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The Treasurer
North West Catholic History Society
11 Tower Hill
Ormskirk
Lancashire
L39 2EE

Contributions to the journal should be addressed to:

The Revd Christopher Hilton
Editor
North West Catholic History
Oratory House
St Chad's
Cheetham Hill Road
Manchester
M8 8GG

Intending contributors are requested to obtain from the editor a copy of 'Notes for Contributors'.

Secretary to the Society:
Mrs Linda Forster
1 Rydal Avenue
Freckleton
Preston
PR4 1DJ

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North West Catholic History

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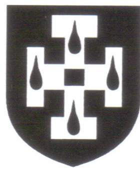

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The Suspension of George Leo Haydock from his Priestly Duties (1831-38)

Ronald W. Taylor

The life and work of George Haydock still holds interest for many people more than 150 years after his death, and two recent publications, *The Haydock Bible after Two Centuries*, by Sidney Ohlhausen[1] and *The End Crowns the Work*, a biography of Haydock by Michael Mullett,[2] have given this interest fresh impetus.

Professor Mullett's biography briefly tells of the early life and education of Haydock at Douay (Douai), his ordination at Ushaw and his pastoral work in Yorkshire and in Penrith. He deals at some length with Haydock's writings and, most importantly, places them in the context of Catholic teaching and thinking of their time.

The Origin of Species was not published until 1850, and those with an interest in the Bible in Haydock's time were what we would now term 'Bible Literalists'. Professor Mullett illustrates this delightfully with reference to Haydock's treatment of the story of Noah and the Ark.[3] He deals only briefly, however, with one of the most important periods of Haydock's life, his suspension from priestly duties between 1831 and 1839. This is understandable because there is not a great deal of documentation concerning this episode, but it is a matter of concern if one wishes to understand Haydock's character, and it is this period of his life that is the subject of this article.

After his ordination in September 1798 George Leo joined the teaching staff at Crook Hall, and served there for five years. It was always intended, however, that he would fulfil a pastoral role, and in January 1803 he was appointed as priest to the congregation in the district of Ugthorpe, near Whitby.

Nicholas Postgate, known as the 'Priest of the Moors',[4] had served the Catholics of the district for some forty-nine years until his martyrdom in 1679. Initially he had been supported by the local

Catholic gentry, but for the last seventeen years of his life, as they suffered fines and loss of property, he worked from a small cottage in Ugthorpe. The Catholic population that the Rev. Mr Haydock was to serve, therefore, was well established, but very poor. The posting was known as 'Purgatory' for that reason.

Fortunately, George Leo had a small income of his own. His family had been Lords of the Manor at Cottam, near Preston from the thirteenth century, and initially had held lands throughout that part of Lancashire. They had become relatively poor because of the penal laws, and in 1730 the title was sold.

George Leo's brother established a publishing business, and his great achievement was the production of a new edition of the Bible, to which George Leo contributed the majority of the footnotes. The business absorbed a great deal of any spare money that the family possessed and it is recorded that George Leo himself made £3,000 available to his brother to support the enterprise.[5]

Nevertheless, he was able to sustain himself, and by drawing on other friends and relatives for financial help, he built a new chapel and presbytery at Ugthorpe. These buildings were completed by 1810, and a small school was added later.

In 1816 he was appointed additionally to the mission at Whitby, a few miles from Ugthorpe, and to Scarborough, some 40 miles further to the south. This combined post he shared with the Rev. John Woodcock until 1827 when the Rev. Nicholas Rigby took charge of Ugthorpe.[6]

At that time the mission of Ugthorpe had a debt of some £284, and George Leo expected the Rev. Nicholas Rigby to take responsibility for this so that he could complete the building of a school in the mission of St Hilda at Whitby. The Rev. Mr Rigby refused to do this, saying that it was George Leo's problem. It seems from correspondence that angry words were probably exchanged.[7]

One might have thought that this problem could have been resolved fairly easily as both priests had the interests of their people at heart, but clearly this was not the case. There was seemingly an absence of goodwill, which would have been required for an amicable settlement, and one must ask the question, 'why this should have been the case?'

The answer to this question might well have been related to an earlier financial dispute between George Leo and his two immediate superiors, which had upset his sense of justice.

This dispute concerned an endowment of £300 made in 1811 by Sir Henry Trelawney, to establish a school for poor girls of St Hilda's mission in Whitby. In 1816 George Leo was ordered by the northern bishops to transfer the money to Ushaw College, which was in a very precarious financial situation. It seems that Sir Henry, who had also offered £300 to the College to support two students, might have approved this, although as he had subsequently 'relapsed to act as a Parson' in 1815, this is not certain.

George Leo wrote that he 'could see no right that ye college has to it'.[8] He appealed to the bishops to change their decision, but they refused. Eventually, after some negotiation, £200 was transferred to Ushaw College.

This matter continued to disturb George Leo's sense of fair play throughout his life. As late as 1849 he wrote to Dr Gillow (junior),

> My conscience is still not at rest about the £200 gotten in 1816 by the college from Whitby girl's school. I asked simply, as I have done *usque ad nauseam* [even to nausea] from ye different bishops and presidents [of Ushaw College] since when can an absolute donation be recalled, particularly in such circumstances.[9]

George Leo continued to dispute the issue. He complained of the various decisions, and demanded come reason for them, which he never satisfactorily obtained.[10] His persistence annoyed the Vicars Apostolic, and when to this was added the dispute with the Rev. Mr Rigby, their patience was stretched to breaking point. In 1828 Bishop Penswick wrote to him suggesting that he was 'acting under the influence of irritation'. He went on,

> That you have received great provocation I will not deny, at the same time I see much to be lamented and much to be censured, both in you and in Mr N. Rigby. He shows too little respect for superiority of years and experience, and you and very blameable for the asperity with which you have treated him.[11]

This letter appears to have had little effect, and in 1830 George Leo was moved from Whitby to Lancashire, in spite of a petition by the local Catholic people against the move.[12] He was assigned to a mission based on Westby Hall, the home of the Clifton family. This was a relatively well-to-do mission, and gave him an annual income of £100. In spite of this he continued to dispute the matter of the debt of the Ugthorpe mission, and even accused Bishops Smith and Penswick of cheating him of money owed to him.[13]

Bishop Thomas Smith, nominally Bishop Penswick's superior, but in poor health, seems to have been rather more emollient than Bishop Penswick, who was said by Schofield and Skinner, in their work *The English Vicars Apostolic*, to have been a 'greater disciplinarian than his predecessor'.[14] Thus when Bishop Smith died in 1831, and apparently without further warning, Bishop Penswick suspended George Leo from the exercise of his priestly functions, including his right to say Mass.

He retreated to the remnant of his family home, The Golden Tagg at Cottam, and spent the next eight years there in study. However, in 1832 in appealed twice to Propaganda Fide. The papers were given to Bishop Gradwell, his old pupil, to transmit to Rome. Instead Gradwell sent them on to Bishop Penswick who, as Schofield and Skinner commented, managed to block the appeals.[15]

It was not until the death of Bishop Penswick in 1837 that a further appeal to Propaganda Fide was granted. In 1839, without any explanation, the Vicar General, the Rev Thomas Sherburne informed him that his priestly faculties were restored and that he might take over the mission at Penrith.[16]

What could have possessed Bishop Penswick to suspend a priest who was popular with his people, who could support himself financially, and who was able to raise money from family and friends for the benefit of the people of his mission?

These must have been powerful factors in the difficult circumstances of northern Catholics at this time. Bishop Smith, in his report in 1823 to Propaganda Fide on the state of his district , noted particularly the lack of priests, chapels and money.[17] In 1837 the situation was, if anything, rather worse because the immigration of

very poor Catholics from Ireland was increasing the demand for priestly services.

Clearly this was more than a clash of powerful personalities. It is believed that there was a fundamental disagreement between George Leo and Bishop Penswick on their respective roles. This was certainly unspoken and perhaps unrecognised by either man.

George Leo came from a long line of Catholic gentry who had sustained the Faith at considerable personal loss. His scholarship was recognised, as witnessed by his appointment as a professor at Ushaw and he had many publications besides his contributions to the Haydock Bible. His orthodoxy is unquestionable, as is his defence of the doctrine of the Church, which comes out so clearly in some of his biblical commentaries. Undoubtedly, as Professor Mullett indicates, he was loyal to Rome. After all, the family had suffered greatly over the years for this principle.

There is no doubt, however, from his personal letters and from the relationship which he developed with Lord Howard, when he came to Penrith, that Haydock regarded himself as belonging to the Catholic gentry.[18] He served his parishioners in Penrith very well to the end of his life, often with great personal sacrifice, and he was well known and liked by the ordinary citizens of Penrith, hitherto hostile to Catholics. Like that section of the Catholic aristocracy, the Cisalpines, there is no doubt that he favoured the integration of Catholics into English life and culture and relative freedom from the institutional dictates of Rome.

Thomas Penswick was two years older than George Haydock and was ordained a priest a year earlier. His father was steward to the Gerard family of Bryn.[19] Following his ordination, he was appointed to Chester. Clearly this was a rather more wealthy community than that to which Haydock was subsequently appointed, because it is recorded that 'he very quickly built a fine new chapel on Queen Street'. In 1814 he was moved to the mission based around the new chapel of St Nicholas, in Liverpool, which was to become the pro-Cathedral in 1850.

In 1823 he was appointed titular Bishop of Europum and coadjutor to Bishop Smith. Gillow describes him as a handsome

man, affable, generous and diligent. 'His talents were not splendid but they were useful'.[20] Clearly he was singled out for preferment from an early stage and his progress was to be within the newly assertive ecclesiastical establishment.

