

Before Manning: Some Aspects of British Social Concern Before 1865

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“Christian socialism is,” according to Karl Marx, “but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the aristocrat”.¹ As always Marx had an element of truth. In the generation before the appointment of Henry Manning to the See of Westminster, British Catholic social concern, if not aristocratic, was undoubtedly paternalist in character. The faults are obvious but alternative strategies in the grim reality of mid-nineteenth century Britain are less apparent. In the prevailing social and economic condition of British Catholics, any immediately effective alternative strategy would be hard to imagine. On these foundations, Cardinal Manning was to build his much publicised social concern and within the Catholic community, these limited, paternalistic ideas of reform were to persist long after the social and economic condition of the laity had changed beyond recognition.² In both phases, the paternalist and the socialist, the peculiar condition of the Scottish Catholic community produced imaginative lay responses: Robert Monteith and John Wheatley were indicative.

The traditional interpretation of British Catholic social concern has invariably stressed the role of Cardinal Manning. His social interest is contrasted with the more severe intellectual approach of Newman: immediate pastoral considerations defeated longer term interests. Though Manning’s original contribution might be challenged, he remains of great stature. Even in Derek Holmes *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century*. (1978), the relative position of the two men, Manning and Newman, is well portrayed and central. But whichever personality attracts our sympathy and wins our support, they are both clerics. In a clerically dominated church and history, that should occasion no surprise. Again, both men were converts from Anglicanism and so there may be a subtle – or not so subtle – form of triumphalism in emphasising the role of each, especially that of Manning in the London Dock strike. Whatever the reasons for Manning’s social concern, the foundations on which he built have been underestimated. In examining this base we may see how excessive concentration on certain aspects of the Oxford Movement may have obscured earlier social initiatives within the Catholic community.

The intellectual drama of the Oxford Movement is well known but the emotional appeal of the factory and the slum to the converts is less well known. The new urban industrial centres with their masses of poor seemed beyond the reach of the Established Church. The heroic dedication of the Catholic clergy to the largely conservative Irish poor appealed to their Christian concern and Romantic sensibilities. An earlier convert, Fr Ignatius Spencer, the great Passionist, was conducting missions with marked success throughout the country, whilst Fr Mathew converted thousands to the cause of temperance. (Fr. Pius, *Life of Fr. Ignatius*, Dublin, 1866). That awareness was reflected in W. G. Ward's *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1844. Ward emphasised the church's responsibility to "the highest class in Christ's kingdom, the poor".³ The amelioration of the poor should be the hallmark of the church: "That this cannot be said of our Church at present with the most distant approach to truth, seems now pretty generally acknowledged. On her far more than on any other body, (as professing to be the National Church), lies the grave and serious responsibility, of that wide gulf of separation between rich and poor; that contrast of selfish and careless neglect on one side, with the union of rankling suspicion and hollow, cowardly servility on the other; which (whatever honourable exceptions may exist) is now so actively and increasingly mischievous throughout our social system." (p. 374). A lesser known convert, Fr Robert Belaney, in his *A Letter to the Bishop of Chichester assigning his reasons for leaving the Church of England*, London, 1852, emphasised the failure of the church to reach and sustain the poor. Another, Irish convert, Fr George Montgomery, was to spend his life and fortune in schemes for ameliorating the lot of the Irish poor in Wednesbury.⁴ These and others were deeply impressed by the ability of the Catholic Church to attract and sustain the faith and devotion of the poor. Whatever its theological justification, Catholicism seemed romantic and practical in the age of the Chartists.

The traditional noblesse oblige of the wealthy Catholic aristocracy continued. Lord Shrewsbury, for example built two churches near his estates and gave generously towards the erection of city churches. The Lothians erected churches in the Borders, Ambrose Phillips de Lisle built Mount St Bernard's monastery for the Trappists.⁵ But essentially these benefactors envisaged a revived middle ages rather than a reordering of urban industrial society.

The liberal Catholics around Newman failed to develop any systematic social view. The early days of the *Rambler* had been marked by considerable social awareness but under Acton and Richard Simpson, that interest greatly receded.⁶ For them the intellectual community was the primary concern. To the poor and

to the hard pressed clerical administrators, they seemed esoteric, irrelevant, if not irreverent and so were doomed to failure.

