

The Power and the Glory

Authority, Freedom and Literature:

Part 1

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Authority that does not exist for liberty is not authority, but force. It has no sanction.

Lord Acton

The best analogue of a God who reveals himself in strange ways is the wayward imagination of man.

Anthony Burgess

English Catholic literature,¹ invigorated by Celtic tributaries, has been of fast and luxuriant growth, rich in diversity and broad in achievement, contributing generously to the cultural mainstream. A torrent of poets, novelists, essayists, historians, journalists and spirituality writers have entertained, sustained, instructed, defended and promoted the Catholic community, and rendered it intriguing, even attractive, to outsiders by sharing their belief and their humanity. In so far as they are direct, Catholic writers reflect themselves in relation to Catholicism—their chief reference point. Lapsed writers are relevant if they continue to engage Catholicism in serious dialogue, or maintain Catholic values. Catholic writers can be spoken of as 'liberal' or 'conservative': the liberal values community, freedom and relevance, respects independence of mind, and aspires to understanding and toleration; the conservative values order, law and traditional forms, respects power, and aspires to conformity and exclusivism.

Since 1850 non-Catholics have generally thought that Catholicism is inimical to intellect and creativity; and the Church has indeed liked to picture itself as united, uniform, unchanging, righteous, infallible and ideologically lucid to the point of being mechanistic; and consequently there appears to be a conflict between the god-like Church and the human realities in which writers deal, between inflexible 'Law' and the fact that literature is of life, with the wind blowing where it listeth. The position of Catholic writers from 1850 was perilous, confronted on the one hand with a fundamentally hostile society and on the other with a Church demanding conformity with its world-view, and constantly subject to the

possibility of damaging their fragile community, which was subject to the universal divisions between conservative and liberal mentalities.

The perceived tension between an authoritarian and prescriptive Church and the individual Catholic writer was not illusory. The writers were creative thinkers in possession of unique consciences and discreet experience, disposed to originality, and in possession of free-ranging, exploratory imaginations and questing intellects, with a desire to express themselves. Yet their Church had had the Inquisition and the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of publications, including Catholic titles, current until 1966, which Catholics were forbidden to read. An ambience of restriction was created and sustained afresh by the 1864 Syllabus of Errors and by the activities of ecclesiastical censors and rightist lay organisations. Until the second half of the twentieth century English lay Catholics were not encouraged by the Church to read even the Bible for themselves, let alone to study biblical theology.

Given such pressures, Catholics have often considered what a Catholic literature might be, and, though they have come to no firm conclusions, have seldom supposed that it might be mere propaganda for the Holy See. Speaking on *University Subjects*, in 1854, John Henry Newman, while well aware that writing was a personal thing, thought there should be an English Catholic literature, though this would be simply a matter of English Catholics writing with integrity. Catholics, he suggested, should be 'striving to create a current in the direction of Catholic truth, when the waters are rapidly flowing the other way'; yet they must 'do as their neighbours; they must be content to serve their generation.' By 1929 Algernon Cecil could look at the impressive variety of Catholic literature and deduce that in the Church liberty and authority, individualism and order, consorted happily together. In his 1949 lecture 'Three Vital Writers' Evelyn Waugh presented a neat picture of G. K. Chesterton, Graham Greene and Ronald Knox representing the 'particular character of the Church in England', who, though very different, were 'in complete accord in the essentials of philosophy'. And in 1970 David Lodge looked to pre-Vatican II days and thought he could detect a school of Catholic writers: novelists who 'expressed a view of life and . . . shared certain technical features in common'; and he thought that Conor Cruise O'Brien's *Maria Cross* (1954) had demonstrated that one could talk of 'the Catholic novel'. Yet at least one of O'Brien's subjects, François Mauriac, had begged the question; for, attacked by Catholics on his status as a 'Catholic novelist', he had been reduced to making obvious points on the distinction between a novelist and a propagandist. Also between the wars, the novelist Bruce Marshall (1899-1987) declared his dislike of the term 'The Catholic Novelist', for 'all that it conveys to me is that hateful thing propaganda which is often so badly done that it

achieves the very opposite effect from the one aimed at.' The presence of spirituality in such novels, he continued, 'is stultified by a complete refusal to depict the world, the flesh, and the devil. 'Writers like to assert their independence and to elude facile categorisation. 'Catholic novels,' said Frank Sheed -novels in which a Catholic version of Providence obtrudes—'have got themselves a bad name, so that even Catholics avoid them.'