There is no suggestion that Thomas Penswick was closely associated with George Haydock at Douay. However, they did arrive at Old Hall Green together after the expulsion of the students from Douay in 1793 by the French revolutionaries. While there, Penswick persuaded Haydock to sign a petition for the students from the north of England to be allowed to move to Crook Hall in Durham to complete their studies.[21]

At this time it seems that the English vicars apostolic were undecided whether to establish one or two seminaries. Penswick clearly favoured the view of Bishop Gibson while Haydock favoured establishment of a single seminary to replace Douay, as proposed by Bishop Douglas. He came to regret that he had signed the petition of Thomas Penswick. When Bishop Gibson instructed the northern students to proceed to Crook Hall, Haydock took a short sabbatical at home in The Golden Tagg, before travelling to Durham. Thereafter it seems that their paths did not cross until Bishop Penswick became Haydock's superior.

Nicholas Rigby was born at Walton-le-Dale in 1800 and was sent to Ushaw at the age of eleven. He was ordained priest in 1826, and served St Mary's, Wycliffe for six months before being transferred to Egton Bridge, which at that time was united with Ugthorpe.[22] Apart from the criticism which Bishop Penswick levelled at him regarding the way in which he conducted himself during the dispute with Haydock he cannot be said to have had any part in the latter's suspension.

In summary, it is suggested that the disagreement between George Haydock and Bishop Penswick reflected the fundamental differences between the Cisalpines (the English Catholic gentry who had supported the Church during the years of greatest persecution) and the Ultramontanes (those who believed that there should be an enhanced role for Rome in the management of the 'Church in England'.)

The Ultramontane view prevailed and in general, the English gentry became resigned to their loss of influence within the Church. The surge in the Catholic population in the nineteenth century came from outside their sphere of influence and they had little direct interest in the urban population among whom these Catholics were largely to be found. They were satisfied to forego the influence that they had previously enjoyed in the Church and to take what they considered to be their rightful place in lay society.

George Haydock clearly aligned himself with the gentry while serving his parishioners dutifully and most effectively. Not surprisingly, Bishop Penswick took the other side of this dispute as a result of which the Catholic community became, for some considerable time, more isolated from their fellow citizens than they had been since the early penal days.

Bishop Penswick was clearly intent on seeing the authority of the clerical establishment upheld. He was not prepared to see his authority challenged. He might even have regarded this as a challenge to the authority of the Church, although there was clearly no challenge to the Faith itself.

George Leo Haydock was independent financially and independent by temperament. He believed firmly in what he considered to be right in law, as the course of the dispute over the Ugthorpe debt illustrates. He was not prepared to compromise and for this he suffered what seems now to have been a harsh penalty.

One of the problems in learning more of the character of Haydock is the fact that there is no centrally collected archive. Much of the family archive was in Ushaw College library but it is not known what has happened to it since the closure of the college.

Joseph Gillow published a great deal of this in the *Haydock Papers*, selecting what he regarded as important. However, he left out a great deal.

There are many letters that Haydock wrote to his family and many that were exchanged with the Howard family when he was in Penrith, which came into the possession of Fr Tom Walsh when a non-Catholic member of the Howard family inherited Corby Castle. It is believed that they are in the archive of St Catherine's Parish in

Penrith. They are important if one wishes to understand how Haydock considered his position in the society of the time.

There are also letters in the archive at Westminster, particularly from Bishop Penswick, which are relevant, and of course there are the letters that are in the archive of Propaganda Fide in Rome. These do not add much to the details that we already have but they do shed light on George Leo Haydock's thinking and frame of mind.

Notes

1 S. K. Ohlhausen, 'The Haydock Bible After Two Centuries', *North West Catholic History*, XL, pp. 24-35.
2 M. A. Mullett, *The End Crowns the Work: George Leo Haydock 1774-1849,* (Wigan, 2012).
3 Mullett, pp. 26-27.
4 E. Hamilton, *The Priest of the Moors: Reflections of Nicholas Postgate*, (London, 1980).
5 Mullett, p. 28.
6 D. Quinlan, *The Whitby Catholics 640-1957*, (2nd ed London, 1957) p. 17.
7 Joseph Gillow, *The Haydock Papers*, (London, 1888), p.230.
8 Gillow, *Haydock Papers,* p. 229.
9 Gillow, *Haydock Papers,* p. 229.
10 Gillow, *Haydock Papers,* p. 230.
11 Gillow, *Haydock Papers,* p. 230.
12 Gillow, *Haydock Papers,* p. 230.
13 Mullett, p. 36.
14 N. Schofield and G. Skinner, *The English Vicars Apostolic 1688-1850*, (Oxford, 2009).
15 Schofield and Skinner, p. 171.
16 Gillow, *Haydock Papers*, p. 239.
17 Schofield and Skinner, p. 171.
18 The Archive of St. Catherine's Church, Penrith, Personal letters between Lord Philip Henry Howard of Penrith and George Leo Haydock.
19 Joseph Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* (5 vols, London, 1885) V. p. 259.
20 Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, V, p.259.
21 Mullett, 2012, p.13.
22 Gillow' *Bibliographical Dictionary*, V, p.442.

All Hallows College, Dublin, and Some Priests for the Diaspora

J. Dunleavy

Some years ago Fr Kevin Condon published a history of the seminary in Dublin which specialised in preparing priests for the mission fields. Not content with giving the reader an account of the inception, formation and progress of the college dedicated to All Hallows, Fr Condon appended a biographical dictionary of the alumni of the seminary before 1892. Entitled *The Missionary College of All Hallows 1842-1891*, the study represents an invaluable aid to anyone keen to undertake studies of the development of the Church and the Catholic community in Victorian times, because the arrival of a missionary priest and the opening of a chapel were frequently the first visible indications of a Catholic presence in many towns and cities.[1]

The date of the college's foundation is not without significance, coming a few years before the great famine, an indication that an outflow of victims of misrule and exploitation was already under way before the calamity which struck in 1846. Some priests had already made their way to England, and were doing great work in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Ministering to the Irish immigrant presented the missioner with a range of problems. While the newcomers were drawn to the urban areas, the nature of work they undertook obliged them to travel great distances to earn a livelihood. For instance, the spate of railway construction could provide lucrative earnings, yet the availability of such work frequently entailed a long trek to the scene of operations. Much of the this work was highly dangerous, and accidents were frequent. Victims received no compensation. Families who chose to live in the town could rarely afford nothing more than rented accommodation. Rents were so high that many families were obliged to share with others. Overcrowding meant the town dweller was prone to illness and at the mercy of a

variety of epidemic diseases. These were the conditions in which the clergy from All Hallows were obliged to serve as priests.[2]

Unlike many institutions engaged in religious studies, All Hallows, during the period studied by Fr Condon, was directed by a variety of priests. Some such as Fr Thomas Bennett, were members of religious orders, while the founder of All Hallows, Fr John Hand, was a secular priest. Fr Hand did consider a plan to invite members of the college academic staff to form a community along the lines of the French Sulpician Society, or possibly the Vincentian Order, though time was not on his side. Fr Hand died in 1846 still grappling with the multiplicity of problems besetting a new institution. Finance was a constant concern, and once the college was operational much of the founder's time was taken up with travelling appealing for funds. For this it was necessary first to petition a bishop for leave to visit his diocese, and then depend on the generosity of parish priests for access to their pulpits from where he might appeal for the attention and generosity of the faithful. Dublin and Meath clergy in particular proved to be among the more receptive to the pleas of Fr Hand.[3]

John Hand felt drawn to the priesthood from an early age. However, as the member of a farming family of modest means, he experienced obstacles when he attempted to enter the diocesan seminary at Navan, and later even more difficulties arose before he was admitted to the national seminary at Maynooth. His admission to the latter place owed a great deal to his local bishop, who only secured a place on condition that Hand agreed to work as a clerk assistant for the college. Life at Maynooth cannot have been too easy for him, since he had never attended a prestigious school, and was obliged to undertake paid employment in the administration. It is said when it came to theology classes his fellow-students made no attempt to hide their resentment at his presence. He was ordained priest in 1835 and was soon immersed in pastoral work and teaching. It was not however until 1838 that his ideas began to crystallise. Attending the inaugural meeting in Dublin which started an Irish branch of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, he was prompted to consider the spiritual needs of his fellow-countrymen

who had gone abroad, and this led to him to plan ‘a Catholic college for the foreign missions in Dublin’.[4]

The Irish bishops generally showed little interest in adopting an idea that might well prove to be an expensive project. Fortunately Dr Murray, Dublin’s archbishop, made no secret of the fact that Hand enjoyed his confidence. Undeterred by rebuffs from several quarters, Hand persisted and in 1842 he gained the approbation of Cardinal Franson, of Propaganda Fide. Ironically having gained the support of such an august prelate, on his return to Ireland Hand was dismayed when the Irish branch of the APF still refused to accept his plan. He continued to enjoy the sympathy of Archbishop Murray and in the autumn of 1842 All Hallows College took out a lease on Drumcondra House, in north Dublin. Welcoming staff and students, Hand declared: ‘a missionary college in Dublin would contribute enormously to the advancement of the church in the British Empire’.[5]

Hand was a man imbued with the need for such a college, and he sought to enlist the help of others in his scheme. The college opened formally with just one student on 1 November 1842; within two years student numbers had risen to over fifty, under the direction of a community of six priests. The effectiveness of Fr Hand's appeals was reflected in the college having a bank deposit of £2,000. This was remarkable, since such a college was not unique in Ireland, there being what might be termed sister institutions, such as St Kieran’s at Kilkenny and St Patrick’s at Carlow, which had been doing sterling work in recruiting and educating missionaries since the late eighteenth century. Like All Hallows, they were dependent on the generosity of the faithful, and this is apparent by scrutinising the annual lists of donors and benefactors which reveals just how many of them had been unstinting in their support over many years.[6]

Before considering the education and ultimate destinations of a select group of All Hallows alumni, some note ought to devoted to the teachers, the men associated with Hand from an early date. One of these, Bartholomew Woodlock, according to one authority, deserves to be regarded as the co-founder of the college. His early education was entrusted to the Jesuits. After attending Clongowes

Wood he went to Rome for further studies, being ordained priest in 1841. At All Hallows he was able to put his administrative skills to good use, an invaluable contribution to the smooth running of the college at a time when it was beginning growing in esteem and acceptance.[7]

In addition to his work at All Hallows Woodlock was committed to promoting his ideas for a Catholic system of higher education, and in this respect he collaborated closely for a time with John Henry Newman, when the former Anglican was presiding over the struggling Catholic University in St Stephen's Green. Woodlock's interests were numerous and comprised among other things the liturgy and the religious life. He was among the founders of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, an agency which demonstrated that there was an increasing range of tasks for the laity in the Church.[8]

Yet despite Woodlock's commitment to the college, during his presidency All Hallows was beset by instability and the future was uncertain. Part of the problem was the absence of a proper relationship to an external authority, while the other glaring concern was the lack of a permanent source of financial support. These issues were apparent in the days of Fr Hand, yet still called for attention.