The new urban industrial society created the conditions for new Catholic responses. Until that new order, there was, as Newman observed in his 'Second Spring' sermon, "No longer a Catholic Church in the country; nay, no longer I may say, a Catholic community: but a few adherents of the old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been". The massive influx of the Irish immigrants and the accession of distinguished converts proved embarrassing to the old Catholic faithful. The old sedate style seemed destroyed by vulgar masses and vulgar converts: the old quiet enjoyment of the faith was rudely shattered. A new community was needed. The old static relationship between Catholic gentry and tenantry was being superseded by the dynamic urban industrial society: a massive Irish proletariat, seemingly rootless and densely packed in slums posed gigantic organisational problems for the Church. The new Oxbridge converts (Cambridge should not be forgotten) saw a role for themselves in this crisis as priests and pastors, hymn-writers and translators, journalists, but above all, as community builders.⁷

The main concern was pastoral: to reach and to succour the untutored masses of Catholics:

"We are not yet prepared to act with efficiency upon the immense body of the English and Scottish poor. Before we can touch them, except here and there, as it were by accident, we have a work of gigantic magnitude before us within the fold of the Catholic Church itself. We have positively a small nation of our poor to bring back to the duties and privileges of their faith and to save from misery and sin.... For want of clergy, schools, churches, books, confidants and the whole instrumentality by which the Church works upon the souls of her children, they (the Irish) come over into our land only to be like heathens ... scarcely one out of twenty finds in England and Scotland, a *home* in the Catholic Church as already existing in this island." (*Rambler*, v. 5, June, 1850, p. 487).

The poor had first claim upon us. Unless reparation were made for the English injustice to Ireland we would be sharing in the guilt of "tyrannical Protestantism". (Ibid. pp. 488-89). Such activity, in addition to salving consciences, would bind the Catholic community together and prove convincing to our separated brethren. Of all the marks of the Church, the most convincing holiness was care and compassion for the poor; unity, apostolicity and Catholicity "requires a far larger amount of learning and acuteness than is possible except for a studious few". (Ibid. v. 4 Dec 1849 p. 481). Arguments and controversy about scripture, patristics, and history

were as nothing by comparison with commitment to the poor”: the true spirit of Christian self-sacrificing charity leavens all classes alike, and civilisation and conversion proceed hand in hand.” (Ibid. v 5, 1850, p. 503).

In the face of severe shortages of cash, manpower and institutions, it was a realistic response. Catholics as a body had few resources, were usually low in status and were only to be enfranchised by the acts of 1867, 1884 and 1918. Their political strength, even if it could be mobilised in one interest, was limited. In the contemporary social view, the masses naturally looked up to their ‘betters’ for leadership. The Catholic programme articulated in the early *Rambler* and elsewhere may appear conservative to present day Catholics. But it recognised social reality. Catholics lived in a hostile land with little power or influence. It was a tactical necessity to ingratiate Catholics with the social and political powers and so, hopefully, diminish prejudices. It was also a reflection of the attitudes of the Catholic group: the aristocratic elements had little sympathy with the Chartists or radicals, while the Irish Catholics had little sympathy with radical politics in Britain. Even if the principle of positive state intervention in economic life had been conceded, Catholics would have remained deeply suspicious of government: Catholic Emancipation was very recent, the furore over the restoration of the hierarchy even more fresh, and the petty discrimination of officialdom in prisons and workhouses an irritating grievance. Catholics would look after themselves by developing parallel social institutions and thereby engender group pride and endorse the accepted self-help notions of the day. The Established Church was secure and the supporters of Dissent well off: for Catholics the burden was enormous. As a group, they were in a position comparable to that of the American black in the days of Booker T. Washington. Nevertheless, Catholics with a tinge of social romanticism, placed great trust in their own social welfare agencies like monasteries: their prodigious social work was a reproach to the existing industrial order, and a means of glorifying the Ages of Faith. For various reasons then, political action was out: even in 1866, there were only two Catholic Members of Parliament.⁸ A self-contained community was the practical solution.

To construct a Catholic community demanded the construction of Mass centres and churches. As they would inevitably fall far short of demand and as there was little hope of a comprehensive Catholic educational system, new forms of prayer, spirituality and, above all, hymns were needed.⁹ Reinforced by the ministrations of missions, a Catholic atmosphere might be generated in the individual within the larger hostile environment. The Church had to enter the urban family home. The Catholic press, devotion-

al literature and hagiography, and even the sale of rosaries and statues were an effective means of fulfilling this task. Though these practices might have Italian and Ultramontane overtones, they were also a practical device of keeping in touch with massive congregations. The establishment of Catholic educational institutions whether in schools or parochial bodies, was a further means of generating community consciousness.¹⁰ Temperance by encouraging saving was another means of ameliorating the lot of the Catholic masses: social and geographical mobility might follow. Property might be acquired and ultimately the vote.¹¹ Local opinion, as Newman saw in his *Present Position of Catholics*, would be more favourably disposed to visible Catholics, rather than towards abstractions. Activity would enable class and ethnic divisions to be overcome, generate common experiences and a local, even parochial tradition.