In 1850 there began an ecclesiastical process of orienting English Catholicism towards Rome and all its ways. This caught writers between two stools, for while they wished to be loyal to the Church, they perceived a need to bridge the gap between their Church and the English people. In 1850 the great priest-historian John Lingard observed that these 'Italianising' Catholics, 'by making religion *ridiculous* in the eyes of protestants *prevent it from spreading here*'; and in 1851 Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle declared that such Romanisers 'have taken a line far from calculated to recommend Catholicism to the English mind.' Towards the end of World War I the tension inherent in being an English Roman Catholic was still apparent: the historian and liturgist Adrian Fortescue then urged that local liturgical custom was to take precedence where there was doubt, for 'it is a mistake, from the point of view of Canon Law, to take the local customs of the city of Rome as our standard'; and he could 'give no encouragement to that excessive and uncanonical Romanizing, which . . . follows the . . . path of ignorant copying of everything done in that city. 'The Victorian hierarchy had a knack for alienating Catholics and non-Catholics alike, so that there were plenty of chasms to be bridged, even amongst the literati: Thackeray, so interested in Catholicism generally, thought Cardinal Wiseman 'a tawdry Italian Quack'; Matthew Arnold, so fascinated by Catholic culture, and by Newman in particular, commented on 'the want of intellectual seriousness' in the Church; Lytton Strachey supposed that Cardinal Manning had warmly embraced 'that passion for the extreme and the absolute, which is the very lifeblood of the Church of Rome'; Mrs. Humphrey Ward, who had met Cardinal Vaughan, said he had 'not a touch of criticism, of knowledge, of insight . . . He knew nothing.'

Eventually writers would be well-positioned to narrow this divide; but in 1850 few could have predicted that English Catholicism would produce a worthwhile and effective literature. Their press had a largely 'parish-pump' quality; their intelligentsia agreed that the intellectual life of their community was a poor thing; John Lingard died in 1851; and the Church was proceeding to marginalise its heritage of Catholic medievalism, which so gripped the imagination of Victorian England, in favour of Italianate culture. In 1852 J. M. Capes noted how 'it has become almost a proverb that the worst-looking and most ill-got-up

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publications in the kingdom are . . . the books in use among the English Catholic body'; and he remarked on 'the exceeding great importance of the cultivation of a thoroughly Catholic English literature,' on 'the mischief that is daily wrought in the minds of many of *all classes* amongst us, by the present deficiencies in our own literature'; and that Catholicism '*must* make use of . . . the press.'² In 1853 another wondered if Catholics might not respond to the tradition of anti-Catholic novels with their own apologetical novels.³ In 1859 Lord Acton bemoaned the poverty of Catholic literature, due to the 'contempt and indifference with which knowledge is often regarded' by the Church.⁴ In the 1890s the publisher Kegan Paul complained that 'the Catholic *monde* is not a book-buying one'; yet by that time it was not for want of Catholic matter.

Many answered the call to write for the Faith, amongst them Frances Taylor (1832-1900), who wrote books, founded *The Month* (1864) and was the proprietor of *The Lamp*. A series of polemical historical novels called 'The Popular Catholic Library' was planned, of which Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola* (1855) and Newman's *Callista* (1856) were part. As the century progressed, such writers became bolder in addressing Protestantism and society generally, although by the end of it only two notable novelists had emerged: William Barry (1849-1930) and Pearl Craigie (1867-1906) (i. e. 'John Oliver Hobbes').⁵ The popularity of such writings rested on a growing Catholic middle class. Many novels pictured the tension between love and faith, but few dared to criticise the Church; Edmund Randolph's *Mostly Fools* (1886) being the exception that proves the rule. The dearth of Irish themes was probably an obeisance to anti-Irish prejudice. In some sense, then, Catholic writers were conformist—but not only to their Church.

