

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

CATHOLIC EDUCATION
IN THE SALFORD DIOCESE

1870-1944

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By

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“It is the managers and priests who make all the trouble.”¹

“The Churchmen expected that State interference in education would lead to the growth of immorality and the decay of religion; and who are we in the 1960s to say that they were wrong?”²

¹**The Education of the People Mary Sturt, p. 298.**

² **The Education Act 1870 Eric E. Rice, p. 26.**

ABSTRACT

This study examines the educational provision for Roman Catholic children in the Diocese of Salford 1870-1944. It begins with a review of the position in 1870, attained by the efforts of William Turner, the first Bishop of Salford, in collaboration with his priests and people. It is argued that this effort was based on Five Principles:

Education had to be based on Religion,

Catholic Education had to be under Catholic Control,

Catholic Education had to be made available to all Catholic children as and when means permit,

Catholic Education had to be efficient in its religious and secular content,

The rights of parents to decide upon the education of their children had to be respected.

An account is then given of the growth of both elementary and post-elementary provision across the diocese under five successive bishops, Herbert Vaughan (later Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster), Thomas Bilsborrow, Louis Charles Casartelli, Thomas Henshaw and Henry Vincent Marshall. Consideration is given to the “political” activity that took place throughout this period in connection with Catholic Education. The question is posed and answered: Were the Five Principles adhered to or developed by successive bishops? Case Studies are presented throughout the thesis to illustrate the general arguments by particular examples.

The thesis ends in the prelude to the 1944 Education Act.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No research can be successful without the help of those who hold or are aware of the location of source material. I am therefore deeply indebted to my friends and colleagues in the Diocesan Archives I have consulted in Westminster, Clifton, East Anglia, Lancaster, Leeds, Liverpool, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, and Southwark; to the archivists of many religious congregations; to the archivists, librarians and staff at the Public Record Office, the Lancashire Record Office, Greater Manchester County Record Office, Manchester Central Library, Salford Local History Library, The Talbot Library, and the University Libraries of Hull, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester. It is even more difficult to name individually all who have helped in supplying information, checking facts, and exchanging ideas. If I were to name some among many, they would be my tutor, Professor Vincent Alan McClelland, Canon John Marmion for provocation and support, Dr Kester Aspden, Fr John Broadley, Mr Kit Elliott, Mr Martin Fanning, Mr Jim Lancaster, Mr John Davies, and Sister Mary Campion FCJ as well as many friends in the Catholic Archives Society, the Catholic Record Society, and the North West Catholic History Society. I am also indebted to many academic researchers who, in using the diocesan archives, have shared their research and enthusiasm with me on topics obliquely linked to my own endeavours.

The responsibility for the research, and its interpretation, remain mine, together with any errors made or lack of clarity revealed, as I attempt to unfold the story of Catholic Education within the Salford Diocese 1870-1944.

Catholic Education in the Salford Diocese 1870-1944

Abstract

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Oversight

1. Introduction

The intention of this thesis, a continuation of my first¹, is to study at two levels the educational provision in the Salford Roman Catholic Diocese for the period 1870 to 1944. The first level examines the physical provision of schools, the second the philosophy or theology underpinning this provision. A series of particular case studies illustrates general trends that occurred.

1.1 The Salford Diocese

The Salford Diocese consisted of the Hundreds of Salford and Blackburn. In the Salford Hundred, predominantly Anglican or Dissenting in religious terms, post-reformation Catholicism was effectively eliminated until the rise of an urban population during the Industrial Revolution. In contrast, the Blackburn Hundred maintained a substantial Catholic presence, especially in the Ribble Valley area. With the passing of the Catholic Relief Acts², rural Catholic missions and chapels quickly developed from local recusant centres. Thereafter the main growth of Catholicism was in the urban centres of Blackburn and Burnley, and later in the industrialised valleys of what is today Rossendale.

In 1873, there were 98 secular priests, with 20 regulars (mainly Benedictines and Franciscans) and 20 Jesuits at Stonyhurst, a total of 138 priests. 79 public churches or chapels were served, together with 19 other chapels, mainly in religious houses. Only 68 chapels were registered for (civil) marriages.³ In 1878 there were 93 public churches and 33 private chapels. 148 secular priests worked in the diocese, with another 4 unattached, together with 44 regular clergy, a total of 196 priests. These served a Catholic population of 210,012. There were 173 parochial schools and 16 Higher or Middle Schools. 590 teachers taught in the Elementary Schools, and 16 in the Middle Schools. 31,173 children were on roll, 27,495 were in actual attendance, and 22,564 had been examined in their religious knowledge.⁴

¹ *Bishop Turner and Catholic Education 1840-1872* M. Phil thesis, University of Hull, 1994.

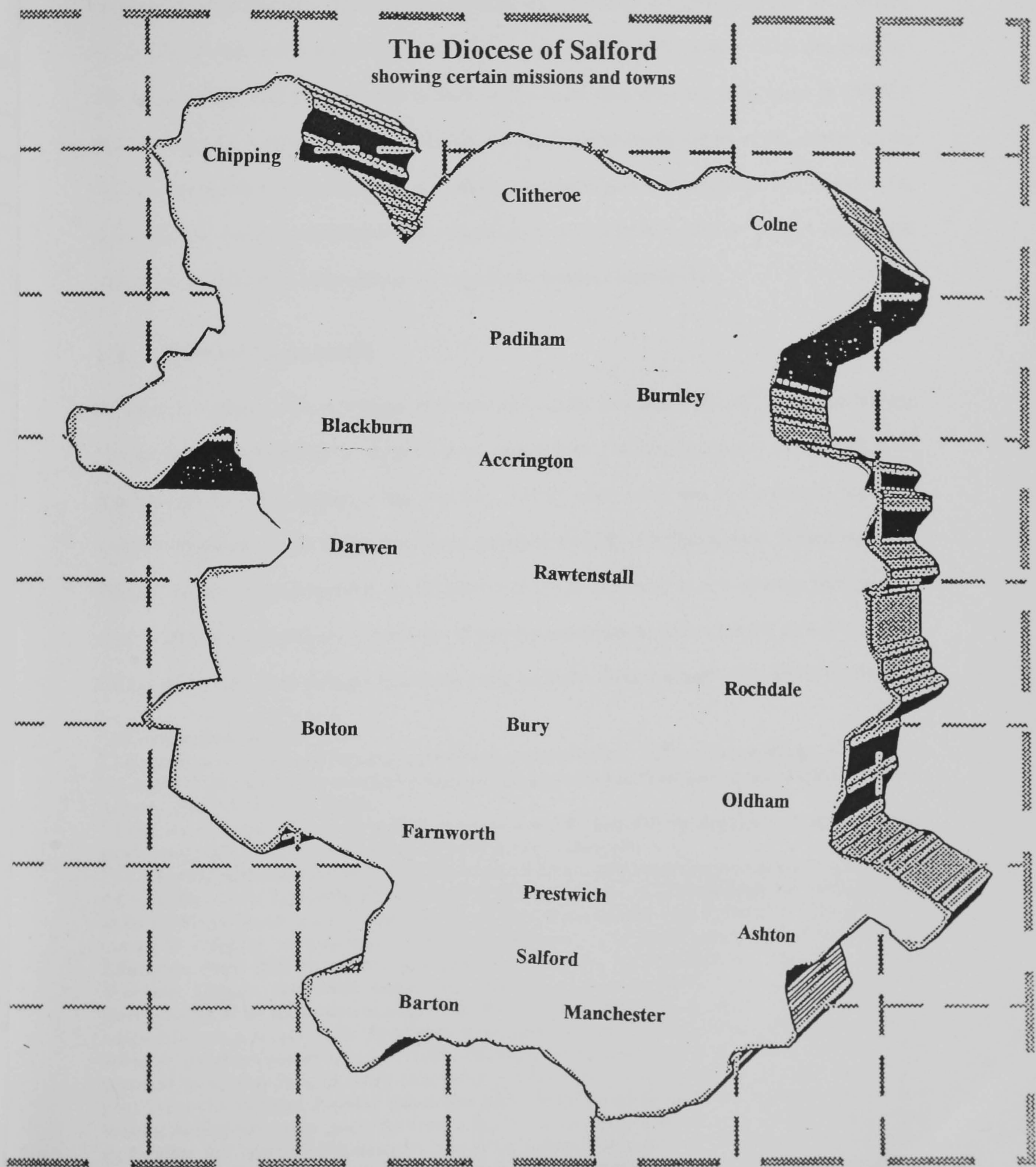
² The slow and as yet incomplete removal of anti-Catholic penal legislation began with the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791, permitting Catholic priests to operate in the realm, registration of Catholic Chapels and licensing of Catholic teachers to teach in Catholic schools. The next major change came in 1829 when Catholic Emancipation removed many civil disabilities from Catholics. As late as 1908 however the Home Secretary "banned" a Blessed Sacrament Procession in London.

³ *Catholic Directory 1873* p. 199. Catholic statistics generally remain imprecise. Priests for example calculated Catholic population by a mathematical formula based on the number of baptisms and of known children of school age. Lesourd's *Sociologie du Catholicisme Anglais 1767-1851* is an interesting interpretation based on figures many might dispute.

⁴ *Diocesan Almanac 1878* p. 41.

The Diocese of Salford

showing certain missions and towns



map not to scale

In 1944, despite wartime disruption, there were 425 secular priests and 112 regular clergy, a total of 537 priests, of whom 18 belonged to other dioceses, and 77 were retired, teaching in colleges, or serving as military chaplains. The estimated Catholic population was 294,000, served by 160 parishes, 13 chapels of ease, and 9 institutions offering Mass on Sunday, with another 54 private chapels.⁵ 159,504 had made their Easter Duties in 1943, a significant drop from the 1938 figure of 198,471, when the Catholic population was given as 300,000.⁶ It is against the backcloth of this growth⁷ of the Catholic community that the expansion of Catholic educational provision is studied, and its underlying philosophy (or theology) described. The contention is that successive bishops steadily upheld and strongly maintained this vision without any significant change or diminution.

1.2 School Expansion

An account is given of the continuous expansion of Catholic elementary schools⁸ across the diocese. The spiritual and educational needs of the poor, mainly Irish, Catholic community far outreached the provision made by the bishops, clergy and laity. Clergy were scarce and in the densely populated slums, overworked. After 1850 priests were recruited from the Continent, from Ireland and from England in about equal proportion. As the number of clergy increased, so new missions were opened. Almost without exception, the first priority in a new mission was to open a school, then find a house for the priest, then open a chapel and finally build a church. Once a school was opened, it would be

⁵ *Diocesan Almanac 1944* p. 90.

⁶ Church Law required and requires Catholics to communicate at Easter or thereabouts, and if needs be, to go to Confession. The numbers going to Confession were (and are still) counted and are deemed to have "done" their Easter duties.

⁷ Maps showing the 20th century growth of parishes will be found in the Appendix. In general terms, nearly every new mission or parish soon opened an elementary school.

⁸ Of the many published accounts of the history of education, it is interesting to note those written from the viewpoint of the School Board/LEA or NUT perspective, and in contrast those that explicitly refer to the efforts of church schools. Sturt **The Education of the People** generally ignores Church Schools except as a source of dissension. Curtis and Boulwood **An Introductory History of English Education since 1800** recognises their presence and work. Hurt **Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918** makes due passing references, while Gosden and Sharp **The Development of an Education Service: The West Riding 1889-1974** accords to church schools and religious issues a proper place. Goldstrom **Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900** refers to voluntary provision but seems not to realise that even in 1900 the majority of children were still being educated in Church Schools more economically than those attending Board Schools. The various contributors to McCann **Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century** while making passing references ignore the issue of socialization within a denominational setting, as studied by Fielding in **Class and Ethnicity**. Adamson's **English Education 1789-1902** fully recognises and explains the religious issues at stake. Armytage's **Four Hundred Years of English Education** mentions but seems to dislike the Church's role in education, whereas Barnard's **A History of English Education** is more impartial. Curtis's **History of Education** is possibly the best and most even-handed of the accounts I have used. While a general silence on the Catholic contribution to English education is understandable, no history can be really complete if it ignores consistently schools that provided for 10+% of educational provision over 150 years.

filled with Catholic children. More accommodation would then be needed, and schools were extended, or new ones built. As Board of Education ground rules and building specifications changed, schools previously judged sufficient were deemed to be overcrowded and inadequate. They needed expanding or replacing. In the twentieth century, the Board of Education demanded the provision of adequate playgrounds, of sufficient toilets or “offices”, a staff-room and a head teacher’s room. They insisted that classes be taught in separate rooms. The Victorian open schoolroom with several classes had to be partitioned off, and space provided for a corridor so that no classroom remained a thoroughfare. Improvements were required in heating, lighting and ventilation. Schools failing to meet these standards were blacklisted, threatened with withdrawal of recognition and grant, and thus faced closure. The Catholic community thus faced a twofold task: to expand its elementary schools as new missions opened, to rebuild or replace existing schools as building standards were upgraded.

Another element enters the equation. Education became compulsory, and the age at which children could leave school was slowly raised. Elementary education alone was insufficient for the needs of the country. Advanced or technical instruction was needed. Different attempts were made to offer such provision. Educational experts decided that the all age elementary schools should be replaced by primary schools up to the age of eleven, and some form of secondary education thereafter. A few might go to the new Grammar Schools, if they gained the rare scholarship, or their parents could afford the fees. Others were intended for central provision, whether in central classes or central schools. The 1936 Education Act finally opted for Senior Schools. The story of how the Catholic community in the Salford Diocese endeavoured to meet these continual changes concludes the first level of my research.

1.3 The Educational philosophy (or theology) of Catholic Schools

There is however a further level underpinning the physical extension of Catholic elementary and post elementary provision. It answers the question “Why did Catholics spend so much time, effort and expense in building and defending their schools?” It might be called a philosophy of education, although a theology of education would be a better expression. The thesis attempts to define this in five stages, and to demonstrate that succeeding bishops of the diocese held firm to this vision with grim determination, adapting it as circumstances changed, and adopting policies and strategies to defend and maintain Catholic schools. The five stages might be defined thus:

- Education has to be based on religion
- Catholic education must be under the control of the Bishop

- It must be efficient in its religious and secular content
- It must be made available to all Catholic children as and when means so permitted
- The rights of parents (Catholic and non-Catholic alike) regarding the education of their children, especially in matters of religion and conscience, must be respected.

This vision is based on a simple premise. Education has to be based on religion. For Christians, the key question is, always has been and always will be: “How are we to save our souls? How do we gain Heaven through Christ’s saving grace? How do we avoid Hell through Christ’s saving death?” The answer lies in what we believe (concept) and how we live our life on earth (values). Education has to inculcate both “concepts” and “values”. Education in this sense goes beyond mere secular “instruction” and includes moral training and religious formation, an education of the whole person. For Catholics, such an education has to be under the control of the Church whose bishops, as successors of the Apostles, have the triple function of sanctifying, teaching, and leading⁹. The denominational provision developed by the Victorians before the 1870 Education Act to respect conscience and educate children was unique within Europe¹⁰. The State too had interests in the secular education of its citizens. The needs of the country and the welfare of the community could dictate the educational curriculum required. The State could have a duty to assist when educational provision was beyond the means of a child’s parents, or when the parents failed in their duties. In historical terms, such interest by the State is of relatively recent origin, dating back less than two centuries.

The final element in this vision lies in the rights and duties of parents in the education of their children. This came to the fore as the 1870 Education Act was enacted. It teased out the complementary roles of parents, the State and the Church. Victorian Catholic bishops were well aware of the uniqueness of educational provision in England and Wales, where a denominational system had developed which respected in general terms the consciences of parents, the stances of different denominations, and the needs of the country. It was a system they appreciated and wanted to defend. Their main complaint of was not about the system as such, but about the unequal funding, as they saw it, which the government gave to it. The provision of Catholic schools was and still is today a financial millstone for the Catholic community. Their vision of the State paying equally for all scholars has never been accepted in

⁹ Nor do Catholics alone share this vision. Bishops of the Established Church from Reformation times recognised the importance of education in religious matters and carefully licensed all teachers so as to exercise full control. Dissenters too recognised the importance of religion within education and bitterly fought to have Anglican doctrine removed from schools their children were forced to attend.

¹⁰ For a Catholic appreciation of this provision, see the comments of the Catholic Poor School Committee in Chapter 2.

practice except in Scotland. Consequently throughout this study, the ripples of financial pain and appeal for equality in treatment will never be far from the surface.

A partnership between parents, Church and State thus became possible. For Catholics the religious element of education, its spiritual development, had to remain pre-eminent. The consequence of these insights forced the Catholic community to provide Catholic schools. Due provision for all Catholic children had to be made if fidelity to belief was to be maintained. The only problem was finding the means, in terms of teachers, buildings and especially finance. Throughout the period, the Board of Education, the School Boards and the Local Education Authorities took it for granted that Catholics would maintain their schools and not give them up.

Yet such schools had to be efficient in their secular and religious teaching. If secular instruction were deficient, government grants would be forfeited. If religious instruction were deficient, the whole purpose of a Catholic school would be defeated.

A triple presentation is conceived. School provision would be the first element of the study, the underlying five principles the second. "Political" activity, both ecclesiastically within the Church, and civilly at local and national levels, would be the third. Consequently, after an initial chapter outlining Turner's endeavours, I have examined elementary school provision and political activity under Vaughan and Bilsborrow in the School Board era. (Chapters 3-6) Then comes a study of the elementary provision made under the episcopates of Casartelli and Henshaw, and a single chapter on their political activity after the creation of the new Local Education Authorities. (Chapters 7-9). The provision of post-elementary or secondary education is then studied chronologically, with references to its adherence to the five principles. A penultimate chapter deals with the episcopate of Bishop Marshall and the effects of the Second World War. The 1944 Education Act lies beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless passing references will be made to certain events that led up to it. The final chapter summarises the argument underlying the whole thesis.

1.4 The tensions of being both diocesan archivist and an academic researcher.

Being the Diocesan Archivist placed me in an enviable position to write a thesis. As a researcher I enjoyed unfettered access to the diocesan archive material and an excellent relation with the archivist, namely myself! It has also posed some unusual complications, in as much as I have a detailed knowledge of the content and scope of research undertaken by others using the same archive.

Friendship, common interests, shared meals and good red wine have been conducive to a sharing of ideas, of varied approaches adopted by individuals researching different aspects of what might be seen as complementary issues over a common timescale. How then can I vouch for the integrity and uniqueness of my own research? Can I establish beyond doubt that there has been no collusion? Can I demonstrate that this thesis is indeed my own research and not a compilation of the ideas and work of others?

I believe I can, and that the simplest way to do this is to examine the recent research undertaken by those who have used the diocesan archives, illustrate the complementary nature of our research, and the uniqueness of our conclusions. We have in effect all mined the same vein – the educational contents of the diocesan archive - but from different angles and for different reasons. We have also used other sources unique to each of us, and come to our own conclusions in academic isolation.

Dr Eric Tenbus presented his Ph.D. thesis¹¹ to the Florida State University in 2001. His research covered the Roman Catholics and the Education of the Poor in England 1847-1902. He began his research as I was completing my earlier thesis. He kindly e-mailed his thesis to me in April 2002 as I was writing up this thesis. The timescale of his research began later than my first thesis, and ended with the demise of the School Boards. His research territorially encompassed a wider field than mine, for he covered in some detail the whole of Lancashire and used evidence from other English dioceses. His main argument was of how a divided Catholic Community – the recusant stock, the Irish immigrants and the new converts – were welded into a cohesive unity by their struggle to create and defend Catholic education.

Dr Kester Aspden presented his thesis at Cambridge in 2000¹². His work entitled **Fortress Church The English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics 1903-1963** was published in Autumn 2002. He kindly provided me with the text of his thesis in early Spring 2002.

Fr John Broadley, a fellow diocesan priest, in his first thesis¹³, examined the political and social influences in Henshaw's life, his pastoral experiences and his character and personality as the fifth

¹¹ "In Truth the Cause of God and Church" – Roman Catholics and the Education of the Poor in England 1847-1902. Eric Tenbus, Ph. D. Thesis, Florida State University, 2001.

¹² **The English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics, 1903-1943** Ph.D. Cambridge 1999.

¹³ **The Episcopate of Thomas Henshaw, Bishop of Salford, 1925-1938** Martin John Broadley, M. Phil Thesis, University of Manchester, 1998.

Bishop of Salford. He then began his Ph. D. thesis on Bishop Casartelli, successfully submitted in July 2002¹⁴.

Kit Elliot, a retired head teacher, is studying the Catholic Parents and Electors Association.¹⁵ Martin Fanning submitted an excellent essay on the “*1906 Liberal Education Bill and the Roman Catholic Reaction of the Diocese of Salford*” as an undergraduate thesis in the Honours School of Modern History at Exeter College, Oxford in 1996. John Davis, recently retired from Liverpool Hope University, has for some years been researching Bishop Marshall. He has published a series of articles¹⁶ in *North West Catholic History* and in *Recusant History*.

In my own study, I have extensively used material held in the Public Record Office, as well as in the many educational boxes in the diocesan archives, and the educational statistics published in the *Diocesan Almanac* over many years. From these sources, and from parish and school histories, I have striven to outline, not quite brick by brick, the physical expansion of Catholic schools and demonstrate the maintenance of the five point philosophy by all the diocesan bishops which underpinned this monumental and financially crippling educational endeavour of the Catholic community in the Salford Diocese over seven decades.

¹⁴ **The Life and Times of Louis Charles Casartelli 1852-1925 with special reference to his years as Bishop of Salford** Martin John Broadley, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Manchester, 2002.

¹⁵ Elliott's essays include *The C.P.E.A and the 1944 Education Act: the Role of the Laity in the English Catholic Church 1940-1945*¹⁵, “and “*The Catholic Laity and the Defence of the Catholic Schools: The Diocese of Salford and the C.P.E.A. 1941-1944*”.

¹⁶ These articles are listed in Chapter 14.

Chapter 2: Bishop Turner: the prelude to the 1870 Education Act

1. Overview of the Chapter

A consideration of national Catholic educational provision opens the chapter. An account of the role of the Catholic Poor School Committee¹ follows. A brief description of Bishop Turner's life and work is given, especially his involvement in educational provision. The growth of Roman Catholic elementary poor schools from 1849 until 1870 is recounted. When Turner first arrived in Manchester, there was but one Catholic Day School for Boys. Sunday Schools supplied the only other Catholic educational provision. When he died in 1872, a substantial increase in the number of missions throughout the diocese had occurred. Most missions had their own day schools, the substantial majority of which were in receipt of government grant. Other provision is next considered: middle schools, reformatories and industrial schools, and orphanages. Mention is next briefly made of Turner's political activity, especially his actions in meeting and implementing the 1870 Education Act. A summary of five principles on which Turner can be said to have based his work for education concludes the chapter.

2. Catholic Educational Provision at National Level

2.1 The Role of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1847-1870

The Catholic Poor School Committee², formed in 1847 by the Vicars Apostolic³, acted as their intermediary with Government in educational matters. Our initial task is to describe the development of Catholic education across the country and why the substantial progress made was still considered to have been inadequate. Three CPSC Reports are pertinent. The 1867 Report reviewed the progress made over the previous twenty years before cautiously looking ahead at potential change in educational legislation. The report recommended a fact-finding enquiry to guide efforts to build and open sufficient Catholic schools.

¹ Hereafter referred to as the CPSC.

² Marmion J. P. *"The beginning of the Catholic Poor Schools on England"* in **Recusant History** Vol. 17, No. 1, 1986, pp. 67 seq.

³ The English Catholic Hierarchy became extinct at the Reformation. Vicars Apostolic were bishops sent by Rome to take charge of church affairs in England and Wales until a new hierarchy could be established. Initially one was appointed, and then four, each in charge of a District, and then in 1840, eight. See **The Early Vicars Apostolic of England** by Basil Hemphill (1954) and **English and Welsh Hierarchical Structure from 1581-1990** by Francis Isherwood (Portsmouth 1990).

In the meantime the nation is awakening more and more to the peril, if not the sin, of suffering large masses of its population to remain in brutal ignorance. In its impatience at the present voluntary system not having become a universal system, and at the difficulties which religious differences interpose to any universal system in which the rights of individual consciences should be maintained, it seems in some danger of slighting the chiefest principle which underlies all education - that it should be based on religion. In this movement Catholics, as a portion of the empire, are comprehended. Our best, perhaps our only, security against the danger which it presents, the greatest and most fatal that could possibly arise, - the substitution, that of a secular instruction for an education on Christian principles as understood by the several religious communities among us, - is at once to ascertain the number of Catholic children requiring and not receiving education, and to make without delay a sustained and well-considered effort to provide them with schools under the actual system. Viewing the circumstances of the times, this would seem to be our wisdom, and surely it is not beyond our power.⁴

The 1868 Report outlined how the denominational system arose, and the 1869 Report looked ahead to 1870, which in terms of education, it foresaw would be an epic year.

For Catholics, educational provision in 1848 was dire. There was an inadequate supply of qualified teachers and no Catholic training school to provide such teachers. Most Catholic children went uneducated. No public grant for Catholic schools was available. The Vicars Apostolic created the CPSC "to carry on the great work of religious education of the children of the poor by the assistance and through the instrumentality of this committee". They hailed

with peculiar satisfaction the zealous co-operation of the gentlemen, lay and clerical, who from each of our respective districts, have kindly consented to assist us in this great work of education, and we desire to have intimated to her Majesty's Government that we approve of them as our organ of communication on the subject of education.⁵

The Council of Education accepted this status of the CPSC in a minute dated 18 December 1847. It agreed that inspectors of Catholic schools should not be appointed without the previous concurrence of the CPSC. Negotiations opened to draw up a suitable trust deed - the Kemerton School Trust Deed - to enable public grant to be paid to Catholic schools some ten years after Anglican and Dissenting schools first received such grants.

Between 1848 and 1867 the CPSC, raising funds by an annual national collection, made 322 grants in aid of new schools and 2017 grants in support of existing schools.⁶ Three teacher-training colleges were founded. The one for men was initially based at Hammersmith, before eventually moving to Strawberry Hill. The Notre Dame Sisters ran one for women at Liverpool. The Holy Child Sisters ran a second at St Leonard's which trained over a hundred teachers before its closure in 1863. Since 1856 Liverpool had trained 357 schoolmistresses, and Hammersmith had produced 195 schoolmasters.

⁴ CPSC 1867 Report, p. 25.

⁵ Address of the Vicars Apostolic 27 September 1847 and Joint Pastoral Letter 18 February 1848.

While the HMI who inspected the secular efficiency of the Catholic schools were appointed with the concurrence of the CPSC, each bishop appointed his own inspectors to vet the religious instruction. From 1857 the CPSC met the expenses of this inspection, and inaugurated the grant of silver medals for pupil teachers and of bronze medals for other pupils judged to have excelled at the inspection. The CPSC had received from collections, legacies and donations for the training colleges the grand sum of £109,401 during this twenty-year period.

The CPSC also negotiated the government grant received by Catholic schools. This was subject to certain conditions. School buildings had to meet set requirements; teachers had to be qualified, and the teaching of children had to meet set standards, with the schools being inspected annually. After 1862 payment depended on the result of the inspection. In 1866, some 330 establishments had received £27,042 in annual grants. From the first grants being approved in 1849, in the period up to 1867, the total amount received had exceeded £376,059. As the CPSC Report noted:

While the national standard of secular education set by the Privy Council Minutes has been attained, the Church has been at the fullest liberty, without let or hindrance, to leaven that education with her own Divine principles. There has been no conscience clause, no forbidding of pious images, or of the whole exhibition of Catholic worship in the order of the school: the teachers, the inspectors and the managers have been exclusively Catholic. It is presumed that no age or country has witnessed a system of more perfect liberty than this has been...⁷

Yet not all was perfect. Many Catholic schools feared applying for government building grants, despite the assurances of the Bishops. There remained still a lack of qualified male teachers. The CPSC lacked the statistics it needed. The number of Catholic schools in each diocese was unknown in 1867. Unknown numbers of Catholic children were still not attending school. And on the horizon a cloud appeared: a potential storm that might sweep away all that had been achieved: the new educational legislation.

In 1869 the CPSC dwelt on its past experience, considered its present position, and looked to its future prospects. A concise account was presented as to how the denominational system had arisen.⁸ Three options had been available. The first was that all schools should belong to the Established Church. That was unacceptable to Dissenters, Catholics and Jews alike. The second option was a national system of secular instruction outside of Christian education. That would have repelled all the different religious communities, as none were prepared to sever the school from the church. The third way was to take

⁶ Grants were generally paid to the poorest schools that had not sought or had not obtained Parliamentary grant.

⁷ CPSC 1867 Report p. 15.

each religious community into a single process of education, leaving them to combine religious and secular instruction each according to their convictions, making grants to each of them on equal and general terms. This was the way initially adopted by the Government. In the thirty years since payment of public grants had been commenced, both political parties had agreed that a vast and most valuable work had been done. In 1868 there were 15,572 schools under inspection; the average number of children attending them came to 1,241,780. There were 13,387 certificated teachers, 1,279 assistant teachers and 13,185 pupil teachers. The Church of England had 4,690 schools under inspection and another 6,571 schools not receiving grant aid. A decennial survey of Anglican schools showed that £8,991,000 had been spent on education, of which £4,554,333 had been raised from voluntary subscription, thus subsidising the public purse. In the case of Catholics, there were 507 inspected day schools, with 67,143 children present at inspection, and 138 evening schools with 9,686 scholars present. Certificated teachers numbered 618, with 631 pupil teachers. Many more Catholic schools were not in receipt of government grant, possibly in terms of percentage not dissimilar to the Anglican position. The government believed it provided 40% of educational finance. Voluntary effort raised the other 60%. This proportion seemed to fit the Catholic situation. Of the £55,842 spent on Catholic schools, £21,591 was in grant. Given the general poverty of the Catholic community, the CPSC wanted more Catholic schools to accept grant. Returns suggested that Anglican and Dissenting schools spent £1.34 per pupil and Catholic schools £1.01.⁹ Given these facts, the CPSC concluded its argument:

Such, then, being the number of persons participating in the present system of education, and the proportion of aid given, it is not alleged by any opponents that if any defects exist in the quality of the teaching, such defects arise from the denominational system as such. If children are inadequately taught, if they leave school too soon, or come to it intermittently, or do not come at all, through the fault of their parents, these defects do not arise from this system, but from other causes, having their root in the circumstances of the country.¹⁰

The inability of the different churches to provide between them sufficient school places to match the number of children available was the root cause of the sense of dissatisfaction prompting the proposed legislation. In the great cities, perhaps half the children attended no school because of parental indifference. Consequently compulsion was to be introduced to compel parents to send children to school. This posed the question of the State intervening in the duties of parents, and perhaps restricting their rights, especially their rights of conscience in religious matters. What was worrying from the

⁸ CPSC 1869 Report pp. 1 seq.

⁹ The original figures have been converted into decimal units.

¹⁰ CPSC 1868 Report p. 7.

Catholic perspective was the suggestion that the new system must be a secular system, separating school from church.

Another fear was that mere instruction would replace real education. As the CPSC Report observed:

Is it any wonder that men should have arisen declaring that these classes must be reached, that they must not be neglected for another generation, that they must be taught somehow and by some scheme? We must sympathise with the desire that these classes should be taught, however much we may be persuaded that the possession of these three elementary arts - reading, writing and arithmetic, which are necessary in this country to raise a man out of pauperism - are not sufficient, not even in any way calculated, of themselves, to form his moral character, and to make him a good citizen.¹¹

The challenge lay in uniting what the CPSC Report described as the three great educational requirements. The first requirement was to preserve the union of secular and religious instruction, the denominational system. The second was to maintain the fullest liberty for religious teaching in each denominational school while ensuring that no child should be taught anything contrary to the religious convictions of its parents thus respecting rights of conscience. The third was to bring education within the reach of all classes of the labouring poor. To achieve the third requirement by providing compulsory, rate aided secular instruction appeared to be incompatible with the maintenance of denominational schools.

If all men, in proportion as religion is a practical matter with them, whatever that religion may be, advocate the union of religious with secular teaching in education, would it not be the most grievous violation of the rights on conscience to insist on all these giving up their convictions? A secular system, enjoined as a condition of public aid, would at once ride roughshod over consciences, and annihilate education"

In each of the 15,500 schools then under Government inspection, a contract had been entered into between the State and the several religious communities in favour of denominational education. In each the State had joined in a guarantee that religion and instruction should not be separated. In extending schooling to reach even the poorest of the poor, this union between religious and secular had to be maintained for such united instruction alone provided an education of the whole person.

It is worth noting that in arguing for respect of conscience in education, the Catholic argument did not seek this guarantee merely for Catholics, but for everyone. Even the Dissenters were dogmatic in requiring no dogmatic elements or creed in any religious instruction given to their children. As citizens, Anglicans, Catholics and Dissenters had the same right to have their religious convictions recognised. Part of that conviction was a belief that an education that was not based on religion would

¹¹ CPSC 1868 Report p. 8.

be but mere instruction and not a genuine education, the drawing out of the whole person in every area of his personality.

The report ended with a reference to the proposed Government enquiry into the number and condition of elementary schools in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds. The CPSC hoped that Catholic co-operation would be forthcoming, for it observed:

By these means, without sacrificing a point of their religion, Catholics will take their place as citizens, and will entitle themselves to be heard in the settlement of future policy.¹²

The last point to note from this 1868 Report is the support offered to the CPSC by the Bishops.¹³ **Manning**¹⁴ confirmed that the Bishops were content to leave general educational matters to the Committee. They were grateful for the warnings received and would duly respond to the questions raised. Given the fact that the Bishops were deeply involved in the First Vatican Council when the 1870 Education Bill was debated and enacted, it was providential that the CPSC was so trusted. When Forster's Education Bill was announced in February, a series of meetings were held with the Vicars General of the main dioceses. **Lord Howard** and the CPSC Secretary attended several meetings of the Educational Union and advocated the maintenance of denominational education in the proposed extension of educational provision.¹⁵

2.2 The Catholic Education Crisis Fund Committee

The Catholic community responded to the financial challenges of the 1870 Act by creating national and local organisations to spearhead building work of new or extended schools to obtain government grant in the breathing space the new Act provided before building grants were finally eliminated. The national body, entitled the Catholic Education Crisis Fund Committee, was established in June 1870 to work with Diocesan Education Councils. Its rules explicitly excluded both management expenses and the substitution of new schools for old. It did permit where needed grants to be made to hiring and fitting up rooms in establishing new schools. New buildings had to be designed for school purposes, and "for no other purpose whatever". Each diocese was to establish a Council of Education, composed of both clergy and laity, responsible for the application and management of any grants received. Without such a diocesan body, the Crisis Committee would not make a grant. Once an elementary school

¹² CPSC 1868 Report p. 11.

¹³ CPSC 1868 Report pp.17 seq.

¹⁴ Individuals whose names are in bold print are listed in Appendix 1.

¹⁵ CPSC Report 1869 p. 3.

received a grant, it was expected to employ certificated teachers, operate under an appropriate Trust Deed and take all necessary steps to qualify for the government grant.

The time limits within which a crisis grant might be obtained were strictly limited. Commencement of building had to start after 13 June 1870, when the Crisis Fund was established. Details had to be supplied on a diocesan basis of the schools to be aided, with information on costs and the number of unaccommodated children for whom provision was being made. Grant was also conditional on the sums raised locally. No diocese would get more from the Crisis Fund than it had already raised itself; an early example of matched funding.¹⁶ Once these works had been completed, the Crisis Committee and the Diocesan Education Boards ceased to exist.

2.3 The 1871 Parliamentary Petition

In an age when the franchise was limited to men of social standing and wealth, Parliamentary Petitions were a way by which ordinary citizens could express their mind to their Member of Parliament. Strict protocols had to be observed, and the influence and effect of any single petition remained questionable. Turner had urged Catholics to sign such a petition in 1857 objecting to a proposed Act amending marriage and divorce legislation.¹⁷ In March 1871 **Canon Toole** circulated the managers of Catholic schools the text of a proposed Parliamentary Petition, expressing concern that the newly proposed code for 1871 was contrary to the 1870 Act.¹⁸ He requested that it or a similar petition be written out, signed by the managers, and sent to their Member of Parliament. It too failed.

3. Catholic Educational Provision at Diocesan Level

3.1 Turner's life and work

Bishop Turner was born in 1799 in Lancashire, trained at Ushaw College and the Venerable English College, Rome, and was ordained priest in 1825. He served in Dukinfield, Rochdale, Bury and Manchester, with a spell in Leeds during a fever epidemic. In 1842 he refused the bishopric of Corfu.

¹⁶ Such matched funding, then and now, contains a certain element of injustice. Those who can help themselves receive more help; those who face such poverty that they cannot raise funds receive nothing, even if their need is greatest.

¹⁷ **Petition** 28 May 1857 **Turner Act** No. 25.

¹⁸ Part of the suggested text was as follows: That your petitioners see with regret and surprise that, in the Code 1871, of the Education Department, which is now on the Table of your Honourable House, it is proposed, in Article (23) and in the Fifth Schedule, Article (11), to enact a rule which your petitioners believe to be at variance with the Education Act, 1870, and to make null the intentions and provision of the Legislature in Passing that Act. They therefore pray your Honourable House to

He became Vicar General for the Hundreds of Blackburn and Salford, the geographical area of the future Salford diocese, in the new Lancashire District. He was appointed as the first Bishop of Salford in 1851, several months after the restoration of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. He died in 1872. Brief accounts¹⁹ of his episcopacy have been published, and some more detailed studies have been completed. Turner's efforts in enabling the growth of elementary schools, the founding of middle schools and the establishment of both reformatory schools and industrial schools have already been studied.²⁰

His priestly life covered the whole period of educational development from Sunday Schools to the creation of the School Boards. In the 1820s, Sunday Schools were the main source of education for ordinary people. Day Schools, rare and often inefficient, increased in number and efficiency as church provision, government grants and the 1862 Revised Code had their effect. Though they provided for many children, they did not reach everyone. The 1870 Education Act permitted School Boards to be formed in areas where voluntary church provision failed to provide sufficient places to meet the educational needs of all children.

3.2 Turner's support of the CPSC

Turner²¹ habitually stressed the important work of the CPSC in his annual Pastoral Letters on the subject, urging priests and people to support fully the collection, and reminding them that as a diocese, Salford received far more from the CPSC than it gave. In his first Pastoral Letter,²² Turner wrote:

The education of the children of our poorer brethren is also a matter which we have greatly at heart. At a time when the subject is engaging so largely the attention of all classes of the community, and that of the Legislature itself, we cannot shut our eyes to its vast importance. And we need not say to you, Dearly Beloved, that when we speak of education, we allude not exclusively to secular instruction, but more particularly include the teaching which leads to eternal life. Education, to be genuine, must always rest upon the foundations of religion. We are far from undervaluing secular learning, and by no means share in opinions now almost obsolete, that this kind of instruction for the poor is of questionable advantage, opinions which formerly went to diminish the facilities for establishing and extending schools for the poor.

object to this obnoxious rule, and not to accept this form of the Code which would cancel the design of the Legislature, and take away the liberty of religious instruction in schools for the poor.

¹⁹ Plumb B *Arundel to Zabi* Warrington 1987; Maziere-Brady *The Episcopal Succession* Rome 1877 Vol. 3, p. 442.

²⁰ Lannon D, *Bishop Turner and Educational Provision within the Salford Diocesan Area, 1840-1870*, M. Phil. Thesis, University of Hull September 1994; *Bishop Turner, the Salford Diocese and Reformatory Provision 1854-1872* *Recusant History* Vol. 23, 1997, pp. 389 seq.; *William Turner, First Bishop of Salford, Pastor and Educator* *Recusant History* Vol. 25, 2000, pp. 192 seq.

²¹ There seems to have been a regular pattern in Turner's writing of Pastoral Letters and Letters to the Clergy. For the early years of his episcopate, we have fewer texts than for the latter years. Whether this is because the texts have not survived, or were not written, is a matter of speculation.

²² *Pastoral Letter* 28 July 1851

Referring to the dangers of abusing education by separating the secular from the sacred, he quoted the example of France as a melancholy example. He was overjoyed to see how many of the schools were staffed by members of religious orders and congregations²³, both male and female. Given the great need the diocese faced for such schools for the poor, the liberal and hearty co-operation of the laity, whose generous contributions he anticipated, were needed for this work to succeed.

The Hierarchy issued a Joint Pastoral Letter²⁴ after the end of the First Provincial Synod held at Oscott. Detailed reference was made to the educational needs facing the Catholic community. Provision had to be made for educating Catholic children in a hostile world. Ideally missions should have their own schools, one for boys and one for girls. In such provision, the richer must help the poorer. To achieve this, it was preferable to build school-chapels rather than churches without schools. Education must include both religion and secular knowledge. The role of the CPSC was recommended. In education, faith, virtue and piety were even more important than mere secular knowledge. Dioceses were to appoint religious inspectors of schools. Where the need warranted it, dioceses should establish "Middle Schools" to provide due commercial education. The laity were urged to be at unity with their bishop, and to lead a life of prayer, sustained by the reception of the Sacraments. In spite of threats and injuries, the laity were also urged to discharge their civic duties, and to invoke the lawful defence of their rights as citizens, but if needs be they were to suffer patiently and forgivingly to pray for those who hurt them.

After the conclusion of the Second Synod, the Hierarchy again wrote a joint Pastoral Letter.²⁵ They reviewed the progress made since 1851, especially in the work undertaken by religious teaching orders, and the increase in both churches and schools. The work of the CPSC was again urged and praised. The importance of educating the children of the poor was stressed, although the negligence of Catholic parents in sending their children to Catholic schools was noted.

Faced with apathy and a lack of sympathy, the aim of the CPSC was reiterated in an Appeal of about 1860. Its aim simply was to provide "a good Catholic education within the reach of every Catholic

²³ The Christian Brothers were still at St Patrick's, Livesey St, Manchester, although they were withdrawing elsewhere. The Xaverian Brothers were teaching in Manchester and Salford. The Presentation Sisters, Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Faithful Companions of Jesus were teaching in several large towns. Initially the hope that religious might staff all such urban schools seemed to be realisable. Only in later years, with the extension of schools to nearly every mission did this vision prove illusory.

²⁴ **Hierarchy Letter** 1 June 1851.

²⁵ **Hierarchy Letter** 16 July 1859.

poor man's family." The CPSC had but one salaried officer, and needed the support of both clergy and laity.

All must admit that the position of Catholics is peculiar. Poverty exposes our children to misfortune and the tempter; mixes them with the "Wild Arabs" of the towns, as others describe much of the rising generation; we do not possess the riches of the Established Church, or the monetary organisation of the Dissenter; yet in these matters almost every man's hand is against us, and we are hardly awake to the importance of caring for our own.

Of late years the Education of youth has absorbed public attention. Are Catholics to ignore this? Rather are they not to be the first to acknowledge the strength of this public feeling? One thing is certain, if Catholics do not care for their own poor, others will; and Catholics now numerous and poor, will remain poor and become few indeed.²⁶

This appeal was heartily supported by Turner who wrote to his clergy asking for liberality:

There is nothing I have more at heart than the extension of our schools and the instruction of our poor children in the Faith.²⁷

Although great advances had been made in many of the schools due in part to the advice of and grants from the CPSC and to the use of certificated teachers, religious and lay, there still remained thousands of poor uneducated children. Too many were being sent to proselytising schools. Parents were to be warned of this danger.

There is but too much reason to apprehend that many of the household of the Faith become lost to us from this cause and the absence of religious teaching. I need not say that no education can be accurate and complete if it be not qualified by religion.

By 1863 **Fr Dunderdale** had replaced **Canon Kershaw** as the diocesan clerical representative on the CPSC. Applications for grants were to be sent via Dunderdale to **T. W. Allies** in London.²⁸ The collection ^{was} ~~being~~ moved from Advent to summer, and Turner wrote to his clergy pleading for their support, and warning again of the danger of Catholic children attending "proselytising schools".²⁹ The Bishops jointly resolved in 1864 that prayers for the CPSC benefactors should be said in school, and Turner so commanded his clergy.³⁰ In 1866 again Turner appealed for support for a fund from which more was received than was given.³¹ In 1868 Turner again urged the support of his clergy and people, citing the advances made, but outlining the huge task ahead.

It cannot be concealed from you that there are thousands of our poor children, especially in our great cities and manufacturing towns, who are uneducated. Many too are sent to proselytising schools, thus occasioning imminent peril to their faith, and preparing snares of which some parents are but little aware. You will not fail to point out to such parents this great evil. You will unceasingly tell them that they must not permit their

²⁶ CPSC Appeal undated Turner Acta No 43.

²⁷ Ad Clerum 30 May 1861

²⁸ Idem.

²⁹ Ad Clerum 20 May 1863.

³⁰ Ad Clerum 5 May 1864, 31 May 1864.

³¹ Ad Clerum 15 May 1866.

children to go to teachers who are strangers, probably hostile, to the truths of our holy religion. There is but too much reason to apprehend that many of the household of the faith become lost to us from this cause, and the absence of religious teaching. Your obvious duty then is to take every precaution, and to use all possible vigilance in the renewed efforts to protect the rising generation from the ravages of the wolf, and to lead them safely to the fold.³²

The decision of Pope Pius IX to convene the First Vatican Council now began to affect bishops and people alike. In announcing the spiritual indulgences granted and seeking prayers for the success of the Council, Turner referred to the forthcoming CPSC June collection, stressed the good work it had already achieved, and quoted extensively the letter written to **Lord Howard** by Cardinal **Manning** on behalf of the bishops. He again expressed his disappointment at the poor response given in the diocese to the appeal, and then looked ahead at future dangers.

At a time when the subject of education is engaging, so largely, the attention of all classes of the community, and that of the Legislature itself, we cannot shut our eyes to the fearful portents and dangers by which we are surrounded. An attempt is being made to sever religious from secular teaching, and the denominational system, which combines secular and religious instruction and which, for upwards of thirty years, has given general satisfaction, is threatened to be discontinued. Now, an education that should not comprise religious instruction would be a serious evil. Education to be genuine must always rest upon the foundation of religion, it should especially include teaching which leads to eternal life. All God's gifts are liable to be abused, and education constitutes no exception. If you neglect the safeguard of religious instruction, you supply a ready way to every kind of excess. Trace the progress of those evils which, at different times, have devastated society, destroying both the Altar and the Throne, and see how these calamities have had their origin in the neglect or abuse of education.

We would further observe, that our charitable regards can, at no time, have a more deserving object than the welfare of youth; and this consideration applies with more especial force in the case of children, who, from waywardness of general disposition, from bad example of parents, or from neglected instruction, too often fall into offences against the civil law. We may lament that children, fresh as it were, from the Creator's hands, should not cultivate and nourish the early seeds of virtue; but, we must, at the same time, strive to rescue them from vice. We know but too well, that at the present day, depravity in alliance with ignorance, sweeps all restraints away before it like a torrent; and hence, we deem it incumbent upon us, as a solemn duty, to check its ravages.³³

With Turner absent from the diocese while attending the First Vatican Council. Provost **Croskell** urged support of the annual CPSC collection.³⁴ In the following two years Turner himself renewed this appeal.³⁵

³² **Ad Clerum** 8 June 1868.

³³ **Pastoral Letter** 28 May 1869.

³⁴ **Ad Clerum** 1 June 1870.

³⁵ **Ad Clerum** 22 May 1871, 29 May 1872.

3.3 Expansion of Missions and Elementary Schools.

Brief consideration needs to be given to the expansion of Catholicism within the Salford diocese during Turner's episcopate. In 1840, there were only 23 Catholic chapels in the area of the future diocese. Twelve of these were in the rural area of the Ribble Valley. Eleven were in the growing conurbations. Barton, Blackburn, Burnley, Bolton, Bury, Oldham and Rochdale each had one chapel, with Manchester having the remaining four. Most had Sunday Schools. The only day school for boys was in Manchester. During the ten years of the Lancashire Vicariate under the Vicar Apostolic, **Bishop George Brown**, nine new chapels were erected, all within the conurbations. Between 1850 and 1872, when Turner was Bishop of the new diocese, 26 new chapels were opened in the main towns, and a further 13 chapels were built in the growing industrialised former villages in the valleys of the diocese. Even this expansion failed to meet the needs of the Catholic community. The financial backlash of the Cotton Famine caused by the American Civil War (1861-1865) created a noticeable hiatus in this expansion.

One notable feature about this expansion was the building and opening of so many school-chapels. Most missions had their own schools. The pattern varied. Usually there was a split between Infant Schools and the Elementary School. In many missions, there was segregation between Boys' and Girls' Schools as was normal at the time. Frequently a single mission supported several schools. Often outlying schools at a distance from the chapels served as the nucleus for the establishment of new missions. Even with this expansion, Turner was deeply aware of the paucity of provision compared to the need, especially in Manchester.³⁶ This paucity of provision featured frequently in his letters to his clergy and people. Nevertheless his achievement in elementary school provision remained monumental. As Canons **Dunderdale** and **Wrennall** reported to Bishop Vaughan in December 1873:

We are able to say that, out of 76 missions, four only, viz., Colne, Hapton, Lee House and Pleasington Priory have no day school. Two of these however have excellent school buildings, which, it may be hoped, will not long be disused. The remaining 72 missions have amongst them 146 schools, viz., 29 Boys', 30 Girls, 42 Infants, and 46 Mixed Schools. By the term "school" we here mean a separate department under a separate teacher....

Further these schools are in such a state of efficiency that they are, for the most part, able to meet all the requirements of the Privy Council as schools "under Government Inspection" and, out of the whole number 149, no fewer than 131 are actually taught by certified teachers, under Government Inspection, and earning grants in aid of education.

³⁶ For a general oversight of the Manchester situation, see Smith *A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902* especially pp. 149-152, 217-219, 284-285 and for his critical assessment of the effects of the 1862 Revised Code pp. 262-275.