Having suggested some of the internal Catholic mechanisms leading to a greater social awareness, we should also note the influence of contemporary British ideas upon Catholicism. Too often, Social Catholicism is represented as a continental import: that emphasis may have been necessary in the late nineteenth century to give the movement orthodox respectability, but Catholics were forming their own native, intelligent assessments and being influenced by British developments.¹² The writings of Thomas Chalmers, F. D. Maurice, David Urquhart and Robert Owen were not without some impact. The early trade unions enjoyed the support of Sir John Joseph Dillon and the leadership of John Doherty, both Catholics.¹³ The self improvement agencies like Mechanics Institutes, the very British Sunday Schools movement and its educational activities, the popular educational press could hardly pass unnoticed by Catholics.¹⁴ Even the popular hymns of other religious bodies stirred Catholic social consciences: Henry Formby envied the powerful Saxon appeal of the congregational singing in the Protestant meeting house as against the artificial productions of Haydn and Mozart. (*The Roman Ritual*, London 1849, pp. 72-74). The important psychological point of popular participation was not lost on Catholic writers. Community consciousness was a prelude to social action.

This educational process was expounded by the *Rambler* under J. M. Capes. But in large measure, he seems to have been expounding what was already taking place in Scotland. The Catholic Association of St Margaret, established in Edinburgh in 1849, had a comprehensive social programme. Its leading figure was Robert Monteith, supported by the Master of Lovat, J. F. S. Gordon, the historian, two other laymen and one priest. (*Tablet* 28 April 1848, 3 May, 23 August 1851). Proclaiming its independence of political

party, it sought to eliminate discrimination against Catholics in the armed forces and public institutions; would seek to establish savings and loans associations throughout Scotland and assist them with advice, aid and religious guilds; establish prize funds in Catholic schools; promote public baths, industrial schools and literary institutions; succour boys studying for the priesthood; cultivate better church music; promote the study and preservation of the architecture of the past; and finally, to institute libel suits against slanderers of Catholic priests and people.

This body was the culmination of Scottish Catholic developments over the past decades. A miniscule Catholic presence had grown with astounding speed through Irish and Highland migration into the industrial central belt. A poor community, helped by several French emigre clergy, met the surrounding bigotry, established schools, an orphanage as early as 1833, newspapers and acquired converts of some considerable standing in the local community: John Smith of Inzievar, Robert Campbell of Skerington, and W. B. D. Turnbull, all advocates and lawyers, but above all, Robert Monteith of Carstairs.¹⁵ The appointment of James Gillis, a Canadian-Scot, as Bishop of Edinburgh, strengthened the French influences and drew Scottish Catholics into more cosmopolitan ideas. At the same time, the Edinburgh of the Enlightenment was giving way to the Romanticism of Scott. Thomas Chalmers was developing his ideas of social reform. Owenism had been tried and found wanting: Mormons were making their first Scottish converts and Scottish Chartist churches were flourishing.¹⁶ Amid this ferment, Catholics naturally developed new responses to social problems: ideals of social renewal were commonplace.

The conditions of the labouring population in Glasgow and Edinburgh were appalling. According to the Poor Law Commissioners, 1842, "the condition of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we have seen in any part of Great Britain."¹⁷ Both cities held thousands in squalid housing, with little if any education and far removed from any Christian influence: in Lanarkshire some 100,000 were without a place of worship. But even before the Poor Law Commissioners reported, Bishop Gillis and sympathetic Protestant gentlemen like Monteith and Robert Chambers (of Chambers Encyclopaedia and popular literary fame) were busy in reforming the worst abuses in Edinburgh. (*Catholic Magazine*, v 8, 1843, pp. 375-80).