Before his death in 1846, Fr Hand confided to his colleagues his belief that Fr David Moriarty would be a suitable person to steer the destinies of the college in anxious times. Ireland was experiencing the calamity that came to be known as the great famine. There had been a partial failure of the potato crop in 1845; in the following year the entire crop was lost. Emigration, significant in 1845, became a torrent in the year of Fr Hand's death. Disease and death claimed countless victims in Ireland, while those with means made for the ports helping to swell the great tide of humanity making for Britain and North America. All Hallows and indeed the other missionary colleges in Ireland were well aware of the persistent out-flow of their co-religionists, that had been the reason for their founding; yet the volume of human traffic in the 1840s was unprecedented. Moriarty thus took over the direction of the college at an anxious time, and it says much for his abilities that the college rode out the storm and All Hallows was able to continue fulfilling the task set by its founders.[9]

David Moriarty a native of Kerry, received some of his early education in France, completing his schooling at Maynooth. Ordained priest in 1839, he served as a member of the academic staff of the Irish College, Paris, where he became vice-rector and dean. Returning to Dublin in 1844, he taught physics and *belles lettres* at All Hallows. Given his background he appreciated the need for some sort of society which would provide the community with a set of rules, but this was not to become a reality for many years. In the meantime, like his predecessor, Moriarty was obliged to spend an appreciable amount of his time on fund raising, no easy task when the country was still reeling from the effects of the famine. Yet Moriarty is best remembered not so much as an effective college president, or even as a bishop of Kerry, but as the prelate who spoke out against the Fenians. There were numerous varieties of Irish nationalism during Moriarty's lifetime. One group was termed Young Ireland, and though some of these were associated with the abortive rising of 1848, given the disturbed state of the country few clerics seemed to recognise there was any need to put a ban on such a movement. In 1867, however, a more militant type of nationalism found expression in the Fenian movement. These were not only to be found in Ireland but in Britain, Australia, and in particular North America. Moriarty, by now bishop of Kerry, gave vent to his feelings, in unrestrained language deploring the 'infamy of the heads of the Fenian conspiracy, we must acknowledge that eternity is not long enough nor hell hot enough to punish such miscreants'. Having provoked a flood of adverse criticism, Moriarty tried to clarify his remarks, though the damage had been done, and henceforth he was perceived as being a 'Castle bishop'. He never again regained the unqualified affection of his flock, and this during a period when the faithful invariably relied on their bishop for guidance on a range of issues.[10]

There is little doubt that during the formative years of All Hallows nationalist sentiment in Ireland generally grew and this would infect many of the clergy coming from that college. According to one authority, in addition to the pursuit of theology and philosophy as in other seminaries, the atmosphere inside All Hallows was

imbued with an 'unbounded commitment to Irish nationalism'. Among the college teachers none was more imbued with nationalism than Fr Richard O'Brien. He had been born in Tipperary, educated at Carlow and Maynooth, being ordained priest for the Limerick diocese in 1838. The early years of his priestly career were spent in Canada, from where he returned to Ireland in 1845. On joining the teaching staff at All Hallows he taught French and English. When not teaching his subjects, O'Brien devoted much of his time to the promotion of Irish nationalism, in particular expounding on the ideas of the Young Ireland society which he gleaned from the columns of the ultra-patriotic journal *The Nation.* O'Brien's service at All Hallows fell into two periods, for in 1847 he returned to Limerick as a curate, and while there established the Catholic Young Men's Society. This was modelled on a range of adult education agencies (YMCA, mechanics' institutes, etc.) that came into being at this time. From Limerick O'Brien's agency spread throughout Ireland, and then to Britain, where it attracted the support of many immigrants from Ireland. O'Brien travelled widely to promote the CYMS, and there is no doubt his nationalist views found a ready audience among Irish exiles. O'Brien maintained as a priest he was free to take an independent line with regard to nationalism, and this placed him frequently at odds with the attitude of the bishops. O'Brien spent two periods at All Hallows, after which he rejoined Limerick Diocese where he served as a parish priest, dean, and ultimately as vicar general. He severed his links with the CYMS in 1866, claiming he needed time for other matters. Notable among the initiatives which he took came in 1867 when he published what came to be known as the Limerick Manifesto. Several hundred priests and laymen endorsed his call for the repeal of the Act of Union that would have restored self-government to Ireland. Nothing came of this, an indication that O'Brien's influence was on the wane. Yet there is no doubt that his contribution to Catholic life was significant, the CYMS being one of the most effective organisations for the laity ever devised. His energy was impressive, travelling a great deal, undertaking speaking tours, journalism, and publishing three novels.[11]

When it comes to ascertaining the destinations of the clergy trained at All Hallows, the present writer again found himself indebted to the late Fr Condon. Hogan in his study of the Irish missionaries wrote:

> Alumni from All Hallows provided the mainstay of the Irish diaspora. From 1840 to 1900 All Hallows sent over 1,500 priests abroad, the vast majority to the new homes of the emigrant Irish.

Hogan went on to indicate the destinations of the earlier clergy from All Hallows, constituting what these days is considered to be the diaspora, namely the western district of Scotland (Glasgow) followed by India, the West Indies, and the Island of Mauritius. In the white English-speaking world were the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land in Australia; the states of Connecticut (Hartford), Indiana (Vincennes), and Virginia (Richmond) in the U.S.A., and, to a lesser degree, the Cape Province of South Africa.[12]

As for individual clergy from All Hallows, Fr Condon's exertions in compiling the *Matricula 1842-'91,* which he included as an appendix to his book, details biographical items of over 2,000 men who matriculated at the college. This is especially valuable for the history of the church in this country since few of the pioneering missioners have attracted biographers, the parish clergy in most cases remaining shadowy figures, receiving scant attention in what purport to be parish histories. A number of priests were already serving in England during the period before the great famine. That calamity in Irish history stimulated an increased demand for clergy in this country, requests from the episcopacy directed to All Hallows becoming even more insistent after 1850. Mission work in Scotland and the Diocese of Salford attracted most of these, though a few went to the dioceses of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Southwark. A reunion of All Hallows clergy at Lichfield in 1881 put the number of clergy from that college then ministering in this country at seventy, a significant number at a time when bishops were hard pressed for clergy. Others followed, though the number of All Hallows men engaged in ministry today is diminishing and because the college is no longer a seminary they will ultimately disappear altogether.[13]

Daunting as the prospects of forming a mission in mid-Victorian England may have seemed, an examination of the careers of a select band of All Hallows men reveals the men selected for the Drumcondra college were made of stern stuff, both spiritual and physical. Ministering to the faithful obviously would involve offering Mass and conducting other devotions, though in many cases before these could be provided accommodation would be needed. In the absence of a patron or benefactor, the resources of many of the newer missions were slender. There was also the question of maintenance for the pastor while in addition to his stipend many of the congregations were anxious to provide a school employing a paid teacher. Initially, in most places the mission premises were rented, and in many instances not really suitable for purpose. Clearly it was going to be many years before the typical mission was in a position to supply even basic facilities. Ultimately churches, presbyteries, schools, and convents did appear, though the task of paying for these meant that many missions had incurred a heavy burden of debt that would take years to pay off.[14]

The experiences of Fr Henry Mulvany, who on his ordination in 1852 was assigned to Bacup within weeks of becoming a priest was not untypical. As rector of Bacup he found his congregation was scattered over a wide area, many of them being recent arrivals from Ireland and still suffering from the effects of the famine. There being no wealthy Catholic in the area, Fr Mulvany was obliged to rely on external charity to help find the means to provide the basic needs of a mission: church, presbytery and school. Despite many setbacks the young untried rector managed within a few years to meet the needs of his congregation, and as time went on he laid the foundations for branch missions in a number of neighbouring communities. One issue that always engaged his attention was the welfare of children. At this period industry - especially the textiles trades - relied heavily on the labour of children. The legislature had already tried to alleviate their plight by introducing measures designed to restrict hours of labour by insisting on part-time school attendance. While many of the early schools for operatives left much to be desired, Fr Mulvany insisted that his school in Bacup should provide an efficient standard of schooling, and St Mary’s became one of the first locally

to be inspected and gained the approbation of the Education Department.[15]