Of the remaining 18, some are so well provided with all the requisites, that they might now be in receipt of Government Grants, if their managers thought fit to comply with the conditions; the rest too might, with but little exertion, be soon brought to the same state of efficiency.³⁷

3.4 Post Elementary Education

The Catholic Collegiate Institute

Turner attempted from the start of his episcopate to make provision for post-elementary education. His initial attempt nearly failed, and caused the Xaverian Brothers to close their newly started Middle School opened in January 1853 at All Saints, Manchester.³⁸ Perhaps unaware that **Benoit** had suggested this Middle School to the Xaverian Brothers, Turner invited the Jesuits to open such a school, known as the Catholic Collegiate Institute, which they did in 1852. Its financial success failed to equate with its intake of 52 pupils, and within two years the Jesuits withdrew. Turner staffed the school with his own clergy and some lay masters for the next eight years. The need to staff missions however meant that the clergy presence frequently changed, and this element of instability detracted from the school's success. Consequently Turner invited the Xaverian Brothers to take charge, which they did in August 1862³⁹. The school operated in premises at All Saints until 1906, when it moved to a new site in Rusholme and became known as the Xaverian College.

Salford Catholic Grammar School

As the Xaverian Brothers took charge of the Catholic Collegiate Institute, Turner opened the Salford Catholic Grammar School in his own house on the Crescent. It aimed to give a more classical education than the mainly commercial curriculum of the Collegiate Institute, and in particular to educate boys wishing to become priests. The school opened in 1862 with six pupils, one of whom was the future Bishop Louis Charles Casartelli. The number increased to 32 within three months and to 47 by the end of the first year. Boarders were admitted from September 1864. In May 1880 the adjacent property was purchased and the school occupied two Georgian terraced houses and their grounds, for Turner had moved residence to Marlborough Place. By 1882 the school consisted of three resident priests and four lay masters, together with its pupils. Every indication exists that the school enjoyed an excellent reputation, was well attended even if the regime was somewhat austere, and from a financial

³⁷ **Educational Statistics of the Diocese of Salford 1873** 4 December 1873.

³⁸ Devadder **Rooted in History** Vol. 2, pp. 191, 201 seq.

³⁹ Devadder **Rooted in History** Vol. 2, p. 459. Devadder informed me that although in general terms the Xaverian Archive now kept at Louvain is in splendid order, the one "book" they have missing is that for the English Mission for the period after the death of their Founder.

and educational viewpoint, was highly successful, with its offering of a classical and commercial curriculum.

St Chad's Catholic Grammar School

A third Catholic Middle School opened in Manchester in about 1870. **Canon Sheehan** established St Chad's Catholic Grammar School⁴⁰, which by 1874 was being conducted by the Xaverian Brothers. The premises consisted of two "spacious, well-ventilated and cheerful rooms" adjacent to St Chad's Church on Cheetham Hill Road. The curriculum offered the usual branches of an English and Commercial Education. After 1884 the staff appears to have consisted of laymen but no further reference to the school is found after 1893. The school thus appears to have offered for about twenty years a secondary education for the sons of Catholic businessmen with a stress on commercial skills.

Other Provision

Apart from Stonyhurst College⁴¹, no other secondary provision existed for boys in the diocese, although in Preston both the Xaverian Brothers and later the Jesuits opened Middle Schools. There is evidence that some daughters of wealthy businessmen attended the Bar Convent School, York, and others the schools run by religious orders on the Continent. For those less well off, the different orders of religious sisters who established convents in the diocese usually offered select classes⁴² for their daughters. The fees from such classes helped support the convent and the work of the Sisters who taught in the parish elementary poor schools. Thus the Notre Dame Sisters in both Blackburn and Manchester operated Middle Schools. The Faithful Companions of Jesus did the same in Salford in 1852 and later in Manchester. The Sisters of Loreto did the same in Hulme and the Cross and Passion Sisters opened their first Middle School in Levenshulme at Turner's suggestion. The Sisters of Mercy opened similar classes in Oldham and Burnley. Thus middle school provision for girls was more widely spread throughout the diocese than it was for boys, but the size of the classes or schools tended to be smaller in number, and attracted the daughters of many non-Catholic families. This presence of a significant number of non-Catholic pupils in such schools remained noticeable throughout the period

⁴⁰ References to the school are found in the parish history pamphlet **St Chad's 1773-1966**, in the **Laity Directory** for 1874 p. 197, and in frequent advertisements in the **Salford Diocesan Almanac**.

⁴¹ Stonyhurst catered for the sons of the gentry and successful businessmen. For practical purposes, it does not figure in the history of educational provision for ordinary Catholics within the Salford diocese.

⁴² The Presentation Sisters in Livesey Street alone among the religious Sisters did not open such classes.

of our study. It must also be noted that these convent select classes or middle schools usually developed into the Direct Grant Girls' Grammar Schools that flourished under the 1944 Education Act.

3.5 Orphanage, Reformatory and Industrial School Provision

After 1855 Turner and the diocese became involved in the Reformatory School provision, at Castle Howard (Girls), at Market Weighton (Boys) and in particular at St Mary's Agricultural Colony at Mount St Bernard Monastery near Leicester (Boys). Provision for orphan girls had first started in Manchester in May 1840, with the opening of the St Bridget's Orphanage. Throughout Turner's episcopate, the Presentation Sisters ran this orphanage at Livesey Street. The Society of St Vincent de Paul⁴³ in Manchester opened a home for boys in 1854. A second home was opened, and the two were merged together in a combined home in Russell Street. The running costs however exceeded the means of the Society and the home closed in 1867. **Fr Quick** at St Augustine's then began making provision for Catholic orphan boys in various temporary premises. With Turner's approbation, Quick left St Augustine's and devoted all his time to this work. When the Poor Clares vacated their Richmond Grove convent to move to Levenshulme, Quick moved his boys into the empty property.

The 1866 Industrial Schools Act permitted the establishment of schools where pupils lodged and were taught a trade. The Richmond Grove site developed into the Manchester Catholic Industrial School. **Fr Crombleholme** in Ashton under Lyne also opened an Industrial School, and another one was planned to open in Eccles. Provost **Croskell** could write of Turner, absent at the Vatican Council, that:

He rejoices to hear that the Committee for the Manchester Industrial Schools have renewed their labours with renewed zeal and energy; that an eligible plot of land has been purchased near Eccles, on which the Home for Destitute and Abandoned Children, of both sexes, will shortly be built. It likewise gives him satisfaction to learn that at Ashton under Lyne the Rev. **William Crombleholme**, generously encouraged and supported by **Lord Howard** of Glossop, has opened an Industrial School for one hundred boys.⁴⁴

The case can be made that Turner either initiated or by delegation supported both clergy and laity to meet each educational challenge as it occurred. On the eve of his death, in addition to elementary school provision, Turner could count in his diocese three Middle Schools for Boys in the Manchester and Salford area, two of which he himself had founded. There were several convents where select classes or middle school provision for girls were available. Reformatory provision was available in

⁴³ University students for their own "spiritual edification" started the Society of St Vincent de Paul in Paris by bringing help and succour to the poor. The Society quickly spread throughout France into other countries, and the first group or Conference in Manchester was formed in 1845. See **The S.V.P. in Manchester – the First Hundred Years** by Francis J. Doyle.

three locations. Orphanages existed for girls and for boys, and Industrial Schools had been opened in Manchester and Ashton under Lyne.

3.6 Political Activity

Political activity may be defined as “a common effort to influence events, achieve a desired result or prevent an unwanted outcome”^{*}. It covers activity within the diocese as well as nationally. Such activity might be internal to church organisation and activity⁴⁵. It might also concern church relationships with external bodies, such as Parliament, local government, school boards and later LEAs. It also includes campaigns to influence public opinion.

Four institutions will be considered in relation to the 1870 Education Act. The creation of the Finance Board gives evidence of diocesan oversight and guidance church and school provision. The Manchester Catholic Association anticipates the awakening power of the laity. The Diocesan Education Board and the National Catholic Crisis Fund, already referred to, were part of a co-ordinated Catholic response to meet the challenge of the 1870 Education Act. The subsequent Parliamentary Petition was a cry of alarm that the provisions of the Act were being perverted.

Diocesan Finance Board

Bishop Turner established the Board of Finance in January 1858. Its role was to have oversight of the financial consequences of church and school expansion, and by its power of refusing necessary permission, to exercise a measure of control. This task was tested as the diocese felt the financial effects of the Cotton Famine occasioned by the American Civil War. Its members were Provost **Croskell**, Canons **Formby**, **Kershaw**, and **Carter**. In May they requested⁴⁶ that plans and contracts of work to be submitted to them. In August Canon Formby sought details of the surviving trustees of chapels and schools, and the location of the property deeds. Those deeds in the possession of the clergy were to be deposited in the safe keeping of the diocese⁴⁷. The Finance Board in June 1861 requested Turner to sanction a policy⁴⁸ that plans for intended new churches and schools be submitted to them. In later years, the Minutes of the Finance Board are less informing, giving only details of grants made.

⁴⁴ Pastoral Letter 21 February 1870.

⁴⁵ The Hierarchy were not always of one mind on educational issues. Clergy too might put the good of their parish before the good of the diocese as a whole.

⁴⁶ Finance Board Minutes 3 May 1858.

⁴⁷ Note to the Clergy 26 August 1858.

⁴⁸ Finance Board Minutes 7 June 1861.

* This definition is consistently used throughout the Thesis.

and occasionally of resolutions made that today would be understood as a declaration of policy or intent. Some grants were made directly for school purposes.⁴⁹ Requests however continued to exceed the funds available. The Board resolved that all applications for building grants should make known the amount of money already raised, and give details of what the debt or mortgage liability would be were the building undertaken. Later financial difficulties meant that no grants were made for school purposes⁵⁰ In 1870 even applications for grants for presbyteries were not being entertained⁵¹ The Eccles school-chapel however did receive £30 in 1871⁵².

Manchester Catholic Association

The Manchester Catholic Association was formed in 1869. As originally conceived, there was a Council and a permanent executive Committee that met from time to time to direct business. Two Secretaries and a Treasurer were elected. James Marshall and **George Richardson** served as its first Honorary Secretaries. In March 1870 the permanent Executive Committee was abolished while the Council was empowered to create Special Committees for special tasks as authorised by the Association. Membership of the Council would be limited to twenty persons, who would be annually re-elected, singly and by name. Members of the Association were invited to the meeting, held at Salford Catholic Grammar School on the Crescent, Salford. The annual subscription was two shillings and six pence. Little else is known about the Association. It clearly involved the leading laymen of the town, and if the Association dealt with specific objectives, it would be surprising if Catholic education had not figured among its interests.

The Salford Diocesan Education Board

The Diocesan Education Board was founded in November 1870 "for the more efficient attention to the great work of the Public Education of his (Turner's) flock".⁵³ Appended to the scheme was a table of deficiency of school accommodation, as required by the Crisis Committee. **Toole** explained the

⁴⁹ **Finance Board Minutes** 4 February 1867.

⁵⁰ **Finance Board Minutes**. Unfortunately four pages are missing from the Minute Book. These resolutions were probably passed in February 1867 or sometime before the meeting of February 1868.

⁵¹ **Finance Board Minutes** 7 February 1870.

⁵² **Finance Board Minutes** 21 February 1871.

⁵³ **Ad Clerum** 10 November 1870 from Canon Lawrence Toole.

calculation⁵⁴ used to produce these figures. Twenty-eight missions were listed as having deficiencies. It was calculated that between them they offered 12,705 places for 17,260 children: a deficiency of 6077 places.⁵⁵ It was also noted that other missions, apparently with sufficient places, might have schools at inconvenient distances for the children concerned, as in Rishton, Enfield and Eccles. In order to promote and safeguard Catholic education, the Board was to ascertain the number, place and condition of Catholic schools throughout the diocese, and keep a register of the same. Where a deficiency existed, the Board would strive to provide a school in conjunction with the local clergy. It would also liaise with the CPSC, the Catholic Education Crisis Fund Committee and with the newly erected School

⁵⁴ Calculations, based on various and changing equations, had been used by the clergy for well over half a century to determine the total Catholic population. The equations were constantly being refined. In this instance, the number of baptisms was multiplied by twenty. One sixth of the result was taken as being the number of children of school going age. Then the physical area of the school itself, divided by eight, gave the amount of accommodation under the then requirements of eight square feet per pupil. The difference between the two figures, the number of children and the existing accommodation, constituted the deficiency. I personally do not believe it is possible to give any accurate figures and that it is safer to regard any figures quoted as indicating a general trend. In the light of a recent study on the Catholic population of Birkenhead, even census returns cannot safely be relied upon.

⁵⁵ The deficient schools were:

Salford Cathedral & Pendleton: 2200 children, 1652 places, 700 deficiency, new school being erected.
 St Peter Greengate: 427 children, 493 places, infant school wanted.
 Accrington: 530 children, 2967 places, and 233 deficiency.
 Ashton St Ann's: 440 children, 800 places but school required across town at St Mary's.
 Ashton St Mary: 400 children no school hence 400 deficiency.
 Bacup: 300 children, 203 places, 100 deficiency.
 Blackburn St Mary's: 690 children, 637 places, building wants help.
 Blackley: 170 children, 223 places in a hired room, school about to be built.
 Bolton St Edmund's: 450 children, 330 places, 120 deficiency.
 Bolton St Mary's: 660 children, 200 places, 460 deficiency, school for 586 being built; needs two more outlying small schools as well.
 Bolton St Patrick's: 650 children, 233 places, 417 deficiency, miserably unfit school in rented room.
 Bury St Joseph's: 300 children, 300 deficiency, no school.
 Heaton Norris: 190 children, 150 places, 40 deficiency.
 Manchester St Alban's: 350 children, 371 places, Infant's School wanted.
 Manchester St Aloysius': 320 children, 250 places, 70 deficiency, Infants' School wanted.
 Manchester St Ann's: 1070 children, 544 places, 500 deficiency, Infants' School being built.
 Manchester St Joseph's: 800 children, 500 places, 300 deficiency, present schools not good buildings.
 Manchester St Mary's: 800 children, 714 places, 100 deficiency, Infants' School wanted.
 Manchester St Patrick's: 2250 children, 1436 places, 814 deficiency, has land for two new schools, also wants Infants' School near the church.
 Manchester St Wilfrid's: 1800 children, 1114 places, and 700 deficiency.
 Mossley: 160 children, 187 places.
 Oldham St Mary's: 760 children, 612 places, 150 deficiency.
 Oldham St Patrick's: 500 children, 360m places, and 140 deficiency. It was noted that one good school placed between these two missions at a distance suitably convenient for both congregations would suffice.
 Over Darwen: 260 children, 124 places 136 deficiency. Mr Petre will give land in Lower Darwen where a school is wanted.
 Ramsbottom: 90 children, 47 places, 43 deficiency, the room very unfit.
 Rochdale St John's: 440 children 288 places 152 deficiency, about to build.
 West Gorton: 573 children, 444 places, 129 deficiency, a school for these ought to be at a distance.
 Heywood: 280 children, 207 places, 73 deficiency but says he has room enough.

Boards. Three departments based on the Manchester, Blackburn and Bury deaneries were created to provide locally based initiatives, although funding from collections remained centralised.

4. Conclusion

4.1 The Five Principles

The argument is that four principles can be identified in Turner's earlier attitude to education.⁵⁶ Firstly, as already noted, education had to be based on religion. Secondly Catholic education had to be under Catholic control, not merely to ensure its religious orthodoxy, but more especially because the duty of teaching the Faith pertained to the episcopal office. Others, both priests and laity, might be involved in the effective execution of this task. The final responsibility however remained that of the bishop, and could never be abdicated. In practice this led to the two final principles.

As education was seen primarily as a means of handing on the Faith while instilling secular instruction, such education thirdly had to be made available for all Catholic children throughout the diocese, as means permitted. Fourthly, such education had to be efficient in both its religious and secular content. We can now add a fifth element to this list. In the light of experience, and with the probability of compulsory education looming, Turner and his fellow bishops began explicitly outlining the role of the parents in educating their children. Parents had in conscience the duty of bringing their children up in the Faith. Neglect of this duty, for example by sending children to "proselytising" or non-Catholic schools, was morally unacceptable. If compulsion were introduced, all parents, whether Catholic or not, had a right that regard to their conscience in the choice of an education for their children be respected. After over a century of experience of the intervention of the State into the lives of ordinary people, it is easy for us to fail to understand how new this concept was. The Victorian age was an age when most citizens enjoyed neither the vote nor social benefits from the State. Each was left to fend for him or her self, with the awful ^{spectre} ~~scene~~ of starvation or the workhouse looming for those who conspicuously failed. Reform might indeed have been in the air, and tentative steps were being taken to implement some social support for citizens. But the degree of socialisation to which we are now accustomed would have been totally foreign to, and beyond the comprehension of that age.

Total: children 17260, places 12705, deficiency 6077, besides Infants' Schools.

⁵⁶ See Lannon Thesis, especially pp. 48-138.

Chapter 3: Bishop Vaughan and Elementary Educational Provision

1. Overview of the Chapter

After a brief account of his life and work, the chapter examines three aspects of Catholic elementary education under Bishop Herbert Vaughan. The role of the Sunday school is examined. A detailed account of the expansion of missions and schools within the diocese is given. Consideration then follows of the efforts to supply Catholic education within the workhouse schools. Three case studies follow. The first studies the St Ann's Boys' School in Ashton under Lyne, the second, school expansion in the Swinton area, the third, the rural school at Billington. Vaughan's support for the CPSC collections is next examined. The training of pupil teachers is considered. Their situation led Vaughan to establish firstly the Salford Educational Association, and then to instigate Annual Appreciation Days to celebrate their achievements. Finally the role and rights of parents are then detailed. The conclusion claims that Vaughan fully accepted the five principles.

2. Vaughan's life and work

The life of Herbert Vaughan, founder of the Mill Hill Missionaries, one time Bishop of Salford and Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster has been the subject of three major biographies. Snead-Cox¹, McCormack² and O'Neill³ have each narrated his life and work. Mary Vaughan⁴ wrote an account of the Vaughan family covering seven centuries of their history. Vaughan's letters⁵ to Lady Herbert were also published. Reference to Vaughan is also to be found in the history of the Josephites⁶, a community of priests devoted exclusively to the evangelization of black people in the United States, which grew out of Vaughan's work with the Mill Hill Missionaries.

Vaughan was born in Gloucester in 1832, the eldest of 13 children, of whom six became priests and five nuns. He was educated at Stonyhurst, in Belgium, at Downside and in the College of Noble

¹ J. G. Snead-Cox **The Life of Cardinal Vaughan** Herbert & Daniel, London, 1910. In researching this work, Snead-Cox, a relative of Vaughan, consulted Casartelli, who thought the work good, but did identify one major error in regard to his account of the Middle Schools in Manchester.

² Arthur McCormack **Cardinal Vaughan** Burns & Oates, London, 1966.

³ Robert O'Neill **Cardinal Herbert Vaughan** Burns & Oates, Tunbridge Wells, 1995.

⁴ Mary Vaughan **Courtfield and the Vaughans: an English Catholic Inheritance** Quiller Press, London, 1989.

⁵ **Letters of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan to Lady Herbert of Lea 1867-1903** edited by Shane Leslie, Burns Oates, London, 1942.

⁶ Stephen J. Ochs **Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests 1871-1960** Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge & London, 1990.

Ecclesiastics in Rome and was ordained priest at Lucca in 1854. **Wiseman** appointed him Vice President of St Edmund's College, Ware. Vaughan immediately set off on a fact-finding tour of Colleges on the Continent. While at Ware, he joined the Oblates of St Charles. They and he left Ware in 1861. Vaughan then decided to found a missionary order of priests, the Mill Hill Missionaries, after first going on a worldwide fact finding tour. The College at Mill Hill, London, was begun in 1866 and completed in 1873. By then Vaughan had become Bishop of Salford, being consecrated by Cardinal Manning on 28 October 1872. He sent Canon **Benoit** and the newly founded Franciscan Missionaries of St Joseph Sisters from Salford to continue the work at Mill Hill.

His zeal as bishop was boundless. Among many achievements were the foundation of St Bede's College, the winning of his dispute with the Jesuits about their "right" to open a school in the diocese, (which led to a Roman decree which settled the respective rights of bishops and religious across the world), the founding of the Children's Protection and Rescue Society, and the creation of the Seminary of Pastoral Theology. He acquired both *The Tablet* and *The Dublin Review*. In 1892 he was appointed as the third Archbishop of Westminster and in 1893 was created Cardinal. He was a member of the papal study group on the validity of Anglican Orders and led that group to deny such a claim. His last work was the building of Westminster Cathedral. His funeral was the first service held in it. He died in 1903. **Derek Holmes** described him as "an ultramontane descendant of an Old Catholic Family who had been a devoted and successful, if uncomplicated, pastor of the Irish in Lancashire".⁷

His biographers rightly celebrate his successful achievements. Rarely is failure mentioned. Understandably the false start, the untimely end, the less than successful initial experiment tend to leave little evidence, and such evidence is swallowed up in later success following realignment or a renewed beginning. The suggestion is made that Vaughan was first and foremost an "ideas" man. Their successful outcome, and many of his ideas did succeed brilliantly, were often due to the hard work and dedication of competent helpers. Vaughan's work in the diocese in educational matters will be examined critically, but I trust, fairly.

⁷ Plumb **Arundal to Zabi**. Holmes **op. cit.** p.241

3. Elementary Educational Provision

3.1 Sunday Schools

Catholic Sunday schools had operated from the early 1800s and existed in many missions. In 1889 Vaughan asked that Sunday School information be included in the annual educational statistics. Canon **Richardson** duly complied⁸.

Your Lordship has insisted on this continually, and you have often expressed your desire to see Sunday Schools established in every mission throughout the diocese.

In 1890 27,864 children and young people attended Sunday School, of whom only 16,614 attended a Catholic day school. The remaining 11,250 consisted mainly of young people aged between 14 and 25. For about 300 children not attending any Catholic day school, this was their only source of religious instruction. The quality of the schools varied. Those run by religious for girls and young women were among the best. Some run by "nobody" for boys were the worse, unless the priest was able to take an active interest himself. While Richardson praised the efforts of the teachers, he noted that more help, especially from "the more comfortably circumstanced" and from those educated at colleges and convents, was needed. In small missions with only one priest, Sunday schools were impossible without such lay assistance. When given, the local Catholic community flourished. Richardson suggested that instruction on some part of the catechism previously learnt by heart, with a hymn, and a 15 minute reading from a good interesting book would suffice for the instructional element, for he added:

The useful part is to be found in mutual intercourse. Young men thus see each other once a week and form plans which set their energies to work in order to accomplish, and young women are brought into direct communication with the nuns, and make their friendships among Catholics.

The standing of the Sunday School had radically changed over 40 years. In 1850 it had been the main source of instruction for most Catholic children in both religious and secular matters. Now it served to reinforce the religious knowledge and practice learnt in the day school and to keep Catholic youngsters together, thus forging friendships and future Catholic marriages. Only for just over 1% of those attending did it represent their sole means of instruction in the Faith.

⁸ Educational Statistics: Sixteenth Report 1889 p. 9.

There was no significant change in statistics in the following years. Nor could there be, noted Richardson, "unless our lay men and women take up this work". The Bishop's pleas fell on deaf ears, the inspector's pleas on angry ones. Often it was the hard worked day school teacher who, without pay, came back to teach in the Sunday Schools simply for the good of souls.⁹ Richardson noted an increase in attendance of some 2000 young people in the 1892 Report. He commented that such schools need not be a "school" in the ordinary sense of the term, nor need they be conducted on fixed lines. He gave examples. 150 boys attended one Sunday School because it was the stepping-stone to a boys' club. In another, some hundred young men attended a controversy class, and a third, the largest in the diocese, was based on mutual good fellowship. Help was still needed, and still not forthcoming:

The good that the richer class of our people could do by helping in the larger town Sunday Schools is incalculable, and the ones who would be most benefited by such attendance would be themselves.¹⁰

3.2 Expansion of missions and schools¹¹ within the diocese

Two sources of information help us trace the continued expansion of Catholic schools under Vaughan. In 1873 the Religious Inspectors issued a comprehensive report under the general title of "Educational Statistics". This was published periodically until the late 1930s. Secondly each Advent an "Ad Clerum" or a Pastoral Letter often recorded progress achieved during the previous year. Using these surviving primary sources, a record of school building and improvement can be compiled. By using the available statistics, an indication ^{can} ~~can~~ be given of how many school departments were operating and what was the average pupil attendance.

The Religious Inspectors used a formula to calculate the child and therefore the potential school population. They multiplied the number of baptisms by 20 (later 22) to obtain the estimated total Catholic population of the diocese. One sixth of that figure was considered to represent children of school age, i.e. between 5 and 13. One seventh of this total was deducted as representing children in

⁹ Educational Statistics: Eighteenth Report 1891 p. 7.

¹⁰ Educational Statistics: Nineteenth Report 1892 p. 8.

¹¹ Evans **The Development and Structure of the English Education System** provides a concise and clear outline of educational development in the 19th century to give context to Catholic school expansion. Selleck **The New Education 1870-1914** is helpful in studying changes to the Revised Code, esp. pp. 32-35.

upper and middle schools. The remaining figure was estimated to represent the number of children who ought to be in the parochial schools.

Mixed schools were opened at Irlam, Lees, Padiham, Shaw and Shawforth in 1874. A new mixed department was added at Craven Street, Salford. The mixed departments at St Mary's, Bolton, St Aloysius, Ardwick and St John's, Rochdale were divided into separate departments. Infant schools were added at Brownedge, Clayton le Moors, and at St Joseph's (Goulden St) and St Patrick's, Manchester. The mixed school at Denton was closed, and a merger of the Boys' and Girls' departments into a mixed school took place at St Ann's, Ashton under Lyne, where the Industrial School was also closed. Only three missions in the diocese had no school, and of these, there was no prospect whatsoever of opening a school at Lee House.¹²

The closure of schools at Lower Darwen, Samlesbury and Pleasington was noted in the 1875 Report. An Infant Boys' School at Mount Carmel, Salford, a Boys' School at St Joseph, Blackburn, and an Infant School at St Lawrence's linked to St Wilfrid's mission in Hulme had been opened. St Alban's, Manchester, Girls' and Infants' departments had been merged. Five missions had no elementary school attached to them: Colne, Lee House, Royton, Westhoughton and Withington.¹³

The Report for 1876-77 indicated that a Mixed Department had been added to the Infants Department at St Ann, Adelphi, Salford. Infant schools had been established at St Alban's and St Michael's, Ancoats, as had a Mixed School in Sudell Street at St Patrick's, Manchester. A commodious school housing three departments replaced the temporary single department school at the Holy Name, Manchester. A new Mixed School and Infant School had been opened at St Ann's, Blackburn. St Alban's, Blackburn, had opened a branch Infant School. Another Infant School had been formed at St Patrick, Bolton, and the Mixed School at St Ann's, Ashton under Line, had been divided again into separate departments. A handsome building, designed for further extension, had been built at Burnley. It was being used as an Infant School, together with a Standard 1 class. In Royton a Mixed School had commenced in a rented building. The old school at Samlesbury, closed in early 1875, had been replaced with a new, recently opened building. The Boys' and Girls' Infant Schools at the Cathedral had been combined, and the small school at Irlam closed. With increased accommodation at

¹² **Educational Statistics: Second Report 1874 p. 1.**

¹³ **Educational Statistics: Third Report 1875 p. 1**

Whitworth, the redundant school at Shawforth had been closed. New school buildings had been completed and opened at St Joseph's, Salford and at St Joseph's, Blackburn.¹⁴

A large well-designed school for three departments had been opened at St Gregory's, Farnworth, in 1877. Temporary school accommodation was provided in Hollinwood, Lower Darwen and Sabden. The Pleasington school had been reopened. Additional departments had been opened at St Alban's and at St Mary's, Manchester and at Whitworth, and a new school building was in use at Bradford.¹⁵

In the following year, a new school opened at Little Hulton, and the closed school at Irlam re-opened. A new department had been opened at St Mary's, Swinton, and at St Edmund's, Manchester, although one department had been closed at St Aloysius, Ardwick. A Mixed School was established at Astley Bridge, Bolton, and an Infant School was operating in temporary accommodation at Pendlebury.¹⁶

New schools were next opened at St Thomas of Canterbury in Higher Broughton, at Littleborough and at Westhoughton. The Patricroft schools were enlarged, and a new school erected at St Anne's, Oldham. New departments were added at St Marie's and St Joseph's, Bury, and at Walton le Dale, Farnworth, Middleton, Swinton and Longridge.¹⁷ New buildings were erected at Brownedge, Oldham, Royton and Pendlebury and Swinton. New departments were added to schools at Patricroft, Brownedge, and at St Augustine's in York St, and at St Bridget's, Bradford, in Manchester. New schools opened at Denton, in connection with St Ann's Mission in Ashton under Lyne and at Castleton linked to St Mary's Mission at Littleborough.¹⁸

Twelve new departments were added to the school stock in 1882. These included new schools at Colne, Elton and Newchurch. New premises were built at Fairfield, Reddish, Halliwell, at St John's, Rochdale, and at Great Harwood. Infant Departments were added at Aspull, Astley Bridge, Pendlebury and Walton le Dale, and a Mixed Department was opened at St Lawrence's in Manchester.¹⁹

In 1883 Fr **Henry Hill** reported that new schools had opened at Burnley and Reddish, and new buildings were being erected at Nelson and at Rawtenstall. Of the 89 missions in the diocese, only 4 had no elementary school provision.²⁰ Fr **Hayes** produced the 1884 report and noted the addition of

¹⁴ **Educational Statistics: Fourth Report 1876-77 p. 1.**

¹⁵ **Educational Statistics: Fifth Report 1877-78 p. 1.**

¹⁶ **Educational Statistics: Sixth Report 1878-79 p. 1.**

¹⁷ **Educational Statistics: Seventh Report 1879-1880 p. 1.**

¹⁸ **Educational Statistics: Eighth Report 1881 p. 1.**

¹⁹ **Educational Statistics: Ninth Report 1882 p. 1.**

²⁰ **Educational Statistics: Tenth Report 1883 p. 7.**

new premises at St Mary's, Burnley, for Infants, Girls and Boys, so forming "one of the finest groups of elementary schools in the diocese". The new school in Nelson had enrolled over a hundred Catholic children who had never before received a Catholic education. In Accrington a new Boys' School had been erected and plans for new schools at St Patrick's, Bolton and at Horwich were in hand. Additional accommodation had been or was being provided to schools at the Holy Name, at St Francis' and at St Patrick's, Manchester; at St Peter and Paul's, Bolton, at St Mary's, Clayton le Moor, at St Mary's, Aspull, at St Joseph's, Shaw and at St Joseph's, Blackburn. This gave a total of 210 departments throughout the diocese, including the St Joseph's Industrial Schools in Manchester.²¹ Two years later new schools had opened at Rishton and Horwich. New buildings were erected at Mossley, at St Mary's, Blackburn, at Accrington and at Halliwell. Additional accommodation was provided at St Charles', Pendleton, at St Thomas', Manchester, at Heaton Norris, Rawtenstall, Radcliffe and at both departments of the Industrial Schools in Manchester, thus giving a total of 218 Departments.²²

The 1889 Report noted improvements to school buildings and claimed that the schools at St Alban's, Blackburn, St Peter's, Blackburn, St Mary Magdalene's, Burnley, at Padiham and at Barton could compare favourably with any schools of their size in their respective neighbourhoods. A new school opened at Tardy Gate near Brownedge and building had started at Weaste. Improvements and enlargements had taken place in many schools, although the only ones identified were at Great Harwood and Horwich, where increased accommodation had been urgently needed. Several parts of Manchester and Salford required new Catholic schools before School Board provision occurred. In several areas of the diocese, Catholic children still did not attend Catholic schools because of the distances involved.²³

By 1890 over 60 children were attending the new school at Weaste, 50 of whom had previously attended non-Catholic schools. In Withington the church building was used as a school. 70 children were on roll. An Infant room had been added at Aspull, and a Boys' School built at Great Harwood, where the Infant School had also been enlarged. A cloakroom and staff room had been added at St

²¹ **Educational Statistics: Eleventh Report** 1884 p. 1.

²² **Educational Statistics: Thirteenth Report** 1886 p. 1. The Twelfth Report is missing, and an **Ad Clerum** of 26 November 1885 merely mentions a school chapel about to be erected in Horwich and an extension to school and presbytery in Greenacres, Oldham.

²³ **Educational Statistics: Sixteenth Report** 1889 p. 1. The Reports for the previous three years are missing.

Augustine's, Manchester, and two fine schools were nearing completion at St Patrick's and at Corpus Christi, Manchester. Only St Bede's mission in Manchester (Whalley Range) lacked an elementary school, although the need for such a school was highlighted in the report.²⁴

The schools in the new parishes of Corpus Christi and Prestwich were first examined in 1891. Withington now had a proper school building. New schools in Lower Broughton, Longsight and at Burnley Lane were in hand. New buildings had been provided at Heaton Norris and at the Presentation Convent, Livesey Street. Again a survey of where school accommodation was needed was included, identifying need for Infant provision at Liverpool Street, Salford, at the Holy Name and at St Ann's Ancoats, Manchester. St Bede's mission was again highlighted as having no provision. Higher Openshaw, Collyhurst, Bolton and Blackburn were other areas where need existed.²⁵

1892 saw the translation of Vaughan to Westminster Archdiocese. The report for that year detailed the new school at Longsight, where some 200 children had been examined, two thirds of whom had never before been in a Catholic school. Schools at St Francis', the Holy Family and St Bridget's, Manchester had all been enlarged, as had the schools at Darwen, Walton le Dale, Denton, Hollinwood and Royton. In the first five cases, new schools had been built to replace old one, or to add to existing accommodation. Only five missions in the diocese lacked schools: Lee House in its rural tranquillity, St Boniface's, Salford, St John's, Burnley, the relatively new mission at Urmston, where time was needed to determine the best location now that the Ship Canal had opened, and needless to say, St Bede's mission, where at last the question of a school had been mooted.

Taking an overview of this elementary school expansion, a two-fold pattern can be detected. Firstly there had been considerable expansion of existing school premises to meet an increasing Catholic population and the increasingly demanding requirements of the Board of Education. Secondly the number of missions had increased considerably, and with the notable exception of St Bede's, most had established some form of elementary school. In 1873, shortly after Vaughan's arrival, the Almanac listed 76 missions. In 1893, the year after his departure, this number had increased to 113.

How was this increase of school accommodation reflected in the number of children attending school? Although the basis of calculation and reporting varied slightly from year to year, the annual statistics

²⁴ **Educational Statistics: Seventeenth Report** 1890 p. 1.

²⁵ **Educational Statistics: Eighteenth Report** 1891 pp. 1-2.

confirm a continuous increase in missions, schools and pupils throughout Vaughan's episcopate. They also highlight the practice of giving priority to establishing a school when a new mission was opened. The desire of the Catholic community to provide schools for its children is thus clearly demonstrated. The table below gives a broad picture of the increase in both missions, elementary schools, and the "average" attendance of pupils.

Year	Missions ²⁶	Departments ²⁷	Average attendance ²⁸
1873	79	146	17,817
1876	85	173	19,835
1879	99	180	23,090
1882	105	210	26,236
1886	109	218	29,562
1889	111	218	30,399
1892	113	225	33,708

Vaughan was aware of the danger that the HMI inspection tended to place the secular curriculum in first rank while it remained of secondary value in the eyes of God and the Church. Consequently he quickly established plans for the religious inspection of schools. Fr **Dunderdale**, Diocesan School Inspector, was duly briefed to inspect annually every parochial school and produce an annual report. As Vaughan stated:

Any measure therefore which will help to keep before the minds of children and teachers the due order and relation of their various interests, will, I am sure, be welcome to the clergy. Nor can we allow it for a moment to be said that the Church is less zealous in looking after the religious than the Government after the secular, instruction of our children.²⁹

3.3 Workhouse Schools

In 1874 Vaughan enquired about the religious education and practice of Catholic children in Workhouses. **Dunderdale** and **Wrennall** contacted the 16 workhouses within the diocese. 13 had between them 789 Catholic children³⁰. In 1875, the same 13 workhouses held 813 Catholic children. Two permitted the priest to instruct the children daily, six once or twice a week, and the rest but occasionally.³¹ The total rose to 836 children in 14 of the 17 workhouses according to the next report.

²⁶ Figures taken from the "Catholic Directory"

²⁷ Usually defined as a separate department under a separate teacher.

²⁸ Based on figures taken during the four weeks before examination.

²⁹ **Ad Clerum** 25 November 1872 Vaughan **Acta** Vol. 1, p. 40.

³⁰ **Educational Statistics: Second Report** 1874, p. 8.

³¹ **Educational Statistics: Third Report** 1875, pp. 7-8.

350 children were infants, and 486 were over seven. Two workhouses allowed the children to attend the local Catholic school, with the others permitting the priest access, three frequently, four weekly, and six occasionally.³² In the following year numbers rose to 949: 410 Infants and 539 children. In the Swinton Industrial Schools, the Catholic chaplain instructed the children daily. Otherwise provision was as in previous years.³³ A slight reduction in numbers then took place, and the Inspectors issued this table in their next report.³⁴

Mission	Baptisms	Under 7	Over 7	Instruction
Ashton			30	Weekly
Blackburn		21	28	Weekly
Bolton	18	51	40	Weekly
Burnley	2	14	6	Weekly
Chorlton	23		78	Weekly
Clitheroe	1	1	8	Local school
Haslingden		2	12	Local school
Manchester	123	45	55	Twice weekly
Oldham	17	29	13	Weekly
Rochdale	3	23	6	None
Salford		59	62	4 times a week
Swinton	1	49	274	Daily
Totals	188	294	612	

The total number of children in the workhouses remained steady: 975 in 1879-1880, when weekly instruction began at Rochdale Workhouse. There was a massive increase to 1152 in 1881, with Bury Workhouse added to the list. This rose to 1292 children in 1882, when Barton Workhouse was included.

The quality of religious instruction was thought dubious in many cases, as children remained only a short time in most workhouses, so any classes formed were constantly gaining new pupils and losing old ones: a recipe for ineffectual instruction.³⁵ Still Vaughan wanted the children examined, in spite of the objection of his religious inspectors. 1883 saw a slight decrease in numbers, down to 1232. Arrangements were made with the Manchester Union Guardians to examine children in the Swinton Industrial Schools. In 1884 Fr Hayes gained access to 10 institutions and examined 736 children. Concentrating on their knowledge of prayers and how to go to Confession and Communion, he was

³² **Educational Statistics: Fourth Report 1876-77**, p. 4. When totalled, there is a discrepancy in the figures, but that is how the report lists it!

³³ **Educational Statistics: Fifth Report 1877-1878**, p. 4.

³⁴ **Educational Statistics: Sixth Report 1878-1879**, p. 4.

³⁵ **Educational Statistics: Ninth Report 1882**, pp. 3-4.

impressed by what he found. The clergy were doing everything they could to instruct the children, but he feared that the irreverent atmosphere and poverty in which the 1036 children lived would undo that good work.³⁶ Of 954 children in workhouses in 1886, Fr Hayes examined 829. He commented that many had just arrived, and that many left for places of service, often with non-Catholic families. The clergy had free access to the children at suitable times. Otherwise the workhouse officials by necessity almost had to be indifferent to the children's religious feelings. He wondered if Catholic Poor Law Schools or Orphanages might not be opened to care for at least some of the children in question.³⁷

In 1889 **Richardson** inspected 12 Industrial and Poor Law Schools and 18 workhouses, with 1133 and 443 children on roll respectively. Of these he examined 1089 and 443 children.³⁸ The following year he inspected 1108 out of 1176 on roll in Industrial and Poor Law Schools, and 289 of 359 children on roll in the workhouses. He commented on some individual schools. The Longsight Industrial Schools and the Poor Law Schools at Tottington and Buckley Hall had a unique tone about them that was essentially Christian and Catholic. In the Swinton Industrial School the chaplain and some Catholic teachers were doing good work. He noted that the Manchester Board of Guardians were remarkable for their broad views and wondered if they might be persuaded to divide the school into two, with one portion entirely under Catholic supervision. He thought that the result of the Manchester School Board's experiment at Mill Street could well warrant a similar trial at Swinton³⁹. The Salford Day Industrial School was from a Catholic viewpoint most unsatisfactory. Although receiving instruction, the children were not attending Mass nor receiving the Sacraments, and Richardson forecast that most of them would be lost to the Faith in the coming years. The situation in the newly opened Blackburn Industrial School was even worse, because of the narrow views of the majority of Blackburn School Board members. The local Catholic school supplied an instructress on some of the mornings of the week, but nothing else was yet possible.⁴⁰

³⁶ **Educational Statistics: Eleventh Report** 1884, pp. 5-6.

³⁷ **Educational Statistics: 13th Report** 1886, pp. 6-7.

³⁸ **Educational Statistics: 16th Report** 1889, pp. 3-4.

³⁹ The Mill Street School was the Manchester Day Industrial School, where the education of Catholic children was entirely in Catholic hands, completely separated from the non-Catholic portion. While in school, the children were fine, but at home were out of effective contact, unless the Rescue Society could arrange home visits.

⁴⁰ **Educational Statistics: 17th Report** 1890, pp. 4, 6-8.

Of the workhouse situation, Barton, Clitheroe and Haslingden had few Catholic children. These attended the local Catholic school. Chorlton and Rochdale Board of Guardians had already transferred their children to the Catholic Poor Law Schools. Burnley and Crumpsall had few Catholic children, and that only while their parents remained in the workhouse.

Ashton under Lyne Board of Guardians was doing all in its power to look after the spiritual welfare of their Catholic charges. Due opportunities for Mass, Sacraments and instruction were provided. No inspection had been possible at Blackburn, where a dispute had arisen between the Catholic instructor and the Guardians. In Bolton, the children lived in cottages homes, were visited by nuns and had an unpaid chaplain. Yet the inspector reported that the children "were far inferior to those in our worst elementary schools". In Bury, the chaplain was unable to do much, as the workhouse provided no opportunity for Catholics to practise their Faith at all. In Bolton, the 60 or more Catholic children were marched to Mass at Royton each Sunday, but had no opportunity to go to Confession or Communion, and their instruction was sparse. The Salford Guardians did what they could, and facilities for Mass, Sacraments and instruction were provided, but the children were very much "birds of passage".

The situation had changed little in 1891 although improvements were reported at the Day Industrial Schools in both Blackburn and Salford. In the new Oldham Day Industrial School, a Catholic teacher taught catechism. The situation of children in the workhouses remained dire, and there were nearly a hundred more children than previously. Richardson pleaded that the Rescue Society do all it could to remove Catholic children from the workhouse environment, so destructive was it of both religion and education.⁴¹

4. Case Studies

4.1 Case Study 1: St Ann's Boys School, Ashton under Lyne⁴²

This study illustrates several of the factors affecting Catholic elementary school in the decade following the creation of the School Boards. The rank poverty of many of the children, the need to warn them to come to school, to come on time, to come regularly, and to come washed and not dirty,

⁴¹ **Educational Statistics: Sixth Report** 18th Report 1891, pp. 6-7.

⁴² Information is based on School Log Book entries.

permeated the logbook entries throughout the period. Sometimes the schoolmaster sent notes to parents whose children were absent. Sometimes the priest-manager, in addition to warning the children of the importance of regular school attendance, would himself visit the homes of absentee boys to ascertain why they were absent. Weekly the names of absentee pupils would be given to the School Board Officer. If initial cautions proved ineffective, prosecution might be resorted to, although initially the Board seemed reluctant to adapt this strategy.

Funding for the school, its equipment, and the salary of the teacher, the pupil teachers, even the occasional assistant teacher, had to be found. Weekly school pence were vital. It had to be paid but by whom? Out of work parents? The School Board or the local Guardians? Frequently pupils were sent home to come back with the school pence. Sometimes they did, occasionally they failed to return at all. The School Board Officer occasionally brought back truants and runaways. Sometimes a truantiing boy was severely punished before the whole school, to deter others. Irregular attendance undermined the progress of the other children. Typical boyish pranks occurred: annoying neighbours on the way home; stone throwing in the playground; the occasional fight. One boy was punished for cursing; on two occasions a pupil was punished for stealing, another pair for inciting their peers to attack the pupil teacher.

The annual pattern so typical of the period can clearly be discerned. The master set his pupil teachers, if and when they turned up, to take a standard or group of children; to oversee the writing, spelling, numeracy, be it tables learnt by heart, or the use of mathematical formulae: adding, subtracting, multiplying, division. Periodically the master would take each standard himself, observing sample lessons given by the pupil teachers or testing the children to measure their progress. The managers would do the same; even sometimes teaching the children if real need arose. And each year in June the dreaded annual HMI inspection occurred. The next day a new batch of pupils came up from the Infant school. A short holiday would follow. The result of the inspection would be recorded by the manager in the school logbook: discipline; instruction; weaknesses observed; strengths praised, and if the report were too poor, a deduction imposed by their Lordships from the grant.

During the decade the school had three masters. One left to become the Master of the Industrial School. Another quit after a failed inspection, when the now closed Boys' School for eighteen months

was merged with the Girls' School. The final master, after revealing glimpses of his personal life⁴³, records how ill-health obliged him to give three months notice of resignation. His final inspection was poor; discipline good but instruction weak. Their Lordships deducted one tenth of the grant. The school logbook ended.

Similar entries are to be found in the logbooks of other Catholic Schools. What is revealed here is the relationship between the Catholic School and the Ashton School Board, on which the priest-manager sat as a member. Officialdom had its forms. Weekly, monthly, quarterly returns were delivered to the school, filled in by the master and collected by the School Board Official, Mr Adams, with unfailing regularity. At times, it seemed that such an entry was only made to fulfil the daily, later weekly, requirement that a log be kept. The first obvious consequence of the School Board's existence was the identification and occasional pursuit of absentee and irregular pupils. The next was the occasional payment by the Board of the school pence of poverty stricken pupils. Just occasionally do other requirements disrupt the daily grind of lessons.

The logbook gives adequate details of the curriculum taught, with references to individual lessons on select topics, the occasional extra-ordinary event, the visits to the school by eminent persons, and the daily life of the town: the occasional riot, the general election, the effect of local Wakes and similar entertainments. One boy died. In class he had complained of pains in his side. Permitted to sit down, he apparently recovered. That evening at home he died. The symptoms sound like appendicitis: the effect on the other boys was noticeable.

4.2 Case Study 2: Early Catholic Schools in the Swinton area

Preliminary statements⁴⁴ submitted by school managers to obtain government grant often provide a wealth of information about schools in the second half of the nineteenth century. St Mary's Catholic School, Swinton is no exception. In October 1870 an initial grant was sought. The school, established in 1867, housed a mixed group of boys (number not given) and some 70 girls as well as an infant class in a rectangular school hall divided by a partition, with an additional small classroom 20' by 14'. Only

⁴³ His marriage, the death of his father; the arrival of his brother from India and his subsequent marriage.

⁴⁴ ED 7 Files at PRO.

eighty pupils were attending on a regular basis. The building had just been completed. Infants paid 2d per week, other children 3d. Over eight weeks, £9.13.7d had been received. £8 had been paid to the teacher. With costs of books, and fuel and lights, total expenditure was £11.11.7d. The deficit was met out of the church collection. There was a debt of about £120 on the school building. Plans were in hand to solicit private donations.

The 22-year-old teacher was Matilda Cooper, born on 18 July 1848. She had been in post since 8 August 1870 and was preparing to take her certification examination in December. A former pupil teacher from St Chad's School, Manchester, she had not yet attended any training college, but had taught for some two and a half years at the Catholic School in Bacup.⁴⁵

On 10 November 1879 another Catholic School dedicated to St Joseph was opened in Pendlebury. The school occupied on a yearly tenancy the upper floor of a row of two cottages built about 1820 and now owned by Cornelius Shea of Manchester. There were two rooms, one about 23' by 25', the second 13' by 13'. 33 infants occupied the school. Most paid 2d per week although 5 paid 3d. This had yielded an income of £10/8/-. The expenses incurred, including a teacher's salary of £60, and a rent of £6, came to £97/10/-. The difference had been found from unspecified sources. Jane Birtch, born 21 January 1855, had received her certification (2nd class) in December 1877. A former pupil teacher in West Craven Catholic School, Salford, she had taught in the Catholic School in Newton le Willows for one year and had entered her present post on 7 May 1879.

By October 1881 a brand new school building was opened to replace the school above the cottages. It incorporated both a mixed school as well as the original infant school. The main room was 43' by 30', the Infant area was 22' by 30' and there was an 11' by 30' classroom. Although on the same floor, the two departments were separated by a wooden partition. 51 infants attended, so clearly the mixed provision was not yet in place. Expenditure cost £42/11/1 and school pence had raised £9/7/8d, so again the mission faced a deficit. Annie Lamb, born on 15 July 1859, had been a pupil teacher at St Mary's, Formby, near Liverpool, where she had also taught from 1875 until 1881 when she had taken up this new post.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ PRO ED7/59

⁴⁶ *Idem*.

Two months later a further application was made. The Infant Department had opened on 7 November and the Mixed department on 1 December 1881. £92/11/1d had been spent: school pence had raised a mere £18/7/8, and the mission again met the deficit. Some 40 Infants regularly attended under Miss Lamb, and a further 19 children attended the mixed department under Miss Marianne Kelly. Born 12 April 1842, she had taught for some 17 years, having been at St Mary's, Euxton near Chorley, and at St James', Millom.

The far-flung nature of the mission also led to the creation of another infant school at Moorside. On 10 August 1885 a new schoolroom some 37' by 27' was opened. School pence brought in some £36; salaries, books and fuel had cost some £138, and the mission again supported the deficit. Ellen Walsh, born 27 November 1863, had commenced her duties on 10 August 1885 with some 50 pupils. A former pupil teacher from St Mary's Catholic School, Wrexham, she had previously taught at the Pendlebury School and was preparing for her certification examination.