The Holy Guild of St Joseph had been established shortly before the visit of Queen Victoria to Edinburgh in August 1842. On that occasion they made their first public appearance in ceremonial dress. But the Guild was far more than an echo of the Eglinton Tournament, it was a body allegedly of Saxon origin with a com-

prehensive mutual benefit scheme for its members. Aided by well disposed gentlemen of all denominations, it sought under the supervision of the Catholic clergy to stimulate religion, provide sickness, annuity and life assurance funds. In addition, the Guild gave prizes for the best kept houses in the worst areas of Edinburgh, like the Cowgate and Blackfriars Wynd. In addition, it was hoped to provide public baths, as a prelude to the fullest development through the Guild's library, music making, even artistic appreciation. The house would then become a home. Yet this moral earnestness was tempered by annual celebrations which included some 1,300 guests of all persuasions and classes at a feast with a twenty gallon wassail bowl. The Guild therefore seemed to succeed in drawing together all classes in society, making the wealthy actively and personally interested in visiting the homes of the poor in areas which "had never for many years witnessed the approach or the presence of persons in that condition near them."¹⁸

The example was to spread to England encouraged by the Catholic press. It would stimulate the influential members of society to reform and retain the Catholic faithful in the Catholic community in times of hardship and distress rather than let them slip into the horrific workhouse, deprived of sacraments and friends. Bishop Gillis developed that theme in his sermon at the opening of St Giles, Cheadle.¹⁹ The tiny Scottish community was pricking the social conscience of British Catholicism.

The Guild preceded the Saint Vincent de Paul Society in Britain by several years. In religious terms, it revived the Easter liturgy with special processions and the washing of the feet of the poor "in a holy levelling of rank and station". (*Tablet* 18 April 1848). Lord Lovat and leading Catholic gentry were very active in this respect. A commitment had been made.

The Guild was to be active in education in the widest sense. It sought to build up the Catholic sense of the community through lectures, literature and the press: "Can we hope to Christianise – for nothing less is needed – the myriads of our own Catholic poor who throng our cities, by means of old machinery and with ideas of what is expedient and possible?"²⁰ Scottish Catholics were already demonstrating what could be done by the imaginative use of limited resources.

Lectures were organised by the Guild to promote a sense of tradition, community and local pride. A close relative of Monteith, James Augustine Stothert, a convert, held four series of lectures over several years for the benefit of young people. They were part of a programme of weekly evening meetings on history and biography of general interest: they seem to antedate the Catholic Young Men's Society which began in 1844. Stothert lectured on

the *Parochial and Collegiate Antiquities*, the *Religious Antiquities* and the *Christian Antiquities of Edinburgh*. All four series were later published in book form. (Edinburgh, 1847-50). In this way the faithful were introduced to the ideas of Newman, Schlegel, Kenelm Digby and Faber. Stothert himself, a former Edinburgh and Sidney Sussex, Cambridge undergraduate, who passed some time in Australia, subsequently became a priest. He was to write many books of devotion, one on science and religion and a curious study of dreams. While serving as a chaplain to Monteith, he wrote *Sonnets, chiefly astronomical*, (Published in Edinburgh 1856) and so in himself fulfilled many of the hopes of the Guild.

Religion had to find a means of access to the homes of the poor. The press provided the Church with a new opportunity. It could penetrate numerous homes where hard pressed clergy and erudite scholarship never entered. In response for the need of a cheap Catholic press, the *Lamp* was established under the editorship of Thomas Earnshaw Bradley. (*Tablet* 20 Oct. 1 Dec 1849, 5 Oct 1850). It was devoted to "the religious, moral, physical and domestic improvement of the industrial classes". Its mixture of news, comment and helpful general knowledge seems to have enjoyed some considerable success particularly in Scotland where Bradley spent considerable periods on lecture tours to youthful audiences. The attempts through Bradley to establish Catholic reading rooms enjoyed some success. (*Tablet* 8, 22 July 1854; 17 Feb 15 Dec 1855; 19 Jan 1856). Such institutions would provide good Catholic reading, a Catholic centre and a pleasant alternative to the saloon. An informed, thrifty community could secure the redress of its grievances through the ballot: "Temperance and economy may soon gain it for many a man who has not." (*Tablet* 1 May 1852). The limited resources of the community, financial and intellectual, should be directed towards community advantage.

Music was an excellent means of prayer, communal expression and a means of retaining the glow of faith long after the service had ended. Couched in the simple, even vulgar language of the masses, hymns gave an immediacy of faith which intellectual subtleties would have failed to do. It is not surprising that non-liturgical, Italianate practices like Benediction, Quarante Ore, together with greater use of rosaries and statues should have appeared at this time. They provided colour, emotion and excitement in lives deeply wounded in industrial warfare. They produced an extravaganza of folk religion in airy churches in marked contrast to their depressing homes or squalid shebeens. The parish mission, the preaching of the revitalised religious orders, of Faber and Ignatius Spencer, together with congregational singing assisted this

community sense.