Elsewhere, Catholic children did not always fare so well. Several pauper Catholic children from Liverpool were placed by the guardians with families in Bacup irrespective of their faith. On becoming public this news provoked something of an outcry. What was termed proselytism was brought to the attention of Fr Mulvany and others. A correspondent writing to the *Northern Press* asserted the orphan children possessed no rights, and were simply given over to the employer who treated them little better than slaves. 'One poor girl [he went on] had told me today her mistress said she might go to any place of worship in the town except to the Catholics: but there she must not go'.[16]

By this time there were a number of Catholic weekly journals and these ensured that the plight of what were termed pauper children denied the right to practice their faith was brought to the attention of people residing beyond the boundaries of Bacup. In Liverpool the matter was pursued by Bishop Alexander Goss and Fr Nugent, among others. Ultimately the Church was permitted to appoint a chaplain to tend the spiritual needs of all who came within the scope of the Poor Law, while as the Catholic community continued to grow specialised institutions designed to answer particular needs came to be provided. Complaints of proselytism became less frequent.[17]

When Fr Thomas Martin was charged with the task of establishing a mission at Haslingden he quickly became aware of the challenge before him. Yet within five years, like his friend Fr Mulvany at Bacup, he had been instrumental in raising funds to build a church and presbytery. This had been made possible only by borrowing and launching an effective fund raising campaign that brought in donations from distant parts of the world. Fr Martin resorted to pulpit appeals and, even more strikingly, letters to newspapers. His major pulpit campaign took place in 1858, when having gained the approbation of the Bishop of Salford, he was able to appeal to congregations in his native County Meath. Apart from the bishop, Fr Martin had to gain the approval of parish priests, some of whom had pressing commitments in their own parish.[18]

The first newspaper letters appeared a year or so after Fr Martin's appointment to Haslingden, though it was not until 1858 when, faced with a time clause on the building agreement, that he really exerted himself. By resorting to the press in this way Fr Martin was able to avoid having to seek episcopal or clerical approval and appeal directly to the faithful. Later in his career other concerns would lead Fr Martin to launch other appeals through the newspaper columns: he termed his mission at Haslingden as a 'mission of charity', while among his clerical colleagues he earned the accolade of the practitioner of the apostleship of the pen.[19]

Occasionally clergy from All Hallows indicated they could not cope with setbacks and disappointments and were obliged to seek a new environment. Michael Joseph Keating was ordained in 1863 and was appointed rector of the mission of St Joseph at Ramsbottom. There the congregation had already raised the means to erect a multi-purpose building capable of accommodating a chapel, presbytery and school. This was completed and brought into use in 1862, several months before the arrival of Fr Keating. Initially the prospects for the Ramsbottom mission seemed good, yet several factors conspired to dash such hopes. It was an unfortunate time to launch any venture. The civil war in America had cut off the supply of raw cotton, the commodity needed for the main industry in England's north-west. Ramsbottom, like its neighbours, experienced a wave of mass unemployment that only abated after the war's end in 1865.[20]

Fr Keating had originally determined to serve as a missioner overseas, but on medical advice abandoned this plan and offered his services to Bishop Turner to work in the Salford diocese. The sketchy history of St Joseph's suggests that once the civil war was over, and imports of raw cotton resumed, other divisions among the congregation asserted themselves. Foremost among these was the unrest in Ireland that culminated in the abortive Fenian uprising of 1867. The unrest spread to England and in Manchester local Fenians, determined to rescue some of their leaders being held in custody, attempted to rescue them from a prison van. In the ensuing incident a police officer was killed and three young Irishmen, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, were found guilty of murder and publicly hanged in Salford in November 1867. Fr Keating was the cousin of Allen's mother, and

he visited the young man in his cell. Being upset at what he and many of his countrymen regarded as the martyrdom of the three patriots, Fr Keating alienated a significant section of his congregation. Relations among the congregation remained tense throughout 1867 and 1868, and in a bid to restore harmony among his flock on one hand, and Catholics and their Protestant neighbours on the other, Keating resigned his rectorship.[21]

The 1860s proved to be a most troubled decade, few missions being unaffected by discord of one kind or another. In the late 1860s the Prime Minister, William Gladstone, became determined to pacify Ireland. Central to his programme was his decision to disestablish the (Anglican) Church of Ireland. Critics argued Gladstone had raised a constitutional issue of the first magnitude, and protests were voiced in Parliament, in the press and at public meetings up and down the country. The excitement brought forth a number of rabble rousers, none proving as militant as William Murphy. He operated mainly in areas of Irish settlement, such as London, Birmingham and Lancashire. In addition to his speeches, he published pamphlets such as *The Confessional Unmasked* in which he ridiculed the idea of penance. In addition to his sectarian message, Murphy was vitriolic in his denunciation of his fellow-countrymen who he alleged were all part of the Fenian conspiracy and that the leadership of that agency were all Catholic priests. Murphy urged the need to destroy Catholic churches and the deportation of priests to Ireland. There is little wonder that much of the country was in turmoil, manifesting itself in noisy demonstrations, frequent street fighting, and attacks on churches and schools. In Rochdale, where Fr Michael Moriarty was based, an attack was made on St John's church. Moriarty had previously been assistant to Fr Dowling at St John's, but in 1861 he was entrusted with the task of founding another mission that came to be dedicated to St Patrick. While there an attack was made on St John's that resulted in severe damage to the church. Fr Dowling put in a claim to the authorities for compensation with which he rebuilt the church.[22]

Malachi O'Callaghan, after training at All Hallows, was ordained at the Cathedral in Salford in 1865. Already by this time there were

several alumni from the Drumcondra college at work in the diocese. Fr O'Callaghan served in a number of missions in what is now termed Greater Manchester, his appointment as rector of St Aloysius, Ardwick, being one of his more significant charges. His period of service in the diocese was outstanding. Apart from the need to satisfy the spiritual wants of his congregation, Fr O'Callaghan served as a priest at a time when drink was perceived as a great social evil. The crusading activities of Fr Theobald Mathew are well documented, while the efforts of Cardinal Manning and the future Cardinal Vaughan tended to build on the aims of the apostle of temperance. Yet the impact of these individuals owed a great deal to humble clergy such as O'Callaghan, who was prepared to campaign tirelessly among Catholics to promote temperance, not only in the Salford diocese but further afield. In fact few clergy could rival the effort put in by O'Callaghan, and as a result he came to be known widely as a temperance advocate, his commitment to the cause taking him far outside the boundaries of his mission, spending some times in the United States.[23]

In his study of the growth of the Catholic community in this country, John Bossy highlighted the significance of the individual missionary priest in the revival of the Church in Victorian times. What was required, he maintains, was competent leadership, appropriate organisation, adequate resources, but above all what mattered in the end was the individual priest, his perseverance in the spiritual harvest and workmanship to which he was called.[24]

Notes

[1] K. Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows*, *1842-1891* (Dublin, 1986), passim.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. H. Murphy, 'John Hand (1807-46)', in J.McGuire and J Quinn (eds.) *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* (9 vols, Cambridge, 2009), vol. 4, pp. 450-451; E. D. Hogan, *The Irish missionary movement. A historical survey, 1830-1990*, (Dublin, 1990), chapter 2.

[4] Condon, op.cit.

[5] T O'Connor, 'Daniel Murray (1768-1852)' *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* vol. 6, pp. 829-31.

[6] Condon, p. 141

[7] Liam Rigney, 'Bartholomew Woodlock (1819-1902),' *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* vol. 9 pp. 1027-1028.

[8] Condon, op.cit., pp. 93-102.
[9] K. O'Shea, 'David Moriarty (1814-77),' *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* vol. 6, pp. 684-685.
[10] Ibid.
[11] James H Murphy, 'Richard B O'Brien (1809-85)', *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* vol. 7, pp. 74-75; D. McRoberts, *Modern Scottish Catholicism* (Glasgow, 1979), chapter 1, passim.
[12] Condon, pp. 20-24; p. 29.
[13] J. Dunleavy, 'Ireland's own Propaganda Fide,' *Irish Studies in Britain* no. 11 (Spring-Summer 1987).
[14] At Bacup and Haslingden prior to the building of a church rented accommodation was adapted for religious and educational purposes.
[15] Condon, *Matricula* 206 [number refers to entry in the All Hallows Matriculation register]; Anon., *St Mary's Bacup, 1852-1852* (Bacup, 1952), passim.
[16] *Northern Press,* 16 and 30 June; 14 July, 18 August, 1860; T. Burke, *The Catholic History of Liverpool,* (Liverpool, 1910), pp. 148-150.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Condon, *Matricula* 247; J. Dunleavy, 'Fr Thomas Martin and his "mission of charity" at Haslingden,' *NWCH,* XII, (1985), pp. 14-23.
[19] *Catholic News* (Preston), 22 March 1889.
[20] Condon, *Matricula* 511; W Bennion, *St Joseph's Catholic Church, Ramsbottom. History of the Parish 1862-1962* (Bury, 1963), pp. 5 - 8.
[21] Bennion, ibid., J. Newsinger, *Fenianism in mid-Victorian Britain,* (London, 1994), pp. 60-64.
[22] J. Wolfe, 'William Murphy (1834-72)', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* vol. 6, pp. 823-834. Condon, *Matricula* 228; *The Harvest,* X (January, 1897), pp. 63-4; Anon., *St John the Baptist, Rochdale. 150th Anniversary, 1830-1980* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 21-24.
[23] Condon, *Matricula* 637; C Bolton, *Salford Diocese and its Catholic past* (Manchester, 1950), pp. 207-8.
[24] J Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London, 1975), p. 250.