Catholic literature also had little to say about social justice: Catholics tended to be conservative, even neo-feudalist, like Kenelm Henry Digby (1796-1880), who, although his literary life was now defunct, remarked in 1850: 'The millowners of England have declared their opinion . . . that to limit the work of children and women in manufactories to ten hours in the day is a pernicious yielding "to a morbid sentiment of humanity." For such men Catholicity must be pregnant with disease . . . His remedy was Catholic feudalism, which, he supposed, had given dignity to the labouring class.'⁶ But these were unusually strong words for a Victorian Catholic. 'I do not see,' one authority has judged, 'how any candid person can assert that nineteenth-century Catholicism as a whole manifested a sufficient concern for the freedom of man's body and mind.'⁷ And yet Catholic writers were frequently to provide reproaches to the fake morality of the British bourgeoisie. The poets Coventry Patmore, Francis Thompson, Lionel Johnson, Ernest Dowson, Alice Meynell and

Gerard Manley Hopkins weighed heavily on the Catholic side of the balance, and contributed markedly to the body of spirituality writing, although the last—and greatest—of these was neglected until the 1930s, when he became an influence on English poetry. Newman's best poem 'The Dream of Gerontius' (1865) was celebrated, and gained further currency when in 1900 it was set to music by Elgar. Churchmen also contributed to spirituality writing, usually feeding their flock with reworkings of continental and early English mystics: the Oratorians Newman, Frederick Faber and John Dalgairns produced a respectable crop, while the Benedictine John Hedley's *Retreat* (1894) was still current in the 1960s.

British histories had comprehensively condemned Catholicism, so it was an important field of Catholic endeavour. Lingard's *History of England*—in some respects superior to Macaulay's revered effort—continued to be re-published, despite its having had to contend with Catholic as well as non-Catholic attacks; and in 1859 Acton testified that it 'has been of more use to us than anything that has since been written,' and 'is to this day a tower of strength to us'. The Ward family was to serve honourably in this battle—as in the Catholic literary scene generally; and, especially from the 1880s, a number of clergymen-historians assiduously reconstructed the history of English Catholicism under persecution. W. E. Addis and Thomas Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary* first appeared in 1883; while Joseph Gillow's *Literary and Biographical. . . Dictionary of the English Catholics* commenced publication in 1885. In 1904 the *Catholic Record Society* was founded to publish documents relating to English Catholic history. Shortly before the War *The Catholic Library*, inspired by Alban Goodier, began the cheap publication of important historical Catholic texts. Catholic histories of this period shared in the general movement towards the scientific, and in their revisionism were generally truer than non-Catholic ones.

Though many Victorian writers answered the Church's call to arms, others were more irenic, their humanity and individualism attracting society. In 1896 Augustine Birrell remarked on 'the considerable and daily increasing hold on the popular imagination that has of late years been obtained by the Roman Catholics'; and in 1922 he complimented the late-Victorian burgeoning of Catholic history—he singles out the liberal Richard Simpson's 1867 biography of Edmund Campion—as calculated to defuse 'historical prejudice', adding that 'the balance, once so heavily weighted against the Catholic side in our history, has now begun to kick the beam the other way.'⁸ One historian of English Catholicism judged that 'the impact of Catholicism on English letters and the wide reading public can be said to have developed markedly between

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1880 and 1905.⁹ The growth of Catholic literature at this time witnessed to the increasingly settled, even confident, nature of English Catholicism.