Edward Caswall, the hymnologist, claimed, (in his *Lyra Apostolica*, 1849, pp. viii-ix), that hymns were a means of goading to action and taking the individual out of himself into his community. Music was crucial for faith in God: Kenelm Digby followed St Thomas Aquinas in believing that singing stirs even if not understood. (*Mores Catholici*, bk 5, c4-c5). For Henry Formby, song was an effective way of teaching the poor and unlearned: the effect of Gregorian plain chant upon the formation of character and of the community would be truly Catholic. (*The Roman Ritual*, pp. 4, 33, 36). The emphasis was invariably upon the community. Formby was particularly anxious that "in the desire to produce a few skilful pupils" schools should not fail "to promote a spirit of healthy social cheerfulness". (*School Songs and Poetry*. London, n.d. pt 3, p. iv).

Education in school was a means of influencing the parents through the children. Schools were important for the present and the future generation, but also in repairing past deficiencies. That concern showed itself in the formation of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee in 1847 to secure aid from government in the provision of education. But the schools were geared to producing a holy heart "without which all education is an injury rather than a blessing".²¹ Simple prayer books, illustrated Bible stories and suitable meditation works together with a profusion of saints' lives were in great demand.²² The imagination and emotions of the community were to be stimulated: a daily classroom meditation of fifteen minutes was more effective "than a whole hour's noisy inculcation of Christian truth upon the mere intellect – a custom in many schools which cannot be too greatly deplored." (E. Caswall, *The Child's Manual* p. v).

The Scottish contribution to this upsurge was significant. The convert lawyer, Robert Campbell, wrote and translated many hymns. Edward Caswall spent much time in Edinburgh writing his works: his brother, Henry, who spent many years in America as an Episcopalian priest, wrote admiringly of Catholicism in Scotland. Robert Monteith wrote an extremely popular hymn, "I arise from dreams of time," based on Shelley's "Lines to an Indian Air". He was also active in promoting the revival of congregational singing through St Margaret's Association and through his own foundation at Lanark, St Mary's.²⁴

If, as Henry Formby claimed, the poor were the only portion of the population on the side of the Church, then converts had a natural Christian career and purpose in their welfare: "Whatever can be done to assimilate the condition of the Catholic rich and poor in the way of recreation, is so much positive aid to spiritual

advancement of the Church.” (*Rambler* v 5, 1850 p. 562). Robert Monteith again provided a lead. In the summer of 1852, he entertained some 2,000 Catholic Glaswegians to food and refreshment at his Carstairs home. He provided three bands and two large balloons which ascended from the grounds in front of the house. Rather pointedly perhaps the British flag flew from the house throughout the day. (*Tablet* 3 July 1852). The British Catholic community was united in play.

In spite of its slender resources, the Catholic community also showed concern for the poor emigrants. As early as 1825 there was concern for the plight of emigrants. (*Catholic Miscellany* v 4, 1825, pp. 231-33). With the ending of transportation of convicts to Australia, partly on account of the evidence of Dr William Ullathorne, future Archbishop of Birmingham, a new type of Catholic emigrant was going out.²⁵ The *Dublin Review* and the *Rambler* saw the possibilities overseas for the Catholic ‘deserving’ poor: economy would accumulate the necessary capital.²⁶ Caroline Chisholm and her husband, Archibald, both converts, returned from Australia and established the Family Colonisation Loan Society to alleviate the poor, encourage independence and aversion to Chartism.²⁷ From her London base, she toured Scotland extensively in 1847 and 1852 and she enjoyed some success. Her standing in Australia was extremely high. Similarly, Fr Henry Formby sought to promote emigration and presented a plan to the Malines Congress of 1867.²⁸ Both were to be followed by Mgr Nugent of Liverpool in schemes to promote Catholic community migration. Cardinal Manning was to build on these foundations.

Health was another concern during this period. Thomas Maria Ignatius Forster, a convert from a remarkable scientific family, was the precursor of Catholic sanitary reformers. Educated at Cambridge and Edinburgh, Forster with his Jacobite ancestry and scientific interests was perhaps more innovative than most Catholics of his time. (He had ascended to 6,000 feet from the Dominican garden at Chelmsford in a balloon.) A staunch vegetarian, he was active in the foundation and early activities of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He wanted to establish a similar body in France. A thorough European in travel and intellect, he was for the abolition of slavery but believed our domestic slavery should be abolished first. A phrenologist and temperance advocate who favoured smoking, he wanted a graduated income tax on property for the support of the poor.²⁹ For him, Catholicism transcended artificial class barriers, fostered health by her fasting and abstinence and by her calendar of festivals was in harmony with the basic human psyche.