The Catholic Mission in Swinton therefore was supporting five school departments, two at Swinton, two at Pendlebury, and one at Moorside. None were paying their way through school pence and the mission was subsidising them all. Examination of the Almanacs between 1880 and 1900 shows a confusing picture of the teaching staff. Over thirty teachers seem to be involved. Occasionally they seem to have taught in one school one year and another the next year. Some seem to have stayed for only a year, others remained for far longer periods.

4.3 Case Study 3: Billington Catholic School 1872-1925: a rural school

The Jesuits from Stonyhurst served St Mary's mission in Billington until it was handed over to the diocesan clergy and a resident priest was first appointed. A school was built and opened, and its history can be traced through documentary sources.⁴⁷ The number on roll was always higher than the average attendance, although both the annual Government examination, and the diocesan religious examination constantly saw an improved attendance. A small number of non-Catholic pupils attended. A Sunday

⁴⁷ Three sources have been used. Two Preliminary Statements, one dated 30 August 1880, the other 12 April 1912, give details of the school and staff (Public Record Office ED7/51). The name of the principal teacher is given in the Salford Diocesan Almanac from 1877 onwards. Details about pupil numbers and the religious examination are given in the extant Educational Statistics of the Salford Diocese from 1873 to 1924/25, although these reports make no mention of the school at all for the period 1881-1890.

School operated and usually had more pupils than the day school. Ann Sykes⁴⁸ was possibly the first, uncertificated, teacher. In 1880 a certificated teacher, Miss Olivia Cockshott, was appointed and Ann continued to work alongside her until 1885. Olivia, born in 1840, was certificated in December 1862, and commenced her duties at Billington on 23 August 1880, having worked until then at the Hurst Green Catholic School where she had served as a pupil teacher before training at Liverpool. In 1855, Miss Smith appeared and in 1888 seemed to have been placed in charge, although Miss Cockshott remained at the school until 1893. Miss Smith remained until 1914. A Miss Duffy replaced her and remained in post until 1945. The original schoolroom, some 30' x 20', attached to the chapel, had been built in 1872, the year the school was established. In 1880, a Preliminary Statement sought government recognition. 14 boys and 18 girls each paid 1d per week, although 10 infants attended without charge. School pence had brought in £4.80, a sum supplemented by £12 raised by a Charity Sermon, and some £30 in voluntary contributions. The teacher's salary came to £35, books and apparatus £4.25, fuel and light £3.83 and repairs £2.60. 75p was spent on prizes.

A new school building, approved by the Board of Education on 7 February 1911, was erected in April 1912. There was no change in the organisation or staffing of the school. The average number on roll in 1873 was 23. After a slight dip in the 1870s the numbers rose to 34 in 1880, including some 8 non-Catholic children. No figures are available for 1881-1890. Under the standards in place in 1916, the new school could accommodate 96 children. With gaps in the educational statistics, the situation until 1925 is displayed in the table overleaf.

⁴⁸ According to the 1881 Census, Ann, aged 33 and unmarried, lived at Beecholme with her sister Mary, a dressmaker aged 31, and a domestic servant, Catherine Clayton. Both sisters had been born at Billington. It seems probable that their parents were Edward and Ann, who farmed 123 acres at Hacking Hall Farm, where their three brothers also lived. PRO RG11, Piece 4157 Folio 31, p. 2 and Folio 13, p. 20.

Year	On Roll	Average	R E Examination	Teachers
1891	72	60		2 certificated
1892	67	55		2 certificated
1893	58	55	58	2 certificated
1894	74	60	63	2 certificated
1895	53	48	49	1 certificated
1896	51	33	No examination	1 certificated
1897	53	46	47	1 certificated
1898	46	44	32	1 certificated
1903	44		36	2, 1 certificated
1904	47		40	2, 1 certificated
1905	59		55	2, 1 certificated
1906	52		45	2, 1 certificated
1907	52		52	2, 1 certificated
1908-1909	48		47	2, 1 certificated
1910	50		48	2, 1 certificated
1911	53		52	2, 1 certificated
1912	55	6 HT ⁴⁹	55	1, 1 pupil teacher
1913	59	4HT 1 NC	59	2, 1 certificated
1914	64	4HT, 2 NC	57	4, 2 certificated
1915	57	4HT, 2 NC	57	3, 2 certificated
1916-1917	62	4HT, 3 NC	No examination	4, 2 certificated
1918-1919	66	2HT, 3NC	55	3, 2 certificated
1920-1921	53	5 NC	47	3 female teachers
1922-1923	46	5 NC	41	3 female teachers
1924-1925	48	4 NC	32	3 female teachers

5. Vaughan and the CPSC Collections

Vaughan consistently supported the annual CPSC collection. In 1873 he ordered it to be taken at all services and not just at the principal service, as was the custom in some missions.⁵⁰ He stressed that the Catholic community depended on the collection to train efficient Catholic teachers, defray the cost of religious inspection, and to make grants to schools in the most necessitous districts. In 1874 he

⁴⁹ HT = half time pupil, NC = non-Catholic pupil.

⁵⁰ *Ad Clerum* 12 June 1873 *Vaughan Acta* Vol. 1, p. 97.

outlined the history and success of the CPSC when announcing the annual collection.⁵¹ In 1845 there were only 220 Catholic elementary schools in the whole country. In 1874 there were no less than 1484 such schools. Their efficiency had increased markedly. In 1845 many hardly merited the title of school, and all were either hampered or almost entirely crippled for want of funds. In 1874 all but 374 of the schools were in receipt of government grant (which indicated their efficiency in secular instruction), while the annual religious inspection, now general if not universal, did the same for religious instruction. In 1870 there were an estimated 185,000 Catholic children yet the average attendance in inspected Catholic schools had been just 64,309 children. That had now increased to 99,988.⁵² He estimated that 20,000 children attended the 374 non-inspected schools, and the remaining 65,000 were not in attendance at any Catholic school. He cited a government return reporting that a larger percentage of regular attendance was to be found among Catholics than in other Church or Board Schools. Looking at the financial situation, given the cost of buildings and value of sites, the Catholic community had since 1846 spent not far short of £2,500,000 on schools. £744,000 had been received in government grant. Such success over a quarter of a century was due to the determination of the people to secure an education that would be Catholic, to the solicitude and hard work of the clergy, and to the zeal of the CPSC. The Catholic Education Crisis Fund, for example, had by the end of 1873 helped build or enlarged 257 Catholic schools, thus providing additional accommodation for 57,456 children at a cost of £259,179.

The efficiency of such schools however was what mattered. That depended on training good teachers. No diocese could do this independently. All depended on the work of the CPSC, whose three training schools had achieved so much. In 1874, 939 certificated teachers served in Catholic schools, helped by 123 assistant teachers and 1515 trained pupil teachers. Vaughan compared the situation within the diocese to that of the country as a whole. 30,382 children, or about one sixth of the total estimated Catholic child population, were in Salford diocesan schools. Over one seventh of all certificated

⁵¹ *Ad Clerum* 5 June 1874 Vaughan *Acta* Vol. 1, pp. 224 seq.

⁵² If the accuracy of such statistics is accepted, it would give an average attendance of 53.4 pupils in non-inspected schools and 43.4 in inspected schools across the country, which contrasts with an average attendance of 107.8 pupils within the diocese where 15419 scholars attended 143 inspected schools. This may well reflect the great difference in the Catholic population in "Catholic Lancashire" and the towns of the North West when compared to the rest of the realm.

Catholic teachers, and over one seventh of all pupil teachers, worked in the diocese. Of the 149 diocesan schools all but 15 had certificated teachers.

Two years later, Vaughan gave three reasons why the CPSC collection should be generously supported.⁵³ Firstly there was the need for trained certificated teachers, male and female. Were these to fail, the entire system of education would be wrecked, and Catholic schools would be compelled to close. Secondly the expenses of religious inspection were entirely defrayed by the CPSC. Thirdly the CPSC was now concentrating on raising the standard of education.

In June 1877 the clergy were asked to explain to their people the work of the CPSC and the need to support its work generously.⁵⁴ Such generous support was frequently sought.⁵⁵ Not all priests complied. Some failed to take the collection. In 1881 Vaughan warned that those who had failed to take it would be asked to hold a second collection for the CPSC before the year's end.⁵⁶

The following year, in announcing the CPSC collection, Vaughan urged the clergy to read the Hierarchy Resolutions to their people. These condemned Catholic teachers taking posts in the better paid Board Schools, Catholic children attending Board Schools and Catholics attending the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in defiance of the papal and hierarchical ban. He expressed his vision of the tension between the world and the faithful. The world no longer frowned at Catholics, but embraced them. It now offered them education but struck out all religion from its course of studies. He warned of the dangers and consequences:

Some Catholics of the higher and lower class are apt to be dazzled and caught by the offer of these worldly advantages. Catholics belong to the only true religion out of which (except in the case of invincible ignorance) there is no salvation. Their religion teaches emphatically, especially in the present day, the necessity of a Catholic education. They cannot therefore accept any other system of education than their own, no matter what worldly advantages may be offered to them in exchange.⁵⁷

In other years Vaughan or his Vicar General wrote reminding his clergy of the annual CPSC collection. In 1891, he expressed his position succinctly:

⁵³ **Ad Clerum** 15 June 1876 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 1, pp. 644.

⁵⁴ **Ad Clerum** 1 June 1877 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 2, p. 99.

⁵⁵ **Ad Clerum** 19 June 1878 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 2, p. 233; 31 May 1879 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 2, p. 352.

⁵⁶ **Ad Clerum** 16 June 1881 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 3, p. 49.

⁵⁷ **Ad Clerum** 16 June 1882 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 3, pp. 259-260.

Take the occasion to instruct your people upon the vital necessity of Catholic education: put them on their guard against all non-Catholic education systems, and urge them to prove their faith by their generosity.⁵⁸

6. The Pupil Teachers

6.1 Training the teachers of tomorrow and the children of today.

Pupil teachers were important. In the larger schools, they gave much of the instruction. Those who persevered in their apprenticeship became the trained teachers of the future. The table⁵⁹ illustrates the position: the number of teachers has been added for comparative purposes. The three-fold increase in teachers between 1874 and 1892 is significant.

Year	Total *	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Teachers
1873	238	73	70	38	36	21	131#
1874	293	87 (14)	70 (14)	69 (20)	29 (8)	33 (7)	214
1875	306	74 (15)	78 (14)	61 (10)	53 (13)	30 (12)	220
1876-77	335 (78)						255
1877-78	337 (115)	55	57	62	41	91	283
1878-79	319 (79)	39	68	58	54	43	333
1879-80	324 (78)	53	54	65	54	57	352
1881	277 (58)	30	50	56	57	44	407
1882	280	27	61	49	52	62	433
1883	208 (41)						456
1884	253 (45)	61	63	62	66	-	500
1886	259 (37)	58	47	46	43	-	573
1889	272 (38)						573
1890	249 (29)	53	51	56	43	-	613
1891	234 (27)	60	48	51	55	-	626
1892	242 (28)	46	56	41	39	-	658

The Pupil Teachers' religious knowledge and spirit were examined in detail⁶⁰. The first examination produced a very poor result. This was attributed both to a lack of systematic instruction and an "utter lack of thought and reflection", and consequently to an attitude that considered Religion to be an

⁵⁸ *Ad Clerum* 28 May 1891 *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 6, p. 107.

⁵⁹ * Total of pupil teachers: less than the full total were examined and those absent are omitted from the following columns. Figures in brackets indicate male pupil teachers when figures are available and # indicates a count of certified teachers only. Otherwise the figures include those not yet certificated. The number of "candidates" is omitted for the first four years and then, as the Code changed, is included. In later years Pupil Teachers were only examined four times. No data is available for 1887-88. Given slight differences in counting procedures by different inspectors, the table can only safely be used to indicate general trends.

⁶⁰ Initially the two-hour paper contained six questions, each with 20 marks. To secure a First Class result, 90 marks or over were needed. Second class needed 70 marks or over. Third class needed 50 marks or over, while those gaining less than 50 marks were classed as Failures.

"extra" subject, and one therefore treated accordingly.⁶¹ In 1874 examinations were held in Salford, Manchester, Bolton and Blackburn, and considerable improvement was detected. More systematic instruction had been given, based on the Manual of Instruction in Christian Doctrine and the Catechism. Prizes, funded by the Bishop and the Inspectors, were awarded to the top two pupils in each year.⁶² In 1875, it was announced that the diocesan examination would cede place to the nation-wide examination to be held in October and April that the CPSC was instigating. This involved modification of both the academic year, which now started in August, and in the course of instruction, copies of which were sent for display in participating schools.

The inspectors noted that Pupil Teachers often had no regular or fixed time for study. Occasional fitful efforts and a hurried cram prior to the examination were too often the norm. They strongly hinted that those responsible for training the Pupil Teachers should do better and provide regular weekly sessions.⁶³ Although this applied to religious instruction, a similar attitude to secular instruction probably prevailed. Nevertheless the examiners declared that they were:

Thoroughly pleased with the successful efforts made by many pupil teachers to improve themselves in the imparting of Religious Knowledge.⁶⁴

Some confusion about the new arrangements led the inspectors to comment on the number of candidates who did not attempt the examination that they should have attended.⁶⁵ School managers were reminded to inspect the religious examination certificates of prospective teachers⁶⁶. Candidates continued to fare well in the examinations, which in 1882 were reduced from five to four throughout the apprenticeship. The revised examination syllabus required pupil teachers in their last two years to give a sample lesson. Any section of the examination failed would have to be repeated. An attempt to hold the examination in October only proved inconvenient, and a supplementary examination was scheduled for March each year. Pupil teachers continued to fare well under these new arrangements. In the academic year 1882-1883, only one of those nominated by the school managers failed to attend the examination, and the inspectors concluded that other absentees had ceased to be employed in the

⁶¹ Educational Statistics: 1st Report, 1873, p. 9.

⁶² Educational Statistics: 2nd Report, 1874, pp. 8-10.

⁶³ Educational Statistics: 4th Report, 1876-1877, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Educational Statistics: 5th Report, 1877-1878, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Educational Statistics: 6th Report, 1878-1879, p. 5.

⁶⁶ Educational Statistics: 7th Report, 1879-1880, p. 5.

schools.⁶⁷ Of 252 pupil teachers examined between October 1883 and October 1884, only 1 failed, and just 58 others were graded "third class". The class lesson would continue to be part of the examination but without marks being attached to it.⁶⁸ In Salford, few initially gained places on the "Honours List". Several were detected trying to bypass the system. Some failed to take the annual examination as required. Others completed their apprenticeship, obtained teaching posts yet declined to attend the final examination. School managers were urged to take appropriate action. That pupil teachers could do better was not doubted. The issue was why they did not. Some pupil teachers claimed that their head teachers neglected them. Another possible cause was inadequate study. Those who had done well had both studied and received regular teaching and supervision. An innovative step taken by the FCJ nuns at Adelphi House was noted in the report. They had opened a house where pupil teachers could reside during their training, and **Fr Hayes** wondered whether similar centres could be opened in other towns of the diocese.⁶⁹

Richardson was less impressed with the pupil teachers and plainly said so:

How some pupil teachers dare face the examination, knowing as little as they did, speaks badly either for their training or for their intelligence.⁷⁰

Yet aware of their relative success in Government examinations, he laid out the vocational vision of a teacher that reached far beyond the mere mechanical instruction of children, or adequate success in examination. They were to be the children's advisors and friends, materially assisting them in their future careers, moulding the minds and hearts and directing the steps of creatures made in the image and likeness of God.

The necessity of a determined effort on the part of managers and teachers to work so as to maintain the efficiency, but at the same time, the Catholic character of our schools was never so paramount as at present. ... With our miserable resources and with our poverty stricken people, we are giving instruction in secular subjects equal to any in the country and are, in addition, imparting a moral training such as given by none other.

In 1890 **Richardson** detected a trend in examination results. Many who failed the October examination had done so not so much for want of study as from want of being taught. He implored the

⁶⁷ Educational Statistics: 10th Report, 1883, p. 4.

⁶⁸ Educational Statistics: 11th Report, 1884 p. 6.

⁶⁹ Educational Statistics: 13th Report, 1886 pp. 7-8.

⁷⁰ Educational Statistics: 16th Report, 1889 p. 7.

school managers to complete the pre-examination forms, as several pupil teachers had attended the examination without prior notification. Some teachers serving under Article 50 had not yet completed the 4th year examination, and were urged to do so.⁷¹ In the following year, the schools where such teachers had not completed that examination were publicly identified.

Richardson then took up a new issue. There had been some concern at the relative inefficiency of Catholic pupil teachers who had presented themselves for the Queen's Scholarship Examination. Unlike their non-Catholic peers, such pupil teachers, preparing for the religious examination, had less time for what Richardson described as the "other ologies". His own impression was that the candidates he had examined were above the average of recent years in intelligence, in mode of expression and in their depth of reading. He remained convinced that this religious training was just as useful as all the sciences put together.

It will be a sorry day for us when "physiology" has to take the place of the daily religious lesson.⁷²

The quality of pupil teachers varied. The 1892 batch were considered poor, although this weakness was noted generally throughout the country. Of 50 pupil teachers who had not been examined, Richardson concluded that some were candidates not yet due for examination, that others were preparing for the Scholarship examination, and that the rest had given up teaching. He again referred to the regulation that no one would be admitted to a Catholic teaching college who had not passed the 4th year examination with at least a second-class pass. Any one unwilling to comply with such requirements would be a very doubtful quantity in terms of being a future Catholic teacher.⁷³

6.2 Salford Educational Association

The religious inspectors had in 1874 regretted that they had no gifts but praise to reward those most successful in the religious examinations, whereas the HMI examination brought financial rewards. The

⁷¹ **Educational Statistics: 17th Report**, 1890, p. 9.

⁷² **Educational Statistics: 18th Report**, 1891, p. 8. Richardson had here highlighted an area of concern in Catholic education that continues even today. In giving substantial time for religious education, Catholic schools have less time than other schools to give to the secular curriculum, yet are expected to be as efficient in secular examinations.

⁷³ **Educational Statistics: 19th Report**, 1892, p. 9.

little financial support offered them did not even pay the costs of the inspection, and they had voiced a hope that their costs and money prizes for those examined might be provided.⁷⁴ From this suggestion rose the Salford Educational Association.

The Association⁷⁵ was founded in November 1874 to promote both religious and secular knowledge in Catholic elementary schools. Membership was open to both laity and clergy, who either paid a personal subscription of £1 annually, or who as managers paid an annual subscription for each department, thus permitting their school to enter the competition. An annual subscription of £5 gained honorary membership, with the right to attend and vote at meetings of the Board of Management. This Board, subject to the Bishop's approbation, consisted of the religious inspectors, of a clergy member chosen from each Deanery Conference, of five laymen and one representative of the Salford Catholic Teachers' Association, chosen by the Bishop, together with the secretary and treasurer of the association. The annual meeting was held each June, although there was provision for special meetings to be convened by the Bishop. Financial rewards were offered to teachers, pupil teachers and scholars for outstanding success in examinations. The teacher in sixteen schools, be it Boys', Girls' or Mixed Department, chosen by the Inspector, received £3. The teacher in each of ten Infant Schools similarly selected received £2. The pupil teacher who was highest on the Class List received £1 for each year of their apprenticeship, while the next highest received half that amount, providing they had obtained a First Class in the general class list. Should the Association funds however be insufficient to sustain such awards, proportional reduction of prizes was envisaged. The cost of the prizes together with expenses had to be covered by the annual subscriptions. In 1876 for example some 71 departments from 35 missions paid their £1 subscriptions and entered the competition.⁷⁶ Individual subscriptions came to £92/15/6. The Bishop, six priests and fourteen laypersons subscribed, and contributions were received from the Billington mission, and from one family and two teachers. The scheme did not meet with overwhelming acceptance. Possibly managers declined to pay the subscriptions unless they felt there was a good chance of gaining a prize. Perhaps fluctuating financial fortunes dictated whether funds to pay the subscription were available. The table overleaf lists the year, the number of missions and the number of departments entering the competition.

⁷⁴ **Educational Statistics: 1st Report**, 1874 p. 10.

⁷⁵ Erected 24 November 1874 **Vaughan Acta**, Vol. 2, p. 125.

⁷⁶ **Vaughan Acta** Vol. 2, p. 127.

Year	1875	1876	1877/8	1878/9	1879/0	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
Mission	56	35	25	31	19	24	18	15	8	19
Depts.	103	71	56	70	41	51	41	36	19	41

Reports for 1886-1888 are not available. No reference to the Association appears in those from 1889 onwards. By then, there had been major changes in the examination system, and the CPSC were awarding prize medals and book prizes to successful candidates. The number of schools had increased, and it appears that the Association, having succeeded somewhat in its aims of rewarding and stimulating success, had quietly ceased to exist. It is a matter of judgement whether this was one of Vaughan's schemes that failed or one that succeeded so well it was no longer needed. The table presents inconclusive evidence.

6.3 The Annual Appreciation Days

Vaughan inaugurated the annual Appreciation Days to celebrate the results of the elementary school religious inspection. The first such day took place at the Cathedral on Saturday 13 December 1873, and Vaughan invited not only the gentry of the diocese and as many clergy as could attend, but also managers, teachers and pupil teachers, who would be admitted free of charge.⁷⁷ A third such day took place on Saturday 11 December 1875 at St John's Hall.⁷⁸ The fourth was celebrated on Monday 16 July 1877, as December had been found inconvenient.⁷⁹ The Sixth Appreciation Day was held on Saturday 19 July 1879 at 11.00am in St John's Hall, Salford.⁸⁰ No more references to Appreciation Days have been found, and it is unclear exactly what form they took. An intelligent guess would link them to the distribution of the prizes offered by the CPSC and the Salford Educational Association to teachers, pupil teachers and scholars for success in the religious examinations. It remains unclear whether they continued after 1879, or whether, having stimulated interest, they ceased because no premises large enough to hold the gathering could be found, or alternatively, having failed to stimulate sufficient

⁷⁷ *Ad Clerum* 5 December 1873 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 200

⁷⁸ *Ad Clerum* 1 December 1875 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 469

⁷⁹ *Ad Clerum* 10 July 1877 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol.2, p.132; *Educational Statistics 3rd Report* 1875, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *Ad Clerum* 11 July 1879 Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 2, pp. 395, 397.

interest, they were quietly abandoned. Were they yet another example of Vaughan's ingenious ideas that failed to work out, or were they too successful? No conclusion can be safely reached because of lack of evidence, but this six year long initiative to appreciate and improve religious instruction in the elementary schools cannot be passed over in silence.

7 The Role and Rights of Parents

Vaughan wrote some thirty-three Pastoral Letters. His first letter was on "*The Pastoral Office and the Salvation of Souls*".⁸¹ In 1882 he wrote on the "*Educational Peril to Christianity*"⁸² and in 1883 on parental rights and Church guidance in education.⁸³ He referred to education again in 1889⁸⁴ and devoted his final Pastoral Letter in 1891 on "*The Dangers of the Education Question and how to meet them*".⁸⁵ In these texts we find an explicit and structured vision of the rights of both parents and the Church in matters of education. His first pastoral letter⁸⁶ dealt with the pastoral office of the bishop and the salvation of souls. He quickly outlined the role of the church:

Dear Children, as you know, the Church seeks simply for souls. If the Pope claims his temporal power, if the priests collect your alms from door to door to build and maintain their schools, it is all for the salvation of souls

The Church was bound to provide all that was necessary for souls from the moment of baptism until death. Part of that provision included Christian education. With many more branches of useful secular instruction required, this was a far heavier burden than before. Yet the target was clear:

And it is certain that we can never be free from anxiety and labour, until Catholic Education is brought within reach of every Catholic child within the limits of our diocese.

Parents and guardians were to work with the clergy in this endeavour. Every Catholic home should be a place a prayer, aided by the presence of a crucifix and other statues, linked to its parish church as rays of light and warmth were linked to the sun, by visits, by Sunday Mass attended in a warm and

⁸¹ **Pastoral Letter** 28 October 1872.

⁸² **Pastoral Letter** 21 February 1882.

⁸³ **Pastoral Letter** 12 February 1885.

⁸⁴ **Pastoral Letter** 21 June 1889.

⁸⁵ **Pastoral Letter** 20 August 1891.

⁸⁶ **Pastoral Letter** 3 November 1872, *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 1, pp. 26 seq. A popular edition was offered at 2d, with the proceeds devoted to the Ecclesiastical Education Fund to train priests.

beautified church. Yet more was demanded of the laity. As the clergy could not be everywhere, the laity must assist them, to discover “every child that is truant or in danger”. The laity must come to their rescue.

In his pastoral letter on the educational peril to Christianity, Vaughan began by celebrating the achievements of science and the role being played therein by the Catholic clergy. He then considered the darker side of man’s activity, crime, fraud, violence, and above all the undermining of Christian faith and morality and of church attendance. His initial conclusion was simple.

One thing alone can save society, and that is knowledge and love of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The communication of this knowledge and love ought to form the principle aim and end of elementary education. The educational peril to Christianity is a national education bereft of this aim, an education that discards and ignores the sublime doctrines of faith. ... Society has dechristianised the State, and the State in turn is dechristianising National Education.

He noted the tendency in modern statecraft to ignore parental rights and to regard the State as supreme in respect to the education of the people. He rejected this false vision and insisted on five principles that should govern the relationship between parents and the State.

1. In order of time and of nature, parental rights precede State rights. A parent may forfeit a parental right by misconduct, but not by poverty.
2. God himself has bestowed upon the parent, without any distinction between rich and poor, between Catholic and non-Catholic, the right and the duty to educate his children. This right is universal and divine.
3. The State has no right to usurp the place of the parent in respect to the education of his children.
4. When parents are unable to educate their children, the State ought to assist them to do so, as it assists with food and warmth those who are reduced to destitution.
5. But the State by tendering educational assistance does not buy up the parent’s right to his child, it does not contract him out of his obligation to give his child only such education as shall be in conformity with his religious convictions. As the State may not offer to the pauper food that is unwholesome, so neither may it force upon a child a system of education, which the conscience of the parent recoils from as injurious to the soul.

Vaughan concluded his Pastoral Letter by listing four considerations. Firstly resolution was needed to fight for parental rights and the Catholic education of children. Secondly Catholics must spread the knowledge and love of Jesus without apology or compromise. Thirdly Catholics must do all they could to make religion bright and attractive both in school and in church. Finally Catholic youth must be kept together after they left school by the provision of libraries, clubrooms and other amusements. “We must make it easy for them to keep their faith, to pray and to use the sacraments.” To achieve this would require a “strong body of lay workers, united with the clergy” in every large mission.

Vaughan revisited his arguments in 1885.⁸⁷ He outlined the vision that the child firstly belonged to God as his creator and secondly to the parents, from whom the child received existence, support and education. The right of the parent to educate his own child was the most sacred of rights. Such education went beyond the mere training of the intellect to embrace the whole person, thus including the soul, the conscience and the heart. Such education was inseparable from religion as it embraced preparing the child to attain its ultimate end, Heaven. He deplored the penetration of the English vision of liberty by French and German ideas, described as “continental liberalism”, that presumed to give the State power over the child in place of its parents, even if done “in the name of public welfare”. The State had indeed a role to play in education, a right and a duty to assist *indigent* parents, even to take over from incapable parents. It might provide buildings, appliances, payment, and determine secular curriculum. Yet the religious aspect of education had to be respected, and it had not been in practice. Vaughan then addressed the role of the Church in education. “If by the law of nature the right and duty to educate the child belongs to the parent, by what authority does the Bishop intervene?” He argued that the child belonged firstly to God, and then to the parents. Under God’s providence, the Church had a commission to protect, guide and strengthen the Christian parent in training the child to attain Heaven, and no more. It is not the Church’s concern as such to teach letters, art, science or whatever. The spiritual formation is a work of grace, and of many years, and needs to be begun at the earliest opportunity.

The Church therefore steps in and claims to guide the education of the child, under the care of its parents, as soon as reason dawns – so far, that is, as its education for the next world is concerned. And she does this, observe, without the slightest violation of parental rights and authority, nay, in perfect harmony with them and in furtherance of the duties that flow from them.”

Vaughan saw the natural right of the parent and the divine right of the Church, both creations of the same God, working in harmony, supporting and supplementing each other, in preparing an immortal soul for salvation. Vaughan concluded what became his last Pastoral Letter as Bishop of Salford with an exhortation to his clergy to ceaselessly remind the Catholic people of the issues involved in education until all realised that

⁸⁷ Pastoral Letter 12 February 1885.

“to break down the primary law of nature – the inalienable right and duty of the parent to determine the religious education of his child – is to break down the integrity of family life, to destroy the main bulwark of individual liberty against the encroaching power of the State, and to uproot a condition which is essential to the preservation of a Christian people. There can be no Christian life, no domestic peace, no parental dignity where no regard is paid to parental authority”.

Vaughan noted the extra financial burden the removal of the school fee placed on diocesan schools. The Department of Education were basing their fee grant on the returns of the previous year, not on the latest returns. Two schools would be unaffected. 27 schools would gain about £564. 84 schools would lose about £2,884. The New Code and the pressure for better equipment and improved staff and premises inevitably involved a larger expenditure than ever in most Catholic schools. To promote such efficiency, especially in weaker schools, Vaughan proposed to create a Diocesan Board of Education. It would number some 15 members, both priests and laymen. Its brief was wide ranging:

The duty of this Board will be to keep an eye upon the interests of Public Elementary education throughout the Diocese; to give and receive information as required; to raise and dispense a central fund; to decide appeals brought by managers or others connected with schools; to arrange for centres for the instruction of pupil teachers; to examine sites, plans and educational arrangements; and in general to act as assessors with the Bishop in those matters connected with the welfare of the Catholic Schools, which fall under his ordinary oversight and authority.

In November 1891 the Diocesan Education Board appointed a Committee to look at the issue of Centres of Instruction for Pupil Teachers. The Committee reported in January 1892. Vaughan in March 1892 issued rules for the guidance of his School Managers. His momentum in this and other educational matters suddenly ceased. In April he was translated to Westminster to be the new Archbishop and later Cardinal.

8 Conclusion

8.1 The Five ~~Principals~~ Principles

The obvious question to ask is whether there was any appreciable difference between Vaughan and Turner in their vision of Catholic Education. From the evidence presented in this chapter, it is clear that Vaughan shared the vision that education must be based on religion, and that it must be under Catholic control. His more systematic use of the Diocesan Religious Inspector, and the annual

educational statistics and reports that inspector provided, shows Vaughan to be in charge, and ready to initiate activities and organisations such as the Salford Educational Association, the Annual Appreciation Days and the Diocesan Education Board. The at times tedious account of the building and improving of schools, and the concern to have them accept government grant demonstrate an identical vision as to the need to provide Catholic schools across the diocese and make them efficient in their religious and secular curriculum. It was in his vision of the rights of parents, both to have their religious beliefs respected, and against the growing intrusion of the State, that Vaughan explicitly and substantially developed the initial stance taken by Turner.

CHAPTER 4: BISHOP VAUGHAN AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

1. Overview of the Chapter

Political activity involved a common effort to influence events, achieve a desired result or prevent an unwanted outcome. Such activity took place at many levels. It involved the bishop, clergy and laity at diocesan level, sifting out information, initiating agreed action. It involved the Hierarchy speaking out and working together, or not, as the case might be. It involved action at local level, in regard to School Board and other elections and at national level, be it in parliamentary elections or petitions.

This chapter examines several strands of the educational political activity that took place while Vaughan was Bishop of Salford. His initial action in trying to create a Popular Education Fund and in meeting the School Managers is noted. A study is made of the various Parliamentary Petitions he encouraged his clergy and people to sign. The role of the Catholic Community in Parliamentary and School Board elections is indicated. The reasons why Roman Catholics were increasingly dissatisfied with the 1870 Education Act are outlined. Finally attention is given to Vaughan's efforts while Bishop of Salford to create a nation-wide alliance with other Churches in promoting the Voluntary Schools Association. What success he had in these endeavours came after he had become Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and will be studied in a later chapter. Initially we need to briefly identify the background issues against which Vaughan's political activities were set.

2. The Background Issues

Several issues dominated English Catholic educational thought in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Five of these are identified below.

2.1 Home Rule for Ireland or Financial Aid for Catholic Schools

Several issues were inter-twined together during and after Vaughan's time as Bishop of Salford. The changing political scene was of importance as Liberal, Conservative and Irish Members of Parliament sought to make alliances and form governments. As Irish Catholics were thought to wish to see Home Rule for Ireland, which they would not be granted by a Unionist Conservative Government, and the Catholic bishops wished to see improved financial aid for Catholic schools, which they would not get

from a non-Conformist Liberal government, a certain tension existed within the Catholic community itself, and would continue to exist until the granting of independence to the Irish Free State.

2.2 The Extension of the Franchise.

The extension of the franchise offered the vote to an increasing number of middle class Roman Catholics although neither Conservatives nor Liberals had any intention of extending the franchise to "one man, one vote", and certainly not to women.¹

2.3 The Question of "Free Schooling" or the respective roles of the State and of Parents in Education

The question of "free schooling" ran deeper than might at first sight appear. It extended far beyond the removal of school pence for compulsory education to the issue of the respective roles of individuals, families and the State in British society. The fear that foreign totalitarian or anti-Christian values and practices might be imported from Prussia or France lay behind the opposition of Cardinal **Manning**, Vaughan himself, and many other bishops and clerics to the idea. The degree of socialisation to which we have become accustomed was then undreamed of and would have been perceived as a distinct infringement of personal liberty and an unnecessary intrusion into an individual's rights.

Vaughan revisited the education question in his 1891 Pastoral Letter.² The occasion was the removal of elementary school fees, which many Catholics saw as an extension of State interference in the parental right to educate their children, by transferring to the State responsibilities belonging to the parent. Vaughan's fear was that the next step would be the creation of "local control" of all schools, whether Board or Voluntary, with a consequent extinguishing of denominational schools. Catholic schools were managed by representatives of the parents. Their rights would be transferred to "non-parents" and a "creedless electorate" would settle any question over religion. Ironically the rich would maintain their educational status quo. It would be the poor who would have their choice, their rights, taken from them. The State had indeed a right and a duty to intervene in the work of education to protect itself "from the danger of sinking under a growing burden of helpless, useless, mischievous

¹ The question of the franchise is beyond the scope of this thesis. See however D. G. Wright **Democracy and Reform 1815-1885**, pp.103-108 and Bob Whitfield **The Extension of the Franchise, 1832-1931** pp. 121-130.

² **Pastoral Letter** 20 August 1891.

citizens, cast upon her through the inability or the neglect to parents to educate their children fittingly. The law of self preservation is a law for nations as well as individuals.” Hence the State had a right and a duty to assist parents to educate their children by providing the necessary means that parents could not provide: teachers, equipment, buildings.

Vaughan posed a simple question. “If education be free, and the public pay the whole cost out of rates and taxes, does not the public acquire therefore the exclusive right to the ordering of the whole of education?” His reply was that parental rights came first. The public for its money would benefit from the effects of education, would determine the kind, the amount and the standard of secular education, would receive the “considerable surrender of time and liberty – which often mean money – from parent and child, extending over several years” and would exercise financial oversight and control of public funds. However the public did not have the right “to enter into the sanctuary of the souls and determine the religious character and management” of a school. This would be an “intolerable invasion” of a most sacred parental right, an “invasion to be resisted to the bitter end”. He then repeated his usual arguments about the rights of parents, families, and the Church before passing to more pragmatic issues. He proposed to include parents among the School Managers of parochial elementary schools. The present practice of the priest of the mission choosing two co-managers would continue, but the parents of children in the school would be invited to choose two other managers. Thus each school would have five managers, with the priest being ex officio chairman.

2.4 The Financial Inequality between Board and Voluntary Schools

The Catholic community gradually grasped the financial implications of the 1870 Education Act. The financial inequality between Board and Voluntary schools was considerable, and the 17/6 limit³ was regarded as particularly objectionable. The elimination of all Church or “voluntary” schools seemed a distinct possibility. At issue was the very concept of education. Was the aim of education to “educate the whole person” or was it simply a pragmatic question of sufficient technical instruction to produce

³ The 17/6 limit prescribed that no matter how much a child might have earned in grant, the amount to be paid would be limited to 17/6 unless voluntary subscriptions and other income exceeded a stated sum, in which case the full grant earned would be paid. This placed schools with limited financial means in an unenviable position, a position regarded by Catholics as unjust and discriminatory. See *A Remonstrance* by Canon Wood (n.d.)

a suitable workforce? Several Parliamentary and Royal Commissions were established to investigate the educational provision and make due recommendations.

2.5 Religious Objections to the School Board System

From an initial fear that Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools would be in grave danger of losing their Faith, a perception developed that the Cowper-Temple clause⁴ was inimical to religion itself as it suggested that subjectivism, the belief that any religious belief was of equal value, was acceptable. Such a view undermined the concept of divine revelation and was deadly to all Christian beliefs. If, as Christians believed, God had revealed Himself, there could only be one truth, and not a series of contradicting "truths". From such subjective interpretation, religious indifference and contempt for religion must follow, especially if the teacher giving the religious lesson made it clear that he or she thought it irrelevant. Vaughan's opposition to "School Board Religion" deepened over the years. His fears were compounded by the hostility to Church Schools shown by many School Boards.

3. Vaughan's Initial Actions

Vaughan had found the diocese in good state in its elementary education provision, as we have seen. Financially the story was different. The industrial schools were financially in difficulties. Many missions had crippling debts. His brief from Rome on his appointment was to balance the books as soon as he could. He needed to know what the real situation was. He determined firstly to try and procure funds he himself could use, and to meet with the priests who acted as managers to his Catholic schools.

3.1 The Diocesan Popular Education Fund

In December 1873 Vaughan tried to establish a Diocesan Popular Education Fund. He circulated a letter, together with a copy of the Educational Statistics, and solicited donations for a five year period to enable him to meet a number of expenses which otherwise would fall on him alone.

Such a fund is also required in order to enable us to apply a judicious stimulus to the work of education, and to meet such calls as are most pressing. Among these I would instance the Industrial School at Ashton, which, being now placed with all its

⁴ The clause permitted only non-denominational religious instruction to be given in School Board schools (if such instruction were permitted by the Board).

burdens under the responsibility and control of the Bishop, becomes a Diocesan Institution. It needs immediate attention and expenditure.⁵

Nothing more is recorded of this fund. As the Ashton Industrial School closed shortly afterwards, the suspicion is that the appeal failed. If so, it was not the first instance of wealthier Catholics not coming to the support of their poorer brethren, as Bishop Turner had frequently noted.

3.2 School Managers' Meeting

The first occasion in which Vaughan took counsel with his school managers was in 1874. He convened a meeting⁶ of managers of schools in the diocese on Tuesday 27 October in Salford at the Grammar School. No minutes have survived. It is tempting, in the light of subsequent action, to suggest that a review of how the 1870 Education Act was working and the future prospects of Catholic Schools would have figured on the agenda.

4. Vaughan and Parliamentary Petitions

In an age when the franchise was still restricted to certain classes of citizens, the parliamentary petition was a normal method of seeking to influence political decision and policy.

The first time Vaughan enlisted the help of the clergy was in 1873 when the Prison Ministers' Bill was facing its second reading. Many petitions had been presented against the Bill and few in its favour. The Catholic Union had called attention to the fact that no Catholic voice had yet been heard. As Vaughan noted, "It is desirable not to allow the inference that Catholics have become indifferent to its fate".⁷ A formal text⁸ for the petition was prepared, which when written in manuscript and signed, was to be sent to the Member of Parliament. The following year, the bishops sought the help of the clergy⁹ in raising another parliamentary petition against the proposed Convents Inspection

⁵ **Circular Letter** 15 December 1873 *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 201.

⁶ **Ad Clerum** 21 October 1874 *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 229.

⁷ **Ad Clerum** 30 May 1873. *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 94.

⁸ The form of the petition was as follows: "To the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled. The petitions of the undersigned Roman Catholics of humbly sheweth - That your petitioners have learned that a Bill entitled the *Prison Ministers' Bill* has been presented to your Honourable House. That the amendments of the law contained in the same Bill, are, and have long been desired by your petitioners, and that they earnestly pray your Honourable House to pass the said Bill. And your Petitioners will ever pray.

⁹ **Ad Clerum** 22 April 1874. *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 1, p. 219-220.

Bill.¹⁰ Two alternative forms of the petition were prepared, and sent to every mission in England. Detailed instructions were issued as to how to collect and present the petition, as non-observance of the required conditions often caused petitions to be rejected.¹¹ In the event the Bill failed.

In 1879 another petition¹² was organised in support of a proposed Irish University Bill. Vaughan believed the Bill, written in a conciliatory spirit and unlikely to excite hostility in England, would secure a fair measure of higher education for Catholics in Ireland. Again details of how to present the petition were given.

In 1882 the Hierarchy at the Low Week Meeting formulated a parliamentary petition dealing with the School Board system¹³. They sought relief from having to contribute to both Voluntary and Board Schools, especially where the Boards were using rate monies to provide post elementary education, and the education of children from social classes well able to fund such education but who utilised the Board School provision. Vaughan asked his clergy¹⁴ to implement the instructions that accompanied the petition. He reminded them that:

¹⁰ Walter L. Arnstein **Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr Newdegate and the Nuns** University of Missouri Press, Columbia and London 1982 has fully studied this matter.

¹¹ The petition had to be hand written, using only one side of the paper, with at least three signatures beneath the petition on the first page. No one could sign for another person unless that person made his or her mark. The top of the second page had to be gummed or pasted to the bottom of the first page, and similarly with subsequent pages, so as to form a roll. The completed roll could be sent post free, duly marked, and accompanied by a letter to the Member of Parliament asking him to present the petition, and stating the number of signatures thereon.

¹² **Ad Clerum** 7 June 1879. Vaughan **Acta**, Vol. 2, p. 353. The core text of the petition was as follows: Your petitioners have heard with gratification that a Bill has been introduced into your Honourable House to make better provision for University Education in Ireland. During the last session of Parliament a Bill was almost unanimously passed to raise the standard of intermediate education in that country. On that occasion your Honourable House, though unwilling to endow Denominational Institutions, affirmed the principle that State endowments must be open to all, and that religious convictions should not be a bar to the highest educational career. Your petitioners therefore beg that your Honourable House will take this measure into favourable consideration, and thus grant a measure of relief to your petitioners' fellow-subjects in Ireland, or such other relief as to your Honourable House shall seem fit.

¹³ The core text of the petition read: That the burden of the Education rate presses unequally on those who are in conscience compelled to maintain voluntary schools of their own religion; and still more grievously upon those who conscientiously disapprove of education without religion; That the burden has become greatly aggravated by the excessive expenditure of the School Boards; and by the admission to Board Schools of the children of higher classes; whereby the poor are made to contribute to the education of the classes able to educate their own children; Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to take steps to relieve those who are compelled to support the voluntary schools from the burden of the Education Rate, in the measure and proportion of their subscription to such voluntary and denominational schools; and to restrict the application of the Education Rate to the primary education of the people, thereby putting a stop to the support now given out of such rate to higher and intermediate Education, whether by Local Acts or by an undue extension of the School Board system.

¹⁴ **Ad Clerum** 17 May 1882. Vaughan **Acta**, Vol. 3, p. 255.

We consider it highly important that the Catholics should take up a pronounced public position in respect to the Board School system. That system is one which the Catholic Church condemns as contrary to the only system of education which her children can accept. By persistently making known our grievance, it may be hoped that the same measure of fairness may be extended by the British Legislature to the Catholics of England as that which after due representation, was granted to the Catholics of Canada by the Canadian Legislature.

He was however aware that in the "excited state of public feeling in the country, it may be desirable to recommend more than usual circumspection and watchfulness". As he explained:

While fully respecting the political rights of our people, and their freedom to meet and even to agitate within the limits of the law and the spirit of the constitution, do not hesitate, in case of need, to advise great prudence and self restraint in conduct and language, so as to supply no fuel to angry passions, which, if once provoked, might not easily be restrained. A single foolish speech or act might, like a spark where the elements are prepared, cause a conflagration.

He therefore ordered that no political character should be given to the Whit Week processions, and that no political badges or emblems be allowed in the processions, or in anything to do with the Church or religion. For, he explained:

We must avoid identifying in the public mind the sacred cause of the Catholic Religion with any purely political contention or with any political party views and interests, however much these may be entitled, in their own place, to consideration and respect.

In July 1883 another parliamentary petition was organised. This was done quickly, the week before a motion on the School rates went before the House. Vaughan¹⁵ stated that the petition should be short and respectful, and need not be numerously signed. Again due instructions as to how to present the petition were given, together with a possible wording.¹⁶ The addresses of those signing were now to be included in the petition.

¹⁵ *Ad Clerum* 20 July 1883. Vaughan *Acta*, Vol. 3, p. 471.

¹⁶ The proposed core text stated: That your petitioners, for reasons of conscience, cannot avail themselves of the Board School system, as, even when it approves of religious teaching, that teaching is at variance with their religious convictions; That these special religious convictions in reference to their schools were duly admitted, by the Committee of Privy Council on Education, before the passing of the Act of 1870; That your petitioners suggest that the alteration then made in their relation to the work of popular education was, however unintentional, oppressive and injurious to them; That, from that date, the educational requirements and expenses attendant on them have greatly increased, whilst the additional aid in annual grants has not been sufficient to meet the greater liabilities; That in addition they have to contribute, in the rates, to the provision and support of the Board Schools. That, because of their religious convictions, they are thus financially oppressed. That, though for twelve years they have in the work of education kept abreast of the Board Schools and their unlimited resources, it is only at a penalty, which your petitioners feel that your Honourable House does not desire. That, in the continuance of the present state of things, your petitioners see a prospect of what

In 1884 the Voluntary Schools Association passed a series of resolutions¹⁷ and generated a parliamentary petition within the diocese. The petition sought the removal of the 17/6 limit and other improvements in the financing of the voluntary school, together with the ability to build Catholic schools ⁱⁿ ~~for~~ the future without having them declared unnecessary.¹⁸ Vaughan circulated the resolutions and petition to his clergy, with a strong hint that local meetings be held and Catholics be instructed as to their duties on the Education question, as a general election within the year was confidently expected.¹⁹

The clergy were again asked to raise a parliamentary petition in 1889. As the relevant clause sought by the petition had already been accepted by the Bill's promoters, no great effort needed to be made to obtain signatures.²⁰

5. Parliamentary and School Boards Elections and the Catholic Community

The mechanism of school board elections involved two factors that might appear strange to us today. Firstly those entitled to vote had to register their right. Secondly, each voter had the same number of votes as there were vacancies in the election, which could all be used to support a single candidate, or could be spread across the field. This system of cumulative voting had been adopted to preserve the rights of minorities to representation, and Roman Catholic electors usually gave all their votes to one

has been termed a painless - more correctly, an injurious - extinction of Voluntary Schools. That your petitioners believe that this would be an injury, not only to the Voluntary Schools, but to the nation generally. Your petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to adopt means to prevent what they regard as an oppression, an injustice and a calamity.

¹⁷ 2 July 1884 Vaughan Acta, Vol. 4, p. 106.

¹⁸ The core text read as follows: That your petitioners consider certain provisions in the Education Acts to be unjust and oppressive, and opposed to the rights of conscience as well as to civil and religious equality. In order therefore that these defects may be remedied and to reduce the pressure on the local rates, your petitioners pray that the Education Grant may be increased for all Public Elementary Schools, and that the grant earned by each school on examination shall be paid without deduction on account of deficiency of income from other sources. That it may be competent to a religious body to establish Public Elementary Schools, which shall receive the Government grant on the usual conditions, and that it shall not be liable to be declared unnecessary on account of previously existing schools. That in the case of poor but non-pauper parents, who are not able to pay the school fees of the children, the Local Education Authority shall provide for such payments as efficiently as is done by School Boards in Board Schools.

¹⁹ Ad Clerum 11 July 1884.

²⁰ Letter to the clergy sent by Fr Hill, the Bishop's Secretary 16 May 1889. Vaughan Acta, Vol. 5, p. 370. The key clause reads: In determining on the person to whom the child shall be so committed, the Court shall endeavour to ascertain the religious persuasion to which the child belongs, and shall, if possible, select a person of the same religious persuasion, and such religious persuasion shall be specified in the order.

candidate to secure his election.²¹ Hurt noted that the allegiance of Roman Catholic voters was to their Church rather than to their social class.²² He saw elections being fought in Manchester on a religious rather than a political basis, with the tension between the "unsectarian party" (which basically meant the Liberals) and the "Church party". Anglicans and Catholic, who favoured voluntary schools. The presence of a strong Roman Catholic community, Hurt noted, tended to delay the secularisation of the school board and the success of working class candidates in such elections.

Vaughan quickly realised the importance of registering all Catholics qualified to vote in school board elections. He convened a meeting of rectors in Salford on 26 June 1873²³ to secure the registration of Catholic voters. Vaughan gave instruction concerning the duty of Catholic voters in the 1874 Elections.²⁴ Two courses only were open: either to vote for the advocate of liberty in the matter of religious education, or to abstain from voting altogether. Thus would history record that Catholics had stood firm to the principle that education cannot be severed from religion. He explained the reason for this choice thus:

There is one general moral principle to be insisted on in the coming elections, viz: That we cannot do evil that good may come of it. The application of this principle to the present crisis is very plain and it comes to this: That no Catholic can vote for any candidate who proposes to saddle the country with a secular and godless system of education. No matter what his antecedents, or what his promises on other subjects may be, we cannot assist to place such a man in Parliament without forwarding, by a positive act of our own, the overthrow of Religious Education, or the establishment of a system hostile to our Faith, and to Christianity itself.

School Boards began to come into existence gradually, and by 1877 the following Catholic representatives were serving on Boards²⁵:

Ashton under Lyne	Canon Beesley
Blackburn	Fr Richard Dunderdale
Bolton	G. J. Healey
Burnley	John Cowban
Manchester	Canon Toole, E. Nicholson, J. O'Reilly
Oldham	Fr M. J. O'Callaghan
Rochdale	Fr Edward O'Neill
Salford	J. F. Mart, Dr Somers

This representation reflects both the early creation of school boards in the urban cities and towns, and the effectiveness with which Catholics used their cumulative vote. In the following year, Fr Edmund

²¹ Curtis and Boulwood **History of English Education since 1800** London 1967 p. 75.