The 1900 Joint Pastoral Letter on the Church and Liberal Catholicism of the English bishops, and other official measures, were designed to undermine liberal thinking, spike the progress of Modernism, and enforce uniformity with Rome. In 1909 the Catholic scholar Edmund Bishop remarked how a 'deep darkness has settled all around one, and hopes . . . are utterly crushed, stamped upon—nay! anathematized . . . as though thereby a "service" were being rendered to God!'¹⁰ Pearl Craigie had observed that 'to hold by force is to hold—nothing': this is 'the vice in Imperialism and in modern *scared* Catholicism.' The writer on spirituality Evelyn Underhill was lost to Catholicism by the anti-Modernist witch-hunt: in 1911 she said contemporary Catholicism was 'really horrible . . . The narrow exclusiveness of Rome is dreadful.' Hence the distinguished spirituality writers Friedrich von Hügel and George Tyrrell were marginalised within Catholicism, their work benefiting more the Protestant world. Though hostile to democracy, the Church, in the shape of Leo XIII, did, however, encourage the discussion of social questions, while in England Manning licensed the discussion of social justice when he said, 'it is not our belief that ecclesiastics cease to be citizens, or that anything affecting the common weal of our country is remote from our duty.' The Jesuit Charles Plater became prominent in this area, while in the Edwardian period the Catholic Truth Society and the Catholic Social Guild published surprisingly radical pamphlets, providing a natural setting for the political writings of such as Vincent McNabb, Eric Gill, Chesterton and Belloc.

War left Catholicism in optimistic mode, the two decades following 1914 witnessing dozens of literary conversions. In 1924 Arnold Lunn observed that Catholicism was 'respectable, for it is the one creed which a self-respecting Georgian can profess in literary and artistic circles without writing himself down as hopelessly Victorian.' The irony was that though, like many of the converts, Lunn entered the Church on its right wing, emphasising its authority and the God-giveness of all authority, he made the point that converts—the bulk of Catholic writers—were individualists, for one had to be an individualist if one was to be a Catholic of prominence in an anti-Catholic society. In 1926 Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward established their publishing company to cater for an intelligent readership, and in the early 1930s Sheed started the first major Catholic book club. The company played an important progressive role in English Catholicism for half a century. By the 1930s the critic Patrick Braybrooke had some excuse for being in triumphalist mood: 'the Catholic Novelists', he asserted, were beginning to speak with the voice of conviction: 'We must indeed pray to them that they speak louder and

louder, help to smash up the fiction that is leprous with evil, force the public taste to that which is decent and worthy of English fiction'; they 'stand for things that really matter', and they spread the Faith.¹¹ In the later 1930s the publisher and man of letters Douglas Jerrold rejoiced that 'only in the Catholic press, inspired by the tradition of Chesterton and Belloc, which is carried on today by [R.] McNair Wilson, Christopher Hollis, Douglas Woodruff and Count Michael de la Bedoyère (and what press possesses more brilliant editors than these last?) are bankers attacked, foreigners treated as our equals in integrity and intelligence, or the cause of liberty sustained.' In 1929 a Catholic journalist observed that Catholicism had 'overcome the hostility of a people, and now enjoys . . . the knowledge of national goodwill.'¹² If this was so, it was at least partly due to the efforts of Catholic writers, who were the best PR the Church had.

There were still battles to be won: against a plague of superstitions, secular ideologies anti-Catholics like H. G. Wells, Dean Inge and G. G. Coulton. In the 1930s the Catholic press was regarded by some as an agent for criticising the world by Catholic standards.¹³ The three pillars of Catholic wisdom were G. K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc and Ronald Knox, who together gave their community self-respect, even self-confidence. Even H. G. Wells acknowledged that 'Chesterton and Belloc have surrounded Catholicism with a kind of boozy halo.' In 1933 Lunn attested: 'We are in some danger to-day of underestimating our debt to Mr. Chesterton, and of forgetting the impact which his books made on the minds of young men who were infected by the fallacy of Victorian rationalism.' 'Belloc's aim was to fight modern chaos with ancient Catholic order, which in 1920 he feared was inadequately presented to the public: 'but,' he urged, 'we *can* spread the mood that we are the bosses and the *chic* and that a man who does not accept the Faith writes himself down as suburban.' With several other Catholics of the 1920s and 1930s, he thought European civilisation was crumbling, and could only be saved by recourse to its old foundation and saviour the Church. At that time he held the primacy amongst Catholic writers because he embodied so much of the triumphalist Church and the optimism of Catholic literature. Knox, anxious that English Catholicism was lacking in earnestness, ignorant, tending to assimilate, and disunited, set out to educate it. They achieved some respect and more affection from outsiders, and ardent followings within Catholicism, largely because they were not mere propagandists but distinctive personalities.