Robert Monteith, an enthusiastic disciple of David Urquhart,

the Russophobe, endorsed the curative powers of the Turkish bath.³⁰ Urquhart had introduced it into Britain and Monteith supported its spread throughout Britain and Europe. In that he was supported by leading scientists of the day and by leading Scottish radicals. He installed a bath at his home for farm animals and for humans: both of whom profited greatly. The hospital which he established at Lanark had a Turkish bath as part of his philosophy of individual and social health.

Urquhart, his mentor, though never a Catholic himself, urged the revival of the Law of Nations.³¹ The reassertion of Papal moral authority in international affairs would guarantee international peace and stability. His paper, *The Free Press*, largely financed by Monteith, and whose contributors included Karl Marx, spread this ideal and that of open democratic diplomacy among the British working men. Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, was the villain: he was either a fool or a tool of Russian imperialism. Monteith and Urquhart then opposed the excesses of industrial capitalism at home and abroad: rash imperialistic adventures abroad and urban poverty were inter-related. The solution was an informed moral democracy.

In this campaign, they enjoyed the support of Thomas Chisholm Anstey. A convert, he briefly represented Youghal in the House of Commons, where he won an unenviable reputation as an intolerably boring speaker. He supported self-government for Scotland and Ireland as part of his general opposition to centralisation. Widely read in law, Anstey believed democracy was traditional in Anglo-Saxon society. He therefore supported universal suffrage on grounds of history and tradition rather than theory. The burden of proof was on those who wished to restrict the franchise, rather than on those who wished to extend it as in the past. He had considerable confidence in the urban masses: "I content myself with the broad fact of the incomparable superiority in general, of the large, or manufacturing, constituencies, over the small, or agricultural constituencies in respect of political capacity."³² The franchise was one of the rights and liberties of the subject in tradition: to be deprived of it was to be deprived of the protection of the state, "In the youth and vigour of states the suffrage is never a matter of party strife. It is only in their decrepitude, or decline, that difficulties of that kind begin to be felt, or the jealousies of class to be gratified by wholesale disfranchisement of its avowed or supposed adversaries."³³ Contrary to some notions, there was a warm espousal of democracy by some Catholics....

Anstey went even further in supporting the enfranchisement of women. Ann Amelia Procter and Bessie Parkes were to be found in that campaign. Miss Procter, a popular poet of her day, had

joined the Church in 1851.³⁴ She was a regular contributor to the *Lamp* and wrote hymns. Her *Victoria Regia: A Volume of Original Contributions in Poetry and Prose*, published in 1861 was the first book printed and published entirely by women. The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women had been suggested in 1857 following the example of the Sisters of Charity in the Crimean War and the establishment of an Edinburgh society to employ women as sick nurses. A national committee was established which included Miss Procter and Bessie Parkes: the latter was to be the mother of Hilaire Belloc.

Catholics in Britain had shown considerable interest in the social problem before Manning came to Westminster and before he even joined the Church. The growth of Catholicism through massive Irish immigration and the conversion of intellectually and socially influential individuals had effectively taken the initiative from the hands of the old Catholic families. The future lay with the city rather than the countryside. Many of the converts, attracted to the Church by the poor, found a challenging opportunity in genuine Christian concern, in the role as pastors, hymnologists, writers and social innovators. The mass of the poor as the recipients of this care and compassion responded to this interest. The provision of savings schemes, welfare benefit societies, model lodgings, libraries and social centres enriched their lives. These were often local experiments under local leadership, as in Scotland. In this process, a strong sense of togetherness, of community developed. There was a comprehensive social programme which if not explicitly stated, was operative. To put it crudely, there was an instant tribalism. Nonetheless, there was a vision, an integrated view of social life and eternity. If it was a philosophy of adjustment and containment, it was also one of evolutionary optimism, here within the existing order and hereafter in eternity. In seeking to build up a Catholic community and safeguard its rights, it was confronting the comfortable assumptions of the status quo. The injection of the Scottish democratic tradition and the influence of Australian experience made Catholics willing allies of democracy in Britain.³⁵ The liberal Catholics like Acton did not share that confidence.³⁶ Similarly, he did not have a developed social conscience. The brilliant intellect of the drawing room was remote from the Catholic community. When Acton and the *Rambler* raised major intellectual problems, they were an outside force, a disloyal element in the Catholic community. May be Acton was too cosmopolitan but equally Robert Monteith was a thorough cosmopolitan at home anywhere in Europe. He was concerned with intellect, with the development of Newman's university schemes and yet he showed a remarkable interest in ameliorating the condition of the poor. Class