'Don't wanna go to Kirkby or Skelmersdale or Speke': St Peter's, Seel Street, 1920-1940: Slum clearance and population decline

John Davies

'Don't wanna go to Kirkby or Skelmersdale or Speke,
Don't wanna go from all I know in Back Buchanan Street.'[1]

The chorus of the 1960s Liverpool folk song, *Back Buchanan Street* captured the response of many Liverpool working class communities towards the city council's slum clearance programmes both before and after World War II. Buchanan Street may have been fictional but it symbolised working class communities, which felt under threat from the no doubt well-intentioned schemes of the politicians and planners to re-house these communities in the green fields of the New Jerusalem in Kirkby or Speke. The community of St Peter's, Seel Street, by the 1920s a Liverpool working class, dockside, Catholic parish in the 'south end' of Liverpool, was one of those affected by the city's housing policy.

Housing conditions in the narrow band of the city which ran north and south of the Pier Head along the line of the River Mersey, where the core working class population of Liverpool lived, near to the main sources of employment, the port and the related dockside industries, were notoriously bad. These desperate housing conditions had first been exposed in the 1840s by the country's first medical officer of health, Dr William Duncan.[2] In the 1920s they were still probably worse than in any other city in the country. Cellar dwellings may have been almost, if not completely, eliminated by then but there were still many examples of multi-occupancy and the St Peter's area was the last in the city to boast occupied court dwellings, in the shape of Duke's Terrace, as late as the early 1970s.[3] Reginald Basil Primavesi OSB, parish priest of St Peter's from 1920 until his death in 1937, would continue into the 1930s to describe the district as 'sordid and squalid and dull'.[4]

In 1923 Primavesi and his fellow Benedictine monks at St Peter's took the lead in petitioning the City Council for improved housing in the ward.[5] In the Seel Street district at this time the estimated average number of rooms per dwelling stood at 4.96, the families per dwelling at 1.46 and the persons per room 1.17.[6] These averages hide some of the extreme conditions suffered by the poorest of Primavesi's parishioners. At the end of May 1923 Primavesi invited members of the local community to a meeting of his campaign group, which he called the 'housing committee', to be held in the Seel Street School building. This group was preparing the parish's submission to Liverpool City Council's enquiry into the housing needs of the area. There was a further meeting a week later to make the final arrangements for representation at the enquiry. Primavesi urged 'be there!'.[7]

Primavesi outlined his case to the campaign group. They should protest against £12,000 of public money being spent to build a new municipal washhouse when new houses were much more urgently needed. Overcrowding in the area was 'enormous' and Primavesi knew of nine families who were still living in cellars. The people of his parish wanted houses in the district near to their work at the docks and in dockside industries. They did not want to 'emigrate' to the outskirts of the city some four miles away nor did they want to be crippled financially by having to pay heavy tram fares to get to their work. He stressed that opposition to the washhouse scheme was not a party political affair. The local councillors, Conservatives as well as Liberals, were in favour of new houses being built before a washhouse.[8]

The public enquiry took place in the council offices in Dale Street on Wednesday 13 June. The parishioners were exhorted to 'Pray and come'.[9] Primavesi reported on the outcome of the council public enquiry in the *Parishioner*, the Liverpool Archdiocesan monthly newspaper. Following the enquiry the city's housing inspector had met the committee of St Peter's ward, the majority of whom were parishioners of St Peter's Seel Street. The facts, Primavesi argued, could not be disputed.

The lack of houses (and consequent terrible overcrowding) was patent to all, and it had been acknowledged that this ward had been the most neglected in the city. The Council, however, planned to spend £12,000 on providing public washhouses in preference to doing something at once and on a big scale to house the people.

The people of the district, however, had 'risen en masse' and organised a protest. The three council members for the ward were 'actively sympathetic' as were also the Anglican clergy in the neighbouring St Luke's and St Michael's parishes. Primavesi was delighted by this degree of support; 'Unity is indeed strength' he concluded.[10]

In January 1924 a deputation from St Peter's ward, which included Frs Hayes and Ryan from St Peter's, the Rev. Mr Bates, the vicar of St Michael's Church of England parish, and councillors Burton Eils and Lawrence Holt,[11] met Liverpool City Council's Housing Committee. Fr Hayes, despite protests from the council committee members insisted that the ward was the 'most neglected' in the city. The Rev. Mr Bates, supporting his claim, added that there was hardly 'a decent dwelling to shelter' poor families. Fr Ryan claimed that he had travelled in three continents and visited very many places but he had never seen anything to equal the conditions in St Peter's ward. To support this claim he quoted a case in which a whole family lived in one room and ate their food from the top of a coffin lid. In another case two members of one family had never been in a bed for three years but had slept on chairs. In another case: 'two beds had to serve for a family of eight and they slept across the bed, not in the ordinary way'.

One member of the council committee, A. E. Shennan, a later Conservative leader of the City Council, asked why there was a reluctance to move to new housing in the suburbs, 'some distance from the town'. He claimed that the dockside area could then be developed more productively by the Corporation. Rather insensitively he then added that the local people should not object for sentimental reasons just because their fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers were born there.

Shennan claimed that the council had in mind for housing development a site which was a mere ten minute tram ride away

from the ward. When asked to identify this site he failed to do so. The chairman of the committee intervened in an attempt to dispel the anger of the deputation. He agreed there could be no doubt about the 'terrible state of the houses' in the ward but insisted that 'there were other places in the city far worse', a claim met with cries of 'No, No' and 'Shameful' from the deputation.[12]

The eventual outcome of the campaign, enquiry and subsequent protest and lobbying was that the City Council, in addition to the washhouses, committed itself to building a modern tenement block on a site bounded by Forest, Pitt, Greetham and Frederick Streets, in the heart of St Peter's parish. Primavesi was informed that building on the site would start within a few months of the beginning of 1924. He expressed his thanks to the members of the parish who formed the 'housing committee' and to the three city councillors for the ward.'[13]

In the *Parishioner* in February he further informed the parish that 'Our Watch Committee' (St Peter's Housing Committee) had now received 'definite information' from the City Council's Housing Committee that building was 'to be started almost immediately in this parish. Bravo! our Watch Committee.'[14]

It was the public washhouse, however, that was built first, to the obvious disgust and disappointment of Primavesi, who scornfully commented, 'A "noble" washhouse has been erected at a cost of £12,000 in our district by the city fathers – we should have preferred 200 houses'.[15]

It was not until 1926, however, that he could report progress on the housing project. 'At long last the local authorities have made a real start to tackle the housing shortage in Seel Street parish'. By the late summer of 1926 demolition of slum property in Pitt Street was taking place and it was rumoured that 'the first big tenement house should be nearing completion in the spring'.[16] In May 1927 he was able to announce, 'Put your name down at once with the Corporation if you want a house'.[17]

Later that year, in October, 'the first block of new tenement houses' in Pitt Street was nearing completion. Primavesi looked forward to 'a large influx of new parishioners'.[18] The housing

campaign, with its limited objective of having new tenement blocks built in the area, had been successful. The campaign is one of the few documented local campaigns in Liverpool in which the Catholic Church was officially and directly involved, and in this case the Church provided the leadership. The Catholic clergy were often prominent in campaigning on issues which were seen as having explicit religious importance. Here, however, the issue was of one of social justice, the physical and social well-being of the local people, the Catholic majority and the non-Catholic minority alike.

Housing conditions continued to be an issue and slum clearance in the Seel Street area continued, if at a much slower pace than Primavesi would have liked. His main concern, and also that of many of the people who lived in the parish, was that any re-housing should be in the district. In September 1933 he expressed his concern about the displacement of 'some forty of our people' who, as a result of the courts in Fleet Street being condemned as unfit for habitation and then demolished, had had to go 'into exile' and seek housing elsewhere.

He hoped that when the council's new housing scheme 'at last reaches this quarter' some 'restitution' would be made and the 'wandering sheep may return'. They would be certain of a 'hearty welcome'.[19] Primavesi was still concerned about the 'exiles' from Fleet Street when he again complained in December 1933 of the slow progress being made in re-housing people in the parish: 'We are always reading of slum clearances and new housing accommodation elsewhere but we never seem to come into the picture'.

In the meantime another family long resident in the parish, the Lennons, had gone 'to live in the new Liverpool'.[20] In May of 1935 Primavesi calculated that because of slum clearance and re-housing schemes St Peter's parish had lost about 600 parishioners. He could not be exact because of 'the constant comings and goings'. He still hoped that when new tenement blocks were built in the Pitt Street and Kent Square areas there would be 'some stability' and that St Peter's would recover its lost numbers. He even thought that the eventual outcome would be that the parish would 'probably have more than ever we have had during the last thirty years'.[21]

In October 1936 the Liverpool Corporation applied for a compulsory purchase order under the terms of the Housing Act 1930 to cover properties in the Gilbert Street, Kent Square, and Pitt Street clearance area. The concern of Primavesi and his colleagues at St Peter's was shown by the carefully preserved newspaper cuttings filed in the parish scrapbook. It was the City Council's intention to demolish ninety-one dwellings, housing 610 people and to build in their place tenements which would house 700. The council claimed that no tenant would be displaced without the offer of alternative accommodation. This promise was reiterated by the city's housing director, Lancelot Keay, at the enquiry held by the Ministry of Health into Liverpool's application. The Ministry of Health's inspector, W. J. Brown agreed that the houses in question fell far short of the 'standard for working class houses'. Keay argued that the majority of displaced tenants would be re-housed within a quarter of a mile of the area while others could be accommodated on the outskirts of the city.[22] Primavesi's concern about the consequences of these proposals, particularly as to how they would affect his parishioners in Liverpool's Chinatown, which was situated in the parish, (a significant number of Chinese men having married Liverpool-Irish Catholic women) was also recorded in the scrapbook. In April 1937 it was emphasised by the City Council that the scheme was still only at the planning stage. More detailed plans would be submitted later. In the case of Pitt Street, where the local Chinese population was chiefly concentrated, they would outline alternative provisions in respect of housing and trading facilities for the Chinese and coloured residents of the area.