Yet paradise had not been regained. During World War II Knox observed that people complain about Catholics that they have 'a rather offensive tone of "Here's tae us, and wha's like us?" about a good deal of their literature.' In the Edwardian period Charles Plater, while

commending the success of the Catholic Truth Society, and noting the work of the Catholic Reading Guild, stressed the importance of having a Catholic literature, lamenting that 'we do not circulate and read the literature we have got'.¹⁴ In 1929 a journalist supplemented his anxiety: 'The mistake . . . in the present attempt, so far as it exists, to create a Catholic literary revival is that we do not realize the conditions necessary for the task . . . Our writers living as isolated individuals in the midst of a Protestant population, have no vital contact either with each other or with a Catholic public.'¹⁵ That Catholics were not regimented under Cardinal Bourne's thumb does not mean, however, that there was no revival, or that writers were entirely disunited: they had their sense of the Catholic tradition, and their knowledge of each other's activities, as well as a vast web of interrelationships issuing from clubs, societies, periodicals, family connections and friendships.

'History,' declared Acton, 'undermines respect.' He himself undermined undue respect for the institutional Church as much as he dared. Notwithstanding Cardinal Gasquet's propagandist histories, there emerged a tradition of history blunt enough about the Church to be disillusioning: E. S. Purcell's, Wilfrid Ward's, Cuthbert Butler's and C. C. Martindale's ecclesiastical biographies being cases in point. In the 1920s David Knowles began a distinguished historical career, which came to fruition in the 1940s and 1950s, even though he was so far 'right' that he incurred official Church disapproval; while Christopher Dawson produced wide-ranging theoretical works, Douglas Jerrold nominating him in 1937 as 'incomparably the most powerful and original intellect among the young writers today' (though his admiration did not prevent Jerrold from dismissing him as editor of the *Dublin Review* in 1944, when he realised he was not right-wing enough for his taste); and David Knowles judging him to have been in his field of the history of ideas 'the most distinguished Catholic thinker of this century'.

In the 1920s and 1930s the Catholic Left was more than balanced by the Right, the same impulse which led some writers to value Catholicism for its authority and order leading them, with ecclesiastical consent, to flirt with fascism: writers like Belloc, the poet Roy Campbell and Jerrold (who thought Franco might be a saint). Evelyn Waugh too represented the religious right. He sat atop a pile of Catholic novelists—E. H. Dering, Frederick Rolfe, R. H. Benson, Henry Harland and Ford Madox Ford amongst them—who had fantasised about power being held by 'God's elect', the social élite. For Waugh there seemed to be an almost mystical correlation between the British aristocracy and the aristocratic feel of Catholicism; whereas Graham Greene was on the Left, though they joined in cynically satirising the bourgeois consensus. In 1950 one commentator judged that Greene 'has done more than most to make

European Catholics question their whole outlook on faith and holiness . . . now he is generally accepted as having introduced a new type of sanctity to the world.' Lay writers, like Greene and Chesterton, made a significant contribution to 'spirituality writing', broadly understood, although the field was led by the religious orders: John Chapman's *Spiritual Letters* (1935) was a landmark, and Bede Jarrett's *Meditations for Layfolk* (1915) was still current in the 1940s. There is usually a spiritual dimension in Catholic poetry, and Alfred Noyes and David Jones were both well-regarded before the War, while Hopkins came to be celebrated in the 1930s.¹⁶