may have had a part in that Monteith came of a self-made wealthy manufacturing family whereas Acton was of ancient aristocratic lineage. May be it was a question of personality: Acton aloof and remote, Monteith invariably engaged and engaging. Whatever the reason, the liberal Catholics in Britain failed to provide a social view. Those who were of no party but concerned for the poor would naturally gravitate towards the more conservative Catholics like Formby and Caswall. Significantly, the *Rambler* collapsed shortly before Manning became Archbishop of Westminster. He was in a strong position to assert his leadership in that situation. A Catholic community was in existence, had a social programme and would naturally respond to Manning's social ideas. The grass roots of Catholicism were anticipating more social initiatives; Manning provided them. The sociological composition of the community favoured Manning. The liberal Catholic elite had no audience and no programme. They may have been crushed by unimaginative bureaucrats but they also failed through lack of imagination and sympathy. The conservatives may have won but in the long term community consciousness was readily translated into class consciousness. That is another story.

- 1 Quoted from *Communist Manifesto* in frontispiece to Peter J. Frederick, *Knights of the Golden Rule: The Intellectual as Christian Social Reformer in the 1890s*, Lexington, Kentucky, USA 1976.
- 2 The standard accounts of Manning are E. S. Purcell, *Life*, 2 volumes, London 1895 and Shane Leslie, *Henry Edward Manning: His Life and Labours*, London, 1921. On Newman, Meriel Trevor, *Light in Winter*, and *The Pillar of the Cloud*, London 1962. V. A. McClelland, *Cardinal Manning, His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892*. London, 1962.
- 3 W. G. Ward, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1969 reprint edition, p. 391. There are numerous remarks in a similar vein throughout the book.
- 4 Montgomery wrote several tracts like *The Oath of Abjuration ...* London, 1859 and *Rome and the Papacy Now and Forever Inseparable*, London, 1860.
- 5 See E. S. Purcell, *Life and Letters of Ambrose Phillips de Lisle*, 2 volumes, London 1900, and Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival*, London, 1946. Mount St Bernard's did provide considerable welfare to mobile workers. Between 1847 and 1850, the monastery provided 128,269 meals and lodgings for 29,773 people. *Tablet*, 15 March 1851. In 1845, it provided shelter for 2,788 poor travellers and 18,888 meals. *Tablet*, 7 February 1846.
- 6 J. L. Altholz, *The Liberal Catholic Movement in England: The Rambler and Its Contributors, 1848-1864*, London 1962. The social concern is most marked in early volumes to about 1852-53.
- 7 See for example, James F. White, *The Cambridge Movement: Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival*, Cambridge 1962 and the lists in W. Gordon-Gorman, *Converts to Rome During the XIXth Century*, London 1884 edition.
- 8 T. Chisholm Anstey, *On Some Supposed Constitutional Restraints Upon the Parliamentary Franchise*, London 1867, p. 11. He also pointed out that no Catholic had been elected from a Scottish constituency since 1829.