The housing director calculated that in the Pitt Street and Kent Square area there were 581 dwellings, excluding forty-eight flats built by the council in 1928. These dwellings housed 1,046 families and about 3,661 people in total. He accepted that only a very small percentage of these families would be prepared to move from the area in order to take up the offer of new housing on the outskirts of the city.[23]

The decline in parish numbers at St Peter's as a result of the re-housing programme continued to trouble Primavesi and in his last

report in the, by now quarterly *Seel St Chronicle,* before his death in July 1937 he voiced this concern:

> The law of the 'survival of the fittest' may be making itself felt in the parish at present, at all events our population has gone down tragically – every week almost is taking drastic toll. The houses condemned as insanitary, helped by pickaxe and crowbar, are toppling like a pack of cards.

The only sign of hope was that a local site, Fawcett's Foundry had been cleared, foundations for new tenements had been laid, and the first signs of a superstructure were appearing.[24]

The number of parishioners, however, continued to decline. In April 1940, three years after Primavesi's death, in the first year of World War II but before the German blitzkrieg of May 1941 laid further waste to the area and sparked off another exodus, the then parish priest Bruno Dawson estimated that there were 'about 1,750 souls' in the parish but 'this number is being lessened continually'. The city council's slum clearance programme was still proceeding:

> The condemned houses are being emptied more and more and large spaces of the district are covered with ugly ruins. It is possible to walk for miles through the central parts of the city without losing sight of deserted houses, many of them once the fashionable dwellings of magnates of the city.

The eventual outcome of the council's programme would mean:

> Most of the old streets of St Peter's parish will be entirely altered…and most of the congregation will be living in modern tenements. The war has held up the building of these new tenements and it will probably be several years before the parish rises in numbers again.

Dawson anticipated that the number of 'souls' in the parish would reach about 4,000 once all the planned new housing was built. The parish then would have to push ahead with the schools, which Primavesi had anticipated would be needed, but it would be difficult to judge how many new school places would be needed. In the meantime the declining population meant that the average Sunday Mass attendance had dropped to about 860, it having been 1,050 before the war started. Dawson commented 'many soldiers are away and…more people are leaving the parish'. One of his statistics did

however indicate a growth area in the pastoral work of St Peter's. The number of Easter Confessions in 1940 at St Peter's had been 2,300. Dawson explained the discrepancy between this figure and the number of parishioners:

> This high number is explained by the fact that St Peter's is very central and near the great shopping streets of the city, so that many people from outside the parish find it convenient to come here for Confession.[25]

In the post-war period St Peter's would continue to serve as a chaplaincy for city centre workers but the hopes of Primavesi and Dawson that the area would be regenerated with the building of new housing for the community were not fulfilled. The bombing of the area by the Luftwaffe because of its proximity to the south-end docks served to accelerate the population exodus. The number of parishioners at St Peter's continued to decline rather than increase. There was no demand for a new school to be built and in fact the parish schools closed in the early 1940s. Many commercial premises lay semi-derelict; Chinatown, on the edge of St Peter's parish, with its restaurants and food stores, was perhaps the most vibrant surviving district. It was not until the twenty-first century that the area was comprehensively re-developed but then as an entertainment area rather than as a residential one. St Peter's church itself, after being closed in 1978 and having a short life as a chapel for the city's Polish population, was eventually, in the early years of the twenty-first century, transformed into a Cuban-style wine bar and restaurant. The city's slum clearance programme, resumed after World War Two, completed the process of dispersal already accelerated by the German bombing and St Peter's working class community was scattered to the new estates in Norris Green, Croxteth, 'Kirkby, Skelmersdale, and Speke'.

Notes

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1 Harry and George Dison, *Back Buchanan Street*, www.themerseywreckers.com.
2 William Duncan, *On the Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1843).
3 In the 1960s and early 1970's students from Notre Dame College (now Liverpool Hope University), researching the social conditions of Liverpool in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were hospitably welcomed by the long-suffering tenants of Duke's Terrace.
4 www. plantata.org.uk/papers/obits/D'Andria.
5 St Peter's Seel Street was in St Peter's ward, named after the Church of England parish.
6 Sam Davies, *Liverpool Labour: Social and Political Influences on the Development of the Labour Party in Liverpool, 1900-1939,* (Keele, 1996) p. 134.
7 Liverpool Record Office (LRO) 282 PET/3/16-22, St Peter's Seel Street Liverpool, Notice Books 1916-1943; Notice Book, 27 May, 3 June 1923.
8 282PET 5/4 Scrapbook 1901-1948.
9 Notice Book, 10 June 1923. The councillors for St Peter's ward in 1923 were H. A. Cole and L. Holt, Conservative, and B. W. Eills, Liberal. Sam Davies, *Liverpool Labour*, p. 315.
10 LRO 282 PET 5/1 St Peter's Seel Street Scrapbook (1) 1920-1929, *The Parishioner*, August 1923.
11 Fr Leo Hayes OSB, 1881-1953, Fr Stephen Ryan OSB, 1870-1933. Burton Eills had been a Liberal city councillor for St Peter's ward since 1911 and Lawrence Holt, also Liberal, since 1913.
12 Scrapbook 1901-1948, St Peter's Ward Housing Committee Deputation to Liverpool Corporation Housing Committee, 10 January 1924.
13 Notice Book, 13 January 1924. The names of the housing committee members do not appear in the parish records.
14 Scrapbook (1); *The Parishioner*, February 1924.
15 Scrapbook, (1); *The Parishioner*, January 1925.
16 Scrapbook (1); *The Parishioner*, September 1926.
17 Notice Book, 15 May 1927.
18 Scrapbook (1); *The Parishioner*, October 1927.
19 282 PET/5/4 Scrapbook; *The Parishioner*, September 1933.
20 282 PET/5/4 Scrapbook; T*he Parishioner* December 1933.
21 282 PET/5/4 Scrapbook; *Seel St Chronicle*, April/May 1935.
22 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14 October 1936; 282 PET/5/6 Scrapbook (6).
23 *Liverpool Daily Post*, 23 April 1937; 282 PET/5/6 Scrapbook (6).
24 282 PET/5/4 Scrapbook; *Seel St Chronicle*, May 1937.
25 *St Peter's C*hronicle 1938-1940, April 1940.

As it Happened: material relating to World War I in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Liverpool.

Brian Plumb

The Archives of the Archdiocese of Liverpool[1] hold all of Archbishop Whiteside's pastoral letters and letters ad clerum. His Advent pastoral letter for 1914, his first official statement on the war, begins by deploring the plight of Belgium with its flood of refugees and the appalling loss of life and property.[2]

In a recent book by Adam Hochschild, *To End all Wars,* there are striking similarities between some of the reasons which Hochschild gives for the causes of the war and those which had been very clearly identified by the archbishop in 1914, although, excellently researched as his book is, it is not suggested that Hochschild had read this letter. The archbishop wrote

> A body of opinion has sprung into prominence among thinkers in the chief countries of Europe that war, not withstanding its attendant evils, is something to glory in, is something good, something for which a nation may live and strive for as the purpose of its existence.

He quotes one of these thinkers as saying

> War is not merely a necessary element in the life of a nation, but an indisputable factor of culture, in which a truly civilized nation finds its highest expression of strength and vitality.

The archbishop continues 'This is simply barbarism, and what is worse, barbarism arrogating to itself the dignity of being a science and a school of thought'.[3]

The Archives also hold numerous papers belonging to Frederick William Keating who became Archbishop of Liverpool in 1921, but during the war was Bishop of Northampton. He took the above analysis a stage further and wrote 'We are reaping what has been sown, the bitter fruits of neo-pagan enlightenment'.[4]

There are some letters regarding the exemption of seminarians from military service where it appears that the place where the case

was heard very largely determined the outcome. In Liverpool there were practically a hundred per cent exemptions. In Preston, the percentage was also high, but in central Lancashire, where cases were heard at Ormskirk, there was no chance at all. One whose appeal was rejected there, was the twenty-two year old Joseph Cartmell (later Canon Cartmell of St Mary's, Chorley) who was called up and, against all military discipline, managed to keep a diary which is also in the Archdiocesan Archives.[5]

Others, who joined as military chaplains, sometimes wrote to the archbishop about their work. They include the Revs James Lonergan, Joseph McKenna and Michael Walsh. There is a complaint from William Lewis Keatinge, the army bishop (not to be confused with the future archbishop), about the shortage of volunteers for chaplains' duties.[6]

A remarkable letter from a civilian in Verdun to a friend in Chorley tells of terrible shelling, day after day, night after night, only having food once a day and a thirst almost unbearable, being relieved only by eating snow.[7]

There are letters from the priest at Skelmersdale asking for permission to celebrate Mass for soldiers at Lathom Park, and from Blackpool requesting that a priest to be designated to attend wounded soldiers accommodated there.[8]

It appears that German prisoners were kept at Barrow-in-Furness and Leigh and local priests were appointed to visit them. One German whose name was Ehardsburger was still in Leigh in March 1920. He had been a theological student and wanted a certificate saying he had continued his studies in captivity. There is no evidence that he received one but it is possible that he had continued them because several learned Jesuits were at St Joseph's, Leigh, at the time, and they may have assisted him.[9]

There is little archival material relating to Belgian refugees. Some were housed in the Sefton Park district of Liverpool, one of whom, Charles Calewaert, was allowed to continue his seminary formation at Upholland. In 1948 he was appointed Bishop of Ghent and invited several Upholland friends to attend his episcopal consecration. There are letters requesting the Catholic Women's League to undertake relief work among the refugees and an order dated 12 November,