World war again provided Catholicism with a fillip, and literature was to play a part in attracting the wary outsider.¹⁷ The need for an aggressive literature had been met, the desire to battle the now traumatised host society faded, and the breeze of a new day began to play over fortress Rome. Those looking for the comfort of decency, humanity and understanding found them in the novels of a Greene, an Antonia White or an A. J. Cronin (whose *The Keys of the Kingdom* was criticised by some Catholics for its tolerant spirit and realistic depiction of churchmen); and before Vatican II there appeared the early novels of David Lodge, John Braine, Anthony Burgess and Muriel Spark (converted, she said, by reading Newman). In the 1950s there developed a quality popular literature: though Alfred Duggan was a conservative Catholic, he produced non-polemical historical novels, mostly about the Catholic society of the Middle Ages; and in *The Lord of the Rings* (1954–5) J.R.R. Tolkien produced one of the best-loved novels of the century: 'a fundamentally religious and Catholic work', he said. Theirs were works of great power and invention, haunted by the traditional Catholic themes of sin, guilt, grace, evil and redemption. The convert poets Edith Sitwell and Siegfried Sassoon contributed to this rich panorama.

Post-War histories tended to be concerned with the Catholic intellectual élite, bringing out the conflicts between the intelligentsia and the institutional Church.¹⁸ In the last third of the century there emerged a group of historians more concerned to consider the whole English Catholic body, as if to symbolically mark the coming of age of the laity. Spirituality writing, which blossomed, continued to be led by the religious orders, but lay people, such as George Mackay Brown, Peter Levi (until 1977 a Jesuit) and Elizabeth Jennings, made a contribution, with their fine meditative poetry. Rosemary Haughton's and especially Jack Dominian's writings signposted to Catholics that they could recover the fragilities of their human nature—including their sexuality—for their spiritual existence.

Vatican II only clarified pre-existent divisions within Catholicism. Waugh died in 1966 hating his own now apparently liberal Church, his

spirit reborn in the writings of Alice Thomas Ellis, David McLaurin and Piers Paul Read: such as these sanctified pre-Vatican II Catholicism as 'the Tradition'. Liberal—or, perhaps, 'liberated'—Catholic novelists, like Anthony Burgess, David Lodge and Wendy Perriam, may well have felt they were marching with history in personally breaking from the old chains of Catholicism: particularly the one attached to sexuality. In the 1960s the Church was still clearly opposed to any sexual expression except within marriage and for the purpose of procreation. The work of such liberated novelists provided a counterbalance to the Church's reputation on sexual matters, highlighted by Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968), itself a public-relations catastrophe for Rome. The Council also disturbed the Press: emblematically, Charles Davis resigned as editor of the *Clergy Review*. Radicalism was followed by a drift back to the Right: even the *Tablet*, noted as the leading, progressive journal, came to feel like a safe pair of hands.

It is salutary to recall that, amidst all the heat generated by individuals trying to protect and promote their identity by projecting their feelings about belief onto the Church, Catholics have managed to cogitate about Life, Death and Faith with wit and humour, as the names of Chesterton, D.B. Wyndham Lewis, J.B. Morton, Rachel Billington and Muriel Spark witness. It is also salutary to recall that, if there is here relatively little mention of women writers, it is not because, in accordance with the Church's historic indifference to the voice of women, they did not speak: there have been dozens of notable and eminent female Catholic writers, from the days of Georgiana Fullerton and Adelaide Ann Procter to the women of the Pakenham clan.

As David Jones once warned, 'there are . . . no such things as the Catholic arts of painting and engraving or the Catholic art of writing proses or poems.' Yet David Lodge believed that in the heyday of Greene and Waugh there was 'such a creature as a Catholic novelist', who had 'made Catholicism, from a literary point of view, interesting, glamorous and prestigious.'

I don't think that one can talk of the Catholic novel in quite such sharply-defined terms any more, partly because Catholicism itself has become a much more confused—and confusing—faith. . . as a result of... the Vatican Council. The Church no longer represents that sort of monolithic, unified, uniform view of life which it once did. And therefore one would expect and in fact does find...that Catholic novelists now display a much wider variety of attitudes, and that one tends more to talk of novelists who happen to be Catholic, who use Catholic material, but don't put forward a necessarily Catholic ideology...¹⁹

But the 'Catholic novel' was doubted long before Vatican II, and we still have Catholic writers—including novelists; and there never was a 'Catholic literature' in the sense of Catholic writers all rowing the barque of Peter in perfect time to the Vatican beat, as we shall see.