²² Hurt J. S. **Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes 1860-1918** London 1979 p.94.

²³ **Ad Clerum** 23 June 1873 Vaughan Acta Vol. 1, p. 99.

²⁴ **Ad Clerum** 30 January 1874 Vaughan Acta Vol. 1, p. 203.

Crook had been elected as an additional member of the Bolton Board, and **Fr Michael. E. Dillon**²⁶ of the Burnley Board. By 1880 **J. Burns** was a member of the newly created Bradford Board, Manchester, and **Fr Henry Mulvany** of the newly created Newchurch in Rossendale Board.²⁷

Vaughan again advised his clergy in 1882.²⁸ As Pope Leo XIII had declared that elementary education was part of the pastoral office of Bishops, Vaughan was bound jealously to guard and watch this part of his duty. It is worth quoting extensively his advice.

As is well known, the School Boards assume a wide and absolute power in the districts where they are established. Their claims may easily be brought into collision with the rights of Catholic children. Though some Boards have shown themselves fair and considerate, others have opposed the establishment of Catholic schools, and threatened to force a non-Catholic education upon Catholic children; while others have attempted to ruin our schools by competition, and to exclude us by preoccupying the ground. In any case, School Boards exercise control, directly or indirectly, over hundreds and thousands of our poor.

The Catholic clergy have, therefore, done wisely in the past in seeking to secure the return of a fair proportionate number of Catholics on the School Boards; and our faithful people, fully alive to the spiritual interests that are at stake, and to the welfare of our Catholic schools, have not been backward in co-operating with their clergy.

Referring to the coming elections, I need not point out to you that it is necessary to return such members as we can trust. Many nice and difficult questions arise in which only a well instructed Catholic can safeguard the interests of Catholic education. An injudicious or ill-instructed Catholic representative on a School Board might do infinitely more harm than service to our cause.

Vaughan invited rectors in School Board areas to meet and determine on common counsel and joint action. Were there a difference of opinion, the majority view should prevail, or the matter should be referred to him. He continued:

Show our people that this is not a political, but for them and for us a purely Catholic and religious question. We, at least, cannot separate education from religion. Protestants sometimes turn School Board elections, as they may turn anything, into a mere political contest. But this is no example for Catholic to follow; our views on religion and education are clear and definite; we are all united in this, the furtherance and protection of Catholic education.

In 1885 Vaughan again wrote to the clergy, reproducing the Hierarchy Resolutions and adding his own comments.²⁹ In the question of needless encroachment on individual liberties, the Catholic bishops of England have ever been found upon the people's side. A desire to extend the domain of

²⁵ Information given in the **Salford Diocesan Almanac** 1877, 1878.

²⁶ **Idem.**

²⁷ Information given in the **Salford Diocesan Almanac** 1880.

²⁸ **Ad Clerum** 10 October 1882 **Vaughan Acta**, Vol. 3, p. 319.

²⁹ **Ad Clerum** 18 November 1885 **Vaughan Acta**, Vol. 4, p. 206.

State control even on the plea of the people's good may beset any form of government, and this had happened in regard to education. Upon education depended issues of infinite importance: no less than Heaven and Hell. It was impossible to divide the continuity of a soul's education, saying this part belonged to Caesar and that to God. There ought to be no contention between the civil and spiritual powers. The State had a legitimate interest in education, but subordinate to the spiritual and eternal. Yet since 1870 the State was taking upon itself the whole province of education, overriding the will and discretion of parents. He quoted from J Stuart Mill's book **On Liberty**. The State quietly and gradually was "establishing a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body." One universal, national, State system of education must prevail. The Voluntary and Christian system must give place to a universal Board School system. The extravagant School Boards had incurred a huge debt. Its per capita expenditure was £5 while the voluntary schools were providing precisely the same article of secular instruction at a per capita cost of 16/-. Once the lower class had been subdued, then intermediate and higher education would come under State control. A bribe was being offered in the form of "free" education. However Vaughan would plead that education should be really "free"; free from the "spurious counterfeit invented in Birmingham to deceive us"

Another fear Vaughan illustrated was the tyrannous doctrine of the absolute right of majorities, before which the rights of individuals and the claim of religion and Christian must give way. The cumulative voting system used in School Board elections was under attack precisely because it gave powers of representation to minorities.

For myself, I am too strongly attached to the Constitution and character of my country not to see with the deepest grief and dismay the importation into our system of foreign notions of State tutelage and control in matters of education. The old English idea of self help, respect for individual rights and conscience, and fair play all round - *The State holding the balance honestly, without weighting either scale* - are set entirely at nought by these foreign innovations. It will be an evil day for England when German and French theories as to the supremacy of the State over the rights of parents and children in education become fashionable among us.

Some liberty of religion was still retained in the Voluntary schools, though held under heavy disadvantages. A Royal Commission to investigate the inequalities complained of had been promised. The Legislature needed to recognise that three great religious bodies existed in the realm: Catholic, Anglican and Wesleyan. Each demanded that their religion preside over the daily education of their children. The School Board system with its secular or watered down religious compromise had been tried and failed. Only the secularists and non-Conformists had been satisfied. Things had to change.

We are prepared to provide from private resources the whole cost of sites, buildings, administration, management and religious instruction, without charge from the revenue. But we demand as full a payment for the secular instruction given in Voluntary schools as is made for the same article given in Board schools.

Equal pay for voluntary and board school teachers, provision of school equipment, financial aid for indigent parents, and the right to erect Catholic schools wherever we had children to fill them were the issues at stake, and needed to be made known to parliamentary candidates.

The time is near for a hand-to-hand struggle with the doctrinaires and representatives in this country of the principles of the French Revolution. They are bent on establishing State supremacy over education, of making the religion of children a civil disability, of driving Christ out of the classroom, and repeating in England the course of despotism which has been adopted in French.

The first battle would be fought at the polling booths. Vaughan was however confident:

Our people need no word of warning as to how they should vote. They will vote according to their conscience, each one with a knowledge that, so far as he is concerned, he is settling the question of religious liberty and Christian education for generations to come. He will consider parties and men; be on his guard against deceptions, vague assurances, promises which cannot be fulfilled; he will judge by men's antecedents more than by their pledges; he will question them closely whenever he is in doubt. If he is not sure of the character and the integrity of the man, he will judge him by the character and the programme of the political leaders with whom he is associated.

The Salford School Board election of 1888 saw a typical poster campaign.³⁰ The first argument was the need not to sever religious instruction from elementary schools. All parents had the equal and inherent right to educate their children under the religious influences which their conscience laid down as true and necessary, be their Catholics or not. The financial burden of supporting Board schools via the rate and then having to support voluntary schools additionally was unjust. It meant that the poor parent of the voluntary system was paying for the education of the children of the wealthier classes attending the Board schools. Indeed in the Salford Industrial Day School, the one Catholic teacher who had been teaching Catholic children their Catholic faith had been peremptorily prevented from continuing to do so by a decision of the School Board, by a majority of one vote! The Board had been extravagant. It had raised £11,000 by the rate, yet had debts of over £46,000. Most of this had been spent on the 8,000 children in its 15 Board schools. Three times that amount of children were being taught in twice the number of voluntary schools without receiving a penny from the borough rate! In urging Catholics to vote for the denominational candidates and the voluntary

³⁰ *Poster Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 5, p. 155.

schools, the campaign urged Catholics to equalise their votes between the three Catholic candidates, **Mgr Gadd, Fr James O'Doherty** and **Dean Saffenreuter**, and give each five of their votes.

Across the River Irwell, a different tact was used in the Manchester campaign.³¹ In 1879, and in 1885, four Catholics had been elected to the Board. They had stood against the secularising of elementary education. The Board, friendly to the voluntary school system, had moderated and restrained the competition of Board schools and had prevented them injuring or extinguishing the voluntary schools. If the advocates of secular education were not met by a sufficient number in favour of voluntary schools, Board schools might be erected everywhere. This had happened elsewhere, although in no instance had a single Catholic school ever been handed over to the Board system. The four Catholic candidates were all willing to stand again, and Catholic voters were asked to cast 4 votes for the first three, and 3 for the remaining candidate. Voting cards, with instructions, were to be given to every voter.

In April 1889 Vaughan again wrote to the Manchester clergy³² regarding the forth-coming Board of Guardian elections. Two Catholic candidates were standing, Mrs Rose Hyland, a widow from Victoria Park, and a Mr Michael Dolphin, a stay manufacturer from Harpurhey. He asked them to use their best influence to secure their return. Catholic voters were to be urged to strengthen the chances of the Catholic candidates by voting for them and for no others.

In November 1891 Vaughan held a meeting with the Manchester and Salford clergy at Bishop's House.³³ Two representatives from each mission would choose the candidates for School Board elections at a general meeting. Each rector would be one of the representatives. The second was to be chosen as a delegate by members of the congregation at a public meeting assembled for that purpose. Next a Permanent Registration Society was to be formed in Manchester. This would consist of the rector of each mission, and two members of the congregation chosen by him. A register of Catholic burgesses within each mission was to be prepared and kept under the charge of the rector. A general register of all Catholic voters within the city was to be prepared and kept in the central place of assembly, St Augustine's, Manchester, where the Society's Central Committee would meet at least three times each year. This committee was to supervise the work of the Registration Society in every

³¹ **Poster** November 1888 Vaughan **Acta**, Vol. 5, p.156. See R. L. Greenall **The Making of Victorian Salford** pp. 212 - 226.

³² **Ad Clerum** 6 April 1889. Vaughan **Acta**, Vol.5, p. 349.

mission. The first Committee meeting was held on Tuesday, 14 November 1891. The Salford rectors were to hold a similar meeting and then form a similar association, based on the Cathedral, with their first meeting being held on Wednesday 25 November.

The Salford School Board election occasioned another poster campaign,³⁴ aimed against the secularists and the so-called "unsectarian" party. The Catholic candidates stood in defence of parental rights and liberty of conscience. They pledged themselves "to protect with equal care the rights of the Board Schools for that non-Catholic section of our fellow citizens for whom they are wanted, and of the Denominational Schools, for Catholics and all others whose conscience demanded a definite religious education for their children". Mr Austin Oates, Fr **O'Doherty** and Dean **Saffenreuter** stood as the Catholic candidates, and Catholic voters were requested to cast 5 votes for each of them.

Election information began to be published in the annual *Salford Diocesan Almanac*³⁵ in the mid 1880s. It detailed what needed to be done each year. In January property owners were to be furnished with the necessary forms to claim franchise and appoint proxies. These forms were to be returned before month's end. In February any claim objected to was to be defended and a list of ratepayers was to be prepared. Those whose rates were paid by landlords were not to be excluded. Claims were to be sent to the vestry clerk or assistant overseer before 25 March. By 15 March, selected ratepayers were to nominate the candidates chosen by the Catholic community. After March 15th lists of such candidates, together with voting instructions, were to be printed and circulated. On 6 April voters who had not received their voting papers were to apply for them, and by 7 April all voters were to have completed their papers for collection. Any papers not collected were to be taken before noon on 8 April to the clerk's office. Lists of candidates thus chosen by the Catholics for the Vestry Election were then to be prepared and circulated, with details of when and where the voters must personally appear. If a poll were demanded, names of candidates were to be printed so they could be torn off and dropped into the ballot box on the next day.

June was devoted to preparing for the parliamentary elections. Lists of voters were to be prepared, and where necessary be placed on the county list. Catholics in July were reminded that poor rates had to be paid before 20 July to avoid disqualification from the parliamentary register. A list of all male

³³ **Minutes of Meeting** 20 November 1891. *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 6, p. 189.

³⁴ **Poster** *Vaughan Acta*, Vol. 6, p.215.

³⁵ **1886 Salford Diocesan Almanac**, p.48.

lodgers³⁶ on the present parliamentary register was to be prepared and taken to the overseer between 15-25 July. Claims for such votes were to be made in August. The list of Borough voters was to be procured, and a check made that all details of Catholic voters were correct. Steps were to be taken to deal with any omitted who were duly qualified to vote, providing where necessary evidence to support the claim. In September a list of claims to be defended before the Revising Barrister was to be prepared. Lodgers had to maintain their claim in person. Claimants were to be given as soon as possible full details of when, where and how to claim their vote. The list of Catholic candidates for the School Board elections was also to be prepared. Catholic ratepayers were to be given this list as soon as possible lest their votes might otherwise be pre-engaged and lost. In October the Burgess Roll was to be checked to ensure that all Catholics entitled to vote in the November School Board elections were duly registered. In November all effort was concentrated on the School Board elections, canvassing and instructing voters. Finally on 31 December Catholics omitted from the Parliamentary Register entitled to vote were to be identified and their claims submitted.

The existence of such detailed information strongly supports the vision of a pro-active Catholic response to ensure the maximum participation of Catholics in the parliamentary, the various local and the School Board elections. How effective it all was is open to debate. Quinn's analysis is that in parliamentary terms Catholic political clout was finally indecisive. Of Lancashire he wrote:

But a more significant point about Lancashire is this: Catholic electoral power often was great, and it was for just that reason that organised Protestantism was also great. Catholics did indeed influence elections in Lancashire, but not always in the way they intended.³⁷

His conclusion on the corrupt and bribery ridden Burnley constituency was short and sharp:

One can conclude therefore four things: The Catholic vote in Burnley was large, solid, unbribeable but not in the end decisive.³⁸

Quinn saw Accrington, apart from 1886, as solidly anti-Unionist and Rossendale as solidly Gladstonian. Oldham was highly marginalized and Rochdale always more Nonconformist than Catholic. Radcliffe and Farnworth, with a Catholic vote of less than 10% was deemed a Liberal marginal seat. Middleton, initially a Liberal seat, inclined to Toryism towards the end of the century because of the voluntary schools issue. Heywood had an increasingly Irish "dominance" towards the

³⁶ Male lodgers who had been sole lessees of apartments worth more than £10 a year if let unfurnished since the previous July were entitled to a parliamentary vote.

³⁷ Quinn D, *Patronage and Piety: the Politics of English Roman Catholicism 1850-1900* p. 231

end of the century. Lancashire working classes were often thought to support the Tories, simply because the "bosses" in the mills were Liberal. This working class Toryism persisted into the twentieth century.

In 1891 Catholic representation on the School Boards was as follows:

Ashton under Lyne	Fr L. Coelenbier
Bacup	T. J. Culley.
Blackburn	Dean Woods, Canon Maglione
Bolton	Fr T. Allen, Fr D. O'Brien
Burnley	Fr James Morrissey
Manchester	Canon Toole, Canon Moyes, C. O'Neill, T. F. Kelly.
Newchurch in Rossendale	Fr T. Mussely
Oldham	Fr M. J. O'Callaghan
Rochdale	Dean O'Neill
Royton	Fr J. M. Willemse who served as chairman
Salford	Mgr Gadd, Dean Saffenreuter, Fr O'Doherty

Catholic representation on School Attendance Committees can also be noted:

Blackrod	John Unsworth.
Brownedge	Fr Possi, Fr Fishwick O.S.B.
Clitheroe	John Brown.
Denton	Fr Twomey
Farnworth	Dean Boulaye, A. Quinn.
Horwich	Fr Crilly
Hurst Green	Fr Myers S.J.
Little Hulton	E. Kavanagh.
Reddish	Joseph Higginson.

6. Dissatisfaction with the 1870 Education Act

Vaughan in several of his Pastoral Letters³⁹ had considered the School Board system and noted the many occasions when it had interfered with parental rights, had tried to prevent the opening of Catholic schools or had tried to close them thus depriving "hundreds of our children of Catholic education". While recognising the religious problem, and respecting many of the promoters of School Boards, he still regarded the Boards as an educational peril to Christianity. He supported his argument by looking at the recent history of education, and the attempt to teach a morality devoid of Christian doctrine, perhaps based on biblical texts taught without commentary or instruction in

³⁸ *Idem* p. 232.

³⁹ Pastoral Letter 21 February 1882.

schools when the Boards had not forbidden such instruction. Although indeed there was a conscience clause, practice had shown it was rarely invoked, as parents recoiled "from making their little ones marked children" in school. Catholics could not accept such mixed education⁴⁰. Indeed not only the Pope but bishops in England and Ireland, in the United States and Canada, in Austria, Prussia, Belgium and Holland had all condemned such mixed education. Vaughan finally quoted Protestant statesmen who had also stressed the importance of religion within education. Then came his conclusion.

From all this, it is clear that reason and authority, both Catholic and Protestant, condemn the School Board system of mixed education, and, consequently, every Catholic parents who needlessly exposes his child to so grave a danger. No system of elementary education can be acceptable to a Catholic which does not give the *first place* to the Catholic religion and which does not carry on its work "*in the midst of a religious atmosphere*".

His first objection was that the 1870 Education Act had been unfairly applied. The Act had permitted the creation of School Boards where existing school provision was deficient. However, once created, the School Boards exceeded this brief and became predominant, often attempting to curtail or close Church school provision. His second objection was based on grounds of finance. The School Boards were financially imprudent, spending too much to achieve too little. Statistics throughout the School Board era showed time and again that the voluntary schools were attaining the same level of education, and were educating the majority of pupils in the country, but at a much lower cost per pupil than Board Schools. And in achieving this, the voluntary schools were paying rates to subsidise the Board Schools! His ^{principal} principle objections however always centred on the religious element. A whole education of mind and soul was replaced by mere secular instruction, with perhaps some Bible reading, used more as a reading exercise than religious instruction.

Vaughan's vision was to campaign for parity of resources for voluntary schools and rid them of the unfair financial burden they were then carrying. Initially his vision was for a national campaign for all church schools regardless of denomination, but he failed to win the Church of England bishops to

⁴⁰ The term "mixed education" in this context refers to the practice of educating together children of different denominations, even if religious instruction was given on a denominational basis, as had been tried earlier in Ireland, in Liverpool and elsewhere. See James Murphy **The Religious Problem in English Education**.

his side⁴¹, and so the campaign finally concentrated on the plight of Catholic schools alone. Even in the face of a crippling financial cost, no Roman Catholic school anywhere in the country had been handed over to the School Boards, although government reports showed that Catholic schools had by far the largest percentage of free admissions offered to children.

He believed the timing was right, as the parliamentary franchise was about to be expanded⁴². Among those about to be given the vote would be some Roman Catholics. Vaughan intended to persuade all eligible Catholics to register for voting, and to vote for those who would support the cause of church schools. He also hoped to appeal to the British sense of fair play among all voters to support the same cause.

7. The Voluntary School Association

Vaughan founded a Voluntary Schools Association in the Salford Diocese in 1884. He wished to create an organisation that would permit Catholics to make a direct appeal to electoral constituencies to further the cause of voluntary schools and of Catholic education and he intended that it be extended across the country.⁴³ His idea had been discussed at the 1884 Low Week meeting of the hierarchy. His vision was of associations bringing together supporters of voluntary schools from all denominations, seeking to improve the financial support of voluntary schools through argued persuasion and political agitation. Initially meetings were held throughout the North and the Midlands, with the support of Cardinal Manning and the other bishops. For Catholics, the Voluntary Schools Association would become the official organisation for spreading information and informing public opinion to elicit support for the removal of the grievances felt by voluntary schools. A central council was established nationally and at Manning's invitation held its first meeting in his own house in May 1884. Vaughan

⁴¹ V. A. McClelland, *The "Free Schools" Issue and the General Election of 1885: A Denominational Response* in **History of Education** 1976 Vol. 5, No 2, pp. 141-154; E. Tenbus "Those Cowardly Anglican Bishops!" *The Uneasy Alliance on Education Between Catholics and Anglicans in Late Nineteenth Century Britain*", a Paper given at the American Catholic Historical Association Meeting, March 2002.

⁴² No serious effort was ever made in the nineteenth century to introduce a universal franchise. It had been recognised however that the new industrialists had to be given a voice in Parliament, and from the Reform Act of 1832 onwards, the franchise was slowly expanded to include men (not women) who had showed themselves to be responsible and respectable, men of sufficient property and means to understand and accept the burden of parliamentary responsibility.

⁴³ O'Neill *op. cit.* pp. 289-291; McCormack *op. cit.* pp. 171-173.

was to continue this work in Westminster and saw its successful outcome in the provisions of the 1902 Education Act.⁴⁴

In his own diocese, Vaughan outlined his plans in a pastoral letter and led his clergy to galvanise Catholics in the forthcoming election to vote only for those candidates who would support redressing the inequalities facing voluntary schools. A meeting held on 2 July 1884 resulted in four resolutions being passed⁴⁵. The first pledged active participation in promoting the interest of Catholic Education in the public elementary schools; the second determined to secure a place on the Parliamentary Register for every Catholic household; the third urged that public meetings be arranged locally to promote united Catholic action to obtain from the Legislature those equal rights in public education of which Catholics were so unjustly deprived; and the last proposed three topics for consideration at all such public meetings. The first topic was a demand for an increase in capitation grant. The next pressed for the power for religious bodies to establish grant supported schools wherever it was deemed necessary. The final demand was for the provision of school fees for poor but non-pauper parents in voluntary schools. Given the relative poverty of most Catholic families, if such funding could be obtained, the financial relief would be quite considerable.

Having prepared the ground, the next step was to implement the plan. Parliament would be petitioned⁴⁶. The petition dwelt briefly upon the flaws in the proposed Education Act. It requested an increase in grant for all schools without deduction on account of deficiency of income from other sources. It wished to see religious bodies competent to establish Public Elementary Schools, able to receive grant. Such schools should not be declared “unnecessary” on account of existing schools. Finally it wished the proposed LEAs to pay the school fees of poor but non-pauper families. The clergy were then enlisted to activate the Catholic body. Vaughan wrote⁴⁷ to them in the hope that they might quickly organise local meetings and instruct and direct their parishioners on their duties in regard to the Education question. Very clearly, here was a bishop issuing instructions, knowing they would be implemented by his clergy, and supported by his people. His vision was clear and simple. With an eye to the forthcoming General Election, he urged the clergy ensure eligible Catholics were

⁴⁴ O'Neill *op. cit* p. 447.

⁴⁵ **Resolutions and Topics Vaughan Acta** Vol. 4 p.105.

⁴⁶ **Parliamentary Petition Vaughan Acta** Vol. 4 p. 106.

⁴⁷ **Ad Clerum** 11 July 1884.

placed on the Parliamentary Register so as to strengthen the Catholic position on educational demands.

It was vital that Catholic spoke with one voice. The December Clergy Conference⁴⁸ was devoted to Education Law in England. The proponents were referred to the Bishop's allocution on Education given at the eighth Diocesan Synod. Two questions were addressed. The first was how were Catholics effected by the present Education Law, and how they were likely to be effected in the future by the parts of the law which related to scholarships, exhibitions and bursaries now monopolised by the Board Schools. The second questions dwelt on the duty of the clergy and what action they ought to take. As usual all answers were then sent to the Bishop.

In the allocution Vaughan stated that the Hierarchy had adopted the Voluntary Schools Association⁴⁹. Concerted action was needed, as Vaughan deemed that "Christianity itself was at stake" in the education question, and Catholics formed the backbone of Christianity in England. The work of the Association should therefore be taken up by the clergy with both zeal and intelligence. Leaflets and tracts would be needed to teach the people the truths connected with the Education Question. Meetings and Parliamentary Petitions would need organising, and the views of Parliamentary candidates eliciting. The clergy had a vital role to play as leaders of their people. In promoting popular instruction and education, they were helping their people acquire greater intellectual, political and civil powers, to the benefit of democracy itself. Whether this popular transformation was approved or lamented, it was happening, and the clergy could promote the cause in several ways. The first was by interesting Catholic laity in the great work of Catholic education. The second lay in linking the people to the work of the mission and its institutions and buildings. The third lay in enrolling them in confraternities and guilds, and attracting them by popular religious devotions and good liturgy. The fourth, for clergy in Manchester and Salford, would be found in establishing the "Church Library Association". The fifth lay in the production of parish magazines, a powerful weapon as the clergy in Bolton had already shown. Linked to this was the spread among the people of the texts of Encyclical and Pastoral Letters and other documents which would feed their minds and hearts. Lectures, especially on Scriptural matters, as well as on Church History, would also help develop the education of the Catholic laity. Lighter and more popular reading matter also had its

⁴⁸ **Conference Paper III, Vaughan Acta**, p. 118. The conference was held on 2 December 1884.

place. The field must not be left open only to Satan once the taste for reading had been awakened by education. Thus Vaughan recommended both the *Catholic Times* and other periodicals. Vaughan concluded his vision thus:

Let the people become more and more educated, and more and more influential. If, at the same time, their tastes and interests become more and more Christian, the democracy of the future will become, not the stumbling block and the enemy, but the servant of God and the handmaid of religion. There can be no doubt but that the fate of the future is laid up in the conduct of the present; and that no responsibility for the shaping of the future is heavier than that which rests upon the Catholic priesthood of this day.

In February 1885 Vaughan sought detailed financial information from his clergy⁴⁹. He asked if their grant had been increased or decreased under the new code and by what amount. He wondered if there had been increased expenditure on extra staff and appliances, and if so, by how much. How many extra hours beyond the minimum prescribed had children had to study to secure satisfactory results in the government examinations? He queried the effect of the 17/6 limit and sought details where schools had forfeited part of their grant because of it. Sadly the replies to this questionnaire are not known to be extent.

The Hierarchy drew up seven resolutions on the Education Question in time for the General Election of November 1885. The first dwelt on the rights of parents and children, invaded by compulsory State education which separated religion from education. The second protested against denominationally "mixed education". The third, while supporting the need for suitable education, protested that the parents right of conscience and religion must be respected in such an education. The fourth maintained Catholic opposition to the 1869 scheme of education, while welcoming any help that might be given to poverty stricken families unable to pay for education. The fifth maintained that compulsory education should be free for poor families, with payment granted with respect of conscience and without humiliation. The sixth protested in detail on the difference in rates and grants paid to Board Schools and Voluntary Schools for the same secular instruction. Finally no confidence

⁴⁹ **Allocution**, Eighth Diocesan Synod. Vaughan **Acta**, Vol. 4 pp. 44-51.

⁵⁰ **Letter to School Managers**, 23 February 1885 Vaughan **Acta**, Vol. 4, p. 181.

could be placed in any Parliamentary candidate unwilling to commit himself to redress these issues. Vaughan called on his clergy to publicise them together with his own Pastoral Letter on the issue.⁵¹ Vaughan entitled his Pastoral Letter on "*Education really Free*". His opening argument highlighted the Englishman's jealousy that personal liberty be not encroached on needlessly, a position defended now and in the past by the Church, whose teaching on respect for the Civil Power included curbing undue extension of such power, to which temptation Governments tend to succumb. Education, and its effect on eternal salvation, was now such an issue, and an issue in which it was impossible to arbitrarily separate the spiritual and the secular. There should be no contention between the two since both came from God. That contention now existed was due to the Civil Power casting off allegiance to the spiritual. Under the 1870 Education Act, the rights of parents and children had been invaded and curtailed by the State taking to itself the whole province of education, including the spiritual or religious elements. Vaughan quoted J. S. Mill⁵² with reference to the creation of despotism over the mind leading to one over the body! In elementary education the dictates of the State now reigned supreme, with the liberty of parents, children, managers and teachers surrendered, and choice of alternative methodologies to meet educational needs proscribed.

A universal national State system of education was the aim, before which the Voluntary and Christian must give place. Financial measures since 1870 clearly showed how this was being implemented. Building grants for Christian schools had ceased. Board Schools were given unlimited resources, their teachers had larger salaries, and their pupils lower fees. Voluntary Schools, excluded from being established in new districts, received a mere 16/- per head per year for doing the same task as Board Schools received £5. Such "protection" of the Board School was as destructive of the free development of education as "protection" had been of Free Trade. Once elementary education had been subdued, then the education of the middle and upper ranks of society would follow suite. In such a context, the present offer of "Free Education" was nothing other than a bribe, while the intention was to remove the last remnant of liberty and personal responsibility.

In November 1885 the Government announced that it would appoint a committee under Sir Richard Cross to enquire into the whole issue. The committee began work in January 1886 and included among its members Cardinal Manning. Two years work produced ten volumes of reports, which were

⁵¹ **Ad Clerum** 18 November 1885 with text of **Hierarchy Resolutions and Pastoral Letter**, Vaughan

in the main then ignored although the government had initially promised that proper remedies would be put into effect.⁵²

8. Conclusions

The implementation of the 1870 Education Act radically changed the face of educational provision. For Catholics, the Act had been interpreted in a fashion different to what they had perceived the Act to have intended. Relationships had to be made with the numerous School Boards as they were created. The financial implications had had to be met. Vaughan had vigourously set about facing these new challenges and did so in a way that successive bishops would follow. He had stressed the importance of an education based on religion rather than on practical instruction alone. He had defended the rights of parents in the education of their children in contrast to State "dictatorship". He had both protested about the financial inequalities that Catholic schools faced, and had positively campaigned to seek redress. He had consistently laboured to ensure that the Catholic vote was activated and used with effect. In these matters he had enjoyed the support of his clergy and usually of his people. In his political activity, Vaughan set the scene for future generations. His fidelity to the Five Principles is demonstrated consistently in his actions. What he learned to do as bishop in Salford he would continue in Westminster.

Acta Vol. 4, pp. 206-215.

⁵² McCormack *op. cit.* p. 173; Mary Sturt *The Education of the People* pp. 373-382; Curtis *History of Education passim*.

Chapter 5: Bishop Bilsborrow and Elementary Educational Provision 1892-1903

1. Overview of the Chapter

Bilsborrow's life and work are briefly recounted before Catholic elementary provision is considered. An account is presented of building work undertaken throughout his episcopate. A review is made of information contained in the unique 1900 Visitation Returns. Four tables show the growth in baptisms, in school roll numbers and in the Catholic population over the period 1873-1898 and the financial situation of the schools in 1900. Details of the financial plight of schools and a sample of the pastoral concerns of the clergy are given. Finally the Five Principals are revisited with particular reference to Bilsborrow's actions.

2. Bilsborrow's Life and Work

John Bilsborrow was born in Kirkham, Lancashire, in 1836. Educated at Mr Baron's Academy, Lytham, and at Ushaw, he was ordained priest in 1865, and started the new mission in Barrow in Furness, where expanding industry had attracted an influx of Catholics. The 1870 Education Act and its implications caused him to study legislation relevant to voluntary schools, an interest which remained with him until he died. Serious illness led to his removal to the country mission of Newsham. In 1879 he was sent to Rome for further studies before joining the seminary staff at the new Upholland College, where in September he became Professor of Moral Theology and Vice Rector and in 1887 Rector. He became the third Bishop of Salford in 1892. During his episcopacy, some 15 new missions and 30 new schools were opened. St Bede's College was vastly improved, as were diocesan finances. Troubled with heart disease and bronchitis, he refused to rest, often defying medical advice. He went to Babbacombe for an enforced rest and died there in March 1903.

3. Catholic Educational Provision at Diocesan Level

3.1 School building provision and enlargement

In his first Pastoral Letter¹, Bishop Bilsborrow, after reflecting on the role of a bishop, recalling the Catholic history of England, and examining the role of the contemporary Church, looked forward to the fruitful collaboration of priests and people with himself and outlined his immediate targets:

¹ Pastoral Letter 24 August 1892 *Acta*, Vol. 1891-1892 p. 553.

The united efforts of Pastor and Flock, combined with a generous spirit of self-sacrifice will, with God's blessing, succeed in equipping the diocese with an adequate supply of native clergy, in gradually replacing the sanctuaries which have been profaned and of which we have been despoiled, in building sufficient schools for the Catholic education of the children of our poor, and, lastly, in rescuing and sheltering those defenceless little ones who are in danger of losing the priceless gift of the Faith.

In October 1892, a school map of the Borough of Salford showed the location of the different Church and Board Schools, with details of their accommodation, at both the old allowance of 8 square feet per pupil, and at the new allowance of 10 square feet per pupil. 78 schools are shown on the map; 24 were Board Schools, 43 were non-Catholic church schools, 10 were Catholic elementary schools, and the final one was the Catholic Higher Grade School². The figures quoted depict the loss of accommodation in the light of the increased standard required by the Board of Education. The total capacity of the ten Catholic elementary schools was reduced from 6364 to 5093, a loss of 1271 places. If a similar loss of places were projected across the whole diocese, the effect would have required an intensive building programme simply to maintain existing provision. The table shows the effect on the ten Catholic Elementary Schools. Information from the Educational Statistics of the Diocese for 1892 has been incorporated to show the numbers on roll, present at the religious inspection and at the annual government inspection. Figures for the 5 departments of the Cathedral School seem to include the St Anne, Adelphi, School as well.

School	8 sq ft	10 sq ft	Loss	On roll	RE Exam	Govt Exam
Cathedral Boys	630	504	-126	1612	1392	1586
Cathedral Girls Infants	763	610	-153	*	*	*
St Anne Adelphi M G I	602	482	-120	*	*	*
St Thomas M G I	373	298	-75	267	244	263
St Peter B G I	550	441	-109	478	439	453
St Joseph B G I	775	620	-155	673	606	642
Mount Carmel B G I	911	729	-182	987	826	916
St James B G I	845	676	-169	962	763	863
St Charles	362	290	-72	307	249	302
All Souls	553	443	-110	No data	No data	No data
St Boniface No School	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	6648	5320	-1271	5286	4519	5025

The new building standard had reduced places to below the number on roll across the Catholic elementary schools in the Borough. With no data available for All Souls, the total on roll was 5286, the available accommodation 5320. The schools at St James and at Mount Carmel were already overcrowded when measured against the lower criteria. All the schools associated with the Cathedral,

² The capacity of the Higher Grade School was reduced from 284 to 227 places, a loss of 57 places.

together with those attached to St Peter's, Greengate, St Joseph's, Ordsall, and St Charles'. Whit Lane would be deemed overcrowded according to the new, higher criteria.

On 1 October 1892 Bilborrow blessed the foundation stone of the new Holy Family Schools in Manchester. Those attending filed past the bishop and laid their offerings on the foundation stone, a traditional way of funding such buildings.³ The first annual education report⁴ of Bilborrow's episcopate made sorry reading. A new school of elegant proportions at St Joseph's, Bury had merely re-housed two existing departments. The school at St John's, Burnley, was to open in May 1894. In Urmston, against all expectations, a small school had started, but the teacher was uncertificated. There had been an extension of plant in Colne. A condemned school in Heywood was about to be replaced. In Lower Broughton, another new school had been started, and in St Bede's, Manchester, land had at last been bought for school and church purposes. Strikes, especially in the coal and cotton industries, and bad times conspired against new works. The requirements of the new code were expected to place pressures on some existing schools, especially with the requirements for extra playground space and cloakrooms. Granby Row Infant School would lose its grant when the new Technical School was erected. Replacing the school would be costly, as land was selling at about £9 a yard. In Westhoughton, a mission "crippled beyond its normal weakness by the coal strike", funding the new replacement school would present grave difficulties. Canon **Richardson** was pessimistic. The diocese had spent well over £120,000 during the previous twenty years, and the Board of Education was imposing even greater burdens with its demand for ever higher building standards.

In contrast, in 1894, Richardson reported⁵ seeing more schools opened than he had ever seen within a single year since he had become Chief Religious Inspector. The schools at Burnley and Lower Broughton had previously been mentioned. Both were two storied buildings, with the upper floor being used temporarily as chapels. Fine, well-appointed schools had been opened at Heywood, Horwich, Urmston and Westhoughton. Large-scale improvements had been carried out to schools in Accrington, Barton, St Mary's, Burnley, St Peter's, Salford, and in three Manchester missions, St Edmund's, St Wilfrid's and St Joseph's, Longsight. Many of these had resulted from Board of Education demands. Richardson voiced a complaint felt by many clergy. They had complied with all the regulations in force when building schools and now were told the buildings no longer came up to requirements.

³ **Acta**, Vol. 1891-1892, p. 601.

⁴ **Educational Statistics**: 20th Report 1893 pp. 1-2.

⁵ **Educational Statistics**: 21st Report 1894 pp. 1-2.

H. M. Inspector has required in some places, changes in buildings which have been erected during my term of Inspectorship, from plans approved, and even recommended, by the Department of Education itself.

At Clayton le Moor land had been purchased to replace the condemned Infant School. In Openshaw, negotiations to obtain a site had been prolonged and delicate. New schools were needed at Lowerhouse, in Brierfield, in Blackburn and in Bolton. The financial costs involved were getting beyond the means of the Catholic congregations. In Manchester, it had been decided not to build a school at St Bede's. In Moss Side, where no Catholic school had ever existed, several Board Schools were being opened. Yet in Longsight, where the Catholic population was smaller than at St Bede's, nearly 300 Catholic children had appeared to fill the school, twice the number the priest had anticipated.

If schools are built and are efficiently conducted, they will fill, in all our big centres of population, with Catholic children, as fast as we can erect them. This has been the experience of the last twenty years.

Richardson stressed the need to acquire sites for Catholic schools before the erection of the all-absorbing Board School. The expansion continued in the following year.⁶ Several of the new schools were inspected for the first time. New schools were in hand at Clayton le Moors, Clitheroe, Darwen, St Anne's, Manchester and St Peter's, Middleton. Major improvements had been carried out in the Cathedral school in Cleminson Street, at St Ann's, Ashton, in Bolton and Bacup, at Elton, Haslingden, Longridge, Littleborough, Oswaldtwistle, and in Manchester at St Edmund's and St Edward's.

A new and threatening event had happened. In Barrowford, the School Board had attempted to prevent the building of a Catholic School on the grounds that under the Education Act it was an "unnecessary". **Richardson** believed this was due to the bigotry of certain Non-conformists, but he thought they had not fully reckoned with the forceful character of the local priest, Fr **Robert Smith**, who had found some fifty Catholic children in the village, two miles distant from the nearest Catholic school. **Richardson** anticipated a similar situation in Moss Side, where for five years he had pleaded for a Catholic school to be erected. The argument that there were no Catholic children to justify a Catholic school was advanced when attempts were made to open one. Yet practice proved this was false. A typical example was Brierfield. The day after the school opened, over a hundred Catholic children appeared!

⁶ **Educational Statistics** 22nd Report 1895 pp. 3-4.

Schools were opened in the new missions of St Vincent's, Openshaw, and Holy Saviour's, Nelson, in 1896.⁷ New buildings had been erected at St Charles', Pendleton, and at Shaw, Rishton, Clayton le Moors and Middleton. St Ann's Schools in Manchester had been remodelled, and that of St Joseph's, Darwen, rebuilt. Added accommodation had been provided at St Mary's, Ashton, at St Edmund's, Bolton, at St Augustine's, Manchester and at St Patrick's, Rochdale. **Richardson** claimed that over £30,000 had been spent in the diocese in the previous eighteen months in providing improved and increased accommodation alone. Many more hundreds of pounds had been spent on repairs and changes.

Sites for schools had been obtained in Bolton and Blackburn. The indefatigable Fr **Smith** had been somewhat busy. He had re-erected his schools at St Joseph's, Nelson, had built two new schools, and was commencing to build another one, and had plans for a further school-chapel. In comparison the need in Accrington was acute. South West Manchester was still a desert.

Richardson had been looking at birth statistics. In Manchester, using Dr Tatham's life tables and multiplying baptisms by 25 instead of 22, he calculated that some 4,000 Catholic children were absent from Catholic schools. No less than 1,800 Catholic children were going to non-Catholic schools. Although in Burnley the number of children in school corresponded well with the numbers baptised, there were deficiencies in Accrington and Padiham, and the same was true of Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Rochdale and Oldham. Although the clergy believed that all the children born of Catholic parents were baptised, the figures suggested that this was not so. **Bilsborrow** commented on the causes of this "leakage".⁸ The first was the "mixed marriage" between a Catholic and a spouse who was not a Catholic. The second was that Catholic schools were still too remote from where people lived. As infants the children were sent to a nearby non-Catholic school and remained there. **Bilsborrow** proposed to deal with the first cause by refusing all applications for mixed marriage dispensations, and with the second by greater watchfulness over developing urban areas so that schools could be erected where needed. Defaulting parents might also be constantly visited by the clergy.

The school at Barrowford whose plans had received Education Board approval duly opened although the local School Board's successfully blocked it from receiving government grant. It was inspected in 1897⁹. Some forty children were present, of whom only two had previously been in a Catholic school.

⁷ **Educational Statistics** 23rd Report 1896 pp. 3-4.

⁸ **Educational Statistics**, 23rd Report 1896 p. 2.

⁹ **Educational Statistics**, 24th Report 1897 p. 3.

In Blackburn, a new Boys' School had been opened at St Joseph's, and extensions to the Infant School were in hand. At Hurst Green another new school had been opened, regardless of expense, and the buildings now matched the quality of instruction of a school quoted as being "the best taught Country school in the North of England". At St Anne's, Blackburn and at St Joseph's, Darwen, other new schools had also been erected. As **Richardson** commented:

The question of expenditure in school building appears to cause little trouble in East Lancashire.

At Stacksteads, the old school, a source of adverse comment, had been replaced and the school at New Church had been improved to HMI satisfaction. In Manchester a new school at St Patrick's was about to open, replacing the old, inconvenient and overcrowded upstairs room¹⁰ that had served for sixty years. The small school in Irlam had again re-opened, and Board of Education approval had been received for the new school in Levenshulme. Various improvements had been carried out in many other schools as well. This had been aided by the new Government grant in aid, although the funding thus made available has been swamped, and **Richardson** thought that to be effective, that sum needed to be doubled.

The 1898 Report¹¹ began with a retrospective view of progress made, using statistics for 1873, 1886 (the last year of Canon **Hayes's** inspectorate) and 1898. (**Table 1**) **Richardson** commented on the figures. The earlier figures showed that the Catholic school attendance was lower than the baptismal figures suggested it ought to have been, while the 1898 school figures was far higher than the number of baptisms warranted.

This, I urge, allows us to conclude that there are comparatively few Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools, a very strong argument in our contention that Catholic show by their actions, that a Catholic school is the only one they can recognise, as a place for the education of their children.

He noted the increase in departments for the same period. There were 146 departments across the diocese in 1873, 215 in 1886, and 244 in 1898. This indicated centres of activity and not accommodation. The number of schools enlarged or rebuilt, especially within Manchester and Blackburn, had required greater expenditure than even that spent of totally new schools. He reckoned that £300,000 had been spent over the past 25 years on such building, and if the expense of minor

¹⁰ When built, it was the intention that the downstairs rooms should be let as lodgings to help defray school costs.

¹¹ **Educational Statistics**, 25th Report 1898 p. 3.

improvements such as internal walls and cloakrooms were added, the total would be nearer £400,000.

He reinforced his earlier argument:

This should go a long way to show further, that the Catholics in your Lordship's diocese are fully in earnest in their desire to prove their contention that a Catholic school is necessary for their children's education

New schools had been built at Lowerhouse, at Church, and in Chorlton cum Hardy at a cost of £3,500. Schools had been rebuilt at St Anne's, Blackburn, at Levenshulme, at St Joseph's, Darwen and at St Patrick's, Manchester at a cost of £17,000. New sites had been procured in Accrington and Old Trafford, and plans at last were in hand for the school in Whalley Range, which would relieve the overcrowding in the school at Rusholme, still too small even after its accommodation had been nearly doubled.

In his final report for the nineteenth century¹², **Richardson** divided the diocese into districts and noted the strengths and weaknesses found in each. In Salford, Mount Carmel schools had been entirely rearranged at great expense, and new classrooms added at St Joseph's, Pendlebury, school. The imminent opening of new churches at St Sebastian's, St Joseph's, and St Thomas of Canterbury would make available the old chapels for school use. St James' Boys' School needed improvement, and more school accommodation was needed at Seedley, if the mission could afford it.

In Manchester there were new classrooms at St Aloysius, St Edward and the Holy Name. New schools were needed at Old Trafford and in Whalley Range, as were enlargements at Corpus Christi, Stretford and Fairfield. The situation at St William's, Angels Meadow, where only an Infant School existed in a school chapel, was not satisfactory

Improvements had been made at St Mary's, Blackburn, and at St Joseph's, Darwen. A new school was being built at Duke's Brow in Blackburn, and one at Little Harwood or Wilpshire was being contemplated. The growing population at Cherry Tree would also need school provision, either from Pleasington or St Peter's.

In Bolton new churches at Halliwell and Astley Bridge permitted school use of the former chapels. Plans of Boys' and Infant Departments at St Mary's were being drawn up. Although new classrooms had been added at Horwich, the fact that the main school operated still in a school chapel diminished its usefulness. The school at Castleton had been doubled in size at a cost of £1,200 and the Infant

¹² **Educational Statistics**, 26th Report 1899, pp 3-4.

School at Heywood had been extended. Otherwise the schools in the Rochdale deanery were "among the most inconvenient and old fashioned one in the diocese".

In contrast more money had been spent on schools in the Oldham deanery than anywhere else in the diocese. New schools had been built at Royton, Lees and at St Patrick's, Oldham, and a further extension added at Hollinwood. St Ann's School at Greenacres was effectively condemned. Its use as an Infant School if new premises for older scholars could be built might solve the problem. The situation in Ashton under Lyne continued to remain quiet, although there was a build up of population developing towards the Oldham boundary.

In the Burnley deanery a new school had been built at Accrington, and schools were being built at Nelson and Brierfield. Barrowford School had at last been accepted on the Grant List, and at St John's, Burnley, the rear of the chapel was per force being used for school purposes and the number of scholars was still rising. In Bury, St Marie's had acquired a site for new schools. The new school at Stacksteads was open, and enlargements had been made at Rawtenstall.

This extension of elementary provision had cost more than £23,000, leaving aside minor improvements, and expenses connected with non-elementary schools. **Richardson** commented:

Each year sees like or even greater sums spent out of the hard-earned money of the Catholic working population of which your Lordship's diocese is practically composed. Even to the bitter Nonconformist this self-denial must show the earnestness of our conviction in the necessity of our having our own schools.

His report ended pessimistically. There were rumours of centralising Catholic Schools along with those of other voluntary bodies, making the clergy "religious instructors" and safeguarding the books and the teachers of the schools. This would rid the Catholic body of their parochial schools, and of the present interest taken in them by the clergy. A priest who became simply one of the staff would, he believed, soon lose interest in the children as being part of the parish. The lay teachers would consider the obligation of teaching religion diminished, since the priest was doing it, and the Catholic spirit and tone of the school would disappear. Local Authority would replace the Voluntary Boards. And after that, he anticipated the deluge and the end of Catholic Schools. He pleaded:

It is the common cry of the sects that our religion is kept up by the elementary day schools; those gone, our religion will go too. This if not absolutely correct, is not very far from the true state of affairs. The Catholic school is an essential to the vital energy of our Holy Faith - let us convince ourselves of this more and more and cease compromising and whittling down principles to the thinnest edge.

3.2 The 1900 Visitation Return: School Finances

In 1900 a questionnaire sent to all missions sought detailed information on property, including debts and mortgages, on finance, including a summary of school finances¹³, on “discipline” which dealt with the number of Catholics, church services, clergy, institutions and church records¹⁴. This survey appears to have been unique. The returns give a detailed survey on school finances: where monies came from, how they were spent, and by how much the running cost of the schools were subsidised by the mission. Mission rectors were asked to identify any principal difficulties they were meeting, and some revealing comments were made.

In considering the three tables¹⁵, certain points need to be kept in mind. Firstly the figures have been converted to today’s decimalised currency¹⁶. Secondly, the financial affairs of parishes and schools run by religious congregations lay outside the remit of the diocesan bishop. Consequently the figures, because they omit these schools, do not give a total overview of the diocese. Indeed, as one parish made no returns at all, and the returns for several other schools are missing, the figures reflect only about nine tenths of the schools. Several schools recorded the receipt of two amounts under grant aid, one having been held over from the previous year. It remains unclear whether, in those schools where religious taught, their congregation received the “full pay” of a teacher, or not. Two other points are also important. Across the returns, there is an inconsistency in itemising costs. Different priests included under different headings costs of a similar nature. Finally, there was a certain cavalier attitude by some priests in regard to their financial returns, and a few returns exist whose entries, when totalled up, do not balance. Consequently, the tables can only safely be used to reflect general trends, with the figures in **Table 3** being the most suspect.

¹³ Annual returns of school financial statistics had been requested since the days of Bishop Vaughan. Only the one submitted to the government was acceptable to the Bishop, a rule given in his allocation in the 4th Salford Synod, and only debts incurred with written diocesan permission were recognised as part of a mission or diocesan liability. All other debts incurred by the clergy were regarded as personal to the individual priest, as laid down in the *Ad Clerum* of 29 November 1876 and in the third declaration of the Fifth Salford Diocesan Synod. The level of debt on schools and missions had alarmed the authorities in Rome who had urged Vaughan in 1881 to take drastic action in reducing it. Bilborrow reported that £54,784 had been paid off since then, including £3573 in 1892, a slightly lesser sum than the previous year. Sound policy was to avoid such debts wherever possible, and where impossible, to reduce them as soon as possible. (*Advent Circular* 1892 *Acta* Vol. 1891-1892, p. 631-2.)

¹⁴ For reasons pertaining to Canon Law, parishes run by religious were only required to complete the section of discipline, as the other areas properly fell into the jurisdiction of their religious superiors and not the bishop.

¹⁵ Tables 1-3.