- 9 Like Faber's hymns; Edward Caswall, *Lyra Catholica*, London 1849.; Henry Formby, *The Catholic Christian's Guide to the Right Use of Christian Psalmody and of the Psalter*, London. n.d. ca. 1846; *The Hidden Treasure, or the Value and Excellence of Holy Mass; with a practical and devout method of hearing it with profit*, by St Leonard of Port Maurice, trans. by Robert Monteith, Edinburgh 1855. Jay P. Dolan *Catholic Revivalism*, Notre Dame, 1978 is very suggestive for Britain.
- 10 For example, Henry Formby's *The March of Intellect*, London 1852, was originally delivered to the Catholic Literary and Scientific Institute.
- 11 E.g. J. F. S. Gordon, Address to St Margaret's Defence Association in the *Tablet* 1 May 1852.
- 12 Alec R. Vidler, *A Century of Social Catholicism, 1820-1920*, London 1964 and J. B. Duroselle, *Les Debuts de Catholicisme Social en France, 1822-1870*, Paris 1951.
- 13 *The Early English Trade Unions: Documents from the Home Office Papers*, ed. A. Aspinall, London 1949, pp. 141-150; and R. G. Kirby and A. E. Musson, *The Voice of the People: John Doherty, 1798-1854*, Manchester 1975. Also see Fr T. M. McDonnell, 1792-1869, in *Gillow's Biographical Dictionary*.
- 14 Thomas W. Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class culture, 1780-1850*, New Haven, 1976 and William Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers*, Edinburgh 1872, esp. pp. 227-230.
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- 17 Thomas Ferguson, *The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare*, London 1948, p. 191; Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, (1842), ed. by M. W. Flinn, Edinburgh 1965.
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- 19 *A Discourse delivered at the Opening of St Giles Catholic Church of Cheadle, 1 September, 1846*, London 1846.
- 20 Henry Formby, "Catholic Literature for the Poor", Aug. 1853. *Rambler* v 12, pp. 83-90; *Rambler*, v 3, 1848, p. iv.
- 21 Edward Caswall, *The Child's Manual: Forty Meditations on the Chief Truths of Religion as Contained in the Church Catechism*, London, 1846, p. vi.
- 22 E.g. H. Formby, *Pictorial Bible and Church History Stories*, 3 vols, London 1863.
- 23 See T. I. M. Forster, *Recueil de Ma Vie, Mes Ouvrages et Mes Pensees*, Bruxelles, 1837 and *The Piper's Wallet*, Bruges, 1846.
- 24 See Campbell's hymns in the *St Andrew's Hymnal*; Henry Caswall, *Scotland and the Scottish Church*, Oxford 1853. Monteith's hymn was first published in the *Rambler*, 1850, p. 237; *Tablet*, 10 May 1851.
- 25 Cuthbert Butler, *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne, 1806-1889*, 2 vols London, 1926, v 1 chapter 4.
- 26 *Dublin Review*, v 4, 1838 pp. 67-96; v 6, 1839 pp. 499-566; v 9, pp. 187-214; *Rambler*, v 3, 1848 pp. 30-33.
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- 28 Henry Formby, *The Cause of Poor Catholic Emigrants pleaded before the Catholic Congress of Malines, 5 September 1867*, London 1867. See James P. Shannon, *Catholic Colonisation on the Western Frontier*, New Haven, 1957.
- 29 See T. I. Forster, *Reueuil de Ma Vie, Mes Ouvrages et Mes Penrees*, Bruxelles, 1837. *The Piper's Wallet*, Bruges, 1846 and *England's Liberty and Prosperity*, Colchester, 1830.
- 30 See my article in the *Clergy Review*, July 1978 on Monteith; D. Urquhart, *The Pillars of Hercules*, 2 vols London, 1850 esp. chapter 8 in vol ii; E. S. Turner, *Taking the Cure*, London 1967, pp. 217-32.
- 31 See Mrs M. C. Bishop, *Memoir of Mrs Urquhart*, London, 1897. Urquhart's son 'Sligger' was educated at Stonyhurst and became the first Catholic Fellow of Balliol.
- 32 On Anstey see *D.N.B.* His family had emigrated to Tasmania in 1823. He returned to study law, became a Catholic and finally settled in Britain. He later served in Hong Kong and India. *Punch* has numerous poems and cartoons lampooning him.
- 33 T. C. Anstey, *Plea of the Unrepresented Commons for the Restitution of the Franchise: An Historical Enquiry*, London, 1866. p. 10.
- 34 Ann Amelia Procter, *Lyrics and Legends: a Book of Verses*, London 1871, with an Introduction by Charles Dickens. Also *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1861, pp. 685-87 and 1862, pp. 14-17.
- 35 I refer to Ullathorne, Mrs Chisholm and Anstey. Monteith's father had also business connections with Australia.
- 36 See Lord Acton, *Essays on Freedom and Power*, ed. by Gertrude Himmelfarb, New York, 1957 ed.

Liberation and the Church in Africa

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Latin America in recent years has presented the world with a new development language and by the same token a new concept of Development. In an effort to disassociate themselves from the inadequacies of past development thinking, the term "development" itself has been dropped in favour of "liberation". The proponents of such a change have been led as much by reflection on their own experience at grass roots level, as by the influence of such thinkers as Teilhard de Chardin, Fanon, Marcuse, Mao Tse Tung, Nyerere, Guevara and the Gospels as one would expect in the case of Bishop Camara and theologians such as Gutierrez and Segundo. Even the works of one of the main exponents of this trend, Paolo Freire, although not making direct allusion to Gospel texts, uses a language steeped in Christian and evangelical culture.