- 1 Reference works in this field include: Calvert Alexander *The Catholic Literary Revival* (1935); J.R.Foster *Modern Christian Literature* (1963); Maurice Cowling *Religion and Public Doctrine in Modern England Volume II: Assaults* (1985); Thomas Woodman *Faithful Fictions :The Catholic novel in British literature* (1991). Pertinent background is available in Owen Chadwick *The Victorian Church* , and Adrian Hastings *A History of English Christianity 1920–1990* ; and see *Bishops and Writers* ed. Adrian Hastings.
- 2 'The Struggles of Catholic Literature' *The Rambler* vol.IX (Apr.1852) pp.255–7.
- 3 J.A.Stothert 'Catholic Novelists' *The Rambler* vol.XI (Mar.1853) pp.251–3, 261.
- 4 'The Catholic Press' *The Rambler* vol.XI, N.S. (Feb.1859) p.83.
- 5 See Woodman *Faithful Fictions* pp.6–15. On general development of Catholic novelists see: Robert Lee Wolff *Gains and Losses Novels of Faith and Doubt in Victorian England* (John Murray, 1977) especially pp.42, 72ff., 88ff., 91ff., 99ff., 106–7, and Margaret M. Maison *Search Your Soul, Eustace: A Survey of the Religious Novel in the Victorian Age* (Sheed & Ward, 1961) especially pp.149–165.
- 6 Digby *Comptium* vol.III (1850) p.189, and chapters VI, VII.
- 7 Hoxie N.Fairchild *Religious Trends in English Poetry* vol.IV (Columbia U.P., N.Y., 1957) p.275.
- 8 Birrell *Miscellanies* (Elliot Stock, 1901) p.38, More *Obiter Dicta* (William Heinemann, 1924) p.57.
- 9 David Mathew *Catholicism in England* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1955) p.228. .
- 10 Nigel Abercrombie *The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop* (Longmans, 1959) p.406.
- 11 Braybrooke *Some Catholic Novelists* (Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1931) pp.176, 229, 230.
- 12 George Elliot Anstruther *A Hundred Years of Catholic Progress* (Burns & Oates, 1929) pp. 144–5.
- 13 See Michael de la Bedoyère 'What is a Catholic Press?' *The Month* vol.CLXVI, No.857 (Nov.1935) pp.397–404, Stanley B.James 'Our Catholic Press: its Opportunity' *The Month* vol.CLXVII, No.863 (May 1936) pp.421–5.
- 14 'The Circulation of Catholic Literature' *The Month* No.562, N.S. 172 (Apr.1911) pp.372–82; cf. *The Month* Mar.1908, pp.229–46.
- 15 Stanley B.James 'The Creation of a Catholic Literature' *The Month* vol.CLIII. No.777 (Mar.1929) p.240.
- 16 For a survey see Maurice Leahy *An Anthology of Contemporary Catholic Poetry* (Cecil Palmer, 1931).
- 17 For impression of 1940s, 1950s see Neville Braybrooke 'A New Generation of Catholic Writers A Survey' *Clergy Review* vol.XLII, N.S. (1957) pp.668– 76.
- 18 See J.H.Whyte 'Historians of Nineteenth-century English Catholicism' *Clergy Review* vol.LII, N.S. (1967) pp.791–801.
- 19 Lodge *TLS* 12 Apr.1991, p.10; and see Bernard Bergonzi *The Month* vol.CCXXIX, No.1230 (Feb.1970) pp.108–109, and 'The decline and fall of the Catholic novel' in Bergonzi *The Myth of Modernism and Twentieth Century Literature* (1986). J.C. Whitehouse similarly lamented death of Catholic novel: 'Farewell to the Catholic Writer?' *Priests and People* vol.1, No.2 (May 1987) pp.51–3; and see Piers Paul Read 'Decline and Fall of the Catholic Novel' *The Times* 29.3.1997, p.20.

To be continued