Table 1 underlines the school debt of the Catholic community. Ever since the days of Bishop Vaughan, and throughout Bilsborrow's episcopate, frequently *Ad Clerum* bore reference to adverse balances in school accounts. Some rural schools indeed started and ended the financial year for 1900 in balance, although the sums involved were decreasing. The vast majority of schools however began and ended the year in debt, and the overall debt increased from around £25,000 to nearly £31,000 by year's end. **Table 2** indicates the source of income. Over 84% of income came from government grants of different kinds: annual grants, fee grants and aid grants. Even the 16% raised by other means included some grants from Kensington! The total income thus recorded came to just over £70,000. The expenditure recorded in **Table 3** however came to over £72,000, a difference of about £2,345. Salaries accounted for 65.7% of expenditure. The provision of books, paper, furniture, heating and such like came to 15%, and the costs of paying rates on school buildings, and their repair and upkeep claimed 18.3% of expenditure. 1% was spent on other items, usually the cost of auditing the accounts, provision of prizes and similar items. Although the Voluntary School Association scheme was successfully working, the schools were still incurring financial loss. This must have left the clergy and school managers only too relieved to hand over financial control of day to day costs to the newly created LEAs under the 1902 Education Act. The cost of building and maintaining the plant would however remain a considerable financial burden to the Catholic community throughout the coming century.

The 1901 Visitation Returns invited the clergy to identify any special pastoral difficulties they were meeting and to make observations about their school accounts. While many declined so to do, several did, thus providing an interesting picture of the state of the Church. The relevance of their views for this study of educational provision lies in two areas. Firstly the references to adults cast light on how successful or otherwise the education provision of the previous fifty years had been in forming a practising Catholic community. Secondly, the practice of the children presently in school depended greatly on the example given by their parents. When home and school concurred, the formation of the children boded well. When it did not, home influence, then and now, prevailed. Recognition must be given to the close links between the Catholic School and Church. A flourishing mission provided the basis for funding the school, and the school provided the future generations of practising Catholics to sustain the mission. Any factor affecting the one, affected the other, adversely or otherwise. Hence the

¹⁶ Given the increase of inflation over the last century, this necessarily involves an error factor in the

effects of mixed marriage and of debt had their consequences on school and mission. A final factor lay in the total number of Catholics. No matter what the rate of non-practice might have been, enough practised to make the inadequate supply of churches appear full. Meeting the spiritual needs of those who came gave the clergy a heavy workload. Parish visitation, together with a weekly visit to collect the "outdoor" collection of perhaps 3d per working adult, made even indifferent Catholics ^{feel} ~~felt~~ they "belonged". When local anti-Catholicism was joined to antagonism towards the Irish, a sense of internal cohesion was enhanced, based on mutual support and self-defence, if not on religious practise¹⁷. One attitude not detected in these 1900 observations was a view that Catholic schools were not worth the effort because so many children lapsed upon leaving, and that consequently the financial burden was too great to sustain.

On the financial front, **Fr Maguire** at St Joseph's, Salford, reported¹⁸ that his schools were excellent, and that the HMIs and he were satisfied with the school account receipts and expenditure. Other priests admitted to more creative accounting. **Fr Moore** at St Peter's, Salford confessed that the voluntary contributions shown as coming from the mission were fictitious. They had been added to avoid the school being fined. At Guardian Angels in Elton, Bury, **Fr Roche** confirmed that the £70 rent nominally charged by the trustees had not been taken, but had been entered as a collection from the congregation, while the interest on the school debt and the annual payment of £10 on account of the loan the school enjoyed from the mission were both omitted from the government accounts. In Bolton **Fr Fowler**, newly arrived, stated that no actual parish offering had been received by the school treasurer. His predecessor had failed to keep accounts for the past year because of ill health, but as similar sums had been customary for years past, the entry had been made and charged to the mission account.

Canon **Wood** at Bolton claimed that although the fully qualified staff and the complete and modern equipment at St Peter and Paul School obtained the highest grant every year, the costs involved prevented the original deficit from being reduced. Indeed the deficit was increasing. At the smaller St William's School, the cost of salaries alone swamped all the grants. **Fr Cusack** at Royton reported simply that the receipts did not meet the expenditure and that the mission had to come to the rescue

conversion. In 1900 a farthing was still a significant amount.

¹⁷ Some writers accuse the Church of heightening this ghetto mentality, unaware perhaps of the external factors that created and sustained it in the first place.

¹⁸ This and the following comments are to be found in the observations made on the school financial returns contained in the 1900 Visitation Return.

every year. Fr **Timony** at St Alban's, Ancoats, Manchester, was more optimistic. He believed that the schools would be no burden financially if the children would attend more regularly. Fr **Dillon** at Whitworth believed that with very little additional Aid Grant, his schools might be worked without financial cost to the mission. Several priests hastened to explain their large deficits. Canon **Morrissey** at St Mary's, Burnley, stated his abnormally high expenditure had been due to the partitioning of the main schoolrooms into classrooms as recommended by the Inspector. In Rawtenstall, Fr **Klein** reported the installation of a new Infant Gallery, new gas fittings, and the decoration of the school. Charity Sermons, concerts and parties had been held to raise the necessary funds. Fr **Buckley** at Haslingden had improved the staff room and replaced old toilets with ones now connected to the water and sewer systems. Newly arrived at St Ann, Fairfield, Fr **Saffenreuter** reported having a little difficulty about the previous year's special grant aid as the late managers had diverted it from its original purpose. He was however hopeful of satisfying the Education Department. At St Marie's, Bury, Fr **Lane** glumly stated that it was no use looking for individual voluntary donations for school purposes, and thought that for every penny the Department paid, it wanted the Catholic community to spend two pence! Fr **Dootson** at Oswaldtwistle had increased the teacher's annual salary by £5 to £70 in October 1899. At St Mary Magdalene's, Burnley, Fr **Raymond** noted that the balance in hand, consisting of unexpended aid grant, had now disappeared, while at St Ann's, Accrington, Fr **Holmes** promised to repay to the mission the loan made to the school as soon as his grant was paid.

The spiritual and social privation of the Catholic community was highlighted in many more returns¹⁹. As Bilsborrow took a dim view of marriages between a Catholic and a non-Catholic, it would not seem remarkable that so many clergy regarded mixed marriages as a serious problem. Their comments however go deeper than simply concurring with the episcopal view. They witnessed to the reality of spiritual carelessness and lack of religious practice so often encountered in such marriages and to the effect this had on the religious development of the children. Parental religious indifference and neglect of the Mass and the Sacraments were flagged up as causes of major concern in many missions. While Bishops and Religious Inspectors might rejoice that children had learnt their catechism well by heart, the hope that the children would be inspired by their teachers to a lively practice of their Faith often remained unfulfilled. During the Great War several Catholic chaplains²⁰, meeting so many lapsed

¹⁹ The comments that follow are to be found under the heading "Particular Difficulties" in the Disciplinary (i.e. Practice) Section of the **1900 Visitation Returns**.

²⁰ Drinkwater **Educational Essays No. 22 *The Right Way of using Catechisms*** pp. 90-100, esp. p. 96.

Catholic soldiers whose memories had barely retained the catechetical formula learnt in school, also stressed this point. To illustrate the difficulties, a sample of reports from five towns will be examined, Manchester, Oldham, Burnley, Bolton and Bury.

The principal difficulties noted at St Michael's, Ancoats, Manchester were the great poverty of the people and the depopulation caused by the destruction of unsanitary dwellings and by railway extension and road improvements. The land on which the new St Anne's, Ancoats, school and the ten cottages stood was mortgaged since 1895 for £1,900 at an annual interest of 4% borrowed from diocese. £500 had also been borrowed from diocesan chancellor to help to pay off mortgage of £600 at 5% and 4.5%. At St Bridget's, Bradford, one school was freehold, the other leasehold. Over £2000 debt was owed on both schools. £223 debt was owed on the new 1893 school situated between Butterworth St and Howarth St. This money has been borrowed from the diocese. On the old school there was a debt of £1800 borrowed at an annual interest of 4% or £72 annually. The ^{principal} principle difficulties noted were indifferentism and drunkenness. In Openshaw the ^{principal} principle difficulties were financial ones. The mission could not even meet the interest on the church debt of £1700. In Fairfield, the mortgage on the mission plot of £500 was due at 4%, an annual cost of just over £12. Some £24 was owed for the piano in school as the cheque had been dishonoured because it was paid in after death of the previous rector. Intemperance and mixed marriages were the main concern in St Alban's Mission, Ancoats. Several mortgages were in place at St Edmund's, Miles Platting, obtained from the diocese at 3.5% annual interest. The total mission debt came to £7,725. This heavy liability and the want of an "entente cordiale" among the people were listed as the main difficulties. At St Patrick's, Livesey St, new plant had cost £10,000. The clergy were however confident that the deficit would be wiped out within two years! Even so the want of money was listed as a principal difficulty, together with neglect, intellectual pride, drink and the proximity of St Joseph's, the neighbouring parish. At the St William's School-chapel the principal difficulties lay in the lack of school accommodation for older children. Many on leaving the Infants School entered Protestant schools. At St Chad's, Cheetham Hill, the rector thought it was greatly to be wondered at that "any governmental official or sanitary authority should tolerate the existence of such school premises". They were wholly out of date and the sanitary arrangements as bad as they could be. Principal difficulties included want of income. Mgr Gadd also commented on the attendance of Catholic children at non-Catholic schools. The Salford Synod stated that such questions as the judgement of the "grave and adequate necessity" for sending a child to a Board School must in

every instance be referred to the Ordinary. As far as he knew, this was not observed. And he did not see how it was possible. Were the clergy expected to write to the Bishop in every case? The rule seemed to him to be impossible and practically useless.

In Manchester, the mission of St Augustine faced depopulation and a geographical shift in the area it served. A new Infant School had been opened in 1895, approved by the Department of Education, but funding it had meant borrowing £200 at 5% from the diocese. Thus the mission had two schools, one in Granby Row, and one in York St. Although people still came from the borders of the parish, some found it easier to attend Mass at two neighbouring churches. The social activity hosted by one of these neighbours was enticing people away. At the Holy Family, the main perceived difficulty was simply described: "scarcity of cash!" At St Wilfrid's, Hulme, the Boys' School needed enlarging. The presence of a £1000 debt borrowed from the diocese at 5% was a problem, although neither the priest nor the Chancellor of the diocese knew when or how the debt had been incurred, or so it was claimed. The mission supported its own school and one in Old Trafford dedicated to St Lawrence. The Jesuits at the Holy Name mentioned the difficulty of poverty caused by intemperance which often led to dreadful neglect of the children, and they referred to the number of Catholics contracting civil marriages before the Registrar without any religious service; marriages not recognisable by the Church. Yet the allure of the Jesuits and the magnificence of their Church were felt by the priest at St Edwards to be drawing his people away. His debt was being reduced. £163 was owed from an 1879 loan of £1000. He had had to borrow twice to extend the schools: £300 in 1894 and £800 in 1900, both raised on the diocese at 4.5%. Hence his problems were simply stated: want of funds and no presbytery. In Longsight, the evils arising from mixed marriage, neglect of the Mass and the Sacraments and religious indifference were noted.

At St Mary's, Levenshulme, some parents were noted as being careless in respect to Mass and to their children's practice of religion, partly because of intemperance. Heaton Norris mission was deeply in debt. It had borrowed £2600 at 4%, and had had to obtain another loan from the diocese at 4.5%. There was no Catholic elementary school provision in the English Martyr's mission at Alexandra Park. At St Mary's, Mulberry St, a mortgage from Mrs Coffin and the diocese had advanced £1700 at 4%. The priest felt far too much energy was being exerted about "pounds, shillings and pence".

In the Oldham area, St Mary's, Failsworth, to meet schools and mission expenses, had borrowed £200. This would be repaid on receipt of the next Government grant. In Hollinwood, the main problems lay

in the evils of mixed marriage, the intemperate habits of many of the people, the "roving and flitting character of the congregation" and the want of any persons of means. This was felt especially during depression of trade. At St Anne's, Greenacres, £700 was still owed on monies borrowed from the diocese in 1883/4 to enlarge the school and build the presbytery. The annual interest on this was 4.5%. An 1879 interest free loan to start the mission stood at £15 and was being paid off at £5 per year. The principal difficulties were a preponderance of very poor people, drunkenness, mixed marriages and consequent religious indifference. "A few of the men were socialists of the bad type." St Patrick's, Oldham had two schools, one at Bank Top and the other in Dunbar St. £650 @ 4% had been borrowed to build the latter school. £5,000 @ 4% was being borrowed from the diocese to build new schools & the presbytery, work then in hand, whose total cost was some £7,000. As to how this would be paid off, the priest simply stated: "It is altogether in the hands of Almighty God". Other difficulties were drink and the "indifference and perversion" consequent on mixed marriages. At St Mary's, a not untypical situation had arisen. The schools were all held on trust deeds but all the original trustees were dead and the priest knew of none other having been appointed. Part of school buildings was used as part of the convent while the original master's house has been incorporated with the Boys' School. Monies had been borrowed from many sources and the debt amounted to £1769. £589 @ 5% came from the diocese; £30 @ 2.5% from the Sick & Burial Society; £300 @ 4% from the Sisters of Mercy; £400 @ 4% from the Misses Lane and another £450 @ 5% from the diocese; the school was insured for £6,500 by the Sisters of Mercy. The priest gave no particulars of school receipts "as from circumstances already in his Lordship's knowledge any statement would be misleading". In Lees the new school chapel was in Spring Lane. The old school and presbytery in St John Street house were being let at 7/- per week but were to be sold as soon as possible. Finance was proving to be the main difficulty. In Royton there was great difficulty too in getting of money to pay interest on borrowed money, a sum of over £2000 at 4.5% interest being owed to the diocese.

St Mary's, Burnley, had two loans to repay: £1000 on St Mary's school and another £1,000 on St Thomas', both at 4.5% per year interest. Drink, mixed marriages and the "immorality of furnished apartments as dwelling places" were identified as problem areas. At St John's, the debt on the school chapel came to £2,700, borrowed at interest rates of between 4.5% and 5%. The main problem identified there was apathy by some Catholics, perhaps due in part to their distance from church and school. At St Augustine, Lowerhouse Lane, £715 @ 4.5% had been borrowed from the diocese. The

debt at St Mary Magdalene came to £300. In Padiham the priest at St John's identified as a problem the neglect of parents towards their children. He also had a debt of £205 @ 4.5% to serve. In Brierfield, an old stable in Richard St was used as a school-chapel. The new school-chapel was in course of erection. £1,700 from the diocese had been borrowed, of which £30 has been repaid. The principal difficulty was the lapse of so many had when there had been no mission in place, a loss increased by mixed marriages.

In Bolton the St Edmund School mortgage of £600 had been raised from the diocese @ 4%. In Halliwell, the priest claimed that "Of all difficulties, that of the management of the schools is the greatest". At St Mary's, problems were due to the "want of church accommodation: i.e. a new church; and the unjust and unworkable boundaries of the parish". At St Peter and Paul's mission, the debt on the new St William's School at Little Lever stood at £1,400. The school site had been a row of cottages purchased for £900 of which 4 were converted into infant school. £400 had been borrowed from the diocese @ 5% in 1881 and £500 from J. Flitcroft @ 5%. £300 was then borrowed from the diocese to pay for the conversion. There also remained the original debt of £200 borrowed from the diocese in 1883. Finally on St Peter & Paul's school itself, there was another debt of £700, again borrowed from the diocese. The chief difficulties were that "the people are mostly of same social standing and consequently when some are doing badly in their employment and are unable to appear as they think they should do, they often miss Mass for the time being. Otherwise the difficulties are financial but these can be met". At St Patrick's, "carelessness arising from poverty, drink, mixed marriages" were of concern, together with a school mortgage £1500 @ 4% dating from the erection of schools in 1884. At Astley Bridge, "The people for many years having attended other churches, it has always been difficult to get them to attend their own church which is a little out of the way and has difficult and hard steps". St Mary's Swinton had three schools. St Mary's was in Swinton Hall Rd. Two were in outlying areas. St Joseph's was in Rutland St, Pendlebury and St Charles' in Moorside Rd. An Irish priest, Fr **O'Rourke** was following an Englishman, a Canon of the diocese. He was not impressed. His debts amounted to £2,400 borrowed at @ 4.75% and 5% from the diocese.

I have had to take up the work of a dishonest cur - he made a mess of the place and then he was allowed to clear off and leave his mess behind him. But why do I complain: he is an Englishman and a Canon. ... Debts: for enlarging school buildings and carrying on schools after Canon **Wood** left until the grant came, £500; enlarging and carrying on school £500 @ 3.5% from Mr George Whyte of Swinton: £60 p.a. paid off: all must be paid off in ten years.

In Bury, Elton served a rural area as well as the barracks. Consequently difficulties included "the large proportion of mixed marriages; the meagre Catholicity of the soldiers and of soldiers' families settled in the parish, the falling off of many families living in the country districts, drunkenness. Some fall away through irreligious socialism. Drinking clubs (political and social) do much harm" The school had borrowed £90 from the mission to be paid off at £10 per annum, and £400 from the diocese, at an interest rate reduced from 5% to 4.5%. The total mission debt came to £1000. At St Joseph's, the original Badger St school built in 1871 for about £800 was used as an Infant school. The 1893 Mixed School in Bold St had been built at a cost of £2200. The diocese had lent £1500 @ 4.5%. Hence the main difficulties were described as: "my heavy chief rent and interest; the poverty of the people. There is a political club in the town called the Davitt Club, nominally Catholic, but for years the majority of the Catholic young men attending the club soon cease to attend to their religious duties. By the united efforts of the clergy and our good Catholics the club is now practically deserted". At St Marie's, the existing "wretched schools" were about to be replaced. £1000 had been borrowed from the diocese @ 4%. The difficulties were succinctly outlined: "insufficient means, wretched schools, indifference in religion".

Thus stood the Catholic schools situation on the eve of the 1902 Education Act. Although most rural missions had schools, and were not financially embarrassed, the schools in the urban areas, especially in Manchester and Salford, were in missions struggling with enormous debts. The usual rate of interest was 4.5% per year, and raising even that amount was a challenge when so often the poverty of the Catholic population was severe. In poverty, drink offered escape, and many missions reported drunkenness and its consequences in neglect of family, children, and religious practice as principal pastoral difficulties. In religious terms, the schools had achieved much. Religious practice was relatively high, far higher than for the other denominations in the same area. Nevertheless it was not a golden age. The "leakage" problem had tasked the minds of the bishops in the 1890s. No answer had been found other than the continual pastoral vigilance of the clergy, the day by day visiting of people's homes, and the constant urging of religious practice. Many heeded the call. Children attended the schools, and while at school, learnt the catechism, and attended Mass, either through devotion or through fear of the consequences on Monday morning. The role of the Catholic school in helping children save their souls was succeeding, or so it seemed. Churches seemed well attended, possibly because there were not enough churches to serve the whole Catholic population. Some religious

indifference was observed: the clergy knew who did and did not practice. Mixed marriages were considered a grave spiritual danger, as was the attendance of Catholic children at non-Catholic schools. The Church preached against both, and only allowed either with reluctance. The social structures of the day also impinged on the Catholic population. There was anti-Catholicism and discrimination, and a consequent enforced "togetherness" or "ghettoisation". There was also genuine religious belief, practice and fervour, and a growing desire, often frustrated, for part at least of the Catholic population to rise above the prison of its working class status, and to claim parity with their fellow citizens. The first quarter of the new century would see dramatic changes, caused not least by the Great War, the rise of the Labour Party and the unexpected and dramatic decline of the Liberal party and the inner urban renewal programmes and the changing financial situation.

4. Conclusion

None of the Pastoral Letters written by Bilsborrow dealt with education and Catholic schools directly. He devoted two letters to the evils of mixed marriage²¹. Whenever the Hierarchy issued a Joint Pastoral Letter²² (to which of course he was a signatory) or issued a Statement, Bilsborrow commanded it to be read across the diocese. Otherwise he preferred to deal with educational issues discreetly by mentioning them in his letters to the clergy. A fair interpretation of his stance would be that he totally supported the line taken nationally by the bishops, and implemented it positively if discreetly within the diocese, particularly by raising the different issues with his clergy for them to take appropriate action at local level on such issues as School Board Elections.

The Annual Educational Statistics Report revealed the continuing oversight of the Chief Religious Inspectors. While they could not force a priest on the mission to open a school, as the case of St Bede's, Manchester, clearly indicated, they could certainly bring moral pressure to bear as their declarations were distributed to all the clergy, and peer pressure on recalcitrant clergies would not be without effect. Diocesan oversight was also exercised through financial control. Architect's plans had

²¹ Pastoral Letters dated 8 February 1893 and 7 February 1899.

²² 20 May 1893 on **Consecration of England** to Our Lady and St Peter; **Low Week Resolutions** on Catholic Elementary Education and on Teachers' Superannuation Fund 9 May 1893; **Parliamentary Petition** October 1893; **Low Week Resolutions** on Education, April 1894; 1896 **Episcopal Statement** entitled "*Facts about Catholic Schools*" giving local statistics; **Low Week Declaration** on the Government Education Bill 1896; **Hierarchy Instruction** about Oxford and Cambridge Universities 1 August 1896; **Hierarchy Declaration** entitled "*The Appeal on the Education Question*" 10 November 1896; **Pastoral Letter** on Catholic School Committee 5 June 1898; **Hierarchy Letter** seeking funds for Westminster Cathedral 1899; Resolutions on a National System of Elementary Education 27

to be approved, and prudent financial provision displayed. As the 1900 Visitation Returns demonstrated, loans were often obtained from the diocese. Unlike commercial banks, foreclosure for non-payment would not have been an option, although the bishop might place in a financially failing mission a cleric of proven financial acumen.

If no positive indications can be shown that Bilsborrow actively endorsed the Five Principles, it is equally clear that he in no way repudiated them. For clergy and people alike, it was a case of business as usual. Bilsborrow had led his clergy and people in establishing the Voluntary Schools Association throughout the diocese. If actions speak louder than words, Bilsborrow certainly implemented the Five Principles in action. Consistency with the stance of Turner and Vaughan existed throughout his episcopacy.

Chapter 6: Bishop Bilsborrow and Political Activity

1. Overview of Chapter

Political activity involves a common effort to influence events, achieve a desired result or prevent an unwanted outcome. During his period as bishop, Bilsborrow never took the initiative in the way Vaughan had. He played his part in Hierarchy meetings. He duly implemented in his diocese the decisions made. Consequently this chapter lacks the vibrant character that we found with Vaughan. We face a whole series of events, some administrative, others tentative and unsuccessful. The major happening was the passing of the 1897 Voluntary Schools Act, and the story of its successful implementation. Even here the role of Vaughan at Westminster claims centre stage as no other Catholic application survived wartime destruction. In implementing the Act, the question of subscriptions raised becomes crucial.

In the light of the Five ^{Principles} Principals, the most that can be claimed for Bilsborrow is that he energetically and consistently acted in unison with the other bishops. He sought to obtain the newly offered financial support that would enable the Catholic schools of the diocese to survive. The role of the Salford Diocesan Voluntary Schools Association was central in this undertaking. That role ceased when the 1902 Education Act was implemented. The beneficial experience of working together remained and was later used by Casartelli. That story however belongs to another chapter.

2. Hierarchy Initiatives

At their 1897 Low Week Meeting the Hierarchy issued resolutions¹ about obtaining rate aid for Roman Catholic voluntary schools. Schools must remain under the control of those who enjoyed the confidence of the pupils' parents. To maintain and strengthen the denominational system required access to a fair share of the rates and the right for ratepayers to inspect and have some oversight of the schools they were assisting. The 17/6d limit was unjust and caused harm to the poor. No school should be deemed "unnecessary" if it had an average attendance of 30 pupils a year. There was a need to improve the conditions of Catholic teachers by providing a superannuation scheme², instigating a

¹ Bilsborrow **Acta**, p.125

² **Resolutions** passed by the Hierarchy on 9 May 1893 give full details of this scheme. Bilsborrow **Acta**, p. 127.

tribunal to adjudicate against capricious and unjust dismissal³, and although salaries had to depend on local circumstances, clearly stating that no work extraneous to the duties of a Catholic teacher could be imposed on them⁴. The resolutions ended by binding the clergy not to enter into school agreements of any kind which might in the public mind compromise the Catholic position, and by binding the bishops themselves not to act separately in promoting any fundamental change in the public elementary school system⁵. The hierarchy had already established a committee of bishops to deal with this issue, to whom suggestions could be forwarded.

Cardinal Vaughan wrote in January 1884 to his fellow bishops. The Bishops' Committee on Education had considered the draft bill on 3 January. A copy, together with proposed amendments, was being sent to each bishop, as well as to the Duke of Norfolk for the consideration of his sub-committee. The proposed amendments were that parliamentary draftsmen be consulted about limiting the power of the local inspector and revising the clause permitting a school to be declared unnecessary if less than thirty pupils be in attendance so as to remove the numerical trigger.

Vaughan made six points in his letter. It was expedient and politic for the bishops to place their policy clearly and promptly before the country lest they might later have to dissent from any Protestant measures. Liberal and radical Members of Parliament had been sounded out and were promising support, and the Conservatives could not argue against it without weakening their own position. If defeated, Roman Catholics could then claim to share any advantage the Anglicans might obtain from their forthcoming legislation. Further Protestant measures would be more likely to listen to Roman Catholic claims given the support already pledged. Finally, as the Archbishop of Canterbury had declared that "The Roman Catholics are not to be trusted as allies", no offence could reasonably be taken at our going alone.

Vaughan finally pointed out that there was no prospect of any Private Bills succeeding during the present and even the next session of Parliament. The proposed bill therefore would simply be a taking up of position and a declaration of policy. Should the bishops not be in agreement on the question, Vaughan proposed that a meeting be called. If there were agreement, there would be no need for the

³ This repeated the content of resolutions passed at the 1886 and 1888 Low Week meetings.

⁴ This repeated a resolution passed at the 1888 Low Week meeting. Catholic teachers however were required to explicitly engage to act as a teacher of religion and to assist the clergy with children on Sundays and Holidays and to be at Mass with the children on those occasions.

⁵ The inference behind these last two resolutions is that both individual priests and bishops had so been acting.

meeting. Vaughan also undertook to make known any matter brought forward by the Duke of Norfolk's sub-committee if the Bishops' Committee on Education thought it helpful.

Education again was an important issue at the 1894 Low Week Hierarchy meeting and some eighteen resolutions were published in April. The bishops ended by expressing their determination to promote legislative measures and announced that a committee had been appointed to draft a suitable bill.

A Parliamentary Petition was circulated in January 1898⁶. A Joint Pastoral Letter followed this in Summer 1898⁷. Nearly a year followed without comment until the Twenty Second Diocesan Synod when the position of Catholic children and Board Schools was raised⁸. In September 1900 the Hierarchy again spoke with a united voice in issuing resolutions on a National System of Elementary Education⁹.

3. Parliamentary Initiatives

A "Suggested Form for the Voluntary Schools Maintenance Bill" was printed on 10 March 1893. It sought to amend the 1870 and 1891 Education Acts by enabling the School Boards to finance the maintenance of the voluntary schools from the rates and to pay the fees of pupils attending such schools. This would remove the financial difficulties faced by parents wished their child to be educated within a particular denomination, and would provide equality of educational provision and oversight for all. The proposed legislation included the following provisions. The managers of such a school would consist equally of those appointed by the School Board, the school's trustees and the parents of pupils attending the school. The managers would regulate religious instruction in line with the school trust deed and, subject to confirmation by the School Board, would appoint teachers. The appointment of the Head Teacher would also need confirmation by the managers appointed by the trustees. Where a voluntary school was the sole school within an area, a special clause required the managers to provide for the religious instruction of pupils belonging to other denominations within certain conditions. The School Board would receive all income and provide all the expenses of maintenance of the school. The trustees would pay for alterations to and enlargement of the school. They could use the premises outside school hours provided all expenses thus incurred were met. A clause allowed the trustees on due notice to withdraw the school from School Board maintenance. The final provisions applied the

⁶ *Ad Clerum*, 13 January 1898.

⁷ *Hierarchy Joint Pastoral Letter*, 5 June 1898.

⁸ *XXII Synod*, 18 April 1898.

⁹ *Hierarchy Resolutions* 27 September 1900.

bill to existing schools and to both new schools to be built as well as to schools let to School Boards. School managers could also group or associate schools under the 1891 Act.

This suggested bill would clearly have met the objectives of Roman Catholics. It had been drafted with an eye to the needs of both Anglican and Non-conformists, no doubt with the hope of obtaining their support. In this it seems to have failed, for later redrafted bills restricted their proposals to Roman Catholics alone.

The Roman Catholic Rate-Aided School Act 1893 was a draft bill designed to assist Roman Catholic Elementary Schools out of educational rates. On recognition by the Education Department as efficient, such schools would receive a proportion of rate aid calculated on pupil attendance. The school would be open to inspection on secular subjects by both the Education Department and the local education authority. Building alterations or additions ordered by them would be executed under their control, and apparently would be paid for by the trustees, who would be allowed annually interest at 2.5% on the expenditure incurred. Half the managers would be appointed by the trustees, and half elected by the pupils' parents or guardians. A penultimate clause declared that no Roman Catholic School could be deemed "unnecessary" unless for a period of three consecutive calendar months there were less than thirty Roman Catholic children whose parents wished them to be educated in a Roman Catholic School.

Subsequently a revised bill was prepared under the title "The Roman Catholic Rate-Aided Schools Act 1894". It proposed again that Roman Catholic schools share proportionally in the education rates. Inspection of secular instruction, and of account books and registers by both government and local inspectors was included. The clause about school extensions and their 2.5% interest payments and the constitution of the Board of Management were similar to the previous draft. The protection against being deemed "unnecessary" was retained but without the "less than thirty pupils" trigger. The diocesan bishop was to be given very specific rights to regulate Catholic education in the school, but a "conscience clause" was to be inserted for parents objecting to such religious instruction.

4. Diocesan Initiatives

Bilsborrow informed the clergy in January 1893 of the creation of the superannuation fund¹⁰ for Catholic teachers.¹¹ This fund, seen as a reward for long, continuous and devoted service, was additional to any government pension. Each mission was to pay five shillings a year per teacher towards the fund, which would be restricted to teachers in contributing schools. Twenty-five years minimum service was required for a teacher to be eligible, and men had to be aged 60, and women 55, to qualify. The CPSC were to run the scheme, and keep the register of eligible teachers. Initially the pension was restricted to no more than £25 per year. Managers were given detailed instructions as to the information required about each teacher for the scheme to be established.

Bilsborrow reminded his clergy at the 17th Synod that permission was required from the diocese before any architect was appointed to build churches, schools or presbyteries, and that whenever plans were to be laid before local or government officials, prior approval by the diocese was necessary.¹²

The Catholic Schools Committee, which had funded the expense of the religious inspection of Catholic schools nationally for many years, ceased making such payment in 1893 for want of funds. Consequently the hierarchy decided that each diocese should defray its own expenses. Bilsborrow asked that the diocesan tax of five shillings per department in elementary schools, and of one pound for Higher and Middle Schools, with any arrears, be paid promptly¹³. He noted with regret¹⁴ that several of the clergy were late in paying. The Catholic Schools Committee intended to apply the money thus saved to help smaller and poorer schools in danger of closure because of their managers' inability to keep up with the ever-increasing requirements of the Education Department. Bilsborrow urged any such schools in the diocese to apply for help from these funds. Where such requirements were causing problems, the managers were urged to notify the Catholic Schools Committee, as they were keeping under review all such cases.

In October 1883 Bilsborrow requested the clergy¹⁵ to arrange for a parliamentary petition to be made out, signed and despatched to suitable members of Parliament no later than 8 November. The text of

¹⁰ The Hierarchy Resolutions about the scheme were formally published on 9 May 1893.

¹¹ **Letter to School Managers** 3 January 1893 *Acta*, 1893-1894 p. 13.

¹² **17th Synod 1893 Bishop's Allocutio Acta**, Vol. 1893-94, p. 14.

¹³ **Ad Clerum** 22 June 1893, *Acta*, Vol. 1893-1894 p. 135

¹⁴ **Ad Clerum** 1 December 1893 *Acta*, Vol. 1893-1894, p. 233.

¹⁵ **Ad Clerum**, 23 October 1893.

the petition and instructions on how to implement it were issued in October 1893 from Westminster¹⁶. The familiar arguments were again rehearsed with the plea that the education rate be made universal and that it be distributed in due proportion to every efficient public elementary school, while allowing the Catholic management of Catholic schools to remain intact. As he noted:

In Manchester alone the Board Schools are costing the public £57,000 a year, and every child receiving its education in these schools is costing every year £1-5-7 each in addition to the Fee and Examination Grants. Whilst Catholics are compelled by law to subscribe to these expensive rates, they are allowed no share in their distribution, and cannot, without violating their consciences, send their children to such schools, but have to build and maintain schools of their own.

In 1884 Bishop Bilsborrow forwarded the draft Parliamentary Bill to Canon **Richardson** for his comments who believed the proposed powers being given to local inspector were too obscure and might be dangerous if the inspectors were hostile. Nor must he have any role in the religious work of the school; a point he believed the Church of England would concede to the School Boards. He also thought that the right of the Bishop to ensure the teaching of the Church's Magisterium needed strengthening, perhaps by giving the "Catholic Authority" or bishop a power of veto. His basic impression was that the proposed bill should be carefully gone through again and again by different committees. Clearly **Richardson** was not over impressed by the proposed Act.

Bilsborrow wrote to his clergy¹⁷ in May 1894 to inform them that a copy of the Hierarchy Resolutions would shortly be received. Their task was to read and explain the resolutions to the people so that they could understand the Catholic position and policy. Thus at elections, whether for School Board, Board of Guardians or Parliament, the Catholic people could make their influence felt. Bilsborrow next convened¹⁸ a meeting of the rectors of the Manchester and Salford missions to deliberate on the forthcoming November Manchester School Board elections and select suitable Catholic candidates. In late June he arranged for two meetings to be called, one in St Augustine's School, Manchester, and the other in St John's Hall, Salford, on 26 and 27 June. He invited parish rectors¹⁹ to each appoint six delegates. Firstly the meetings would decide how many Catholic would stand in the elections. Next they would choose the candidates. Finally all necessary steps were to be taken to secure their election. Bilsborrow himself chaired the two meetings. His recommendation was that where parishes had a branch of the Registration Association, at least one of its members should be

¹⁶ Bilsborrow **Acta**, p. 211.

¹⁷ **Ad Clerum**, 10 May 1894.

¹⁸ Bilsborrow **Acta**, Cyclostyled **Letter**, 28 May 1894 p. 587.

¹⁹ Bilsborrow **Acta**, Cyclostyled **Letter**, 20 June 1894 p. 589.

chosen as a delegate. Vaughan had created this Registration Association, and Bilsborrow now wished missions without a branch to form one at once and if possible by the next Sunday!

5. The 1897 Voluntary Schools Act

5.1 Background to the Act

New legislation in 1897²⁰ gave a legally defined status and role to Voluntary School Associations. The Act permitted the creation of locally based associations of schools through which government grant would be passed to individual schools. Certain conditions applied. Each school in receipt of grant had to be affiliated to an association. Each association had to have Board of Education approval for its constitution and the area it covered. Schools seeking aid grant had to meet set criteria in regard to attendance and curriculum attainment. The Catholic dioceses of England and Wales set up a series of such Associations. Some were based on a single diocese, others on two dioceses joining together²¹. Within five years, educational legislation terminated the roles of such associations.

In the diocese of Salford, in response to an enquiry from the Education Department, Bilsborrow asked his clergy²² to supply details of the cost of building for Catholic school purposes since Circular 321. An overview of the situation was given in a statement giving local statistics and demanding an equal share of public funding.²³ He signed the Low Week declaration on the Government Education Bill, to which he referred in a letter to the clergy requesting yet more information on the school situation in the light of the Bill.²⁴ The 1896 October Deanery Conferences were asked to implement a change in the standing practice in regard to the rent of school premises²⁵. Another hierarchy statement on the education question²⁶ was issued in November.

In Summer 1897 Bilsborrow again approached the Deans regarding a meeting to draw up rules for the formation of a Diocesan Schools Association, requesting that each deanery be represented by two

²⁰ The Act freed voluntary schools from the payment of rates, abolished the 17/6d limit for grant and made available an additional 5/- per head grant paid through the VSA. See Curtis & Boulwood **History of English Education since 1800** p. 162.

²¹ Of the Roman Catholic dioceses then existing, Westminster, Birmingham, Hexham and Newcastle, Liverpool, Salford and Southwark all formed Associations based on the individual diocese. The remaining dioceses teamed up in pairs thus: Clifton and Newport; Leeds and Middlesborough; Nottingham and Northampton; Plymouth and Portsmouth; and finally Shrewsbury and the Vicariate of Wales

²² **Ad Clerum**, 5 February 1896.

²³ **Episcopal Statement** *Facts about Catholic schools* (n.d.)

²⁴ **Ad Clerum**, 27 April 1896. It was accompanied by a schedule of questions.

²⁵ **Letter to Deans**, 3 October 1896.

²⁶ **Hierarchy Declaration**, 10 November 1896, entitled *The Appeal on the Education Question*.

priests²⁷. In preparation for the new legislation, the twenty-fourth Annual Report on Educational statistics included a model form of the agreement between teachers and managers²⁸. When the Twentieth Diocesan Synod opened in May 1897, Bilborrow again referred to the associations.²⁹

5.2 Implementing the 1897 Act

On 10 July 1897 the Education Department received from Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, an application to recognise under the Voluntary Schools Act the "Catholic Schools Association of the Diocese of Westminster"³⁰. Vaughan explained that the proposed scheme had been approved at a meeting he had called, attended by representative managers of all the Catholic schools in the Westminster Archdiocese. He sought rapid recognition as he intended calling a first meeting of his Deanery Committees in the following week, followed by a meeting of all the members of the Governing Body.

One person was to represent each Catholic Public Elementary School for the next three years. These representatives would in each deanery or cluster of parishes form the Deanery Committee, to be convened either by the Dean or by Vaughan's own appointee. The Deanery Committee would select one representative for every ten school departments (or a fraction thereof), and these would form the Association's Governing Body, which could co-opt additional members, provided that two thirds of all members were elected. The aim of co-option was to ensure that a third of the Governing Body, as finally constituted, would consist of laymen.

The Governing Body was to draw up and submit to the Education Department a scheme for the distribution of the new aid grant. This scheme would be based on information forwarded from the Deanery Committees. Managers retained their full right to run their individual schools but might choose to delegate certain powers to the Association, although the Governing Body could create committees and make by-laws to enable it to carry out its work.

²⁷ **Letter to Deans**, 6 July 1897. The date of the meeting clashed with the annual meeting of the Lancashire Secular Clergy Fund, to which many priests were wont to go, and an apology for the unavoidable clash was issued.

²⁸ **24th Report of Diocesan Educational Statistics 1897**.

²⁹ **XX Synod** 4 May 1897 *Allocutio*.

³⁰ **PRO ED48/7-18652**. This application is of importance because it is the only surviving application from a Catholic diocese held in the Public Record Office, all others having been destroyed by enemy action during the Second World War. The written memos of the civil servants who dealt with it shed valuable light on what the Education Department was seeking, and on the common approach adopted by the Catholic dioceses of England and Wales.

The civil servants pondered the scheme. In general terms it was acceptable, although they recommended that a small central committee be formed to transact any necessary business that might arise or be entrusted to it by the Governing Body. Some concern was felt that laymen constituted only a third of the Governing Body, unlike the Church of England Associations, where they formed a half of the membership. However a priest interviewed in connection with the Liverpool Diocesan Association had informed them that this was a common element of all Catholic Association schemes, and that even finding sufficient laymen of suitable quality would pose problems for many dioceses. Duly amended, the Westminster Diocesan Association scheme was recognised.

Later amendment took place to Article 8 of the Westminster constitution, as suggested by the Education Department on 29 January 1900, and in line with the Department's letter of 22 July 1899, which laid down conditions for a Central Committee. The Governing Body, Deanery and Central Committees were to be elected for a triennial period commencing on 1 April every three years, beginning in 1900. As vacancies occurred, they would be filled by co-option for the Governing Body and Deanery Committees, and for the Central Committee, by the vote of the Governing Body. The Education Department judged this amendment satisfactory³¹.

Westminster Association duly circulated its associated schools with a Return Form³² seeking information for the annual application. It asked if the school were necessitous, why and how. It asked whether voluntary subscriptions from subscribers and local sources had maintained the average standard for the last three years, and if not, why not. It sought to establish whether the school had a debt, mortgage or other such encumbrance, and if so, for what amount, and if the circumstances of the school had changed. Questions followed on the material or physical condition of the plant, on its fittings, and whether accommodation was provided for teachers. Detailed questions followed on income and expenditure; especially what grants had been received. The final questions concerned the staff, their qualifications, and the number of pupils per department. It was on such information that the next annual application would be based, in the hope that the Education Department would be satisfied and the aid grant be paid.

³¹ PRO ED48/7 18652 Letter of Westminster Association to Education Department 3 February 1900.

³² PRO ED48/7 18652 Draft Printed Application Form with hand-written amendments. This form dates from the 1900s, but is presumed to be similar in content to those used in the 1890s.

In the Salford diocese, Bilsborrow initiated the move to establish the Voluntary Schools Association³³. He requested each Deanery to appoint two delegates to meet with him on 12 July 1897 and form an association. Canon **Boulaye** was elected secretary. Four days later, all school managers were summoned to a meeting to be held on 19 July, which the Bishop chaired. Resolutions were passed to establish an Association. Printed copies were sent to each school correspondent and to the Education Department, who replied suggesting certain amendments.³⁴ A meeting held 17 September initially elected 132 schools into the Association and named their representatives. Most were priests, although some laymen were selected. In the following weeks other schools applied and were accepted, although some were deemed ineligible for grant³⁵. As clergy moved from one parish to another, their resignations from and appointments to the Association were duly noted. By the end of December 1898 the Association claimed to represent 136 schools with 55 lay and 117 clerical representatives. The Association quickly drew up a list of the schools according to the months in which they were due for examination³⁶, and according to their inspection districts³⁷. A diary of events, with selected press cuttings, completes the logbook³⁸.

The Education Department saw the aid grant as supplementing funding raised through subscription. If the level of subscription fell, the aid grant might be seen as replacing it, which was not the intention of the Act. Consequently the Education Department, when subscriptions fell, were minded to reduce or remove aid grant to the school concerned. This naturally led to much bitter controversy between the Education Department and the individual schools and their Voluntary Associations. Some examples of this conflict are to be found in the Westminster file³⁹, and clearly illustrate the problem. The issue was raised in August 1899. Westminster's voluntary contributions had fallen from £13128/18/8 for 1897 to £11,586/8/6 for 1898. The Department referred the matter to the Westminster Association on 8 June 1899 and received a reply on 15 August. The explanation for the decline was that part of the 1897 subscription had included funding paid from parish monies to comply with the requirements of Section 19 of the 1876 Act in regard to the 17/6 limit. However Section 19 had been repealed by the 1897 Act.

³³ Two minute books of the Salford Diocesan Association are held in the Lancashire Record Office. One was recently discovered in a presbytery cupboard. See copies B196-197 in SDA.

³⁴ **Association Log Book: Diary**, p.100.

³⁵ The schools at Irlam, Holy Saviour, Nelson and St Augustine, Lowerhouse, Burnley were so noted, 9 August 1898.

³⁶ **Association Logbook**, p. 61 seq.

³⁷ **Association Logbook**, p.69 seq.

³⁸ **Association Logbook**, pp.100-280.

³⁹ PRO ED48/7 – 18652 Correspondence Westminster Association to Education Department 15 August 1899.

The School Managers had naturally ceased to fund what had been legally removed. A further £1538/6/2 of the difference, it was suggested, might be regarded as the difference between “the abnormal and normal resources” of the School Managers. Admittedly there had been a mistaken impression among some contributors that the Aid Grant obviated the need for voluntary subscriptions, and steps had been taken to correct this erroneous impression.

The Association quoted and supplied statistics that, it was claimed, showed the real drop in contributions amounted to a mere £37/8/4 over a five month period, and it was hoped that even this decline had been arrested. Indeed it was pointed out that under “Other Sources of Income”, the amount received in 1898 was actually ^{more than} £235/12/6 _^ that in 1897. Given the difference in time scale, and the classification headings used for the two periods under consideration, no further satisfactory reasons for the decline could be determined. However the actual poverty of the Catholic community had also to be taken into consideration. Thus the amount raised in 1898 might be regarded as a “fairly good result”. Reference was made to a Resolution of the Association of 8 May 1898 to this effect.

To illustrate this point, the Association referred to the Department’s own 1896 Report⁴⁰, which indicated that per child in school the voluntary contributions raised came to:

Church of England	Six shillings and ten pence
Wesleyan	Three shillings and four pence three farthings
Roman Catholic	Eight shillings and one and a halfpence
British & Other Schools	Six shillings and ten pence halfpenny

The amount the Westminster Association had raised in 1898, per child, actually came to ten shillings and four and a half pence, an excess of two shillings and three pence over the 1896 figure. While the Association fully appreciated the conditions imposed by the 1897 Act, which required “due regard being had to the maintenance of voluntary subscriptions”, it was hoped that the explanations given would satisfy the Department.

6. Conclusion

The decade of Bilson’s episcopate in terms of political activity remains a rather untidy, unstructured period. The Catholic campaign nationally to improve Government grant had eventually succeeded. Bilson does not appear at the leading edge of that campaign. Rather he is a faithful and

⁴⁰ Department Report, Table J, p.lxxi, 1896.

reliable follower. As Bishop, he duly signed the Hierarchy Declarations, and implemented them in his own diocese. His creation of the Diocesan Voluntary Schools Association mirrored the action of other bishops. Its future metamorphosis into the political arm it became for Casartelli and Henshaw cannot really be credited to him. The impression must remain of a good man, doing his best loyally, promoting the party line consistently, but not a leader who would set the world afire! Nowhere does he repudiate the five principles. His actions endorse them, but his words barely articulate them.

The 1902 Act provided for a specified day to be agreed when Managers would hand over their elementary schools to the newly created Local Education Authorities. When the appointed day came, the handover went smoothly. No evidence exists in the diocesan archives of any difficulties. The diocese had in 1903 created a Schools Trust Deed to legally safeguard the religious nature of their schools. With the exception of schools maintained by religious orders, which had their own Trust Deeds, every diocesan elementary school was covered by it. The 1902 Education Act simply brought salvation to a community financially stretched to its limits, and perhaps nearly beyond them, by the cost of Catholic Schools. It brought welcome relief.

Chapter 7: Bishop Casartelli and Elementary Educational Provision

1. Overview of the Chapter

An account of Casartelli's life and work opens this chapter. Attention is then paid to the continual increase in or improvement of school stock, undertaken with the support (or otherwise) of the newly created Local Education Authorities. This expansion falls into two parts, before and after the Great War. A certain lull took place in 1906-1907 because of fears over the proposed 1906 Education Bill. The effect of the Board of Education "ten square feet" ruling is considered. Wartime restrictions and the financial plight after the Great War, coupled with a dearth of records, render an account of post war provision difficult.

Observations on different aspects of elementary education by successive Chief Religious Examiners of the diocese are then noted. New pressures were placed on the Catholic community as the Board of Education proceeded to "black list" schools which failed to meet the ever increasing minimum standards laid down in regard to the provision of buildings, classrooms, cloakrooms, staffrooms, toilets or "offices" and playground areas. The advent of the First World War, and the financial difficulties thereafter meant that implementation was not strenuously insisted on until after Henshaw became Bishop. The chapter ends with a case study of provision in Colne.

2. The Life and Work of Casartelli

Casartelli was born in Manchester in 1852 of an Italian immigrant family. Very intelligent, and with a flair for languages, he studied at the newly founded Salford Catholic Grammar School and at Ushaw College, where he gained a gold medal for Classics, and an external M.A. from London University. By then fluent in English, Italian, French, German, Spanish and Flemish, he completed his theological training at the University of Louvain, where he specialised in oriental languages, with Sanskrit, Zend and Pehlevi becoming his speciality. He enjoyed a close relationship of trust and friendship with both Bishop Turner and Bishop Vaughan, who recalled him from Louvain to join the staff at St Bede's College as Prefect of Studies, responsible for organising the curriculum, and ensuring that both staff and pupils kept to it! In 1884 he returned to Louvain to obtain his doctorate, before returning to the staff at St Bede's, where he became Rector in 1891. From 1898 he lectured five times each Lent term

at Louvain. He was also lecturer in Iranian languages at Manchester University. He was unable to accept a similar post in Oxford. He served as Secretary to the Conference of Catholic Colleges. Chosen as the new Bishop of Salford, a post he wanted to decline, he was consecrated in September 1903. As bishop, he delegated many tasks to his Vicar General. He saw a continual expansion in the number of missions¹ and schools in the diocese. His special concern was the lack of secondary education, especially for boys. He championed the cause of Catholic Schools, supported by the Conservative Party, at the expense of Home Rule for Ireland, which led to Churchill's defeat in one constituency, and a certain amount of bitterness among Irish Catholics. The Great War was for him a trauma, as so many of his past pupils from St Bede's died in the fighting. He was instrumental in establishing Catholic Action within the diocese and founded both the Catholic Federation² and the Catenians³. He was a member of, and sometimes president of, many local intellectual societies. His health was never robust, and his bronchitis was not helped by his habit of smoking. An avid diarist, he was interested in science and technical innovation. No biography of him ^{has} ~~as~~ yet been published. Philip Hughes described him as having "a really cosmopolitan mind ... and a variety of intellectual sympathies that recalled Wiseman."

3. Catholic Educational Provision at Diocesan Level

3.1 From the 1902 Act until the Great War.

In March 1904 **Richardson** noted two years achievements in school provision. New schools had opened at the Sacred Heart mission in Gorton with more than 150 children and at St Alphonsus' mission in Brooks Bar. The St George's School in Nelson, formerly a Sunday School, operated as an Infant School. In Manchester the former High School premises in Upper Brook St had become a Junior Department, relieving pressure on the Holy Name Burlington St School. At Greenacres, Oldham, a large Mixed School had opened in 1902, as had a new Boys' School for 300+ pupils at Corpus Christi, Manchester, although the buildings were too small. In 1903, Infant Schools had been opened at St Mary Magdalene's, Burnley and St Mary's, Bacup, the latter at a cost of £2,000. New schools at

¹ Table 5 lists the new parishes opened during Casartelli's episcopate.