1918, that all baptisms, confirmations, marriages or deaths of Belgians must be reported to the vicar general of Cardinal Mercier, the Primate of Belgium.[10]

There is considerable correspondence from various sources about the scarcity of materials required for the making of altar breads to the required standard. Requests were received from Glasgow and Salford. It would seem that there was (or some people thought that there was) a friendly supplier in or near Liverpool.[11]

On purely parochial matters, the Catholic Young Men's Society managed to hold its annual conference in Liverpool in 1917. A summer garden party was held at Waterloo in aid of soldiers in Seaforth Barracks. A head teacher complained about war service depleting his staff, and a mission was preached to the convicts in Walton gaol. There is much about an argument at the 1917 Low Week meeting of the Hierarchy over Cardinal Bourne's extraordinary and unwelcome interest in other bishops' diocesan boundaries, and a woman whose husband had been reported missing presumed dead wished to know if she were free to marry.[12]

There is a report from Warrington about a bogus Assyrian bishop attempting unauthorized collections, and in May 1917, while men were being killed in battle in thousands, the priest at Standish expressed his concern about crowning a statue of Our Lady at a May procession not being canonically justified.[13]

It was from Standish that in December 1918 there appears the first mention anywhere in the archdiocese of a war memorial.[14]

Writing about World War I in the *Catholic Times* early in 2014, Christopher Graffius said 'To cast Germany as the villain seems as pointless as blaming British imperialism for famine in India'. Writing at the time, the future Archbishop Keating said

> Germany professing peace opened its campaign by public and shameful violation which has in the sequence disregarded all the rules of its legitimate warfare, has made itself infamous by the wanton destruction of whole towns and villages, by the cold-blooded slaughter of thousands of innocents and by its connivance at the extermination of an ancient race by its

> Turkish ally….with such a cause against such a foe we have no misgivings.[15]

In Advent 1918 Archbishop Whiteside wrote prophetically

> Unfortunately for this Country the best thinkers amongst us who have the responsibility for building up the social fabric of the nation have for many years been turning for inspiration to Germany. Had this stopped at admiration of Germany's painstaking labours in literature, art and science all would have been well. But to carry this into the domain of philosophy and religion, when Germany has for years been the home of rationalism which has already been disastrous to religion in this country, and unless the lessons of this war are taken to heart, worse lies before us.[16]

The Archive also holds the complete Jack Traynor Archive. Mr Traynor was a Catholic Liverpolitan who was seriously injured in the war and miraculously cured in Lourdes on 25 July, 1923. He had sustained wounds resulting in paralysis of the right radial and ulnar nerves, atrophy of the shoulder and pectoral muscles, and loss of use in his legs due to head injuries. He was receiving a total disability pension, a thing which was never granted before several searching examinations, and the Ministry of Pensions had provided him with an invalid chair. After he was cured he retained his pension because there was no provision for miracles in the appropriate documents. The Archive contains everything – his parent's marriage certificate, his birth certificate, details of his employment before joining up, his full medical history before the miracle, what the English and French papers said about it, what the experts said, what the doctors said, what the sceptics said. Every possible alternative diagnosis or possibility of misdiagnosis is there, as is the certificate of his death almost twenty years later. It is as complete an archive relating to a specific event as anyone could wish to find.[17]

Notes

[1] The Archives of the Archdiocese of Liverpool (AAL) are at the Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool L3 5TQ. Viewing is by appointment only and applications should be made to the Archdiocesan Archivist, Dr Meg Whittle, telephone 0151 709 9222 extension 242.

[2] AAL, Archive Library, bound volumes; EBC/S1/VII, C/2.

[3] A. Hochschild, *To End All Wars* (London 2012); pastoral letter Advent, 1914.

[4] AAL, KEA/S7/III/A/117.

[5] AAL, EBC/S2/V/A/72; SJC/S6/IX/D1.

[6] AAL, EBC/S2/III/M/13; M/33; S2/IV/W/47.

[7] AAL, Verdun letter currently unavailable.

[8] AAL, EBC/S2/III/R/74; S2/IV/W/117.

[9] AAL, EBC/S2/I/B/49; S2/II/E/17; F34; H/54; S2/III/M/71.

[10] AAL, EBC/S2/III/P/46; Ad clerum 12 November, 1918; *Cathedral Record,* May 1948, p, 82.

[11] AAL, EBC/S2/III/M/53; P/2; S2/V/D/7.

[12] AAL, EBC/S1/VII/B5; S2/I/C/36; C/69; S2/III/D/79; D/77; M/67.

[13] AAL, EBC/S2/III/R/57; S2/IV/W/22.

[14] AAL, EBC/S2/IV/W/24.

[15] AAL, KEA/S7/III/A/45; *Catholic Times*, 17 January, 2014.

[16] AAL, Pastoral letter Advent, 1918.

[17] AAL, RAS/S61/I/A1 to RAS/S61/3/A18; P. O'Connor, *I met a Miracle* (CTS, London 1937).

Fragments

J. A. Hilton

30

The Hall of Ince (OS ref: SD 593043)

This hall, once the residence of the recusant Ince family, was said to have been built about 1721, and its materials used to build a new house in the 1840s. It stood to the east of Delph Bridge on Manchester Road, north of Ince Brook and close to the embankment of the now disused London Midland and Scottish Railway, and any remains are virtually inaccessible in this overgrown and watery wasteland.[1]

31
Ince Old Hall (OS ref: SD601056)

This hall, another residence of the recusant Ince family, stood near the junction of Ince Green Lane and Warrington Road, at the end of Old Hall Street. It was said to have been built about 1725. It disappeared sometime in the twentieth century. At the end of Old Hall Street is a patch of waste land, the site of the hall, which contains a mound, possibly the remnants of the hall.[2]

32
The Old Hall of Ince (OS ref: 601056)

This formerly moated, Jacobean timber and plaster manor house stood north of the main road running from Wigan to Manchester (Manchester Road). It belonged to a junior branch of the Gerards of Bryn, both branches being recusants. In 1716 the hall was sold to the Walmesleys of Wigan (a branch of the Walmesleys of Showley and Westwood). In 1854 the hall was damaged by fire, and re-built. This plain, brick building, in the Georgian style, still stands at the end of Ince Hall Avenue behind the Playing Fields, which presumably were the original gardens of the hall. (fig. 1a, Old Hall of Ince (Miss A. M. Cunningham))[3]

Fig 1a

33
The New Hall of Ince (OS ref: 602053)

This moated manor house stood just north of Manchester Road. It belonged to the recusant Ince family and had a private

chapel, but in 1760 a public chapel was built behind the Hall, and from 1766 to 1818 it was served by the Rev. Joseph Higginson. By this time the Hall had been inherited by Frances, the daughter and heir of Christopher Ince, She was twice married, firstly to a Sobieski and secondly to William Anderton of Euxton. When she died in 1816, the Ince-Anderton family ceased to reside there, taking Higginson with them and the chapel was closed in 1818. This closure was a factor in the re-building of St John's Catholic chapel in Wigan and the controversy that led to the building of St Mary's Catholic chapel nearby. A modest neo-Classical building, sited at the end of Moat Hall Street survives. (fig. 1b, Number 1, Ince Hall Cottages (A. M. Cunningham)) A small industrial estate occupies most of the grounds of the Hall, but a bramble hedge close to the Hall may mark the vestige of the moat.[4]

Fig 1b

34
Westwood Hall (OS ref: SD 585047)

The property of the recusant Gerards of Ince descended by marriage to a branch of the recusant Walmesleys of Showley, who settled at Westwood Hall, with its private chapel, in Ince. In 1893 the

family moved to Inglewood, Kintbury, Berkshire, and the Hall was demolished, the chapel, the work of E. W. Pugin, being taken down and rebuilt at Inglewood. It has subsequently been taken down again. (fig. c, Walmesley Chapel (Peter Blacklock and the Pugin Society))[5]

Fig 1c

Westwood Lodge, in the style of cottage advocated by John Claudius Loudon, (fig.1d Westwood Lodge (Miss A. M. Cunningham)) survives at the end of Westwood Lane, off Warrington Road, and the home farm is further down the lane (fig. 1e, Westwood Home Farm (Miss. A. M. Cunningham), but Westwood Hall disappeared under Westwood Power Station (since demolished).

Fig 1d

Fig 1e

Notes

1 William Farrer and J. Brownbill (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster* (8 vols, London, 1906), IV, 101-106; Ordnance Survey, 1843, 1907.
2 *VCH Lancs,* IV, pp. 101-106; Ordnance Survey, 1843, 1907.
3 *VCH Lancs*, IV, pp. 101-106; F. O. Blundell, *Old Catholic Lancashire* (3 vols, 1915-39), II, p. 82; Joseph Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of England* (London, 1873), I – *Lancashire,* p. 302; Ordnance Survey, 1843.
4 *VCH Lancs*, IV, pp. 101-106; Blundell, II, p. 81; Bernard W. Kelly, *Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions* (London, 1907), p. 227; Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*

(4 vols, 1968-77, Great Wakering), IV, p. 137; J. A. Hilton, 'The Case of Wigan', *North West Catholic History,* X (1983), pp. 1-7; Ordnance Survey, 1843, 1907.

5 *VCH Lancs,* IV, pp. 101-106; Blundell, II, p. 82; Victor Feehan, *Inglewood: The Story of a Berkshire Mansion* (Oxford, no date), pp. 39-40; personal communication from Dr Catriona Blaker; John Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England* (London, 1970), passim; Ordnance Survey, 1843, 1907.

