned by the archbishop to Joseph Dean, procurator at Upholland. Provost Walmsley eventually

retired as Rector in 1926 but remained in residence until his death on 20 June 1928.

Joseph Dean (1875-1960) was born at Birkdale, Southport, on 22 August 1875. After education at Douai, he entered Upholland and was ordained priest there on 1 June 1901. After a few weeks at Sacred Heart, Hindsford, he went to the old Beda College in Rome and returned in 1905 with degrees in philosophy and theology. He then taught scripture and history at Upholland until the college's temporary closure in 1918. After one year as rector of St Mary's, Great Eccleston, he went to St Edward's as procurator and supervised the removal of students, furniture and everything else, to Upholland, where he was then made procurator and the archbishop's agent in dealing with architect and builders during the erection of the three massive blocks that completed the quadrangle. To the end of Dean's tenure as rector it is said there was not a drain, water inlet, electrical source or ventilation aperture in the entire college of which he had not some knowledge.

He took up the rectorship of the college in the summer of 1926. The old adage, 'what you see depends on where you stand' finds its validity in any effort to assess this outstanding and unyielding prelate. To a professorial colleague who became Bishop of Plymouth, Dean was 'worthy of all honour, a model to all'. Two archbishops of Liverpool entrusted some very onerous tasks to him with the closure of St Edward's and the building extensions at Upholland. Canon Harris of St Joseph's, Preston, praised Dean's knowledge and love of the Holy Land and its places he had often visited. In his lectures he was able to unfold the secrets of Cana and Galilee to 'leave me amazed'. Fr Francis Turner, who served as the parish priest of Upholland village and taught French in the college, knew Dean personally and remembered his love of travel in aeroplanes and his devotion to the Benedictines of Douai where he had been at school. In a rare moment of self-revelation Dean once told Francis Turner he was thankful he was sent to Douai as he would never have survived the rigorous regime at St Edward's College.

Yet to many an Upholland man as student and priest, he was for their entire life 'The Dreaded Dean'. His standards were severe. He would comment on how a boy carried a candle or rang a bell, he would expel a student for smoking, and woe betide anyone found careless in dress or deportment. He was the disciplinarian par excellence. Yet in World War II, in the terrible air raids on Liverpool when St Anthony's lost its parish priest, seriously injured, and two curates and three domestic staff, killed instantly, and the archbishop appealed to Upholland for someone to take charge until something resembling normality could be achieved, Monsignor Dean, true to his principle of never asking anybody to do what he was not willing to do himself, went there himself.[5]

As rector Dean frequently expressed his satisfaction with his staff, mostly Cambridge or Roman graduates. He never interfered with their teaching though he visited some department every week, and was always available for advice or guidance should it be sought. He had a reputation as a scripture scholar and edited three sections of the Westminster Version of the Bible under the general editorship of Fr Lattey SJ and Fr Keating SJ. This was 'a translation from the original Greek and Hebrew texts'; the New Testament appeared in 1935, the Old Testament was not completed. Volume one covered the Synoptic Gospels, and Dean translated and edited the three constituent parts with a very detailed and learned scholarly apparatus, which appeared in 1916 (St Mark), 1928 (St Matthew) and 1935 (St Luke). The language of the translation retains some archaisms but is clear and suitable for public reading. The introduction and appendix to the 1928 part were written by Lattey and not Dean because of 'the pressure of business brought upon Dr Dean by the enlarging of St Joseph's College, Upholland'. He also wrote the Homiletics section (interpreting the scriptural readings of the Sundays in a particular month) in half-a-dozen issues of the new *Clergy Review* between 1931 and 1942; for these he used the Westminster Version wherever possible. In general he adopted a strongly anti-Modernist stance in his biblical theology. He taught rubrics to the students but his greatest pleasure was teaching deacons how to celebrate Mass. Sometimes overlooked is the fact

that it was Dean who first organised a mission among the people of Upholland and Roby Mill, a project that developed into the present parish of St Teresa of the Child Jesus.