² The Catholic Federation was an organisation of Catholics, often Trade Unionists, intent on applying Catholic Social Teaching both in the workplace and to political issues. Their activity is studied in Chapter 9.

³ The Catenians is an organisation of Catholic businessmen who meet for recreational purposes and who may individually support selected Catholic issues. Peter Lane in **The Catenian Association 1908-1983** makes the mistake of presuming that Turner's Grammar School was a non-Catholic school.

Hollinwood and at St Aloysius, Ardwick, were also opened. Classrooms had been added to schools at St Mary's, Ashton, at Corpus Christi and St Wilfrid's, Manchester, and at St John's, Rochdale, St Mary's, Swinton and Sacred Heart, Colne. With the minor addition of cloakrooms in several schools, the expenditure involved came to over £30,000.

A new danger had however emerged. Several of the new LEAs considered that only they should be responsible for new school provision, and their hostility to new church school provision or even improvement was noticeable. When added to the financial cost needed to meet required improvements in schools condemned by the Board or the LEA, elementary provision would remain a burden on and challenge to the Catholic community in the foreseeable future.⁴ Omitted from this list are the achievements of the different religious teaching orders, male and female, throughout the diocese.

No schools in new missions were reported opened in the 1904 Report. Plans were in hand in Salford to remedy defective, condemned accommodation. The St James' Schools were to be completely remodelled, and St Peter's School was to be partially re-organised. The Cathedral Boys' School was unsatisfactory, Mount Carmel Schools were full, and the Infant and Girls' Departments at St Joseph's "were wanting in proper convenience". **Richardson** curtly noted that:

It is worthy of remark that the original plans for these schools were arranged at the command of the then Education Department; they are now condemned by that Department's successors for the very point which was considered their excellence when erected.⁵

At St Patrick's, Rochdale, and at St Mary's, Bolton, new schools had replaced old premises. The former for 730 children cost over £5,000. The English Martyr's mission in Manchester was at last erecting an elementary school in memory of Bishop Bilborrow. Cloakrooms and folding partitions had been added to the St Mary's School, Bacup. Playground extensions, toilets and partitions had been added at St Peter's School, Blackburn. The schools at St Peter and Paul's and at St Joseph's, Bolton, were improved, the latter at a cost of over £1,000. The playground at the Sacred Heart School, Colne, was levelled, and at the Sacred Heart, Darwen, the schools were "cleaned and beautified". Two new classrooms for 120 girls were added to St Francis' School in Gorton at a cost of £750. St Wilfrid's School in Hulme was extended to receive an additional 120 pupils. Alterations demanded by the LEA had been made at St Anne's School at Greenacres, Oldham. At St John's, Padiham, £800 was spent on additional classrooms and heating apparatus to accommodate 80 more children. £750 was spent on

⁴ **Educational Statistics, 29th Report** 1903 pp. 3-4.

⁵ **Educational Statistics, 30th Report** 1904 p. 3.

improvements at St Mary's School, Radcliffe. Objections raised by Stretford LEA had prevented the building of a school at the new mission of St Anthony's, Trafford Park.⁶

Richardson included in his report some consideration of Catholic population statistics, a feature particularly commented upon by Casartelli in his foreword. The Government Blue Book gave an average figure of just under 6 million elementary children on roll across the country. Were this figure multiplied by 5.7, it approximately equalled the total population. Richardson therefore took the Catholic elementary average school role nationally, at diocesan level, and in certain towns, multiplied it by the said 5.7, and mused on the results. He accepted that the figures included non-Catholic children in Catholic schools - about 3% or 1752 children in the diocese - but thought this was far outweighed by the number of Catholic children attending non-Catholic schools. Stagnation in the growth of the Catholic population was occurring in Oldham, Bolton and especially Blackburn. Other major towns were coming to the end of recent increases. Growth was continuing in Burnley, Accrington, Nelson, and especially in Manchester and Salford. Casartelli commented:

Whether some of the views of the Inspector are accepted by all the clergy or not, there can be no doubt of the fact that they are based on a ripe experience and a wide basis of data, and therefore merit respectful consideration at our hands.⁷

The delayed 1905 Report presented a survey of school building undertaken in the diocese since 1870. While omitting schools built by the religious congregations, post elementary schools and the cost of land, it detailed the new parochial elementary schools built, significant enlargements, and the minimum cost thereof, as shown in the table overleaf.

Deanery	New Schools	Major enlargements	Costs excluding sites
Salford	8	6	£ 35,000
Manchester	27	8	£120,000
Blackburn	20	0	£ 66,000
Bolton	19	4	£ 40,000
Rochdale	11	0	£ 14,000
Oldham	14	0	£ 36,000
Burnley	18	2	£ 46,000
Bury	7	2	£ 17,000
Totals	124	22	£275,000

Richardson noted that the financial figure took no account of land values, interest paid on borrowed monies, nor the cost of maintaining the schools until the introduction of aid grant and the removal of the 17/6 limit. He concluded:

⁶ *Diocesan Almanac 1905* pp. 43-44.

⁷ *Educational Statistics: 30th Report*, 1904 p. 2.

We have been encouraged in this expenditure by the Education Department, who have in every case of building Elementary and Secondary Schools given their approval, and have insisted on their own ideas of schools construction; in several instances condemning after some years the very schools they demanded we should build. We have been accused of erecting schools for proselytising purposes. This accusation is absolutely untrue. We have never built for any children except our own, and have discouraged rather than encouraged the ingress of non-Catholics.⁸

Works completed included the new school at St Edmund's, Bolton and alterations costing nearly £1,200 at St Joseph's, Bolton. At St Edward's, Darwen, improvements had been made to the school ventilation, playground, and the toilets. The Infant schoolroom at St Vincent's, Openshaw had been enlarged, and a playground boundary wall built.⁹

One effect of the proposed 1906 Educational legislation was to deter Catholics from building schools unless they had already been started, or were absolutely necessary.¹⁰ Nevertheless improvements to the lighting and ventilation of St James' School, Salford, had been completed, and new schools at St Mary's, Bolton, with accommodation for 1030 children, had been opened. In Clitheroe, the infant playground had been levelled, and new school heating installed. A new school for 300 children had been opened at Colne. In Manchester a temporary iron structure had been provided at St Augustine's for the Boys' Nursery class, and a new school costing £4,000 had been opened at St Cuthbert's, Withington, for 242 children. In St Edmund's School, folding screens and new gas fitting had been installed.¹¹

The same reluctance to build or improve schools was again ^{noted} in the 1907 Report. Improvements had however been completed in Salford at the schools attached to both St Peter's, Greengate, and to St Sebastian's, Pendleton, as also at St Joseph's, Bury, and at St Marie's, Bury, where a new school for 380 children was being erected. New classrooms for 200 children were being built in Farnworth, and school improvements had been carried out at Colne, Littleborough, Middleton, St Mary's, Oldham, Padiham, Radcliffe, Todmorden and Westhoughton. The new St Anne's School in Higher Openshaw for 350 children was nearly complete, as was the new St Augustine's School in York St, Manchester.¹² The illness and death in 1909 of Canon **Richardson** meant that no Report was issued. Canon **Pool**¹³ succeeded him and issued the 34th Report in May 1910. In Fairfield, a new school had opened and the old school had been remodelled for Infant use. In Farnworth the school was enlarged to accommodate

⁸ Educational Statistics: 31st Report, 1905, p. 8.

⁹ Diocesan Almanac 1906, p. 44-45.

¹⁰ Educational Statistics: 32nd Report, 1906 p. 3.

¹¹ Diocesan Almanac, 1907 p. 46-47.

¹² Diocesan Almanac, 1908, p. 52.

140 more children. New Infant Schools were built in Heaton Norris and at Irlam, the latter, costing £430, for 87 children. School extensions were completed at Little Hulton. The Bishop Bilsborrow Memorial School opened at Whalley Range, Manchester.¹⁴ New cloakrooms were added at Barrowford, and the playground was improved at St Patrick's, Bolton. A new school-chapel was opened 23 January 1910 at St Willibrord's, Clayton, Manchester, and four new classrooms were added at Farnworth. A new school costing £3,000 was being built for St Mary's, Manchester, and more classrooms were added to the school at Rawtenstall. In St John's, Rochdale, a new Mixed School was being erected, and in Weaste the three playgrounds were improved. A new school was built at Whitworth and in Walton le Dale Sir James de Hoghton had presented land for the proposed new school.¹⁵

Canon **Pool** observed that, as the Government had been unable to do away with Catholic schools by legislation, it was endeavouring to remove them by administration. School space per child had been increased from eight to ten feet. Inspectors visiting schools had shown a cavalier attitude as to what space might or might not be taken into consideration. This imposed on the Catholic community a need for increased school accommodation, both in buildings, and more so, in playground provision. This posed serious challenges in towns where land was impossible to obtain. Nevertheless the Catholic community had risen to the challenge, unlike certain other denominations.¹⁶ Pool noted that new Catholic Schools had been opened in Manchester and Rochdale¹⁷. Others were planned in Manchester¹⁸ and Salford¹⁹. He did however suggest that it might be wiser to build new schools at the extremities of populous districts rather than enlarge existing schools, so they might become the nucleus of future parishes as the Catholic population spread slowly into the new suburbs. School improvements were carried out at Barrowford, Castleton, Hollinwood, Longsight, Osbaldeston, the Cathedral Girls'

¹³ See Appendix 1.

¹⁴ *Diocesan Almanac 1909*, p. 56.

¹⁵ *Diocesan Almanac 1910*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁶ *Educational Statistics: 35th Report*, 1910 pp. 5-6. Pool quoted Runciman who on 15 March 1911 stated in the Commons that from 1902 to March 1911, 872 denominational schools had been transferred to the LEAs. Of these, 321 were Anglican, 140 Wesleyan, and 411 belonged to other denominations. No Catholic schools had been transferred.

¹⁷ Opened 23 April 1910.

¹⁸ Bishop John Vaughan laid the foundation stone for St Michael's School, 11 June 1910.

¹⁹ St James' School foundation stone laid by Bishop Casartelli 15 October 1910; that of St Joseph's School was laid by Bishop John Vaughan 5 November 1910.

School. and St Peter's School, Salford. The Canon Byrne Memorial School at St Michael's, Ancoats, Manchester, costing over £2,000 had been opened and the existing schools improved.²⁰

Manchester Education Committee published in September 1910 a map depicting the location of its 188 elementary schools, with their respective accommodation²¹. The number of places in Catholic schools came to 19,788, nearly 14.5% of the total accommodation.²² Details of pupils on roll, taken from the diocesan statistics, have been added to the table. Although eight schools were overcrowded, the total number on roll came to 17,669, less than the actual provision.

Pool's 1911 Report was far more optimistic than previously, as he stated:

The past year, like its predecessors, has been witness to the expenditure of thousands of pounds upon new schools, or improvements in our schools already existing.²³

The list of new schools recently built was impressive: Billington, St Mary's and St Michael's, Manchester, St Joseph's, Salford, Walton le Dale, St James', Pendleton. The Cathedral Boys' School had been practically rebuilt, and improvements had been made at many schools: St Patrick's, Bolton, St Joseph's and Sacred Heart, Darwen, Failsworth, Prestwich, Ribchester, St John's, Rochdale, All Souls, Weaste, Samlesbury and Stacksteads.²⁴ No Catholic school had ever been sacrificed to the State, although the cost of maintaining Catholic schools had been, continued to be and would remain exorbitant. **Pool** foresaw a potential political crisis.

And there are indications that Catholics, if the Government, by a bill to be introduced within the next twelve months, does seek to inflict so grievous and deadly a blow as the unjust destruction of the Catholic nature of their schools, will shortly combine, as they have never combined before, to make their power felt at the polls and elsewhere

St Anthony's School, Trafford Park, was finally built after several years of frustrating delay because of the hostility of the Stretford LEA.²⁵ Improvements to existing schools continued, although often mention is made of the same improvement in successive reports. Extensions had been built at Clayton le Moors, enlarged classrooms, new heating, and movable partitions had been added at Failsworth, cloakrooms, staffroom and store rooms constructed at Heaton Norris, a staffroom erected at Horwich, decoration of classrooms and cloakroom had been undertaken at Rawtenstall, the playgrounds at

²⁰ **Diocesan Almanac 1911**, pp.47-51, 58-59.

²¹ It is worthy of note that the biggest school was a municipal one, Birley Street, with accommodation for 2152 pupils. Next came the Jewish School (2049), then St Patrick's (2042).

²² For details of accommodation, see **Table 4**. The number of pupils in attendance on any one day would of course be less than the number on roll, as evidenced from the number present for the religious examination.

²³ **Educational Statistics: 36th Report**, 1911 p. 5.

²⁴ **Diocesan Almanac 1912**, p. 56 gives greater detail of the improvements that mainly consisted of classroom provision, improved playgrounds, new heating and lighting.

Castleton and at St Peter's, Salford, had been asphalted, and that at Mount Carmel, Salford, flagged and concreted, while at Westhoughton the Infant School had been extended. New schools had been opened in April 1912 at Billington, in Ribchester for Infants and in Salford at Mount Carmel, for Girls.²⁶

Pool's health declined. He mentioned no building work in his Report for 1913, and in that for 1914, his last report, he only referred explicitly to the new schools at St Mary's, Oldham, finally completed after many years of effort. Although other improvements had been completed, much work had been deferred because of the outbreak of war.²⁷ At Bury, St Joseph's Infant school had been re-floored and partitions fitted to meet Board of Education requirements. Cloakrooms had been added at St Peter's, Blackburn, as had partitions at Chorlton cum Hardy. A new classroom had been built at Heaton Norris. A new Infant School was being built at Haslingden. Schools sites had been obtained at Irlam and at Bradford in Manchester and new schools were planned at Moston. In Padiham there had been improvements to both the playground and the school heating, and the Higginson Memorial School was being built at Reddish.²⁸ St Mary's Schools, Ashton under Lyne, were remodelled and enlarged, and in Denton the schoolyard had been enclosed with a wall. The Mixed Department at Haslingden had been enlarged, with partitions fitted, and playground extended. In Levenshulme a schoolroom for 50 infants had been constructed. Partitions had been added to Corpus Christi School in Collyhurst.²⁹

3.2 During and after the Great War

Canon Pool died shortly after his retirement. Fr **Matthew Eyck** became Religious Inspector. After his unexpected death, Fr **Francis J. Nugent** undertook the task. The Reports, issued every two years, omitted all details of school building and improvement. The Almanacs continued to list such information. In 1915, the playground at the Sacred Heart School, Blackburn, was asphalted, while that at St Peter's was improved. In Burnley 50 additional places were provided at St Mary's School, while electric light was installed at St John's School. The schools at St Joseph's, Bury, and at Irlam were repaired and redecorated. In Lees the boundary wall was rebuilt. At St Thomas of Canterbury, Higher Broughton, the school and playground were enlarged. A new school was built at the Holy Saviour, Nelson, and the new St Mary's School, Oldham, costing £7,000 and accommodating 844 children, was

²⁵ **Educational Statistics: 37th Report**, 1912 p. 5.

²⁶ **Diocesan Almanac 1913**, p. 58.

²⁷ **Educational Statistics: 39th Report**, 1914 p. 19.

²⁸ **Diocesan Almanac 1914**, pp. 61-62. The Reddish school was so named after its generous benefactor.

²⁹ **Diocesan Almanac 1915**, pp. 61-62.

opened in February. St Joseph's School, Ramsbottom was repaired and gained a fire escape. At Weaste, partitions and new heating were installed, and at Whitworth, a portion of the playground was flagged.³⁰ No details of activity after 1917 are contained in either the Report or the Almanac. Some later references appear in Casartelli's diaries. Fr Butler S.J. for example discussed his financial difficulties in 1917. His mortgage of £15,000 had suddenly been recalled, yet he had a heavy ground rent to pay and new schools to build³¹.

4. Diocesan Oversight of Elementary Education

Richardson included in his reports to Casartelli reviews and reflections upon the state of Catholic elementary education. His attention was drawn initially at the age span of the school intake, which he compared for the years 1901 and 1903, as illustrated in the following table.

Ages	1901 Total	1903 Total	1901 Percentage	1903 Percentage
-5	6217	5952	12.0	11.0
5-6	6040	6117	11.7	11.5
6-7	5714	5692	11.0	10.7
7-8	5397	5722	10.4	10.7
8-9	5703	5602	11.0	10.5
9-10	5504	5830	10.5	11.1
10-11	5549	5822	10.6	11.1
11-12	5336	5353	10.4	10.0
12-13	4721	4981	9.1	9.3
13-14	1708	2166	3.3	4.0
14+	-	42	-	0.01

Attempts by some LEAs to cause Catholic schools to reduce the time spent on Religious Instruction were noted. Such attempts had to be resisted strenuously, as a LEA that could reduce such instruction might go further and remove it altogether, which was not within the spirit of the 1902 Education Act. Another problem area was the classification of children across the different standards in elementary provision. 16% of all pupils were in Standard 1. Given that by age only 10.4% of pupils should have been in that standard, some 2000 or more children were not receiving instruction suitable to their age. Many of these were "irregular children" - the bane of any teacher. Although some would be of defective intellect, the rest were due to the want of systematic classification in school, and the carelessness or inability of some teachers to advance the duller children committed to their care. Overcrowded classes were also a factor. **Richardson** maintained that 40 children should be the maximum number in any class, and certainly with younger children, classes of not more than 30 were far more beneficial.

³⁰ *Diocesan Almanac 1916*, pp. 63-64.

He next commented upon religious instruction and practice. Stressing that the home took priority over the school, he wished to see a "religious spirit" developed in both, as such a "spirit" was more desirable than even religious instruction. He commented on both school and home:

A mere academic lesson in religion given by an indifferent Catholic in an icy atmosphere is drier to a child than the "Asses' Bridge" and is likely to produce no more result than a geometrical proposition. The tendency of the times is to reduce religious instruction to these dry bones of a regular timetable, making our teachers imparters of knowledge such as we imagine their compeers are during Scripture lesson in a Municipal school. Obedience is, I fear, taught in many homes only as something which has to be forced by punishment, and the cause ceasing the effect also ceases. This is not the Christian virtue of submission, which can be obtained only by imitation of Our Lord. We have done much towards the salvation of a child's soul when we have taught it that to be like Jesus Christ it must not please itself. This testimony is the antipodes of many modern systems, and should be the determining mark of perfection in a Catholic school.

He ended by stressing the need to stock the school library with suitably well written and amusing yet, from a religious point of view, instructive books such as a good teacher could recommend to children. He also stressed the need for the catechist, in presenting the catechism, to instruct from the everyday experience of the child, and to omit all apocryphal stories that had no basis in fact. Nothing could be made so interesting to children in school than the religious lesson. If it was not, the fault lay neither with the topic nor the child!

Attention was then drawn to the 1902 Education Act. In parts of the diocese there had been no friction whatsoever in implementing the Act. This was notably the case in Manchester, and **Richardson** expected that the same co-operation would be found within the Lancashire County Council area. However in some of the smaller LEAs, the old weaknesses of the petty School Boards remained³², and open hostility to the Catholic religion prevailed. Dangers to Catholic education also existed within the Catholic school itself. In schools where the priest was not a frequent visitor, a secularised vision was more likely to occur, as new subjects were introduced into the curriculum, and stress was placed on academic achievement. In such circumstances, the religious spirit of the school might easily be sidelined. In contrast, where the religious spirit was upheld, the extra advantages given by the Act would add to the efficiency of the school, and the betterment of religion. The fact that timetables were now arranged by the LEA did not remove Catholic influence from the school, and the support of the clergy was invaluable, especially when misunderstandings between the teachers and the LEA arose. One final area of concern dealt with the situation of pupil teachers. The provision of the Act negated an

³¹ Diary, 13 December 1917

earlier agreement that only Catholic pupil-teachers would be used in Catholic schools. Both Manchester and Salford had given a good lead to Lancashire in this matter, but some arbitrary action had taken place elsewhere. **Richardson** warned the clergy to take advice before accepting LEA offers of help. He saw the role of the Salford Diocesan Association as a consultative body as imperative for the direction and protection of the management of Catholic schools, a view not shared by the LEAs. Finally he noted the importance of acknowledging, replying to and handing on to the teachers any correspondence from the LEA, a courtesy not always accorded to letters sent at the Bishop's instigation by the religious inspectors! In like vein, he stressed the need to ensure that any vacancy in the number of Foundation Managers be filled, in consultation with the Salford Diocesan Association.³³

The use of the catechism was the main theme of his next report. His view was that the "dry bones" of definition should be in place so that the "nerves and skin" could be added as without them children might easily miss the point of a lesson. He referred to the demand made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London that the formation of character should take place in school.

How you can form character without conscience, and how you can have conscience without God ever present as a rewarder of the good and a punisher of the wicked, I cannot, for the life of me, understand. Religious instruction as understood by us has this aim, and this alone for its end, to form children after the model of Our Lord, who is real to them in His Divine Life, in His Sacred Passion, and in His perpetual continuing in the Holy Sacrifice and Sacraments of the Church. The formation of character after this model must permeate every corner of the school and become its very air.³⁴

He continued

Ask any inspector, no matter where from, whether Whitehall or the Local Authority, and he will tell you there is something in the Catholic school over and above the actual tuition which actuates the whole work and enters into its very life. To rob the children of this would be worse than to rob them of their natural life. A Catholic school in which this spirit does not reign supreme is unworthy of the name.

He then praised the teachers and clergy who maintained this spirit in so many schools. This was far more than the Moral Instruction League³⁵ proposed. He outlined the non-doctrinal platitudes on offer with disdain:

It reminds me of the attempt made in the French Revolution to dechristianise the Calendar, only it is, if anything, more puerile and soul weakening.

³² G. I. Hawkes **The Development of Public Education in Nelson** pp. 45, 56-58, 62-69, 138-140, 150-153, 156-158, 170-176.

³³ **Educational Statistics: 29th Report**, 1903, pp. 10-12.

³⁴ **Educational Statistics 30th Report**, 1904, pp. 7-8.

³⁵ The Moral Instruction League was founded in 1897 to press for the teaching of a secular morality in schools in place of religious instruction. Simon **Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920** p. 144, 274, refers to an article by F. H. Hilliard *The Moral Instruction League 1897-1919* in **The Durham Research Review** Vol. 3, No. 12, September 1961.

Not all was well however in Catholic schools. He deeply regretted that so few had school libraries, and was sorry not to see certain religious readers and hymn books in use. Although most schools had crucifixes and statues in place, some did not. He noted that of the 1752 non-Catholic pupils in Catholic schools, 477 were withdrawn from religious instruction, sometimes at the behest of the manager. Some 906 Catholic children attended non-Catholic schools, because of distance, pique or mixed marriages. There were still in East Lancashire over 2,200 part-timers, a mere 4% of all pupils.³⁶

The 1902 Education Act appeared to be working well, although he still entertained three fears about it. The first lay in the possibility that the entire management of Catholic schools might be taken over by the LEA if the school managers became apathetic. The second and graver fear was found in the refusal to allow Catholics to expand their school network, either from LEA hostility, or from protests from ratepayers. He recalled the promise of Mr Balfour that if there were an average of 30 Catholic children, a Catholic school would be permitted: "how illusory that promise has proved we already know". The final danger lay in the provision of training for pupil teachers.

He viewed Circular 512 as a piece of high-handed officialism indicating the temper of the Board of Education towards religious instruction and voluntary schools. Attempts had been made in Oldham and elsewhere to reduce the time spent in religious instruction, set by the Bishops as one hour per day. Where abuses took place, any response should be made not on an individual basis but through the Diocesan School Association.

Casartelli had desired a new plan for the religious inspection, and **Richardson** and the Rural Deans had spent much time in preparing it. Once introduced, it worked well, except in Burnley where the illness both of the Rural Dean and his deputy had wreaked havoc. The Chief Religious Inspector wryly reported that the time he saved in not having to travel was now spent at his desk! Otherwise his main comment was on the advisability, wherever possible, of splitting mixed departments into two, with a master for the boys, and a mistress for the girls.³⁷ He repeated his warning about the want of accuracy in the repetition of catechism answers, and presented a series of questions for teachers to examine their conscience as to how they try to instil a Catholic spirit in their work. He personally thought that they did. Indeed in the following year he was fulsome in his praise for Catholic teachers. Of the Moral Instruction League, he reported, little had been heard.³⁸

³⁶ In 1877 the figure of nearly 7,000 had accounted for over 21% of pupils.

³⁷ **Educational Statistics: 31st Report**, 1905, pp. 10 - 17.

³⁸ **Educational Statistics: 32nd Report**, 1906 pp. 5-7.

The school is part of the soul saving apparatus of the Church, and a teacher is a serious item in the system.³⁹

Unfortunately there were a small group among the assistant teachers who failed to see that teaching was both a vocation and a profession. There were none who regretted "the incoming of this spirit more than the body of Catholic teachers themselves", and **Richardson** mentioned the matter with regret so as to stop the canker and combat it.

Inaccuracy in catechism remained a problem. He explained the importance of such accuracy:

A catechism answer oftentimes remains through life as a sort of peg on which to hang knowledge acquired later; the full meaning of the answer is very often not grasped by the mind until the understanding is matured, so that what was vague and indistinct in childhood's days becomes in after life a bright and clear guide to the mind.⁴⁰

That at least was the theory, a theory strongly backed by Casartelli himself. How true it was is a matter of debate. The great Canon **Drinkwater** certainly remained unconvinced, as was his own bishop, Archbishop Ilsley of Birmingham.⁴¹

Richardson also warned of the danger of "cramming", a vision also shared by Casartelli. The child's power of intellectual digestion was being overwhelmed with a hosts of studies inflicted on the school "to gratify the fads of HMI, the Board of Education, and in many cases, the most unreasonable of all faddists, the LEA".⁴² His fear was that cramming was entering into religious instruction, with children being "rushed" prior to inspection. His proposed remedy was that a weekly record of instruction given be kept, as in secular subjects, and a quarterly examination held, a practice already in place in some schools. He later admitted that merely to repeat the catechism answer itself was "sheer and undiluted cram": yet "to repeat it in their own words, draw accurate conclusions, and give intelligent explanations of the doctrines taught" once the answer had been learnt "was true education".⁴³ This was happening in the majority of the schools. The one notable exception was among the older half-timers whose mind and concentration, divided between work and school, gave little attention to school affairs. Teaching such children required a special aptitude ~~in~~ⁱⁿ the teacher. His former suggestion of a record book of religious instruction had been adopted, although few schools seem to have realised that a printed "Record and Diary" had been published with Casartelli's approbation by John Heywood of Manchester.

³⁹ **Educational Statistics: 33rd Report**, 1907 p. 7.

⁴⁰ **Educational Statistics: 34th Report**, 1908-1909 p. 6.

⁴¹ **Educational Essays** p. 90 seq. *The Right Way of Using Catechisms* and p. 270 seq. *Instruction. Secular and Religious*.

⁴² **Educational Statistics: 34th Report**, 1908-1909, p. 6.

Pool however harboured doubts about modern educational methods.

For nowadays the aim of the Board of Education seems rather to be to amuse and interest the child and develop the faculty of observation by an endless array of subjects very nearly allied, and consequently other faculties are neglected: serious and laborious mental exercise is eschewed, and so the memory receives comparatively little training; spelling is abominably bad; figures poor; of grammar there is none except what is picked up incidentally, and writing very inferior.⁴³

Such modern methods, he believed, were partially to blame for the inaccuracies picked up in religious inspection. Were the learning by rote, and the subsequent ability of the child to express an answer in his or her own words as well, adopted, then, he commented:

I would go so far as to say that if this method is carried out, no finer mental training, as training, apart from its religious aspect, could be given to the child".

He concluded his report by stressing how Sacred History and Bible History should be incorporated into religious instruction. Both were valueless except for the moral and doctrinal lessons that could be drawn from them. Children could not get too great a knowledge of the life of Our Lord, to be inspired by Him, to relate to Him and share his life. Sadly some teachers were content merely to regard His miracles and doings as matters to be learnt as dry historical facts. Finally he referred to the effects of the Papal Decree "Quam Singulare" which had lowered the age of reception of Holy Communion for children to seven. "Happy consequences" had followed the implementation of the decree, although "experience seems to have proved to all, that the child is more capable of First Communion at the age of seven than of First Confession".

Pool continued the tradition of commenting on those areas of the diocese where adequate Catholic school provision was lacking. In 1913 he identified Tottington, Crumpsall, the Cross Lane area of Salford, and an area between St Patrick's and St Edmund's in Manchester, as areas needing new accommodation. He added no new comments on the quality of religious teaching.⁴⁴ In 1914 he even stated that the weak instruction he had found in some schools had been removed by better teaching, and that the record books of lessons given and the periodic examinations had raised standards. He chose to draw attention to the methods used in training children to assist at Mass as his main theme.

The children must realise what the Mass is, and if they realise it, they will love it, and if they love it, they will not miss it.⁴⁵

⁴³ Educational Statistics: 35th Report, 1920, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Educational Statistics: 36th Report, 1911 pp. 7-8.

⁴⁵ Educational Statistics: 37th Report, 1912, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁶ Educational Statistics: 38th Report, 1913 p. 55. It must be remembered that the Mass was "said" very quietly if not silently in Latin by the priest. Children were encouraged to attend an early Mass on Sunday morning. Communion was probably received monthly, and never at the 11.00am Mass at

Devotions suitable for Mass must therefore be taught, and that meant avoiding too many hymns: "singing exclusively is a mischievous failure". In 1915 he again mentioned familiar themes: the improvement achieved in instruction as rigid and mechanical methods were replaced by a more liberal and intelligent methodology. Perversely he noted as faults the lack of memory work in learning the catechism texts themselves, and a failure in teaching children how to pray when (and if) they attended Mass.⁴⁷ Pool's final comment here was endorsed by Fr Eyck in the following report, in which he noted suitable publications which could be used in schools.⁴⁸

Francis J. Nugent, the new Religious Inspector, found religion was taught in a systematic and satisfactory manner, although he comment^{ed} on the need for revision of work already done, using the Graduated Catechism. Of children in the higher standards of the best schools, he stated simply: "it is a source of pleasure to examine them."⁴⁹ His next report highlighted a new problem area:

There is one point however of frequent application which requires attention: The infants in the top class will be brilliant and the children in Standard I rather dull. The cause cannot be that they have come to the age of reason, which they are supposed to attain at about this age; it may be found in a difference of method in teaching infants and in teaching the children of the senior department. If it is noticeable in the Religious Instruction, it must be noticeable in the Secular Instruction. Perhaps a little more co-ordination between the Departments would remedy this defect.⁵⁰

He next commented on the implementation of the 1918 Education Act, which removed the half-time system, and raised the school leaving age to the end of the child's fourteenth year. Nugent noted two consequences. Each parish was responsible for providing sufficient elementary accommodation for its Catholic children. In general terms, the diocese was well prepared for the changes. There was accommodation for 66,131 children; the number on roll was 58,395, and the average attendance was 49,943. However some schools overcrowded and had no provision for the future. Contributory factors had been the difficulty of finding sites, the cessation of building during the Great War, and the increased cost of further building. The question of "Advanced Instruction" now arose. Some children already attended practical instruction centres. He warned against any diminution in the time provided for religious instruction in such cases. Another challenge lay in making due provision for the more intelligent children. These passed through the usual standards yet could not now leave school until of

which a choir would usually sing a mixture of Gregorian Chant, motets, and hymns. Casartelli was prominent in moves to "improve" church music, listing what could and could not be sung.

⁴⁷ Educational Statistics: 39th Report, 1914 pp. 21-22.

⁴⁸ Educational Statistics: 40th Report, 1915, pp.153-154.

⁴⁹ Educational Statistics: 41st Report, 1916-1917, p. 107.

⁵⁰ Educational Statistics: 42nd Report, 1918-1919 p. 67.

due age. A "higher top" standard VII or even VIII needed to be provided for them if possible, and a suitable religious syllabus was being prepared. Fisher had suggested provision of suitable books for reading, as opposed to textbooks, and **Nugent** endorsed such a provision of religious books in the school library. His final comments concerned Education Secretary's recent address at the North of England Education Conference, where Fisher had asked the question "What was meant by education: what was meant by "the educated man"?". Taking Fisher's answer, Nugent proceeded to point out that in the interests of true education, the Church refused to separate intellectual from religious and moral education. He quoted the new Canon Law: "that Catholic children are to be educated in schools where not only nothing contrary to Catholic faith and morals is taught, but rather in schools where religious and moral training occupy the first place."⁵¹ For **Nugent**, this indicated the source of Catholic atmosphere, and made the difference between the Catholic school and the ideal non-Catholic school. The work of the teacher in handing on the Faith was paramount, and he praised them in his next report. Faithful and accurate knowledge of the catechism text coupled with an interesting and engaging presentation enabled the child to grasp and practice their Faith. As he noted:

To know what we must do to save our souls is not the same as saving them: the will must be moved to use the means. And it is precisely here that the personality and method of the teacher are important - so to present the doctrine to the minds of the children that their interest is aroused and their will determined to the practice of their religion.⁵²

He encouraged the teachers to present the Faith as a whole, with stress on the Sacramental system, especially in the top classes. He referred to the newly corrected text of the Catechism, in which ten answers and two footnotes had been amended, and recommended a work of Fr **Martindale** as a suitable scheme that teachers might use. In 1924 **Nugent** again praised the teachers for the work they were doing in securing the regular attendance of the children at Mass and the Sacraments, especially as some parents gave little encouragement either by word or example to their children. He stressed also the usefulness of using pictures in the classroom, and listed suitable material and books. He forewarned schools that the Hierarchy's committee had drawn up a programme of music to be included in both elementary and secondary school curricula, to improve congregational singing. A syllabus of this music to be included in religious instruction had been prepared.

⁵¹ Canon 1372 of the Code of Canon Law.

⁵² Educational Statistics: 43rd Report, 1920-1921, p. 73.

5. Case Study 4: Colne & Foulridge Convent Schools

The Daughters of Jesus⁵³ came to Colne, in 1908. Within the year they had founded a Private Elementary School and a Boarding School in their new Convent, besides teaching in the parish school, visiting the sick, and animating different activities and groups within the parish.⁵⁴ Fr Van de Beek journeyed to the motherhouse of the Daughters of Jesus at Kermaria in France to plead for the nuns to be sent. Property in Queen St was duly inspected firstly by the Superiors of the Daughters of Charity in England and from the Continent. The reports were satisfactory and the nuns came⁵⁵. The newly bought convent was opened on 3 October. Four Sisters were soon involved in teaching. The mundane daily round of duties is reflected in the Almanac entries over the years that followed. Initially the Sisters were described as having charge of an Elementary and Boarding School.⁵⁶ This was later described as a Private and Boarding School.⁵⁷ Some details of the school emerge in a series of statistics, giving the number of boys and girls on roll, with the total number of non-Catholic pupils, and the accommodation available, published in the 1930s.⁵⁸ The table has been completed with the total number of pupils and the percentage of non-Catholic pupils.

Year	Boys	Girls	N.C.	Accom.	Total	%N.C.
1930	17	66	39	100	83	47%
1931	11	62	32	100	73	44%
1932	12	68	35	100	80	44%
1933	8	63	43	100	71	60%
1934	13	51	42	110	64	65%
1935	13	54	40	150	67	60%
1936	13	54	40	100	67	60%
1937	15	61	47	100	76	62%
1938	19	53	47	100	72	65%
1939	16	58	48	120	74	65%
1940	20	55	50	120	75	66%

⁵³ A teaching congregation founded in Brittany in 1834, expelled from France in 1903.

⁵⁴ **Diocesan Almanac 1909**, p. 57 and parish entries for successive issues. Hohn *op. cit.* p. 83; Anson *op. cit.* p. 297, **Directory of Religious Houses 1949** p. 318; 1961 p. 113. The Daughters of Jesus is a religious community of Sisters founded in Brittany in 1834 by Mlle Perrine Samson, with the help of the local parish priest, Abbe Pierre Noury. The two-fold apostolate of the Sisters lies in the education of children, and in the nursing of the sick both in their own homes and in hospital. Fr Vander Beek was the parish priest in Colne when they arrived in Colne.

⁵⁵ Mulligan & Durkin *op. cit.* p. 68.

⁵⁶ **Almanac 1910** under parish entry.

⁵⁷ **Almanac 1920** under parish entry.

⁵⁸ The first five columns are taken from the Educational Statistics published in the Diocesan Almanacs for 1930-1940. The school is described as a Convent High School.

It is clear that the High School was well patronised by children from non-Catholic families, replicating a pattern for many convents schools, by which the fees paid for the middle class school were used to sustain the community of Sisters, many of whom would be devoting themselves to work among the poor children in the parish based school.

The Sisters continued to staff the parish Infant School until they left Colne⁵⁹. The parish mixed school had a lay staff for many years, but from 1928 to 1944, a Central Schools for Boys, as well as one for Girls, was also listed under the parish Almanac entries. Thus the parish, in addition to a parish mixed elementary school, a parish Infant School, and an elementary school run by the Sisters, also enjoyed for some sixteen years two Central Schools, and the private Boarding or High School conducted by the Sisters. Only two school sites were ever listed: Rigby St and Queen St.

6. Conclusion

The Five Principles were clearly accepted by Casartelli. The work and comments of his Diocesan Religious Inspectors display throughout this period the primacy of religion as the basis of true education, contrasted with mere secular instruction. Suitable new provision for the expanding suburbs, and the renewal of older school plant demonstrates the willingness of the Catholic community to supply Catholic schools for all their children as means permitted. The Great War and the financial restrictions that followed became a new factor in the equation, as was the need to negotiate with the newly founded LEAs whose co-operation and agreement was now needed. A certain lull had taken place after the Liberal election success, and throughout his episcopate the Liberal Government never fully enjoyed the trust of Catholic church leaders. The rights of parents to have a say in the education of their children was endorsed and expressed repeatedly and frequently, as Chapter 9 will show. It would however be fair to say that, although Casartelli strove to maintain the Catholic elementary provision of the diocese, his real concern was to develop appropriate secondary provision, as Chapter 12 demonstrates. In Casartelli, Catholic Education found a true champion and defender in the first decades of the new century.

⁵⁹ Their private school ceased to be a boarding school in 1957. In 1960 they opened the Rosary Convent Grammar School on Skipton New Road in the nearby village of Foulridge. This school closed in 1966.

Chapter 8: Bishop Henshaw and Elementary Education

1. Oversight of the Chapter

The chapter opens with a review of the life and work of Thomas Henshaw, Fifth Bishop of Salford. A study is then made of blacklisted Roman Catholic Schools and the efforts made to improve or replace them. The expansion of parishes¹ and schools into the expanding suburbs is next examined. The chapter concludes with a look at the initial effects of the implementation of the Hadow Report. It studies the case of St Robert's School, Manchester and the subsequent attempt to reorganise education across the city, a reorganisation from which Catholic schools excluded themselves. The final outcome lay in the 1936 Education Act, which is studied in another chapter.

2. Henshaw's Life and Work

Henshaw was born in Manchester in 1873. He trained at the Salford Catholic Grammar School, at the English College, Lisbon, and at Ushaw. Ordained priest in 1899, he was sent for further studies to the Institute Catholique in Paris² and to Bonn University. He taught Dogmatic Theology at Ushaw until 1906. He became Vice Rector of St Bede's College, where he taught French. In 1912 he served as a curate in Blackburn before becoming rector at the Holy Saviour Mission in Nelson in 1913. His financial shrewdness was recognised by the diocese. He was moved in 1916 to Heaton Norris, in 1918 to Castleton and in 1925 to St Ann's, Blackburn. There he prepared to build a new church, his third, but was elected as the new Bishop of Salford and was consecrated in December 1925. During his episcopate, the Catholic population increased by over 6,000 to a total of 300,000, even though some 10,000 Catholic Mancunians had been moved from the slums to the new Wythenshaw Estate, which lay within the Shrewsbury diocese. Some 20 new churches were built, and vocations to the priesthood increased. Critical of extravagance, he was firmly set against the Hadow Report proposals, which he deemed required excessive financial resources without obvious improvement in educational standards. He was also aware of the difficulties of financing any Catholic School if it was not dependent on a parish. The financing of the newly founded Catholic Grammar Schools had illustrated this fact very clearly, and he foresaw grave difficulties if the proposed senior schools were created. Once the 1936

¹ **Table 6** lists parishes opened during Henshaw's episcopate. **Table 7** lists chapels of ease existing in 1940.

² Here he witnessed the violent anti-clericalism of the 1903 expulsion of the religious orders and the separation of the State from the Church

Education Act was passed however he strove to implement it, a task entrusted to Henry Vincent Marshall, who succeeded him as Bishop after his death in 1938.

3. Blacklisted elementary schools

The blacklisting of elementary school because of substandard physical condition presented the Catholic community with an enormous financial challenge at a time when the financial health of the country was being undermined[^] by the cost of firstly the Great War and then of the Depression. The situation was further complicated by the need to fund schools in new parishes and to finance new secondary provision in several towns across the diocese. That this was achieved again sustains the argument that the Catholic community was willing to provide Catholic schools so that Catholic teachers might teach Catholic children their Catholic faith. There would be no diminution of the Five Principles.

The main features for which a school would be blacklisted included overcrowding, usually relieved by the building of a new school, and inadequate physical conditions, such as a lack or insufficiency in toilet and hand basin provision, usually referred to as “offices”, staff room or “teachers’ room”, head teacher’s room, or poor ventilation and lighting, inadequate playground provision, whether deficient in size or surface condition, and above all, the existence of classrooms through which visitors, teachers and children had to intrude in going from one part of the school to another. Often mentioned as a problem of “passage”, the remedy usually lay in the provision of partitions to create a passageway along the side of the former open schoolroom, with classrooms petitioned off one from another. Although the black listing of elementary schools started before the Great War, the advent of the war and the later financial straits effectively meant that no real action was strenuously undertaken until the time of Bishop Henshaw.

Blacklisted schools were divided into three classes. Class A contained the worse schools, effectively beyond repair or restructuring. Class B were schools that could be brought up to standard if money was spent on them, and the number of pupils was reduced. Class C consisted of schools that basically met the requirements if the number on roll was reduced and overcrowding ceased. Our initial task is to identify which diocesan schools were blacklisted. Some confusion in sources exists. The Liverpool Archdiocese received a letter of 9 April 1926 from Sir Percy Meadon, Director of Education for

Lancashire County Council, which referred to 8 schools in the Salford Diocese³, together with 23 returns from Salford clergy about blacklisted schools generated in response to a questionnaire by Henshaw.

3.1 Case Study 5: The Manchester Situation

Two Roman Catholic Schools, St Anne's and St Michael's, Ancoats, were blacklisted as Category "A" and another seven as Category "B", These were St Bridget's, Bradford, St Lawrence's, Cornbrook, St Francis', Gorton, Holy Name, Oxford Road, Mount Carmel, Blackley, St Patrick's, Collyhurst and St Edmund's, Monsall.

St Anne's Ancoats

At St Anne's the playgrounds were quite inadequate. The school consisted of large undivided rooms. Cloakroom and lavatory accommodation were inadequate. Narrow steep stairs existed. No teachers' room existed. Lighting and ventilation in the Girls' and Infants' Departments were bad. "However the whole block might be saved for Girls and Infants if altered. A new Boys' Department would be needed on another site."⁴ A hand written report amplified the complaints: "The ground floor consists of two passage rooms usually containing two classes each. The upper floor (Girls) has one large undivided room containing six classes and classrooms some of which contain two classes each. The boys are housed partly on the ground floor in classrooms containing sometimes two classes, and in a long narrow undivided room. But the site is not nearly large enough to house three separate departments (449, 451 and 371 pupils). For such numbers the playgrounds are seriously inadequate and the accommodation quite unsuitable. But if the existing buildings were given to Girls' and Infants' only, and if improvements were carried out (involving the construction of partitions with corridors, the provision of teachers' rooms and convenient cloakroom and lavatory accommodation, the provision of

³ The first two columns give the school's district and school numbers; the final three give the present recognised accommodation, the average accommodation and the average attendance in February 1926.

Dist	Sch	Name	Schedule	1.	2.	3.
10	6	Pleasington	A	96	50	38
22	8	St Edmund Little Hulton	B	183	171	128
23	5	Ramsbottom St Joseph	A	223	187	159
26	5	Littleborough St Mary	B	155	143	115
27	5	Shaw/Crompton St Joseph	B	274	238	201
27	9	Royton St Aidan & N Oswald	B	353	276	239
33	11	Irlam St Teresa	B	185	175	146
35	4	Denton R C Mixed	A	105*	155	126

*plus another 40 in a temporary classroom for girls.

⁴ ED99/164.

central heating throughout, and necessary improvements to lighting and ventilation) they could be made satisfactory for at least the present number of girls and infants. This would involve the building of a new block for boys on another site. There seems to be no other way of saving these premises." In his response to the Bishop's Circular (21.11.1926) Fr O'Kelly reported that all departments had been blacklisted in category "A". 1271 children were on role. The existing premises had been reorganised for 972 places and plans for the new Boys' School for about 500 places approved by the Board of Education. The estimated cost of improvements was about £20,000. Board of Education Minutes record subsequent developments. Plans were approved for a new Boys' Department on a different site and for the reconstruction of the existing buildings for use by the Girls' and Infant Departments.

The fact that one of the two R.C. schools on List A has been put in order may, I think, be taken as an earnest of good intentions on the part of the Roman Catholic community and this might, I think, be recognised in the letter to the Authority (Manchester) and a mild exhortation added as regards the other List A school.⁵

St Michael's Ancoats

If Board of Education officials were happy with the progress made with St Anne's School, the situation was reversed in regards to St Michael's school. Here there was no playground at all for the boys, and the one for the girls and infants was ludicrously small. The school consisted of long, undivided rooms. Lighting, ventilation and heating were bad. There was no accommodation for teachers. A handwritten report amplified the complaints: The boys have no playground and have to use the street. The playground for girls and infants is seriously inadequate. For all departments, physical training as required by the Board's regulations is impossible. All Departments have long, narrow undivided rooms (containing two or more classes) in which heating, lighting and ventilation are more or less inadequate. There is no accommodation for teachers. If a new block were built on another site either for boys, or preferably for girls and infants, and the present large Infants' room made into an underground playground, the present buildings might be made satisfactory for continued recognition.

But as far as I know, nothing has been done about St Michael's R.C., Ancoats. If a new department were built on another site for Girls and Infants, the existing building could, if improved, and the ground floor made into a playground, be made moderately satisfactory for Boys only. There is in my opinion no other satisfactory solution. I am reluctant to suggest that the Board should fix a time limit here, because the R.C.s have done wonders for their schools, and this is a very poor one. But it would probably be wisest to tell them we propose to withdraw recognition as from 31 July 1930 unless satisfactory proposals are forthcoming.

⁵ Minute to Mr Pelham 19.7.1927.

(In Ink) If this school did close, practically all the children could be accommodated at St Patrick's (when reconstruction now proceeding is completed) and the proposed new St Malachy's R.C..⁶

The position adopted by the Managers was simple and clear. Procrastination would be their policy.

I beg to state that at the present time there are three Roman Catholic schools in the course of erection in the three neighbouring parishes of St Patrick's, St Malachy's and St Anne's, and as soon as the managers find out the effect this will have on the attendance at St Michael's, they are prepared to do all in their power to bring the premises up to the requirements of the Board of Education.⁷

Board of Education officials duly noted this fact, and the advice of the LEA.

In this case it seems clear that the managers were not prepared to do anything, at any rate at present, and Mr Spurley Hey thought that, as the other R.C. List A case had already been dealt with, this case should not be pressed immediately.⁸

The Board noted that the managers desired to wait and trusted there would be no unavoidable delay in preparing proposals for ameliorating existing provision.⁹ Since the school was closely involved in the tangled Roman Catholic re-organisation problems of the centre area, no further action was taken and the outbreak of war brought any possibility of improvement to an end.

St Bridget, Bradford

A new Infants Department was urgently needed at St Bridget's School. The Boys' and Girls' Departments could then use the existing buildings if partitions, lighting and ventilation were improved and cloakroom and lavatory accommodation provided. The consequent reduction in overcrowding would enable the school to be removed from the category "B" blacklist.

St Lawrence, Cornbrook

At St Lawrence's Mixed and Infant School, listed as category "B", there was a large undivided gallery room and the light, heating and ventilation were all poor. The playgrounds were inadequate and office, cloakroom and lavatory accommodation were poor. But with additional playground, partitions etc, the premises might be made good, according to Board of Education reports. Fr **Murray**, parish priest of St Wilfrid's, Hulme, reported to the bishop that the school, built in 1875, had 241 older and 152 infant

⁶ Minute as regards R.C. Schools on List A: St Michael's. (Signed H.A. 28.5.27)

⁷ Statement of Corresponding Manager, St Michael's R.C. In letter from Spurley Hey (Manchester LEA) to Board of Education 23.12.1927.

⁸ Memorandum on Premises Survey Interview 4.1.1928.