Henry Taylor, *The Ancient Crosses and Holy Wells of Lancashire: A Revised Edition: Third Supplement*

Austin Varney

West Derby Hundred

SEFTON PARISH

Ince Blundell
Ince Blundell Cemetery Cross (SD 322032)

Fig 2

This modern cross (Fig 2) stands in the modern cemetery. It stands on three steps, the lowest of which is sixty inches wide. The total height of the cross is 104 inches. The base is inscribed:

IT IS A HOLY AND WHOLESOME THOUGHT TO PRAY FOR
THE DEAD THAT THEY MAY BE LOOSED FROM THEIR SINS
(2 Maccabees 12.46).

At a Distance in Protestant Places

A review of
Leo Gooch, *Persecution without Martyrdom: The Catholics of North-East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic c1688-1850* (Gracewing, Leominster, 2013, ISBN 956-085244-819-9, Paperback 462 pp. £20)

Michael Mullett

Here is a well-priced study that indeed carries out its specific brief: as another reviewer has observed of the book, '.. the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle [now] at last possesses a standard history about its origins'. Nor is it a disadvantage that this study does not take in the grander picture of European Catholicism in a period that saw the complex cross-current of Counter-Reformation and Enlightenment: Dr Gooch's study is of an intelligible, important regional sub-division of the English Catholic community between the Glorious Revolution and the great Catholic emancipation of 1778-1850, and it is, on the whole, all the better for its limitations, even if occasional sidelong glances at Catholic life in other English counties - such as Lancashire - or provinces would not have come amiss.

Few writers could attain to the authority of Leo Gooch in putting together this monograph: doyen of north-eastern Catholic studies and the author of a whole series of definitive papers in the field, he has now deployed a vast range of primary manuscript archival deposits, both national and regional, as well as printed sources, newspapers and periodicals, theses, parish histories and so on. Thus it seems all the more regrettable that the secondary section of his bibliography seems trapped in some kind of time warp, overlooking work in an active period of English Catholic history in the 1990s and 2000s.

Readers will chose what they like from the array of subjects in Gooch's study, including the startling snobbery of Catholic gentry towards their plebeian priests, the devious squabbling of Whig and Tory politicians over political emancipation before 1829, the busy entrepreneurial life of some Geordie recusants, the casuistical Lenten

indulgences (‘dipping a small biscuit in wine …’), but for this reader above all there come the vivid insights into the devotional life of that still tiny sect, its members living, as one of Leo Gooch’s heroes, the priest Henry Rutter, put it, ‘at a distance in Protestant places’. They upheld a religious culture that was private, puritanical, bookish, sermon-loving, plain and distinctly unceremonial or even un-liturgical, a way of faith and life that made the English Catholics of that period a kind of Nonconformity in (distant) communion with Rome.

From Trent to Vatican II: A Review

J. A. Hilton

Our last general review pointed to sacred objects and sacred spaces as sources. Our revised edition of Taylor's survey of medieval crosses and holy wells in Lancashire continues to be updated. Meanwhile we continue to record the closure of convents and churches. The general review was accompanied by a review of a 'definitive' biography of the late Cardinal Heenan, who led the English Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council and its immediate aftermath.[1]

Some useful guides to the sources have appeared, including introductions to the on-line database of English nuns, and to the use of *Hansard,* the parliamentary record. Moreover, a study of the work of the Mancunian historian of Catholicism and sometime archivist of Westminster diocese, Philip Hughes, points to the value of the *Catholic Directory* as a source, while the present Westminster archivist lays down some useful guidelines for writing a parish history, summarised as 'Look-Listen-Read-Research'.[2]

The drama of the Tridentine Counter-Reformation was played out throughout Western Europe, including the British Isles, and beyond in the Americas. The story of the Jesuit mission in the three British kingdoms in the decade following the defeat of the Spanish Armada is recounted. Catholic clergy used exorcism as a weapon in the struggle with their Protestant opponents, especially in Lancashire where demonic possession was endemic, and a wide-ranging study of the subject argues that the exorcist and the possessed were following a script dictated by their theology. An original approach to the growth of recusancy examines its influence on the younger generation. Another look at the Manchester Jacobite trials of 1694 examines the relations of the Jacobite Catholic gentry with their Protestant neighbours. A masterly survey of the settlement of British North America looks at the attempt to create an English Catholic haven in Maryland.[3]

The Counter-Reformation laid the foundations for the later English Catholic Revival, exemplified in the Haydock Bible, so-called because Haydock provided the notes to the Douay text. Catholic growth in competition with Anglicanism in Wigan is treated to a statistical analysis. Nineteenth-century Catholicism in the holiday resort of Southport, a town created at the beginning of that century, is the subject of a thorough, detailed, illustrated history of its churches and schools, using a wide range of primary sources and secondary studies, with a conclusion that outlines the story, and appendices that describe the life of the Catholic in the pew as well as biographies of the clergy. An account of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in Haslingden is used to provide 'a profile of the congregation' with the confraternities, guilds, brotherhoods, and societies that nourished its piety and social cohesion. A case study of a Liverpool Catholic local politician illustrates the conflict between the Catholic and secularist wings of the Labour Party.[4]

The Catholic Revival went hand in hand with the Gothic Revival, and later, under the influence of Ruskin, with the Byzantine Revival and the Arts and Crafts Movement. A slim volume of essays examines Ruskin's relation with a number of leading Catholics. A short study of the work of an heraldic craftsman at Stonyhurst College illustrates these artistic influences, and their acceptance by the English Catholic elite. Accounts of the work of a Manchester firm of mosaicists and of the mosaics at Westminster Cathedral elucidate the further progress of these ideas. Such artistic studies cast light on the colour of Catholicism in the first half of the last century.[5]

Notes

[1] J. A. Hilton, 'Sacred Objects and Sacred Spaces: A Review', *North West Catholic History,* XL (2013), pp. 74-75; Austin Varney, 'Henry Taylor, *The Ancient Crosses and Holy Wells of Lancashire: A Revised Version: Second Supplement',* Ibid., XL, p. 70; Hilton and A. J. Noble, 'Fragments 28 and 29', Ibid., XL, pp. 68-69; Brian Plumb, 'Well worth the telling: A review', Ibid., XL, pp. 71-73.

[2] Janet E. Hollinshead, 'Find Those Nuns', *NWCH,* XL, pp. 64-67; John Davies, 'Order, Order, the Catholic Community in *Hansard', Catholic Archives,* XXXIII (2013), pp. 1-13; M. J.

Broadley, 'Fr Philip Hughes: "Archivist of Westminster"', Ibid., pp. 55-56; Nicholas Schofield, 'A Great Museum of Unwritten History', Ibid., pp. 30-39.

[3] Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589-1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Farnham, 2012); Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession & Exorcism in the Christian West* (London, 2013); Lucy Underwood, 'Recusancy and the Rising Generation', *Recusant History,* XXXI (4) (2013), pp. 511-34; Geoff Baker, 'Northern Catholics and the Manchester Jacobite Trials of 1694: A "Refined Piece of Villainy"?', *Northern History,* L (2), (2013), pp. 257-71; Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York, 2013).

[4] Sidney K. Ohlhausen, 'The Haydock Bible: After Two Centuries', *NWCH,* XL, pp. 24-35; David Compton, 'The growth and rivalry of the Catholic and Anglican Churches in Wigan in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', Ibid, XL, pp. 5-23; Peter F. Lynch, *Catholicism in Southport, Lancashire, 1800-1900* (Southport, 2013); John Dunleavy, '"A never-to-be-forgotten-day": Haslingden Catholics and Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee', *NWCH,* XL, pp. 36-44; John Davies, 'The Decline and Fall of a Catholic Politician: Alderman Luke Hogan and the Liverpool Labour Party, 1945-54', Ibid., XL, pp. 45-63.

[5] Hilton, *'Perilous Speculations': Ruskin's Romanist* (Wigan, 2013); Hilton, 'Paul Woodroffe: Master of Catholic heraldry in stained glass', *The Heraldic Craftsman,* no. 82 (2013), pp. 2-4; Robert Field, 'A Legacy of Inspirations and Beauty: Eric Newton and the Oppenheimer Family Firm', *Andamento,* VII (2013), pp. 22-33; Paul Bentley, 'The Mosaicing of Westminster Cathedral: Past, Present and Future', Ibid., pp. 34-43.

Notes on Contributors

John Davies, formerly Principal Lecturer in History and Director of the M.A. in Contemporary History at Liverpool Hope University College (now Liverpool Hope University), is an assistant editor of *North West Catholic History* and Chairman of the North West Catholic History Society.

John Dunleavy is a private tutor based in Oxford, having previously taught in the United Sates, Australia, and Hungary, as well as this country. His publications include *Davitt's Haslingden* (2006), *Haslingden Catholics 1815-1965* (1978), and *Workers' Educational Association: some Oxford connections* (2003).

J. A. Hilton is Editor Emeritus of *North West Catholic History*, and has been made a papal Knight of St Gregory for his services to the study of the history of the Church in the North West. His most recent publication is *'Perilous Speculations': Ruskin's Romanists.*

Michael Mullett is Emeritus Professor Cultural and Religious History at the University of Lancaster. His many books include *Catholics in Britain and Ireland 1558* and *The Catholic Reformation.*

Brian Plumb is the author of a number of works on Catholic history, including *Arundel to Zabi: A Biographical Dictionary of the Catholic Bishops of England and Wales (Deceased) 1623-2000.*

Ronald Taylor is Emeritus Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology at St. Thomas's Hospital in London. He lives in Cumbria where he is actively researching the Catholic history of the county.

Austin Varney is a co-editor of Henry Taylor, *The Ancient Crosses and Holy Wells of Lancashire: A Revised Edition.*