After sixteen years as rector, Dean's resignation and departure were swift. They came about as a result of his opposition to all the students having a holiday at home at Christmas and his failure to consult his staff sufficiently. His going was announced at Mass on Wednesday 6 May 1942, and when staff and students returned from the chapel it was discovered he had already gone – by bus. His portrait by Francis T. Copnall (1870-1949), financed by the Josephian Society, was completed in 1944.[6]

Mgr Dean's final work was as chaplain to an Ormskirk convent and women's refuge home where he occupied a cottage in the grounds, surrounded by his numberless collection of books. He died in Providence Hospital, St Helens, on 21 October 1960.

Joseph Francis Turner (1892-1982) was born in Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, in May 1892. He went to St Edward's in 1904 and on to Upholland in 1915, having obtained an external degree in classics from the University of London and gained a reputation also as a fine gymnast. In 1918 he was called up to the army and served in France. On being demobbed at the end of the war he went for a few months to Ushaw and thence to Oscott to continue his studies, eventually being ordained by Archbishop Whiteside in 1921. After three years in Cambridge, and another degree in classics, he returned to Upholland as Classics Master, becoming headmaster in 1928 and vice-rector in 1939. Three years later he succeeded Mgr Dean as rector.

Mgr Turner continued to teach classics in the School, principally to Poetry and Rhetoric, while guiding the college through the later years of the war. His main interest was in the liturgy and especially in sacred music. He trained and conducted the Schola and became a nationally recognised expert on plainchant, regularly attending the summer schools of the Society of St Gregory. He was meticulous and dignified in the performance of the liturgy and accepted and implemented the changes of the 1950s that eventually revolutionised it. All who knew him recognised his complete

integrity; never one to court popularity, he won the esteem of fellow members of staff and students.

In April 1958 Archbishop Heenan appointed Fr Sidney Breen to replace him as rector, no doubt seeing in him someone more able to lead the college through the changes likely to be called for, though this, in the eyes of many, was to ignore Mgr Turner's deeper skills. Mgr Turner went as parish priest to Sts Peter and Paul, Great Crosby. He retired in 1969 to Ince Blundell Hall where he acted as chaplain to the sick and retired clergy until his death in 1982.

His portrait was painted by Stanley Reed RA, a Liverpool artist; commissioned by the Josephian Society, a copy appeared as frontispiece in the 1948 *Magazine*. Described as 'a striking statement of ecclesiastical personality', it hung in the Royal Academy exhibition of 1948; when hung in the college dining room later that year it was, according to the *Magazine* diarist, regarded as having few equals in the college's collection of portraits. (Reed's portrait of Archbishop Downey also hung in the Academy, in 1950).

Sidney Breen (1914 - 2007) was born in Liverpool in 1914. He entered Upholland as a student in 1930 and was ordained in 1940. After two years as curate in Ashton in Makerfield he was recalled to Upholland to become prefect of discipline in the School. Then, in 1945, he transferred to the Beda staff and taught philosophy there for a year, though without any obvious qualification to do so. When the Beda students returned to Rome in 1946 he was appointed to teach philosophy to the Upholland students, which he did until 1956; this period also included a spell of six years as prefect of discipline in the Upper House. In 1956 he became procurator in succession to Fr Ibison, and two years later he was appointed rector by Archbishop Heenan.

An article in the *Magazine* on his retirement from the rectorship in 1972 (written by Fr Fred Callon) may be quoted here:

> There are many things about Mgr Breen for which he will be remembered. He never failed to rise to any occasion. In a social gathering he was the life and soul of the party, and in his public addresses he invariably

> said exactly what should be said, frequently spicing his words with some telling phrase that was a comical as it was striking, like comparing something that was out of place with the appearance of a sausage in a trifle! He always took a keen interest in the maintenance side of the College, and was always ready with helpful suggestions for improvements, particularly in the Chapel, where he was responsible for a number of successful additions and alterations.[7]

His years as rector, however, were difficult ones and it may be doubted that he had the necessary attributes to offer a positive lead to a seminary undergoing such fundamental changes. While not opposing change, he was cautious rather than encouraging in his approach to it. The running was made by others, to whom he gave full opportunity for suggesting new ideas, but nothing was done without, it has been claimed, careful consideration on his part. He retired from the college to become parish priest of St Mary's, Little Crosby, Liverpool. He died on 4 February 2007.