⁹ Minute 8 December 1938 D.BuB.B

pupils. Land adjoining the school had recently acquired for £750 and £12.12.0 annual ground rent. to provide for the playground extension. The estimated cost of improvements was about £5,000.¹⁰

St Francis Gorton

At St Francis' School, included on List "B", the departments for boys' and girls' were very unsatisfactory, and probably ought to be on List "A", according to the Board of Education report. In all departments there was passage room trouble because of large, undivided rooms. Cloakroom and lavatory accommodation was very poor, especially in the girls' department, and there was little or no provision for the teachers. The boys' block was in very bad repair and was probably not worth repairing. The girls' school was gloomy and inconvenient. The boys' playground was inadequate. Classrooms needed partitioning

The Holy Name

Listed in category "B", the Holy Name Schools were described as having "disgraceful internal offices in girls' and infants' departments". The cloakroom and lavatory accommodation was most unsatisfactory and there was much passage room trouble. The playground was on the small side. The Board were corresponding with the managers. Indeed Fr Bullen S. J., the previous rector, had made a promise to prepare plans for a new boys' school in 1926 and to commence building in 1927. He was however replaced by Fr Eastham S. J. who complained to the bishop that he was in the "peculiar position of being blacklisted conditionally upon the non-fulfilment of a promise made by Fr Bullen". Eastham reported that he was taking all possible means to fulfil the promise. The architect had prepared sketch plans of a new Boys' School and fuller plans would be ready for discussion with the Board of Education and the LEA by the end of the year. Actual building in 1927 however depended on sufficient funds being available. Rough estimates of cost were £13,000 for a new 570 place boys' school. This was £1000 more than the parish had been able to collect over many years. He feared that the Board "seem determined to force us to use what we have in building at once under pressure of withdrawal of grant if Father Bullen's promise is not kept. Under these circumstances the case of our proposed new school seems to be outside the category of blacklisted schools "in imminent danger of being closed in 1927" Eastham was also faced with "a further demand of continued changes and

¹⁰ **Response** to Bishop's Circular dated 3.12.1926 by Fr James Murray of St Wilfrid's parish.

repairs to make the old school satisfy the Board of Education requirements for Girls and (Mixed) infants - which will mean a further debt for the parish to pay off.”¹¹

Mount Carmel, Blackley

At Mount Carmel School in Blackley, both the Boys’ and Girls’ Departments were blacklisted in category “B”. The Boys’ Department had a ground floor, gloomy, draughty, undivided room with poor heating, lighting and ventilation. The staircases from the upper floor were steep and worn and opened into a narrow passage. The Girls’ and Infants’ departments had large passage rooms. The cloakroom accommodation was inadequate. There was no teachers’ room. The offices were old and inadequate and the playgrounds were “inconvenient” and “extraordinarily irregular in shape”. Fr **Corkery** reported that the Boys’ School had been erected in 1871 and the Girls’ School in 1901. The estimated cost of improvement was £7,000. The parish had a debt of £3,275. He thought that the LEA was “not disposed to do much”.¹²

St Patrick’s, Livesey St

St Patrick’s had provided a variety of schools on different sites since the mission opened in 1832. The Presentation Sisters had opened their convent there in 1836 and still teach in the school today. The Irish Christian Brothers had taught the boys from 1843 until they quit the English mission in 1880. Consequently the school stock consisted of old and out-dated buildings, blacklisted in both categories “A” and “B”. The Boys’ Department consisted of four or five classes in one long passage room, one very bad classroom, an undivided upper room that needed partitions and a corridor for five classes. The Girls’ Department’s main room held six or seven classes, the other room held three. The Junior Girls’ had one very bad room, others classes being undivided. The Board of Education noted that the managers were building a new Infant Boys’ Department for three hundred pupils. They also intended to reconstruct the other departments for reduced numbers.

The Senior Boys’ School, listed in category “B” had been built 1898, the Infant Boys’ School, listed in category “A”, had been built in 1871 and the Girls’ School, listed in category “B”, dated from 1836. However a new Infant Boys’ School has been built in 1924 for 520 pupils at a cost of £9,000. The old school was then used for the Girl Guides. A new Girls’ School for 1060 was to be started before

¹¹ **Response** to Bishop’s Circular by Fr T. Eastham, S.J., 3. December 1926.

¹² **Response** to Bishop’s Circular, undated, by Fr James Corkery.

Christmas 1926 at a cost of about £20,000. The Senior Boys School would then be remodelled to take it out of the black list. "Then all our schools will be as good as any Council School and much better than many I have seen." That would provide schools for Senior Boys (666 places), Infant Boys (360 places), Girls (840 places) together with the new school (520 places) The cost was about £32,000.¹³

The Board of Education appeared satisfied with these efforts.

St Patrick's Boys: plans are now before the Board for reconstructing the Girls and Infant Girls departments. The Boys' department contains on the ground floor one large undivided room (containing four or five classes) which is a passage room for the adjoining classrooms. The first floor consists of one very large room and half of which has been partitioned off to provide accommodation for three or four classes. With partitions and alterations to heating, ventilation, cloakroom and lavatory accommodation and provision for teachers, these departments might be made good.

St Edmund's Monsall

St Edmund's Schools at Monsall was another extensive and outdated building, blacklisted in category "B". As the Board of Education minute noted there were large undivided rooms. The lighting and ventilation in the Girls' Department was very bad. The managers had however built a "good" new Infants' School and intended to remodel the Boys' and Girls' Departments in due time. The large individual rooms needed partitions and improvements to lighting. Ventilation, cloakroom and lavatory accommodation were also needed to make the buildings satisfactory.

Overview of the Manchester Situation

The Anglican Diocese of Manchester, in trying to re-organise its own schools, expressed concern that the Roman Catholic schools were being treated more favourably than they were¹⁴. This prompted an internal review on Roman Catholic schools in the whole of the North West, both within and outside the Anglican diocesan area. The Board of Education concluded that the complaint was ill founded. In early 1939 the Board of Education reviewed the position of blacklisted Manchester Roman Catholic schools.¹⁵ Mount Carmel, St Bridget's, St Francis', St Edmund's and St Lawrence's schools were to be dealt with in connection with the scheme submitted under the Education Act 1936. The Mount Carmel re-organisation scheme, submitted on 21 July 1937, was approved and preliminary plans recommended on 3 June 1938. The St Francis re-organisation scheme, including alterations to the Girls' and Infants'

¹³ Response to Bishop's Circular, dated December 1926 but unsigned.

¹⁴ Manchester Diocesan Letter 21 March 1928 on Black Listed schools p. 12.

¹⁵ Minute 1 February 1939.

departments, was approved on 17 December 1938. No further action was therefore needed. It was noted that that the St Bridget's school was affected by the Openshaw scheme and that no scheme had been received for the St Edmund's school. The eventual closure of St Lawrence's school was thought probable although the outcome would be affected by proposals for Hulme. All plans were however placed in abeyance with the outbreak of war,

3.2 Case Study 6: St Patrick's Schools, Oldham

St Patrick's Girls' Department and the outlying Infant and Mixed School at Dunbar Street were both listed in category "B". The Girls' Department accommodated 350 pupils and needed some £250 for partitions and washbasins. It was housed in the former chapel transformed into a school in 1852 and remodelled in 1898 when the new Boys' and Infants' Departments were built. The playground allowed a mere 6 square feet per child. An HMI had stated that this requirement would be waived if neighbouring cottages were bought to extending the playground. The cottages cost £1,100 and would provide another 6 sq feet per child.¹⁶ The Dunbar Street School dated from 1884 and held both infant and mixed classes up to Standard 3. £200 was needed for flagging the playground. The LEA had however refused to flag the playground although Canon Nugent had offered to refund the cost were they surcharged.

The managers of St Patrick's & Dunbar St, like the Anglican managers, had requested a detailed report on the grounds for inclusion on the blacklist.¹⁷ Board records indicated that the Dunbar Street School had accommodation for 99 junior and 83 infants. Two classes were in single room, and one class was held in a small room 16' x 16'. There was no free floor space for infants. The heating by large stoves¹⁸ and an open fire was cumbersome and dirty and ventilation in the classrooms was poor, partly because inlet ventilation tubes were out of order. Two classrooms had very poor artificial gas lighting. The boys' offices were inadequate and poor and the cloakroom was unheated. No staff room existed and the playground surface was bad. The Girls' & Infants' measured a mere 65' x 53'. The cloakroom for girls and infants was unheated and unventilated with only 2 basins. The cloakroom for the boys' measured 4'3 x 4'6, was unheated and had but one basin. The playground had an earth surface and was very muddy.

¹⁶ Response to Bishop's Circular, 5.12.26. The mission debt was £4885.

¹⁷ ED99/170 Correspondence Oldham LEA to Board of Education 11 March 1925.

At St Patrick's Girls Department, the main undivided room always contained four classes. Playgrounds for Girls and Infants consisted of two spaces about 50' x 35' and 60' x 14 joined by narrow passages. Heating of the classroom by the playground was poor and the ventilation of the main room was doubtful, as one side of it was a solid wall. Two noisy streets bounded the school. There were no doors to the water closets and the two small washbasins and cloakroom were inadequate. The teachers' room was underground and dark.¹⁹

The Oldham Director of Education, Mr Kershaw, anticipated that the managers would make proposals that would enable the Board to continue recognition.²⁰ They were considering the partitioning of the main room. At Dunbar Street, the new heating system, minor repairs had been carried out.²¹ Even the playground had been treated where badly worn,²² and the school beautified.²³ Eight low hopper windows had been put in so that heating and ventilation were satisfactory. WC structures had been repaired but a new system was not yet installed. The playground was still as before. The managers, in the light of a recent decision, were trying to pass this work onto the LEA.²⁴ Lavatory accommodation was still inadequate but with the reduced numbers this was not quite so urgent. In regard to the St Patrick's Girls' Department, HMI Whiteley forwarded plans for the partitioning of the main room and increasing the number of washbasins. In reply to a Board of Education enquiry, he stated: "At Dunbar St the only manager who counts is Canon **Nugent**, acting Vicar General for the diocese. He is a member of the LEA and is anxious to secure some regrouping of the Roman Catholic schools but is finding it extremely difficult. I have no doubt but that the suggested "reminder" will be all that is needed in his case."²⁵

3.3 Case Study 7: Ramsbottom

The St Joseph's school was condemned by the Board of Education as "utterly defective and unsuitable for continued recognition" and was placed in Schedule "A". Fr **McGuinness** explained to his people:²⁶

¹⁸ Modern heating apparatus had replaced the old stoves. The LEA had paid half of this cost because the school was used solely as a day school.

¹⁹ Report with additional handwritten notes.

²⁰ Interview memorandum with Kershaw with Board of Education 19 May 1925.

²¹ Correspondence Oldham LEA to Board of Education 19 November 1925.

²² Correspondence Whiteley to Board of Education 16 November 1926.

²³ Correspondence Oldham LEA to Board of Education 24 December 1926.

²⁴ Correspondence Whiteley to Board of Education 20 April 1929.

²⁵ Correspondence Whiteley to Mr Sharam 16 June 1929.

²⁶ Bazaar Souvenir A brochure photograph of St Joseph's Scouts, established in November 1924, showed 2 leaders & 38 boys and youths including 1 Senior Patrol Leader and 2 Patrol Leaders.

We are absolutely obliged to build new schools on a new site at the earliest opportunity. It is the duty of parents to see that their offspring receive proper instruction. Catholics are among those who look on religious knowledge as essential to, and inseparable from sound education. Their desire is to have their children taught in a religious atmosphere, suitable to their faith. Acts of Parliament allow this, provided such people are ready to buy land, put up buildings and make proper playgrounds. When they have paid this price for the exercise of their natural right, Local Education Authorities maintain such schools in the same way as those built out of the rates. Such is our position today. We must build new schools. We must pay the price, approximately £12,000. Who will help? We appeal in a special way to our many friends, to all lovers of the little ones, to all who desire to see religion continued in England.

A fund-raising Grand Floral Bazaar was held February 10-13th 1926 in the Liberal Club. The site initially favoured was that of the former St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, already purchased by Mgr Kelly of Manchester, who had removed the spire stone by stone and re-erected it at the English Martyrs' Church, Whalley Range. Plans to convert the main building were however deemed by the Presbyterians to breach a restricted covenant. Consequently a new site in Queen St was purchased. The Manchester architect, Mr H. Yearsley, prepared plans for a school to hold 300 children. Modified in the light of LEA advice, the plans were rejected by the Board of Education. Fr McGuinness then accepted modified plans by the Board's own architect for a school to hold no more than 280 children. Hallwood of Hyde was appointed contractor. Bishop Henshaw laid the foundation stone on 16 July 1927 and the school opened on 28 July 1928 at a total cost of £9,850 including the site.²⁷

3.4 Case Study 8: Rochdale

St John's Infant School was blacklisted in category "A", a decision with which the parish priest, Canon Chipp, thoroughly agreed. He had recently built a new Boys' School, and a new and extensive church, so the parish finances were somewhat overstretched. Hence he pleaded with the Board of Education to give him a few years before he rebuilt the infant school. The Board of Education minutes are quite revealing:

Under ordinary circumstances there would be little doubt about an early replacement of the school by a new one. Canon Chipp argues that the buildings are bad and that patchwork alterations with a probable loss of school places would be a false economy. He has however just built a church at a cost of over £22,000 and feels that he cannot immediately impose the burden of an additional debt upon the mission. Pressure for anything like immediate action would therefore only result in opposition. Canon Chipp promises to build in about three years time. For the present I think we must be content with an assurance on these lines which no doubt will be sent through the LEA. The St John's RC Mixed school is a fine modern building and I feel sure that with three years grace allowed tacitly the Infant School will be rebuilt.²⁸

²⁷ St Joseph's, Ramsbottom History 1862-1962 pp. 18-19.

²⁸ ED99/175 Minute of/or to Mr Davidson 9 March 1925.

The Board noticed that they had received no satisfactory reply from LEA and asked for the HMIs' observations before official action was taken. They suspected that the question of the effect of Circular 1371 was bound up in the delay.²⁹ They had noted that St John's managers "ask for the provision of the new infant department be postponed for at least three years when the burden can be better borne" because of new £22,000+ church.³⁰ Recognising the reality of the situation, they concluded: "Please see preceding minutes. We can do nothing here yet."³¹

4. Expansion into the Suburbs

In 1926 Henshaw noted that no new schools had been opened since 1924 even though some new parishes had been created³². In one case no land could be found. The claim that in other cases there were not enough children, that they were of secondary school age, or that they were in other Catholic schools cut little ice. Henshaw commented:

But whilst admitting that cases do exist where delay is inevitable, we must adhere to the principles which have carried us forward so far: that a school is of prime importance, that no parish is complete without a school, and that in some districts a school-chapel is of greater account than a chapel simply. The parish which requires a school, as nearly every parish does, and which is neglecting to secure one is either living on its neighbours or allowing extensive leakage to go on; probably both.

He recognised that towns were expanding and that new parishes would be needed, even if there were no immediate hope of founding them. Delay would be dangerous, unnecessary delay criminal. Every new parish needed its own school.

Every young parish which is working to have its school is deserving of a place of honour along with the pioneers of Catholicism of the past. If there is a parish which is deliberately neglecting the call of its little children for a school it is so far falling short in its duty.

If the parishes opened later in Casartelli's episcopate are included, the interwar expansion of parishes and their schools is as follows:

Salford	Our Lady of Dolours (Servites)	1923	School opened post war
	Also chapel of ease of St Philip		No school
	St Charles', Moorside	1923	Pre-existing school (Swinton)
	St Luke, Irlams o' th' Height	1922	School opened 1938
Accrington	St Mary' Huncoat chapel of ease	1931	No school

²⁹ ED99/175 Letter to HMI Reynish 28 October 1925.

³⁰ ED99/175 Minute 10 December 1925.

³¹ ED99/175 Minute to Mr Sharman.

³² Preface to Educational Statistics Report, 3 August 1926.

Blackburn	St Teresa	1937	School opened post war
	Holy Souls	1924	School opened post war
	Christ the King chapel of ease		
Bolton	St Columba, Tonge Moor	1931	School opened 1938
	St Osmund, Brightmet	1921	School opened post war
	St William, Great Lever	1936	Pre-existing School
	St Ethelbert, Deane	1923	Pre-existing School
Burnley	Christ the King	1928	St Thomas School transferred
Droylsden	St Stephen	1935	School opened 1937
Farnworth	Our Lady of Lourdes	1931	School opened post war
Manchester	Christ the King, Newton Heath	1937	School opened 1939
	St Ambrose, Chorlton	1932	School opened 1932
	St Bernard, Burnage	1941	School opened post war
	St Catherine, Didsbury	1928	School opened 1929
	St Clare, Blackley	1929	School opened 1931
	St John Bosco, Blackley	1940	School opened post war
	St Kentigern, Fallowfield	1926	School opened post war
	St Margaret Mary, New Moston	1935	School opened 1939
	St Malachy, Collyhurst	1922	School opened 1930
	St Richard, Longsight ³³	1936	School opened post war
Pendlebury	St Mark	1923	Pre-existing School
Rochdale	St Vincent de Paul, Norden	1940	School opened post-war
Stretford	St Hugh of Lincoln, Lostock	1938	Private school LEA opposition
	St Teresa	1928	School opened 1929
Swinton	St Charles	1923	Pre-existing school
Whalley	English Martyrs ³⁴	1921	No school

³³ Built as a chapel of ease to St Robert's, whose school it shared until its own school was built in the 1970s.

³⁴ No school was ever built in this parish. Children went to Clithrow, Langho, Sabden or to non-Catholic schools

The 1928 Almanac illustrated four newly built schools at St Wilfrid's, Hulme, St Patrick's Girls' School and St Anne's Boys' School in Manchester and St Joseph's School at Ramsbottom. The last three had been built to replace blacklisted schools. Even so, Henshaw could lament that³⁵:

Parishes which are needed have not been established because of the dearth of priests and of money. New schools which are sadly needed are, for various reasons, still wanting.

To widen the interest of Catholics in their schools, the 1929 Almanac contained a summary of school statistics³⁶, which showed a total of 56,119 pupils in Catholic elementary schools with 1573 teachers in post.³⁷ The new school-church complex of St Malachy was pictured, together with the new Infant School at Farnworth, which replaced a blacklisted building. Of the statistics Henshaw commented:

Taking this report alone, I think it will perhaps help some to realise in a way they have never done before how great is the amount of school accommodation already provided by the voluntary contributions of the Catholics of this diocese. At the same time it is still unfortunately true that not every Parish has a School. It is equally true that some Parishes are ready to make sacrifices to build a School and are held up by difficulties of a new and unexpected order. This is not the place to explain what these difficulties are. Suffice it to say here that they arise from new administrative regulations which tend to restrict the usefulness of proposed new schools in the smaller parishes.³⁸

5. Case Study 9: The effects of the Hadow Report: St Robert's School, Longsight, and Reorganisation in Manchester.

The parish of St Robert, Longsight, opened in summer 1915 to serve a developing residential area between St Mary's, Levenshulme, Sacred Heart, Gorton, St Edward's, Rusholme, and St Joseph's, Longsight. It straddled the main Stockport Road. A site for the permanent church and school was purchased close to the new Anson Corporation Estate between Birchfield Park and the Victorian terraces alongside Stockport Road and Slade Lane, with an additional site beyond Crowcroft Park for a future chapel of ease.

Fr **George T. Griffin** was appointed parish priest in Advent 1927. By December the parish had accumulated some £3,377-18-10 to fund a school. Diocesan permission was obtained to build a school and chapel on the Hamilton Road site. The school was to hold 300 children, the chapel 500 people. The diocesan finance committee approved a loan on 18 January 1928. On that same afternoon, Fr **Griffin** consulted Mr Yearsley, who was engaged as architect, and next day saw Mr E. Roberts at the

³⁵ 1928 Diocesan Almanac. Preface written 1 November 1927.

³⁶ 1929 Almanac pp. 120-122.

³⁷ Figures are taken from the returns for 1927. Of the pupils, 27907 were boys, 28212 were girls.

³⁸ The supposition is that Henshaw was referring both to the unwillingness of some LEAs to see new Catholic schools opened, and to the growing tendency of LEAs to wish to limit new and existing elementary schools to a pupil age range of 5 – 11 in line with the Hadow Report. In a smaller parish.

Manchester Education Offices. On 28 January 1928 the statutory notices required under the 1921 Education Act were published. Mr Yearsley completed a plan of the school and chapel on Wednesday 15 February. The Diocesan Finance Board approved the plans. These were then forwarded to the Board of Education. An LEA official, Mr Hodgekiss, called on 27 February to ascertain both the parish boundaries and the number of children involved: some ninety at St Joseph's School, and a further seventy at St Mary's School.

The Director of Education, Spurley Hey, asked Fr **Griffin** to outline his plans before a meeting of the Special Sites Sub-Committee on 23 April 1928. The plans were duly presented for building a school for children up to the age of 14+. The chairman questioned the necessity of such a school. There were, he said, three Catholic schools within a mile radius. Fr **Griffin** replied that there was no accommodation available at St Mary's School, and scarcely any at St Edward's School. Although space was available at St Joseph's School, the distances involved and the danger from increased traffic for younger children made this option unsatisfactory. He was then asked to consider building a school for infants and children under 11 only. In reply he stressed the importance of "parochiality", of having a school for all the children of the parish, but he promised to give consideration to the proposal. On 26 April, Spurley Hey informed Fr **Griffin** that it had been agreed to recommend to the Education Committee not to make any formal objection to the proposed school, as he had undertaken to consider the suggestions placed before him.

Parishioners held a meeting on 29 April to consider the suggestions. It was agreed that restricting the school to younger children was not acceptable. This decision together with the views of the parents was duly recorded, and signed by 550 voters, Catholic residents of the parish. St Mary's School had 280+ pupils on roll with places for 241; St Edward's School had 225 pupils with places for only 238. Nearly forty Catholic children were attending non-Catholic schools for want of provision. St Joseph's School was considered too distant for many children in the parish, who would have to walk up to six miles³⁹ a day to attend there. The LEA was duly informed that an all age school was still intended. The Special Sites Sub-Committee met. Their minutes stated "the Education Committee remain of the opinion that on educational and financial grounds, and having regard to the fact that three Roman Catholic Schools for children up to 14 years of age already exist within a mile radius on the site of

the elimination of the 11-14 children from the traditional all age school would severely impact on the viability of any newly proposed school, and would render impossible the creation of a Senior School.

Hamilton Road, the school as proposed be confined to younger children” together with a resolution “that the Board of Education be requested to consider the expediency of attaching such conditions to any approval of the plans as will ensure that the School is recognised only for infants and juniors”. An amendment by Councillor Lundy that this be omitted was rejected, and the proposed minute was approved.

Fr **Griffin** sought to have this decision overturned. A printed statement was issued outlining the course of negotiations. He challenged the statement that St Edward’s School was within the distance claimed, using the I.E.A.’s own map to disprove it. The nucleus of his argument however was as follows:

On educational grounds we assert our rights in the choice of a school. Financially we are prepared to erect and pay for a school, and look with confidence in our fellow citizens’ sense of justice to them for its maintenance. We hope that our desire of a school for our children up to fourteen years of age will have your practical sympathy in the Council Chamber on June 6th, 1928.

Battle lines were now drawn to win the mind of the Council. A protest meeting against the age-limit proposal was arranged, and widely reported in the press⁴⁰. The arguments were carefully orchestrated. The decision did not respect parental rights. Financial considerations were pleaded. In erecting their own schools, St Robert’s parishioners were effecting a saving to the rate-payer of £12,000, while at the same time, as ratepayers, they were paying their quota to the maintenance of other schools. Emotion was appealed to. If the Education Committee’s suggestion that younger children attend St Robert’s School while older ones attended elsewhere, it would mean real hardship to families who have a number of children attending school, as the younger children would have to go to and from school without the care of the older ones. A misquotation in the Daily Express that an agreement had been reached between Fr **Griffin** and the Education Committee about the age grouping was repudiated⁴¹. The Catholic press reports delved deeper into the issue. Principle was at stake, since this would be a test case for the implementation of the new primary educational provision. Such implementation would place grave financial burdens on Catholic parishes, militate against the parish spirit, and deprive younger children of the example of their elder siblings. Manchester Education Committee met on 21 May 1928. The affair came to an abrupt end when the Sub-Committee withdrew the minute concerning St Robert’s. The school thus opened as an all age school, and so remained until its recent closure.

³⁹This distance involved going to school in the morning; returning home for dinner; returning to the school again in the afternoon, before the final journey home at the end of the school day.

⁴⁰**Manchester Evening Chronicle** 22 May 1928, 23 May 1928; **Daily Express** 23 May 1928; **The Universe** 25 May 1928, **Catholic Herald** and **Catholic Times** of the same week-end.

⁴¹ The agreement had been to consider the age proposals, not to accept them.

Lessons were learnt. When St Catherine's School opened in Didsbury, an agreement was made with the Manchester Education Committee that accommodation for older pupils would be provided at the existing St Cuthbert's School, Withington. This informal arrangement, as opposed to a "formal policy enforced on the lines of the Hadow Report" (to whose principles Henshaw's letter strongly objected) would continue until sufficient pupils attended St Catherine's School to make viable the formation of three top classes. "This would obviate your difficulty and save our principle of a parish school being a self-contained thing when it arrives at maturity". Spurley Hey's response was noted. He had refrained from calling together the Special Committee before the expiry date of the Public Notices for the new school, and had advised his committee not to lodge any appeal, "bearing in mind your obvious intention to meet the Committee in every way possible".⁴²

On 7 January 1929 the Manchester Education Committee hosted a Conference⁴³ with representative managers of Non-Provided Schools to discuss school reorganisation across the city. Although the Hadow Report had as yet no statutory standing, the Education Committee, with Board of Education backing, wished to see different provision being made for all children aged over 11. While they could easily deal with their own schools, they wished to offer all Church Schools an opportunity to join the reorganisation.

Marshall bluntly stated the Catholic position:

The Catholics will not abandon the old, traditional, parochial system. Our influence does not end with the school. We must follow into the workshop. We believe that the breaking up of the parochial system would destroy our oversight of the children⁴⁴, and we will not hand over our children to State Schools.

He outlined the financial implications. Many parishes were in debt because their elementary schools had recently been improved. Money could not be found to fund any new senior schools even if suitable sites could be found. Another problem lay with the number of Catholic children in many parishes. To have 200 children aged 11-14 to fill a senior school would require a school population of 624 pupils aged 5 – 14. Such numbers did not exist in the new parishes. Spurley Hey summarised the Catholic position as follows:

In no circumstances would any children be transferred from Roman Catholic Schools to Council Schools.

⁴² Copy of a Letter, undated, to Spurley Hey, author unknown, but possibly Henshaw. SIDA Box 47.

⁴³ Report of a Conference on School Reorganisation 7 January 1929 SIDA Box 47.

⁴⁴ It was the experience of many clergy, myself included, that children who attended non-parochial schools often disassociated themselves from parish involvement, perhaps because their schools required their presence at week-end school activities.

Because you must maintain the parochial system, you do not propose to send in schemes for grouping of Roman Catholic Schools

Whilst consideration might be given to the possibility of re-grouping of children in an individual existing school, that cannot be done if it costs money, and even if it were carried out, you will require any additional practical rooms to be provided by the Local Education Authority.

This was accepted as correct. When asked whether there would be other objections apart from finance Marshall replied that there were. One fear was the effect that the longer walk to and from school would have on poor under-nourished and ill shod children. Spurley Hey offered food and shoes if these were needed. The principle objection remained however the loss of oversight of children leaving the parish school. As Marshall explained:

We are quite willing to organise our existing schools without expense to ourselves but we cannot hold out any hope that we can re-organise as the Chairman and Mr Spurley Hey so gently suggest to us.

In November Spurley Hey wrote to the diocese outlining the re-organisation plans for 1930-1933 and asking if the Catholic position expressed at the Conference remained unchanged. In reply, it was stated that there had been no change, and that the financial position had been aggravated by the prospect of having to provide school accommodation for children up to 15 years of age with the proposed raising of the school leaving age.⁴⁵

A draft letter, written apparently by Henshaw, outlined the arguments yet again, although the writer seemed to suggest that "parochiality" might not be the obstacle some believed it was. An additional argument was then put forward. Parish schools were held in trust to educate the children of the parish. The trustees had no legal right to alter that trust. They clearly could not send Catholic children to a Council school, and must hesitate about sending them to even a Catholic school beyond the parish. Given the monies recently spent on remodelling or rebuilding blacklisted schools, "it is natural that our poor people should feel that the time has come when some of this burden should be taken from their shoulders".

This question of reorganisation is not one of sectarian bias, but in some aspects it does seem at present to border on an infringement of rights of conscience. Moreover it promises to entail expenditure which Catholics feel that they cannot guarantee without assistance. That is why we must "stand out" for the present.

The letter ends expressing a desire for "the best possible education for all children", as the Board of Education and so many LEAs were determined to provide. It ends simply:

⁴⁵ Letter from Spurley Hey 25 November to Bishop Henshaw, Letter of 30 November 1929 from Henshaw to Spurley Hey. SDA Box 47.

I have sufficient confidence in the goodwill and sense of justice of the people of England to believe that some plan will be devised whereby we may co-operate with a clear conscience in all educational advancement and share to the full in its advantages.

6. Conclusion

Had Henshaw kept faith with the five principles? Throughout the arguments expressed, the vision that education was based on religion underpinned the Catholic position. Intense efforts had been made to ensure the provision of Catholic parochial elementary schools, both in the newly created parishes, and in the refurbishment of so many blacklisted schools. The effort had however financially drained the Catholic community to such an extent that it shrank back from any re-organisation that would split the parish elementary school. This resistance to the Hadow proposals, although based partially on financial grounds, included a vision of “parochiality” which foresaw as non-viable a Catholic school unsupported by or disconnected from its parish. While the wish to provide suitable Catholic provision for all Catholic children was maintained, the wherewithal was lacking. Stress was laid on parental wishes and conscience being a paramount factor in educational provision. Any solution requiring Catholic children to attend Council Schools was vehemently rejected. Additional Catholic provision was thought to be financially impossible. The parochial all age elementary school would have to remain the norm until and unless a suitable plan, duly financed, was devised.

The financial inter-war collapse had seen a type of truce develop, as neither side, State or Church, could then afford extensive re-organisation. This unsatisfactory *modus vivendi* lasted until the passing of the 1936 Education Act, which itself was rendered inoperable by the outbreak of war. The all age parochial elementary school was to soldier on until the 1960s.

Chapter 9: Political Activity in the time of Casartelli and Henshaw

1. Overview of the Chapter

An account of the debate about the role of the Voluntary School Association after the 1902 creation of LEAs opens this chapter. Reference is made to the 1906 Education Bill, the alarm it caused, and its failure. The creation of the Catholic Federation under Casartelli and its militant stance on educational matters is next briefly studied. The effects on Catholic education from the various attempts to change educational legislation from 1918 onwards are summarised. Greater attention is paid to the 1936 Education Act and the developing stance Henshaw took in regard to it, a stance not always in line with the vision of the Archbishop of Westminster! The chapter ends with a consideration of whether or not Casartelli and Henshaw had implemented the Five Principles.

2 Handing over to the LEAs - Future Role and Status of the Voluntary Schools Association

Once the schools had been handed over to the newly formed LEAs under the 1902 Education Act, the obvious question concerned the future role of the Association. It had masterminded the hand over of schools to the LEAs on the “appointed day”, and it still had a small amount of aid grant to negotiate and distribute in 1903 as the claims for the final months under the School Board were settled. Proponents for dissolution argued that the Association had been formed simply to administer the aid grant. As that had ceased, the *raison d’être* of the Association had disappeared, and it should be formally disbanded. **Tynan** had a grandiose vision of the Association being accepted by the LEAs as the official representative body of the diocese in educational matters. His vision was not however shared by the LEAs. While accepting Catholic representation on their education committees, they insisted that it be locally based, and stoutly refused to acknowledge any role, nor indeed, the existence of the Association. Even the Bishop himself was unsure. Several meetings of the Association were actually summoned under the title of “The Lord Bishop of Salford’s Education Committee”, which left some members non-plussed. Their argument was a simple one. The Lord Bishop’s Education Committee would be exclusively a church organisation, with no standing other than moral, whereas the Association, established by Parliament, had had a legal basis in law. A reversion to the Association

title eventually triumphed. But by this time, new threats were appearing on the horizon. The Liberal Government, to placate its Non-Conformist ranks, was preparing to undo the support for Church Schools offered under the 1902 Act. It was time to defend the status quo, and the Association, with its roots at parish level, its proven organisation at deanery and diocesan level, providentially still existed. The target might be new, but the well-rehearsed wheels turned easily from aid grant administration to the very defence of Catholic schools in the diocese, and in the country at large. The fight was on.

3: The 1906 Education Bill

The shadow cast on Catholic Education by the Liberal Government's 1906 Education Bill has already been mentioned in Chapter 7. The political response of the Catholic community has been well studied recently¹. The defeat of the Bill took place in the House of Lords where the Conservative majority, including the Anglican bishops, strongly defended church schools. Their amendments proved unacceptable to the Liberals and the Bill was dropped. Catholic agitation therefore was vicariously victorious. Many leading clerics and laypeople failed to realise this and thought the victory was their own, won by their own exertions, propaganda and demonstrations and thus in later years arrogantly overestimated their political clout. Having tried to play fair to its Non-conformist supporters, the Liberal Party preferred to continue in government rather than risk defeat in elections that the country was not thought to want². McKenna introduced a Bill in February 1907 but withdrew it in May. In February 1908 he re-introduced his revised Bill. It passed a second reading in May but was then abandoned. Runciman replaced McKenna and tried to get agreement for a compromise bill in November 1908 but without the support of the Catholics, still angry at the "ban" that had been imposed on the Eucharistic Procession in Westminster³. With mounting opposition from both Anglicans and Non-conformists, the Bill was withdrawn in December 1908. The next major piece of educational legislation came towards the end of the Great War: the 1918 Education Act.

¹ K. Aspden **Fortress Church** pp. 27 seq.; Martin Fanning *The 1906 Liberal Education Bill and the Roman Catholic Reaction of the Diocese of Salford* (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, 1996, Oxford University); John Cashman *The 1906 Education Bill: Catholic Peers and Irish Nationalists in Recusant History* 18, October 1987, pp. 422-439, V. A. McClelland *Bourne, Norfolk and the Irish Parliamentarians: Roman Catholics and the Education Bill of 1906* in **Recusant History** Vol. 23, October 1996, pp. 228-256. Machin gives a comprehensive account of this and subsequent Liberal attempts to legislate on educational matters in **Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869-1921** pp. 284-305.

² Searle **The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration** p. 81.

³ W. Meynell **The Story of the Congress** pp. 54 - 79

4. Leading his People: Casartelli and popular propaganda

Casartelli took advantage of the monthly magazine "*The Harvest*"⁴ and from 1910 onwards of the *Catholic Federationist*⁵ to ensure that ordinary Catholics, aware of the educational issues of the day, would support the Church's stance as and when needed. The bishop's pastoral letters⁶, read publicly in all churches, and his *Ad Clerum* letters reinforced this position. The Catholic Truth Society organised occasional Conferences when papers would be delivered on the Schools Question, if not explicitly dealt with in the forewords Casartelli wrote in the Conference brochures. Similarly when National Catholic Congresses were held, papers on the Schools Question were frequently given. Thus a picture emerges of a sustained campaign⁷ to make ordinary Catholics aware of educational issues and to rally them at local and national level in support of Catholic Schools. The laity involvement which the Voluntary Schools Associations had to have to satisfy the Board of Education, and previous efforts to create Registration Associations to manipulate the Catholic vote, might be seen as coming together to create a popular front which would bring pressure to bear on Members of Parliament, whether sitting or prospective, for the next fifty years or more.

The Catholic Federation began in 1910 when a group of Catholic workers active in Trade Unionism approached Casartelli about the position of Catholics in social affairs. Catholic Federation cells were established in various parishes where the clergy were agreeable. At local and diocesan levels, Federationists attempted to implement Catholic principles in social issues and to defend Catholic positions and practice where these were being attacked or were thought to be under attack. **Thomas F. Burns** became Secretary⁸. He held Socialism in utter abhorrence and regarded anyone he considered tainted with Socialism as an enemy to be attacked and routed. This single minded obsession made it difficult for Federationists to view some issues from a wider perspective, and as the Federation

⁴ *The Harvest* was a monthly publication of the Catholic Children's Rescue and Protection Society first issued in 1887. It served basically as a diocesan newsletter in those parishes where its sale was actively promoted. It ceased publication in 1970.

⁵ Monthly broadsheet publication of the Catholic Federation, very popular and pugnacious in tone.

⁶ Pastoral Letters such as "The Signs of the Times" 3 October 1903, on the Blackburn CIS Conference, 1 September 1905, on "The Crisis in Catholic Education", Lent 1906, on "The Duty of Catholics at the 1910 General Election", on "The Christian Family", Lent 1919. In all there are 5 printed volumes of his Pastoral Letters in the Diocesan Archives.

⁷ Aspden **Fortress Church** p. 29 describes Casartelli thus: "With his preference for noisy forms of political protest and intransigent opposition to any attempts to reverse the 1902 education settlement, Casartelli emerged as a Catholic counterpart to E. A. Knox, Anglican Bishop of Manchester".

⁸ Born in Manchester in 1873, Burns initially worked as a railway clerk before giving his entire time to promoting the Catholic Federation, and organising the National Conference of Catholic Trade Unionists. He was awarded the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* Cross in 1915.

developed in other dioceses across the country, and indeed overseas, **Burn's** intransigence and lack of diplomacy alienated some bishops and made any co-operation with the newly formed Catholic Social Guild impossible. Burn's strong minded stance and lack of diplomacy sadly proved the Achilli's heel of the Federation, which eventually declined and went out of existence in the late 1930s. The Federation issued a monthly broadsheet until the death of its publisher. Over the years, educational topics were frequently highlighted⁹, especially in 1917-1918 when Fisher's Education Bill was being formulated. Casartelli's adherence to the Five Principles is clearly demonstrated when articles were published with his approval on such topics as the right of School Managers and the question of who should control Catholic schools, on the issue of the Labour Party and Trade Unions and secular education, on secondary school regulations, on the role and rights of parents and the "invasion" of the home by the State and repeatedly on the Fisher Education Bills of 1917 and 1918.

5. Henshaw, Hinsley and the 1936 Education Act

5.1 The development of Henshaw's stance.

During the two decades after the 1918 Education Act, a plethora of Educational Bills, Acts and Reports were forthcoming. Beales usefully outlined the various stages.¹⁰ The Labour Party, recognising the impossible position of Catholic schools, tried to mitigate it.¹¹ The efforts of Trevelyan were in vain, as Aspden illustrates¹², faltering on the issue of the appointment of Catholic teachers. As Beales noted, the irony was that Cardinal **Bourne** was later ready to modify his position and that the financial terms finally secured in the 1936 Act were less generous than Trevelyan had earlier offered. Given the stance taken by the Northern bishops, it is doubtful that **Bourne** would have had his way even if he had accepted Trevelyan's proposals. Dissension between the bishops and a lack of a common policy or approach might be said to have characterised these two decades.

⁹ 18 educational items were published in *The Federationist* in 1910, 22 in 1911, 17 in 1912, 23 in 1913, 15 in 1914, a mere 9 in 1915, 13 in 1916, increasing to 34 in 1917 and 42 in 1918, with a reduction to 28 in 1919, 16 in 1920, 25 in 1921, 20 in 1922, and only 5 in 1923. Some items consisted simply of "Education Notes" while others dealt with specific cases or issues. Broadley believes Casartelli was disappointed that the Federation was not as widespread within the diocese as he would have wished. Broadley believes relatively *The Federationist* would have influenced few Catholics. I would differ in my interpretation if only because other Catholics would have been reading *The Harvest* which itself contained a similar spread of educational items.

¹⁰ A. C. F. Beales *The Struggle for Catholic Schools* in **The English Catholics** pp. 385-393.

¹¹ *Idem* pp. 391-392

¹² K Aspden **Fortress Church** pp. 178-179. See also the article by D. W. Dean *Difficulties of a Labour Educational Policy: The Failure of the Trevelyan Bill 1921* *BJES* Vol. 17, 1969, pp. 286 seq.

Henshaw had been deeply affected by his experience of anti-Catholic legislation while a student in France. He had seen the destruction caused, especially to Catholic schools, and feared lest similar events might be repeated in England. This experience coloured his vision and his action.¹³ Thus in 1928 he outlined the rights of parents under English Education Acts¹⁴. Progress made and "rights" to be gained were succinctly outlined.

The Catholic School is a vital necessity in the organisation of a parish. After three generations of splendid generosity, self-sacrifice and patient persistence a magnificent edifice of Catholic Education has been built into the English Constitution. To defend the rights already won, and to gain the others still needed we must know them, and be ready to urge them at all times on all candidates seeking public office, local or national.

There still remains to be obtained the right to a Catholic school in all areas where there is a reasonable number of children, and the right to share in all educational grants and rates for the building and repair of Catholic schools. This latter is most urgent.

In 1933 a programme was beginning in Manchester to clear away slum buildings and provide better housing, which Henshaw approved without reserve. Yet he feared that one matter of vital importance was being overlooked: the provision of Catholic schools for Catholic people. Unless sympathetic consideration was given to their needs, for example, the Manchester proposal of a five-year scheme would cause great hardships. Nearly 5000 houses were being dealt with and another ten thousand would be involved. This was already having adverse effects on inner city parishes and their communities:

City parishes are being depleted whilst Catholic families are going out to districts where no competent provision is made for religious facilities for them or their children. Catholic schools already provided are in danger of being emptied and it will be necessary to build new schools where they will be wanted.

Henshaw instructed the Manchester clergy to call a meeting of parishioners on Sunday 29 October to consider the situation and to take action. A list of questions to be put to candidates in the Manchester municipal elections in November was appended, with the suggestion that resolutions embodying the points be sent to the Ministry of Health, the Minister of Education, local Members of Parliament and to the City Council.¹⁵ The questions were as follows:

Are you in favour of displaced families, if they so wish, being rehoused gradually in the vicinity of the voluntary schools at present attended by their children?

¹³ M. J. Broadley *The Episcopate of Thomas Henshaw, Bishop of Salford, 1925-1938* M. Phil Thesis, University of Manchester, 1998, Chapters 1 and 5, passim.

¹⁴ *Diocesan Almanac* 1928 p. 153.

¹⁵ *Ad Clerum* to Manchester parish priests 26 October 1933 SDA203/108.

Will you oppose any proposal to transfer parents against their wishes to alternative accommodation until reasonable opportunity be offered them for providing the voluntary school places they desire for their children?

If parents whose children are attending denominational schools are transferred from a clearance area to a district where there is no available school of the same denomination, are you in favour of a government subsidy whereby parents can provide the accommodation they approve of?

If you are in favour of these measures will you do your utmost by vote and otherwise to promote their advancement both in the City Council and in the councils of your party?

On 5 November 1935 Henshaw again wrote to the clergy¹⁶. As he considered that the education programmes formulated by the Parliamentary Parties were unsatisfactory from a Catholic point of view, he suggested three questions be asked of candidates by Catholic voters, and in particular, by Catholic parents. Written answers should be sought and read out by parish priests. The questions were as follows:

Are you in favour of giving State aid towards the building of denominational schools to enable them to meet the increased requirements of the Board of Education with regard to New Schools and possible Raising of the School Age?

Will you defend the rights of parents to build a denominational school and oppose the limitations imposed by the Board of Education to the exercise of this right?

Will you oppose any interference with the rights of Managers of denominational schools in the appointment of teachers?¹⁷

The first question concerned state financial aid of some sort not only to school extensions and new schools for secondary purposes, but also to replacement schools within town centres for schools “blacklisted” because of physically poor conditions, and to any new school that needed to be provided in the new corporation and private estates being built in new suburban areas. The second sought to elucidate the candidate’s attitude to a right of Catholics to continue to build their own schools. The final question referred to the appointment by managers of Catholic teachers to Catholic schools in the light of the proposed “reserved” and “unreserved” IEA appointment of teachers. The stance Henshaw was here taking would be considerably developed when the 1936 Education Act was being formulated.

5.2 The Purpose of the 1936 Education Act

The main purpose of the Act was to raise the school leaving age, while allowing exemption for “beneficial employment”. Financial grants were also offered to adapt existing non-provided schools for

¹⁶ **Ad Clerum** SDA203/122.

¹⁷ The printed text of the questions was on a tear off slip that could be signed and dated by the parliamentary candidate.

senior pupils, or to build, within a very strict timescale, new non-provided senior schools. If accepted, and until repaid, the grant required the managers to cede to the Local Education Authority the appointment of all staff, whether “reserved” and therefore approved by the managers for the teaching of religion, or not. Provision was also included for religious teaching according to the LEA syllabus to be given in denominational schools, if requested, regardless of their trust deeds, and for the withdrawal from council schools during the religious lesson of those pupils whose parents so insisted. Clearly the Act, if implemented unsympathetically, would undermine dearly held principles of Catholic Education: an education based on the Catholic religion, delivered in Catholic Schools, by Catholic teachers, to Catholic children.

The dual system presented difficulties to reorganisation, especially in rural areas, owing to lack of transport facilities. When an all-standard school was converted into a junior school, the distances children had to travel to a senior school were greatly increased. If the school happened to be a Church of England school, the senior pupils either had to be drafted to a council school or a new senior non-provided school would have to be built by the Church authorities, thus throwing a heavy burden on their finances. The Education Act of 1936 was meant to answer this and other problems. This Act raised the school leaving age to fifteen, to take effect on 1st September 1939. Exemptions were allowed where it could be proved that the child was proceeding to “beneficial employment”.... The Act empowered LEAs to make grants to managers of non-provided schools up to 75% of the cost of the school buildings for senior children. Such schools were to be known as “special agreement” schools, and managers were given a time limit in which to make up their minds.... In return for the grant, managers surrendered the appointment of teachers to the LEA. Denominational teaching could be given by reserved teachers, but undenominational teaching was to be given to those children whose parents desired it. This was to be in accordance with an agreed syllabus.¹⁸

Thus Curtis concisely describes the aim of the 1936 Education Act in implementing the provisions of the Hadow Report. His reference to the case of a Church of England School illustrates also the position of the Catholic School. The Act posed several challenges to the Catholic community. The traditional all-age parish school was to be no more. It would become a primary school. Children over the age of 11 who did not gain or accept places in Grammar or selected Central Schools would have to be provided with new senior schools serving several parishes, yet seemingly belonging to none. The financial implications were clear, and expensive. More importantly, managers in return for grant aid towards building costs would surrender the appointment of teachers¹⁹. This had implications for the

¹⁸ Curtis S.J. *History of Education in Great Britain*, p.353.

¹⁹ Hinsley and the CEC had received legal advice that this would apply only to a department within the school. Henshaw, unconvinced, had sought a second opinion, which advised that it would apply to the whole school, not just a department within the school. This was one of the main issues of disagreement between Henshaw and Hinsley. Another area was the methodology of the Catholic response. The CEC and Bishop Brown of Pella advocated a gentlemanly behind the scenes diplomacy. Henshaw preferred

“Catholic control” of Catholic schools and their role in handing on the Faith. The cost of transporting Catholic children to a suitable Catholic school would also become an important issue, and remains one to the present day.

5.3 The 1936 Lenten Pastoral

On 23 February 1936 Henshaw voiced his fears publicly in a pastoral letter read that day in all the churches throughout the diocese. He devoted it to the Education Bill then before Parliament.

There is, as you know, at the present moment a new education Bill before Parliament dealing with the raising of the school leaving age. This raising of the school leaving age from fourteen to fifteen is to take effect from 1939 onwards, if the Bill is passed. This is a matter of general interest affecting the educational and economic life of the country. It will be discussed on both these aspects in and out of Parliament. But there is one section of the Bill that affects us as Catholics, and this is the only portion on which we would comment here.²⁰

Henshaw began by outlining the burden that faced the Catholic community in providing the additional school accommodation. At first sight, the Bill’s proposal that LEAs be allowed to make grants to the Church Authorities for building purposes on certain conditions and with certain restrictions might seem a move in the right direction, and an answer to Catholic claims for help from public funds. The 1930 Bill to raise the school leaving age had contained no such provision. The Scurr Amendment requiring such aid had been accepted and the 1930 Bill consequently had not been passed. The apparent benefits offered in the 1935 Bill were however of an illusory character, being nullified by the restrictions imposed. The pastoral then proceeded to state the grounds on which Henshaw considered the Bill unsatisfactory and unacceptable.

Firstly the timescale envisaged in the Bill appeared to allow only a two-year period for arrangements to be made with any LEA willing to offer grant aid. Secondly, at the expiration of that time, no further grant aid would be available and the whole cost of providing school buildings thereafter would fall on the promoters of voluntary or non-provided schools. The help on offer was only for senior departments, and therefore was but a temporary measure to enable educational authorities to re-organise existing schools. New all-age schools would receive no grant at all. Thirdly the educational authorities were merely permitted but not obliged to offer grant aid. If the LEA were ill disposed

direct political pressure through demonstrations and direct approached to Members of Parliament, a method actively pursued by his clergy with Episcopal approval in the face of Hinsley’s displeasure.

²⁰ **Pastoral Letter** 16 February 1936.

towards church schools, no grant need be offered²¹. In the light of these considerations Henshaw laid out his own vision.

We maintain that if it is the intention of the Government to enable by this Bill the non-provided schools to continue to form part of the national system (1) building grants should come from the Exchequer as they do to local educational authorities; (2) they should not be made dependent on the friendly or hostile attitude of the local education authority; and (3) they should not be made ineffective by the imposition of conditions which can only have been inserted to please the enemies of voluntary schools and which are not consonant with the letter and the spirit of the previous Education Acts from 1902 onwards.

Henshaw then outlines his fourth objection. When a grant was made, the managers of the school would no longer have the right to appoint or dismiss teachers. This right would be exercised exclusively by the LEA. The managers might exercise it again only if and when the grant had been repaid in full. This loss of control he contrasted with the prevailing situation where the managers appointed teachers and the LEAs, by their representation on the board of managers and by their power of veto, were able to ensure educational efficiency. The new proposals would provide “reserved” teachers to give religious instruction over whose appointment the managers only had a power of veto on religious grounds. All other teachers, being “unreserved”, would be appointed solely by the LEA without any consultation with the school managers. Should a grant be repaid, such teachers could not be dismissed on religious grounds.

It will come as a shock to our good Catholic people to learn that if they accept any grant from public funds they may wake up some day to find their children being taught history or biology by a teacher who is of some other religion or no religion or definitely anti-religious.

Henshaw next referred to a hint that this clause was not meant to apply to Catholic schools but was inserted to make provision for children on Nonconformists obliged to attend Church of England schools. He shrewdly observed that this was not what the Bill actually said.