Thomas Worden (1920-73) was born in Chorley. He was ordained at the college in 1946, and after studies in Fribourg and Rome (at the Pontifical Biblical Institute) he went to the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem. Returning to the archdiocese he served as curate at St Bede's, Widnes for a few months before joining the college staff to teach biblical languages and scripture. He became professor of scripture in succession to Fr Alec Jones (1906-70; first editor of the *Jerusalem Bible*). Along with Fr Jones he played a major role in re-awakening scripture studies in the country. He was a *peritus* at Vatican II, edited *Scripture*, and published *The Psalms are Christian Prayer* (London, 1962) and (as editor) *The Sacraments in Scripture: A Symposium* (London, 1966). After the years of the dead hand of a general anti-Modernist approach and, in the context of Upholland, the baleful scrutiny of Mgr Dean, he has been described as 'a light shining in the darkness'. As prefect of studies he was responsible for re-organising the whole system of study in the senior seminary, to encourage personal involvement and bring it in line with the English higher education ethos. He did

all he could to establish effective links between Upholland and Manchester University (unfortunately unsuccessfully), and urged the separation of the junior and senior seminaries. He succeeded Mgr Breen as rector in autumn 1972, but died the following May.[8]

William Dalton was born in Warrington in 1925. He entered Upholland in 1946 from the English College in Lisbon and was ordained in June 1949. He then went to Louvain to study dogmatic theology and spent a year as a lecturer in Notre Dame University, USA. He returned to the college in 1953 as a member of staff. He succeeded Mgr Worden as rector and oversaw the move of the senior students to Ushaw and the amalgamation of the northern junior seminaries at Upholland. In 1982 he became parish priest of St Thomas of Canterbury, St Helens. He is currently (2017) living in retirement.

Mgr Dalton was the last rector of Upholland. From 1982-88 Bishop John Rawsthorne, auxiliary bishop in Liverpool, was president. In practice, the Upholland Northern Institute was run by its director while the School was run by its headmaster. In 1988 Mgr John Butchard became director; he was succeeded by Mgr John Devine in 1990 who oversaw the closure of the college and was the last to leave in 1999.

Notes

[1] *Catholic Family Annual and Almanac for the Diocese of Liverpool* (Liverpool 1894), p. 115.

[2] See main text above, pp. 51 ff.

[3] Plumb, *Arundel*; *Liverpool Catholic Directory*, 1904, pp. 112-3.

[4] Plumb, *Arundel*; Cuthbert L. Waring, 'Men of Little Showing: Provost Walmsley', *Clergy Review* vol.2 (1932), pp. 242-7; *Magazine*, July 1923, p. 28; 1927, p. 38; Thomas Walmsley, 'A Reminiscence of Provost Walmsley', *Magazine,* December 1926, pp. 3-7.

[5] F. Turner, 'Monsignor Dean', *Magazine*, 1943, pp. 34-8; Anon, 'Our New President', *Magazine*, December 1926, pp. 49-50; C. Taylor, 'Mgr Joseph Dean', *Cathedral Record*, November 1960, pp. 249-250; Plumb, 'Catholic

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[6] See main text above, pp. 79 ff; *Magazine*, Spring 1944, p. 3.

[7] F. Callon, 'Monsignor Breen', *Magazine*, 1973, pp. 15-16; see also pp. 186-187, above.

[8] *Magazine*, 1952, p. 121; Kelly, *50 Years*, pp. 18-19.

Appendix 4

The Presidents of St Edward's College, Liverpool

Mgr John Henry Fisher (1812-89): President 1842-1884; also VG and Provost.

Canon James Carr (1826-1913): President 1884-1894; also VG and Provost.

Canon Evan Banks (1849-1927): President 1894-1919.

Fr Richard Rigby (1876-1919): President 1919.

Mgr Joseph Dean (1875-1960): acting-President 1919-1920.

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Index

This is the history of priestly formation in the (arch)diocese of Liverpool through the story of Upholland College. It successfully established itself alongside the older English colleges at home and overseas, until national developments, fresh theological insights and economic pressures saw previous certainties disappear, bringing about the college's closure in the 1990s.

Peter Doyle, a former student and member of staff of Upholland College, is a retired history lecturer. In his research he specialises in the post-1850 history of the Catholic Church in this country, with particular reference to the archdiocese of Liverpool.

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