Henshaw then moved on to Clauses 11 and 12 in the Bill dealing with religious instruction in schools and the withdrawal of children during religious instruction. His understanding was that these clauses would apply to all schools, and not only to those non-provided schools accepting LEA grants. Clause 11 seemed to give the right to, say, non-Catholic parents who had children in a Catholic school to

²¹ Liverpool City Council refused grants to Catholic schools. Archbishop Downey, with the fate of 42,403 children at stake, tried to make it an issue in the local elections, and was soundly defeated. In July 1939 the Board of Education stepped in and withheld £180,000 of its grant to Liverpool. Eventually a private Act finally permitted the Archbishop to rent schools from the LEA. See Beck *The English Catholics* p. 393.

choose to have their children instructed in accordance with the LEA religious syllabus. Should the school managers be unwilling, the LEA was to arrange for its provision. As Henshaw remarked:

The extraordinary thing, and the unjust thing, is that the same principle does not apply when the position is reversed.²²

Clause 12 gave parents who desired their children to receive religious instruction of a kind not available in the school the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction so long as the L.E.A. were satisfied that arrangements had been made for the pupil to attend religious observance or instruction elsewhere. The incongruities and injustices of these clauses were then spelt out

The parent who favours Council school religion has the right of entry through teachers of that religion into our schools, built by private money for the express purpose of preserving their exclusiveness in religious teaching and observance. The Catholic or Anglican parent who desires definite religion to be taught to his child, and is obliged to send them because there is no other to a Council school which he helps to build and maintain, has only the right of exit. He can take his children out for religious instruction provided he can find a place convenient for, and persons willing to give, such instruction.

Henshaw stated his belief that those who had prepared these portions of the Bill had simply embodied wholesale conditions and restrictions suggested by the enemies of denominational schools, thus resurrecting the acute religious difficulties of 1870, which the compromise of 1902 had somewhat diminished.

This is not legislation for the common good: it is a subtle form of religious persecution. It is not an effort to enable the voluntary schools to take their full part in and share the full benefits of educational advance: it is another attempt either to change their character or force them out of the national system. And, to add insult to injury, we are smugly asked not to make a fuss about it; not to stir up religious controversy; to die quietly and not distress the executioner.

Henshaw intended to make as much fuss as he and his people could. He trusted that Catholics would consider the answers given to them by the parliamentary candidates at the recent election of November 1935, remind their Members of Parliament of the promises made if they were favourable, and would in any case let their representative in Parliament know what they thought of the Bill, which by then had passed the second reading. Time for action was however short. He also requested that a campaign of prayer be mounted so as to

move the hearts and touch the consciences of our legislators, that they may be prevented from doing anything to weaken religious influences on the minds and hearts of the children of this country

He noted in conclusion:

²² Had that been the case, of course, Catholic children in Council schools would have had the right to have Catholic religious instruction provided.

We Catholics have always realised the necessity of instilling religious principles in the young, and our good people have made enormous sacrifices to preserve the religious character of our schools. They are ready to make further sacrifices: any sacrifice within their power for the same end.

He also expected support from outside the Catholic community.

Many of our non-Catholic friends have openly deployed that fact that there is a general lack of religion in this country, especially among the young men and women, and some of them have traced this to its source - the lack of a real religious atmosphere in the school. These persons, deeply religious themselves, should be on our side and support us both by work and by prayer to win back the youth of this country to their allegiance to Christ our King.

5.4 Developments after the Pastoral

On 1 March 1936 Henshaw wrote a letter to Deans requesting them to stress at the clergy conference the urgency of instructing their people on the grave danger to Catholic schools contained in the Education Bill and calling them to action.

The Bill must not be allowed to go through as it stands: amendments are required ensuring that all our teachers shall be Catholics, that they shall be appointed by the managers, and that in accordance with our School Trust Deeds nothing but the Catholic religion may be taught in our schools (deletion of clause 11). If justice is to be done, grants should also apply to junior schools.²³

Henshaw recommended the convening of parish meetings, at which the name and address of the local Member of Parliament would be displayed, with postcards provided and collected to ensure as many individual protests as possible. Parish resolutions should be sent to Members of Parliament, the Minister of Education and to Mr Baldwin. Catholic societies such as the Union of Catholic Mothers, Catenians, Catholic Young Men's Society and the Knights of Saint Columba, having among their members children's parents, should also draw up and sent resolutions and make a point of seeing their Members of Parliament. The clergy were asked to arrange and sponsor publicity demonstrations in populous localities, and in co-operation, the Manchester deaneries should arrange one in the Free Trade Hall. Henshaw himself was willing to speak at all such meetings where possible.

The text of the protests should be varied, suggested Henshaw, and refer to the fact that the Catholics had been sadly misled by promises of assistance towards providing extra school accommodation; that the Bill as it stood was most disappointing and obnoxious; that grants would depend on the goodwill of the I.F.A. and were limited to senior schools only, and only for a very short time; the fact that taking away the right of appointment of teachers was a reversal of the 1902 compromise; the fear that the appointment of "unreserved" teachers would change the character of our Catholic schools and finally

²³ SDA203/203 Letter to Deans 1 March 1936.

that Clauses 11 and 12 displayed an unjust bias and that Clause 11 contradict the legal School Trust Deeds.

The April edition of the *Harvest*²⁴ carried the text of the Pastoral Letter, and the columnist wholeheartedly support the rallying cry, before romantically reminiscing (or arrogantly pontificating) about previous fights to save Catholic schools.

The younger generation, priests and people, have not experienced those days of splendour. The fight is now theirs, as the future is theirs. They must keep secure what their fathers made secure. No use leaving it to the old brigade - they can show their scars and say "ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years ago" and pass on the great inheritance "Catholic schools for Catholic children, with Catholic teachers in Catholic atmosphere" - yes, pass it on confidently into the safe hands of our young men and women, for whom so much as been done, who in faith and fortitude will achieve even greater and more glorious victories in the work of "Safeguarding our Children."

In August, Henshaw again wrote to the clergy about school reorganisation. He observed that:

The Local Education Authorities and His Majesty's Inspectors have for some time been enquiring from Catholic managers everywhere about the provision of schools and extra rooms and facilities for senior education. When the new Education Bill is on the Statute Book the demands for such facilities will become more urgent. Each parish will, of course, be responsible as before for the provision of schools for the education of its own Catholic children. But the question of reorganisation introduces problems affecting neighbouring parish schools in the same area. Under the new legislation it will also involve the question of what arrangements can be made with the Local Authorities and whether building grants should be asked for or accepted.

Consequently Henshaw had decided to constitute a Diocesan Schools Committee. Its task was to investigate the conditions met in each area. It was empowered to consult with parish priests, to negotiate with Local Education Authorities and the Board of Education in the name of the local managers and generally to devise what could and should be done regarding the provision of school accommodation to meet new needs.

In cases where the grouping of parish schools was practicable, where existing schools were to be enlarged or new ones provided for the accommodation of senior pupils from several parishes, the Committee would allocate to each parish the proportion of the debt to be borne. No individual body of parochial school managers was to make arrangements regarding reorganisation without the approval of the Committee.²⁵

In late December 1936, the Diocesan Schools Committee wrote to all parish priests, enclosing a questionnaire, and reporting that the Board of Education seemed to be contemplating no new senior schools in urban areas for less than 320 pupils. Such a policy would make the position of many

²⁴ *The Harvest* April 1936 p.108.

²⁵ SDA203/126 *Ad Clerum* 10 August 1936.

diocesan schools both serious and urgent. The questionnaire sought details of accommodation and the estimated number ^{on} of roll on 1 January 1940, aged under and over 11. Further questions dealt with the availability of a school hall, practice rooms for both boys and girls, a science room and a school garden, as well as sufficient playground and playing field provision, or the possibility of purchasing or leasing playing fields. Finally the organisation of senior pupils was broached: would it be provided by extension to the present buildings, or by working in combination with neighbouring parishes, how many senior pupils would be in the combined school, and how much was the estimate of costs involved, based on £40 per place in new senior schools, or £30 per place in site extension? A final column sought remarks, and the clergy were asked to return the forms by the end of January.²⁶ Tynan reported in February 1937 that prospective troubles arising from school re-organisation had not yet been faced, because they had not yet arisen. When they did, they would be faced.²⁷

The Hierarchy in October 1937 resolved that the First Sunday of Advent should be a Day of Intercession for Catholic Schools. A General Communion was requested, and permission for Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament from the end of the last Mass until the Evening Service was granted. Henshaw duly promulgated these decisions to his clergy.²⁸

The Deans reported back to Henshaw in late February 1938. In Salford the school question continued to agitate the minds of the parish priests.²⁹ Serious difficulties in Colne and Nelson had not yet been surmounted. In Accrington, the clergy had agreed on a new Senior School. The Burnley scheme based on two centres at St Mary's and at Gannow was being considered by the Board of Education, and had the approval of the Burnley Education Committee.³⁰

The Salford Diocesan Lenten Returns for 1935-1937 requested the number of Catholics attending non-Catholic Higher Schools, both with and without permission. In 1938 the question was enlarged by the removal of the word "Higher" and as in previous years, information was sought as to what provision was being made for their religious instruction.³¹

²⁶ SDA203/164 Letter and Questionnaire to the clergy, 31 December 1936.

²⁷ SDA203/213 Tynan 19 February 1937. He described himself as "one of those unbelieving souls who think the Act of 1936 will not work at all beyond foolishly wasting money on premises that will be empty."

²⁸ SDA203/139 Ad Clerum 15 November 1937.

²⁹ SDA203/228 Dean Thomas Sharrock 21 February 1938.

³⁰ SDA203/226 18 February 1938. Tynan noted that as Catholics were one eighth of the Burnley population, he calculated they had over the past 67 years paid £70,000 towards Council schools. Consequently he was all for getting building grants while keeping the reservation of the teachers.

³¹ SDA203/151-154 Lenten Return Forms 1935-1938.

In his 1938 Lenten Pastoral, Henshaw mused on the recent Quinquennial Report sent to Rome and referred to the practice of their Faith by Catholics. He found that well over 90% of Catholics received the Last Sacraments when in danger of death.³² He wrote:

An experienced Bishop is rarely surprised at anything; but we confess to receiving a great shock upon reading the views of two Catholic priests who questioned the worth of our Catholic schools on the grounds that a large number after leaving school ceased to practice their religion and became merely nominal Catholics. We cannot think that these pessimists have attended many death-beds, especially in large towns. If well over 90% of dying Catholics, good, bad and indifferent, were so influenced by the religious instruction received in their school days as to receive the last consolations of their Faith, and render back their souls to God absolved from sin and enriched with the Body and Blood of Christ - can any Catholic, priest or layman, assert that our schools are spiritually unprofitable?

6. Conclusion

Had Casartelli and Henshaw remained faithful to the Five Principles over the three or more decades since the 1902 Education Act? The answer has to be decidedly yes. Both had frequently stressed the importance of religion as being the basis of true education. Both had striven to ensure that control of Catholic school remained in Catholic hands. The provision of such schooling had taxed each of them. Both had overseen the extension of Catholic elementary schools in the newly created parishes³³. Casartelli had been the driving force behind the establishment of several Catholic Grammar Schools, and Henshaw through his Diocesan Schools Commission had endeavoured to implement the proposed Senior Schools under the 1936 Act. Each had tried to defend against the secularisation of education, basing their arguments more on the rights of parents to choose in conscience a religious education than on the rights of the Church as such. Throughout three decades, each had consistently stood by a vision of Catholic education that had developed in the diocese from the time of Turner, even though the Catholic community across the country, and the bishops in particular, had not always shared an identical vision nor a common policy of action.

³² SDA203/11 Pastoral Letter 20 February 1938 p.6.

³³ See Tables 5 and 6.

Chapter 10: Secondary Provision: An Introduction.

Secondary education between 1870 and 1944 is not easily defined. Certain characteristics can be distinguished, but their relative interplay and importance never remained static. Thus secondary education comprised instruction beyond the required levels or standards of elementary education prescribed in the Revised Code of 1862, and its subsequent revisions. It would also contain curriculum areas totally omitted from the Code, including the humanities or classical subjects or subjects thought appropriate to the commercial and industrial life of the nation. As commerce, science and industry evolved, so the appropriateness of curriculum areas increased and declined. Much reference was made to the American and Prussian (later German) education systems, which were often thought superior to an English system perceived to be failing the nation in its hour of need. Several Royal Commissions were instituted in the nineteenth century to examine such provision¹. It is a debate that continues to exercise minds and pens even today.

The growth of secondary education after the 1870 Act can be attributed partially to the acceptance of schooling by working class people, who now regarded it as normal for their children to attend school and partially to the introduction of rising compulsory school leaving ages. As pupils reached the highest elementary standards before their school leaving age, something had to be done with them, and various grants were available for post elementary studies. The combination of these factors meant that School Boards ~~could~~^d introduce Higher Grade classes and schools. Former pupils might also be attending the Evening Schools which had been a common feature before the 1870 Act. These could be transformed into Continuation Schools. Pupil teachers were supposed to receive additional tuition as part of their apprenticeship. Slowly throughout the educational system various developments saw more pupils receiving a level of education that was definitely post-elementary.²

¹ See Curtis **History of Education** regarding Newcastle (1861) pp. 249-253, 592-593), Taunton (1868) pp. 155-69) and Bryce (1894) pp. 306-310).

² Accounts of this development are provided by authors such as Wardle **English Popular Education 1780-1975** esp. pp. 116-139, Eaglesham **The Foundations of Twentieth Century Education in England** and **From School Board to Local Authority**, Graves **Policy and Progress in Secondary Education 1902-1942**, Kazamias **Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England**, Ward **Notes for the Study of English Education from 1860-1902**, Selby-Bigge **The Board of Education**, Simon **Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920** esp. pp. 249-295, Murphy **Church, State and Schools in Britain 1800-1970**, Machin **Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1869-1921**, Cruickshank **Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present Date** and the M. Ed Thesis of W Herbert (Hull 1971) **Illegitimate Education**.

Further complications entangled Catholic secondary education. During the centuries of religious persecution, wealthy Catholic families had their children educated in Catholic schools established on the Continent. Ironically many such institutions for boys sought refuge from the perils of the French Revolution by fleeing to English soil. Most flourished, and all have been lovingly and sometimes critically written about over many decades. Within the Salford diocese, Stonyhurst is the only example of such a school. Religious orders of nuns and sisters opened schools for girls in a similar way. Once the perils of the French Revolution were over, many such orders returned to the Continent, and certainly until the Second World ^{War} ~~Way~~ education provision for Catholic girls in Continental convent schools was an accepted feature of Catholic life within certain social classes, although noticeably absent from the Catholic community of the Salford Diocese. Families of gentry or yeoman origin sent their children to such schools. They were joined in time by the offspring of Catholic families whose industrial entrepreneurial skills proved financially successful.

University education in England for Catholics was at first not available. Oxford and Cambridge imposed religious requirements for graduation that excluded Catholics. The hierarchy vainly forbade such attendance once those restrictions had been removed. Other secular universities opened throughout our period. Provision for the training of teachers, which had particular importance for Catholics, slowly evolved from an apprentice like pupil teacher scenario to the provision of training college and certification, and on to university and graduation requirements. The vast majority of the Anglo-Irish Catholic community within the diocese would not however be found within these ranks.

What secondary provision for the children of such ordinary Catholics was to be found within the diocese? How did it develop? How was it funded? In establishing such provision, what were the roles of the successive Bishops? Can we today detect a continuity of vision and commitment? As the national understanding of secondary education evolved and developed, what response did the Catholic community make? It is questions such as these that we must answer in the subsequent chapters.

Bishop Vaughan founded his Commercial School, St Bede's College, Manchester, in the mid 1870s. The attempts by the Jesuits to open their own college in Manchester shortly afterwards led to a famous confrontation which had repercussions world wide. Vaughan also encouraged the creation of Catholic Collegiate Institutes in Blackburn and Burnley, with limited success. The contention in this

thesis is that St Bede's as a commercial school was financially unsuccessful, and its survival was due to the merger with the popular Salford Catholic Grammar School founded by Turner. An attempt to maintain middle school provision in Salford failed at about the time the St Chad's Grammar School closed. The question has to be asked whether there was an over provision greater than the needs of the Catholic Community in the two cities, and whether there was an economic slump that rendered such provision financially unviable.

The Cockerton judgment ended such piece-meal development. Cockerton was the district auditor who ruled in favour of a ratepayer complaining that the elementary school rate was being mis-applied in providing secondary education. Morant seized this opportunity to entrust the developing secondary provision to the relatively new County Councils, and so eliminate the School Boards. This was achieved in the 1902 Education Act.

New rules thus applied to secondary education and the grants that might be made available for it. As these appeared to discriminate against Catholic schools, the church authorities faced a worrying time. The advent of the First World War demoted educational matters from receiving top priority, until a new Education Act was passed in 1918.

In the interwar period, Bishop Casartelli strove to increase secondary provision for boys. His efforts were crowned with the opening of four major schools for boys: the Marist St Mary's College in Blackburn, the de la Salle College in Pendleton, Salford, the Salesian College at Thornleigh, Bolton, and the Technical Grammar School of St Gregory in Ardwick Green, Manchester.

Further proposals were made in the Hadow Report. These eventually led to the 1936 Act, and its tight timetable for the building and opening of senior schools if grant aid was to be received. The diocesan response, energetic if belated, saw the purchase of many sites, and the commissioning of architects to prepare plans for the new schools. The Second World War ended all such activity. The 1944 Act radically changed the educational vision of the country, and rendered all previous plans obsolete.

Throughout the diocese, the various convents saw their superior classes grow and develop into Grammar Schools. Some new schools for girls opened in the 1920s: St Joseph's Technical High School in Victoria Park, Manchester, Mount St Joseph's Grammar School in Bolton and the Paddock House Grammar School in Accrington.

Our task is to look at the growth and development of these schools and conclude by examining the vision of succeeding bishops to see what continuity and development took place over seven decades. Bishop Turner had firmly established elementary provision within the diocese and founded two boys' middle schools. Under his episcopacy, several convents offered middle school provision for girls. The contention is that his successors continued to build on these foundations and maintained the vision that appropriate Catholic education at secondary level should be provided, even if that provision was somewhat tardy in arriving, and suffered set backs due to war, financial restraints and a changing national educational pattern.

An immediate difference is seen between the provision for boys and for girls. The number of boys' schools was always less than that for girls, yet the number of pupils taught in the schools remained fairly equal. It appears in general terms that the individual girls' schools taught fewer pupils than the boys' schools and conversely the boys' schools had far larger numbers of pupils per school. This feature, which can be examined throughout the whole period under study, might be explained by a basic financial factor. With one notable exception³, all the teaching order of Sisters, whether from the Continent, from Ireland, or from congregations developed in England, established classes for pupils from the more wealthy and middle class families, so that the fees received would support the community, and in particular "subsidize" the work of the Sisters in the parish elementary schools. A second consequence quickly becomes evident. Many of the pupils in such classes were not Catholics but came from Protestant families who appreciated the social and educational advantages offered in such convent schools. The same was not true of the secondary provision for boys. Few teaching orders of Brothers operated in the diocese. The Christian Brothers who pioneered this work withdrew from the diocese. The Xaverian Brothers initial attempt to found a middle school was foiled when the Jesuits were asked to open such a school. After they withdrew the Xaverian Brothers eventually took charge of the Catholic Collegiate Institute. Thereafter throughout our period of study, every attempt to found secondary schools for boys had behind it the vision and enthusiasm of the bishop. Even so, success was not guaranteed.

Those early failures lead to reflection on the nature of the Catholic community. All such secondary provision has to be financially self-supporting. For pupils, especially boys, to attend such schools

meant that their families had to value and appreciate the need for such post-elementary education, and be in a position to afford it. The paucity of secondary provision for boys in particular would appear to prove that the Catholic community could not afford such provision until the inter-war period in the twentieth century.

Mention must briefly be made to certain secondary provision existing beyond the strict diocesan boundary that offered access to children within the diocese. Preston is the major example, where both Xaverian brothers and Jesuits ran secondary schools for boys before the creation of Preston Catholic College, and two convent schools provided for girls. The Longridge and Walton le Dale areas of the diocese found Preston their natural focus for trade and communication and before the mid twenties Catholic boys who won scholarships attended Preston Catholic College. At the other extreme of the diocese, St Ambrose's College for Boys in Hale, the Loreto Grammar School for Girls in Altrincham, and the Harrytown Convent Girls School⁴ in Stockport also provided places for children from the diocese. A similar position existed in Wigan where the Notre Dame nuns ran their Convent School, although it may be doubted if the short-lived Jesuit Grammar School in Leigh played such a role.

³ The Presentation Sisters at Livesey Street, Manchester.

⁴ Price and Crowley **Serving God's People** passim provide a history of this school, founded in 1912.

Chapter 11: Nineteenth Century Post Elementary Education

1: Middle School Provision

1.1: Overview of the Existing Provision 1873 onwards

The concept of Middle Schools embraced schools not graded as elementary poor schools. Middle schools provided for younger pupils elementary instruction, and for older pupils, subjects beyond the prescribed elementary curriculum. Religious sisters operated such schools or classes in most of their convents. Their geographical spread across the diocese was wider than the limited provision for boys, which with the exception of Blackburn, was based in central Manchester and Salford.

In 1874 the diocesan religious inspectors first inspected 13 departments they described as Higher or Middle Schools.¹ The average number of pupils in attendance during the four weeks prior to the religious examination was 559, of whom 501 were actually examined². In 1875 it was reported that three of these schools were for boys, and ten for girls.³ Slightly fewer children were examined but showed a high standard of religious knowledge, reflecting great credit on the Religious and others who taught them.

The number of schools inspected in the following year rose by three. St Bede's College, Manchester, St Paulinus' High School for Boys in Blackburn and a High School for Girls at Burnley Mercy Convent had all opened.⁴ Pupils examined numbered 655 in the next report. One of the sixteen schools, unnamed, was found lacking.⁵ One school closed in the following year, and although the 607 pupils examined fared well, the suggestion was made that the higher classes might have a more extended religious instruction course than pupils in elementary schools.⁶ Sixteen schools were examined satisfactorily in the next year, a temporary increase of one. Four schools for boys and the eleven for girls were examined in 1881, and again the suggestion of a higher course for older pupils was raised.⁷ Eighteen such schools were examined in 1882, an increase of three. The new schools were St John's Convent School in Rochdale, one at St Marie's in Bury, and the St Stanilaus Middle School in Burnley.

¹ Educational Statistics 1874 Report p. 4, 8.

² 11.3% were in the Infant Class; 21.5% in Standard 1, 19.9% in Standard 2, 21.9% in Standard 3, 13.3% in Standard 4 and 11.7% in Standard 5.

³ Educational Statistics 1875 Report p. 3, 4, 7.

⁴ Educational Statistics 1876-1877 Report p. 5.

⁵ Educational Statistics 1877-1878 Report p. 4.

⁶ Educational Statistics 1878-1879 Report p. 4.

⁷ Educational Statistics 1881 Report p. 3. The suggested content included the Acts of the Apostles, an outline of Church History, and the chief Old Testament prophecies concerning Our Lord.

68 teachers were teaching 260 boys in the four Boys' Schools and 379 girls in the fourteen Girls' Schools.⁸ The addition of a Middle School for Girls at Notre Dame Convent in Blackburn was noted in the following year. 704 children were on roll, taught by 51 teachers.⁹ In 1884 the presence of a Grammar School in Blackburn was noted, although whether it was the St Paulinus Collegiate Institute or the Convent Middle School remains unclear. Of these 19 schools, 4 had presented an Advanced Class of pupils who had studied the proposed higher syllabus: Adelphi House FCJ Convent in Salford, St Chad's Convent School; the Catholic Collegiate Institute, and St Bede's College in Manchester.¹⁰ In 1886 the 19 schools had on roll 878 children of whom 683 were examined with great success, including several schools offering the higher-level curriculum.¹¹ A new distinction was introduced in 1890. 17 of the schools were described as Higher and Middle Schools, and 3 as Elementary Higher Grade Schools. 647 pupils from the former were examined, and 193 from the latter. The religious inspector observed that:

The knowledge displayed by the children in these schools I can class universally as good. The spirit it is hard to tell, as, much more than the children of Elementary Schools, the young people are tuned, as a rule, to concert pitch for the examination day.¹²

In 1891 639 pupils out of 737 on roll were examined in the Middle Schools, and 199 from the 361 pupils on roll in the Elementary Higher Grade Schools. Only a few of the schools offered the advanced syllabus, none of them day schools.¹³ A decrease in Middle School provision was noted in 1892. Only 523 pupils in 14 Middle Schools were examined, a decrease of 86, whereas in 4 Higher Grade Elementary Schools, 269 pupils were examined, an increase of 70. Those on roll numbered 651, a decrease of 86 in the Middle Schools, and 415, an increase of 54 in the Higher Grade Elementary Schools.¹⁴ There was however a rather tart comment by Canon **Richardson**:

With decreasing numbers, I remark increasing efficiency in many of these schools, but outside a certain caste of respectability, I fail to see any great advantage to be derived from the continuance of some of these day schools. Many of the children in them would, I consider, be as well provided for - from an educational point of view - in the public Elementary Schools, and they would not in after life consider themselves unable to do manual work, because their hands had been fashioned more for the embroidery needle and the tatting shuttle. This remark is also applicable in a less degree, owing to the

⁸ **Educational Statistics** 1882 Report p. 2. This gives an average of 60 boys and 27 girls per school or class, thus supporting the view that the boys' schools, though fewer in number, had more pupils per school.

⁹ **Educational Statistics** 1883 Report p. 2.

¹⁰ **Educational Statistics** 1884 Report p. 2.

¹¹ **Educational Statistics** 1886 Report p. 3.

¹² **Educational Statistics** 1889 Report, pp. 3, 4, 5.

¹³ **Educational Statistics** 1891 Report p. 4, 5.

¹⁴ **Educational Statistics** 1892 Report p. 5, 6.

Government supervision, to Higher Grade Schools, which may be higher grade from a monetary and not from an educational standard.

What caused this remark remains unknown. It clearly reflects the different social status of certain Catholics (and non-Catholics) not wanting their children mixing with poorer children in the parochial schools, where dirt, disease and a lack of social grace predominated. Clearly full educational advantage of higher school provision was not being taken. And here we find the root of two problems that bedevilled post-elementary education for many decades. The first was the difficulty posed by parents sending their child to gain social status because the child "attended college". Often their stay was of short duration. Educationally their presence impeded the progress of their peers as they tried, often vainly, to catch up with the extended curriculum. The second difficulty was found when parents withdrew their child before completion of the course, often for financial reasons: they either could not afford the fees, or had found employment for their child and were reluctant to forfeit that extra income. Time and again throughout our period these two patterns of behaviour receive caustic criticism from HMI and others.

It seems clear that this post-elementary provision was in the main created piecemeal, usually on an "ad hoc" basis. This would initially continue in the early years of the new century, with for example the use of Continuation Schools, and the extraordinary efforts made in Bolton to establish a special class, which it must be admitted succeeded well. Only after the Great War can methodical efforts to establish a more adequate provision be seen. That is the subject of the next chapter.

2: Case Study 10: St Bede's College, Manchester

2.1 The Founding of the College

There was a hint of genius in Vaughan's decision to found St Bede's College as a commercial school to educate the future Catholic businessmen of Manchester. He had analyzed a need. He planned to respond to that need. In a letter to Canon Kershaw¹⁵, which seems to have been distributed via Kershaw to the clergy in general, Vaughan wrote:

But suitable provision has yet to be made for the education of a higher class; so that the next Diocesan undertaking, after the work of the Seminary, must be to carry on to completion the work of the Grammar School, prudently and wisely begun by my predecessor. ... This great commercial Metropolis ought to possess a Catholic Commercial College, worthy both of itself and of the Catholic name. We have excellent Classical Colleges in the Diocese and elsewhere and they have been proved by test to have reached a high state of efficiency; but we have no commercial school, that I know

¹⁵ Letter to Canon Kershaw 30 November 1872. Vaughan *Acta* Vol. 1, pp. 40 seq.

of, coming up to the standard which I think we are bound to attain. Our position and the requirements of the day demand this of us. We are a commercial people, and there is no reason why the Catholic Church should not supply as highly efficient commercial education in Manchester as she does a liberal and classical education elsewhere. She is fully equal to the task. She is a friend to commerce and industry, and to all the honourable pursuits of men. We have peculiar advantages at our disposal in Manchester and I desire to utilise them as soon as possible. I have already taken certain preliminary steps; but the time for public action has not yet arrived.

He used his protégé, Louis Charles Casartelli, to investigate thoroughly how similar schools on the Continent operated. The parents whose sons he sought to educate however did not necessarily share Vaughan's vision. St Bede's College in its initial form never seemed to be really viable. The combination of an elementary and commercial curriculum alone failed to attract sufficient pupils. Eventually a merger with Turner's Catholic Grammar School in Salford proved unavoidable¹⁶. The stated reasons stressed the inadequate and overcrowded physical condition of the provision in Salford. St Bede's in its move from Grosvenor Square, its original site, to Alexandra Park, is presented nearly as a handsome knight saving a damsel in distress. Who actually saved whom is however less certain. It does seem that Vaughan's initial vision was so far ahead of contemporary aspirations in Manchester's small if growing Catholic business community that his College needed to be bolstered by a more traditional classical provision to be economically viable.

One clear factor that does emerge is the pivotal role that Casartelli played in the development and success of the College, initially as Prefect of Studies, then after the merger as Rector, and finally as Bishop, resident in the College until his death. Just as Vaughan had used in depth investigations based on his personal travels in founding the Mill Hill Missionaries, and then had seen his creation stabilized by the work of **Benoit**, it could be argued that Vaughan's vision in founding a commercial school was stabilized by the work of Casartelli. More importantly for our study however is the resulting development of Casartelli's understanding of the post elementary educational needs of his future diocese. His experience as Secretary to the Conference of Catholic Colleges, his understanding of the want of Catholic Grammar Schools, and his efforts to establish them across the diocese will be studied in later chapters. Through him, Vaughan's vision would be fulfilled, in ways perhaps that neither of them would have anticipated.

¹⁶ On the merger 58 pupils came from the Salford Catholic Grammar School (42 boarders and 16 day students), 37 from the original St Bede's College (17 boarders and 20 day students) and there were 19 new pupils (12 boarders and 7 day students. Figures are taken from the College Diaries (New series) Vol. 1 (1891-1895). I am grateful to Fr John Broadley for this reference.

The story of the foundation of the College is clearly revealed in Vaughan's "Acta" as bishop, and has been thoroughly rehearsed in his three biographies. It can therefore need only brief mention here, except for any evidence as to the type of school Vaughan envisaged.

The new college opened on 9 January 1879 in the Holy Family and Collegiate Chapel, Grosvenor Square. Cardinal **Manning** preached on St Bede and a prospectus and description of the new college were distributed to the clergy.¹⁷ The College was divided into the High School and a Middle School, the existing Catholic Collegiate Institute conducted by the Xaverian Brothers.¹⁸ The High School staff consisted of two priests and four lay masters under the rectorship of Fr **Charles Walter Wood**. Fr **Raymond** taught French and Music, Fr **Francis Schneiders** German, Mr Thomas Flannery¹⁹ English and Drawing, Mr Henry Cooke Foy²⁰ Higher Studies and Mathematics, Mr Charles O'Neill Chemistry and Mr W. St Ruth "Calisthenics" (sic). The curriculum included Religion, English Language and Literature, Modern Languages, History and Geography, Mental Arithmetic, Mathematics and Elementary Natural Science. The prospectus stated: "Particular attention will be paid to Commercial Law, the principles of business and a good clear handwriting". Elements of Latin were also included and a full course in Latin and Greek was to be offered when due demand required it²¹. The school opened for 42 weeks in the year, split into three roughly equal terms. The ten weeks of vacation were split over the Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and Midsummer holidays.

Vaughan's vision is expressed in the prospectus, written presumably by the new Rector.

While there exist in England many excellent Catholic Colleges whose system of education is based mainly upon the classical and dead languages, the want is increasingly felt of a College which should afford a more direct and practical preparation for the Civil Service and such professions as must be entered at an early age, by concentrating the attention of its scholars upon modern languages and the more useful branches of science.

The new order of circumstances in modern life requires a new provision in education. Experience daily proves that a considerable number of Catholic youth, whose social

¹⁷ Vaughan **Acta** Vol. 1, pp. 519-540.

¹⁸ The prospectus indicated that the pre-existing Catholic Collegiate Institute, run by the Xaverian Brothers, was "associated integrally" with the College. Snead Cox erroneously interpreted this to mean it was fully integrated. Casartelli wrote to have this error corrected on reprinting but no second edition of Snead Cox's biography of Vaughan was ever issued. The curriculum consisted of Religion, Modern Languages (English, French, German and Spanish), Latin, Geography, History, Elocution, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Bookkeeping, Phonography, Fencing, Drawing, Vocal and Instrumental Music, Chemistry and Elementary Science. Some of these subjects were offered as extra courses, at additional fees. Day pupils followed the same curriculum as boarders except for Drawing, Chemistry and Elementary Science which were charged as "extras".

¹⁹ Flannery had lectured in English Language and Literature at St Mary's Teacher Training College at Hammersmith.

²⁰ Foy was described as a "Professed Tutor for Civil Service Examinations."

²¹ It appears that these classical expectations were never achieved, as Max Leclerc later noted.

position rightly entitles them to a polite, refined and liberal education, are no longer able to devote those years to the study of Greek and Latin literature, which are essential to obtain a real mastery of this branch of learning. On the other hand, many of our youth must hasten to acquire – more speedily now than heretofore – a thorough knowledge of their own mother tongue, while strengthening and enlarging the faculties of the mind by a study of mathematics and science. It was with the view, therefore, of meeting this pressing want that the establishment of a Catholic Manchester College was projected three years ago. In the announcement then published by the Bishop of the Diocese was contained an intimation of its intended inauguration as soon as the Diocesan Seminary should be completed. That time as now arrived.

2.2 Casartelli as Prefect of Studies – Constructing the Curriculum

Louis Charles Casartelli, while in Louvain, exchanged correspondence with Vaughan regarding continental colleges and their curriculum. These letters illustrate the tasks Vaughan set Casartelli as well as Vaughan's interest in the College, its museum and the details of daily life, especially the role of the Prefect of Studies, whose duties were to supervise the work of both teachers and pupils. Vaughan instructed Casartelli to

Make use of every opportunity you can get of acquiring information with a view to your future work at St Bede's. There are the two branches, elementary and technological. Of the latter the Institute at Antwerp gives the best ideas. But you will be able to pick up much as to methods, modes of encouragement, of punishment, and rewards and stimulus in different houses abroad. I would be glad if you can become more fully conversant with all that is done at Antwerp and if you can find out what there may be in Germany in that direction. If you require a little money to go to any such places, let me know and I will try and supply the needful.²²

Another letter, outlining Vaughan's immediate plans for Casartelli, was written after the Manchester College²³ affair and instructed Casartelli to contact the Jesuits at Antwerp and see how they ran their Commercial School. A visit to Halle was also suggested, although Vaughan anticipated that the German schools might be too scientific. He continued:

I agree with you opinion that we must train our own teachers and I shall be ready to begin doing so soon this year, if you learn which would be most useful establishment to send them to. You might make a special examination of this and ascertain terms etc. Perhaps an exchange might be beneficial. You are quite right on the importance and prestige of museums. And you might ascertain where and how such things could be picked up. I will do all I can to help in this matter.²⁴

²² **SDA 179 Letter** 15 Dec 1876. Vaughan's writing is in places none too clear.

²³ The Jesuits at the Holy Name Church, Manchester, opened a Middle School without Vaughan's permission, relying on what they believed was their traditional right. Vaughan disagreed and insisted the school be closed, with threat of ecclesiastical sanctions if he were defied. The school did in the event close and the case was taken to Rome for a decision. The resulting judgement laid down rules defining the respective rights of religious orders and of diocesan bishops and applied them across the world. See Oliver Rafferty *The English Jesuit College, Manchester, 1875* in *Recusant History*, Vol. 20, No. 2, October 1990, pp. 291-304. On hearing he had won his point, Vaughan went on retreat, to the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. For him it was a question of principle, not personalities. Casartelli seemed a little less sure.

²⁴ **Letter** 12 July 1876 (?)

The more I have thought of your future the more convinced I am that you had better devote your time almost exclusively to direct preparation for it. Besides the prestige which this will give you it will furnish you with many suggestions and a standard of attainments. The technological system is only quite recently introduced into England and the superiority of the continental in this respect had been fully admitted. I would advise you to do as I did 24 years ago when I visited over 30 seminaries. I had a book in which I recorded anything that seemed worth knowing - and had a list of questions which I asked in each seminary in order to test the ideas that prevailed in each. It would be well to note the title of books, prices and publishers - when they seem to be very good. Also take note of the incitements and ruses used to promote study. Also enquire salaries of teachers, the possibility of securing German teachers for Manchester in case of need etc. Having acquired all the information you can, before beginning to apply it you will naturally trial and observe and test the materials we actually have to deal with and then apply your methods by degrees. After a year it may be a great use to return to Germany and by further conference and observation perfect your system. You will need a good deal of patience with the poverty as well as with the smallness of our materials at first and much hard work; but I believe that by the exercise of patience, gentleness and humility, in short by the exercise of the Christian virtues, you will find not only a great future before you at St Bede's, but one which has been undeveloped hitherto in England.²⁵

Vaughan informed Casartelli that the College was moving to Alexander Park after Easter.²⁶ Fr Wood was to remain in charge of the College until Casartelli returned to England and could take up his post as Prefect of Studies.

The school will begin to meet in Alexandra Park next week. It has now possession of two houses here. Your name I saw yesterday printed on the door of one of the rooms, a nice room looking west over the garden.²⁷

Vaughan outlined his vision in another letter that incidentally again demonstrated his poor handwriting. He wrote of the need to make the course commercial and practical rather than simply technical, so as to appeal to the spirit of Mancunians, and of Catholics from America, Australia and Europe who would send their sons to attend such a school

I wish to provide for the children of my own flock in the first place but at the same time I cannot fail to bear in mind that a bishop ought, as St Alphonsus somewhere says, to be interested in and to work for objects which extend far beyond his own diocese. He who is of the apostolic line ought to have the universal spirit of an Apostle. There are I know many practical difficulties in the way of the realization of such a project, arising not only from poverty but from the characters many of whom we wish to provide. But every great undertaking is fraught with difficulties. As to salaries for professors, your best plan will be to ascertain what is expected by them, what they would be satisfied with. My resources will be taxed to the utmost until the school begins and therefore each case needs to be treated separately and according to its value. At present the salaries of our teachers range from £60 to £130 or £150.²⁸

Casartelli's position was quite intolerable in some ways. He was subject to the Rector of the College yet had to craft and deliver the curriculum in a way that would stretch both teachers and pupils to their

²⁵ Letter 9 June 1876?

²⁶ Letter 26 March 1877

²⁷ Letter 5 April 1877

²⁸ Letter 25 June 1877 (?)

limits. To make matters worse, Vaughan resided at the College and thought nothing of intervening directly as and when he saw fit. If Casartelli had to oversee both staff and pupils, Vaughan oversaw him, instructing him to press the boys to work harder. Individual encouragement was fine, but constant pressure needed to be applied continually to spur the pupils along. He encouraged Casartelli to see how other schools operated, especially the Salford Catholic Grammar School and the Loreto Convent School, and indeed even any suitable Protestant school. In that way methods of making the boys work even harder could be put in place. He feared that Casartelli, who had a “quick, ready and versatile genius”, undervalued the need for the “driving grinding power” that lesser mortals needed to spur them on. The courses also needed to reflect better the idea and practice of business. However he concluded by enclosing a small cheque towards the expenses of a holiday and stating that:

I have no wish to diminish your authority as Prefect of Studies or to place you under another but to secure for you those advantages which are still needed if the College is to attain the position you desire for it.²⁹

Broadley interprets the correspondence as follows. Appointed as Prefect of Studies in 1877, Casartelli became disillusioned by 1879, and in 1883 received what he perceived as a reprimand from Vaughan. He objected to Vaughan’s interference, and in a move to restore better relationships, Vaughan allowed him a “Sabbatical” to complete his Louvain studies. Tensions however remained on his return and in 1887 Casartelli offered his resignation. Vaughan could not replace him and Casartelli withdrew his resignation. Four years later the merger with the Salford Grammar School took place and Casartelli became Rector. Broadley notes that if Vaughan sometimes perceived Casartelli as “weak” in his role as Prefect of Studies, his pupils regarded him as an excellent classroom teacher, who even wrote the textbook they used for commercial geography.³⁰ As the following letter shows, Vaughan realised he had been too forceful.

I have just received your two letters and I thank you for their frankness. I feel however that you have forced my words to their ultimate logical conclusions and have not made allowance for much that I may have said per contra had I written exhaustively and sent you a volume. And hence I believe that you have to great extent misapprehended my real and practical view of things and that the difference between us is not as wide as your letter would imply. I fear I have been discouraging in manner more than I meant and ??? than I should be. Perhaps this can be mended.³¹

²⁹ Letter 25 July no year

³⁰ A copy of this book is listed in the Vatican Library.

³¹ Letter 19 Aug no year

What Casartelli felt when Vaughan was moved to Westminster is not recorded. Relief at the removal of one who interfered was probably offset by the sense of loss as one of three men³² who had so influenced him throughout his life moved to pastures new. Yet the relationship continued. Thus Vaughan wrote from Westminster:

I have engaged to preside at the Club Dinner and commence and open a debate on Commercial Schools. You have written a book on this subject and I should be much obliged if you would lend it to me. I want material for my speech.³³

A French writer³⁴ who visited the College shortly before the merger was astounded by what he found. The school, receiving both boarders at 60 guineas and day students at 12 guineas, was situated at the end of an elegant suburb³⁵ of the city next to a large park and was directed by secular priests. The amazing thing was that the Catholic clergy had excluded from a school founded and run by them both Greek and Latin. The curriculum included English and modern languages, history, commercial geography, mathematics, physics and chemistry. He noted the special care taken with modern languages, and was extremely impressed by Casartelli.³⁶ But he noted that in spite of these advantages, and the moderate fees, the school had not attracted many pupils. He believed the Bishop of Salford had been deceived when he thought that a Catholic commercial school for use by the middle classes would succeed in Manchester. Most Catholics in the town were poor. Those who were not preferred their sons to receive a classical education.

2.3 St Bede's on the Rhine, Bonn

In Autumn 1886³⁷ an associated college was opened in Bonn, Germany, where the house of the Metternich family had been purchased. A group of students left Manchester to travel to Bonn in October 1887.³⁸ Vaughan had of course become familiar with the new types of school - the *Realschule* - during his travels and studies as a young man.³⁹ Possible Vaughan intended this to be the first of

³² Bishop Turner, "my Father in God", and Mgr De Clerc, Rector of the Salford Catholic Grammar School, were the others.

³³ Letter 19 October, no year.

³⁴ Max Leclerc *L'education des classes moyennes et dirigeantes en Angleterre* Paris 1894 p. 158-159. SDA B138

³⁵ Moss Side and Alexandra Park, areas today no longer considered "elegant"

³⁶ He noted Casartelli had been educated at Louvain, knew Persian, Zend and Pehlvi, spoke English, Italian, and especially French, and knew German, Spanish and Portuguese. His lessons were designed to meet practicalities, and he ran a museum dedicated to commercial and colonial exhibits the like of which no other school in England enjoyed.

³⁷ *The Harvest* July 1913, p. 161

³⁸ *The Harvest* October 1887, p. 1.

³⁹ Bolton C. A. *Salford Diocese and its Catholic Past* Manchester 1950 p. 131.

several subsidiary schools across Europe where boys could live under English discipline while learning foreign languages.⁴⁰ German and English boys would be able to meet and learn each other's language. German was the main language spoken, but on Fridays French was spoken at meals and in class, whereas on Sundays English was the language of the day. The teachers lived at the college with the boys.⁴¹ The generally accepted view in many accounts is that the school on the Rhine closed for financial reasons.⁴² If this were true, the experiment might be regarded as another example of Vaughan's innovative vision failing because its practical implementation was flawed. There is however another reason. Prussia had strict laws about licensing teachers, and the Church had just emerged from a period of persecution under the Kulturkampf. The Vicar General of Cologne diocese wrote to Vaughan in December 1892⁴³ announcing that the College Rector, Fr Loban, had applied for a parish. The names of several German priests legally qualified to teach were offered as possible replacements. In the event, it appears no suitable successor was found, and the College closed. Without a rector recognised and approved by the Prussian State, it had forfeited its legal right or title to exist.

2.4 The Merger with the Salford Catholic Grammar School

Salford Catholic Grammar School ceased to exist when it was merged with St Bede's College. Bishop Vaughan initially suggested the merger in March 1891. **De Clerk** had died. The leases were due to renewed. The buildings were now unacceptable for school use. The presence of some eighty students, including some forty boarders, tested the physical limitations of buildings that were but two family houses. In such circumstances, amalgamation was inevitable. The two systems of education, the one classical, the other modern, would work side by side, with every care being taken to preserve and foster the sound ecclesiastical spirit that existed in the Grammar School. The main change would be one of locality, from unsuitable to commodious and healthy premises. The new rector of St Bede's was Casartelli, an old Grammar School student. Fr **Cooke**, the present Superior of the Commercial School, became Vice Rector, and Mgr **Wrennall** remained at the College as procurator.

⁴⁰ Snead-Cox *op. cit.* p. 319.

⁴¹ Max Leclerc *L'education des classes moyennes et dirigeantes en Angleterre* Paris 1894 p. 159-160. SDA B138

⁴² Snead-Cox *op. cit.* p. 318; McCormack *op. cit.* p. 167.

⁴³ SDA 210 Letter Felten to Vaughan, 25 December 1892.

2.5 The College as Junior Seminary and Grammar School⁴⁴

The College continued to expand physically. A chapel was added, together with an indoor play and sports area and a suite of changing rooms and classrooms known as the Gonne Building. The ornate Italianate building fronting Alexandra Road South remained incomplete. An attempt to raise funds to complete the final third of the building was made initially in 1907 when fund raising began⁴⁵, and again in the mid 1920s. Bishop Henshaw repudiated the contract⁴⁶ made to begin this work as it appeared to have been signed after Casartelli had died. A long dispute ensued. Consequently to this day the building remains incomplete. He did however authorise the construction of the four-storey classroom block bearing his name. Adjacent houses were bought as and when they became available to further extend the site, and the preparatory school continued in existence beyond the Second World War.

The College developed a triple curriculum, with one stream concentrating on the Classics, another on “Modern” subjects including science and mathematics, and a third stream that avoided the extremes of the other two. Government recognition as a Grammar School was obtained even though the Rector occasionally ignored the rules. One famous example was when the College bought some playing fields without permission, and then asked permission to rapidly build a pavilion before school restarted in the autumn. Permission was granted, together with retroactive approval to buy the fields! Although approval was obtained for the Henshaw Building, the Rector simply changed the approved design during construction, which merely earned a mild rebuke from the Board of Education. The College continued to be used by the diocese as its Junior Seminary, with most pupils intending to become priests being “borders” as opposed to the “day boys” who, it was hoped, would become the teachers and businessmen whose future collaboration with the clergy (their fellow students) would ensure the vitality of the Catholic community in the years ahead. The College was evacuated to East Lancashire during the war when the Auxiliary Fire Service used the schoolyard and covered playground as a base. Minor blitz damage occurred.

⁴⁴ Much of this information is based on files in the Salford Diocesan Archives, Box SDA 210.

⁴⁵ The so-called “College Extension Fund”.

⁴⁶ Norris was the architect who had “won” the contract to complete the building in its terracotta style at an estimated cost of about £8,000. He had already replaced a previous architect named Gunson.

3: Case Study 11: Collegiate Schools

3.1 St Paulinus Collegiate School, Blackburn 1884.

St Paulinus Collegiate School⁴⁷ opened 1 September 1884 with some 34 pupils. The fees charges were 9/9d per quarter, payable in advance. **William F. Russell** was the teacher. The application for Government grant, dated 7 October 1884, was made to gain recognition as a "Certified Efficient School". The school building belonged to the diocese and was being rented at £50 per annum. No address is given, but the building consisted of two stories. Two school rooms size 25'8" by 19'9" were complemented by two smaller classrooms, one 15'2" by 13'3", the other 15'2" by 10'4". Three other rooms of this size were also available.

In his delayed 1886 Poor and New Mission Appeal, Bishop Vaughan refers to the school as follows:

I desire to call particular attention to the establishment of a high class Middle School in Blackburn. Blackburn is a very important town and the need has long been felt of a good Catholic High School in that centre. Efforts have been put forth on more than one occasion, but never with success until the last attempt was made. The school is certified, contains some fifty scholars, and has been very creditably reported on by the Government Inspector. But for some time to come, it will be necessary to make an annual expenditure on it which will exceed its ordinary income. The school being for the benefit of the whole of Blackburn, and even of the neighbouring missions, it is to be hoped that the whole district will take a proper pride in promoting its success. If scholars who have especially distinguished themselves by good conduct and ability in the public elementary schools of the district were promoted as a reward to this High School, upon burses which friends of education might provide for a period of say two or three years, the High School would then become the crown and completion of the Catholic educational system in the district. In this way we should wisely and prudently encourage and develop all that is best in the rising generation. It remains to be seen how far the Catholics of Blackburn appreciate the value of education, and how far they are ready to take a lead before the country in carrying out a programme, which in course of time will become general.⁴⁸

Initially success attended the new school, for as Vaughan wrote a year later:

The great pile of stone buildings, in St Alban's Mission, Blackburn, comprises not only the girls' school and classrooms, but parochial hall and every needful accommodation for the Catholic High School, which is intended for use by all the parishes in Blackburn and the neighbouring missions. The responsibility for building and carrying on this High School has been undertaken with great public spirit by the Rectors of the five missions of Blackburn. They would gladly associated with themselves in the direction and management of the school, the Rectors of those missions contiguous to Blackburn, in which there are children who may take advantage of the benefits that will thus be thrown open to them. It is to be hoped that the laity in the Blackburn Hundred will strength the hands of the Rectors by a generous support. The Catholics of the Blackburn District ought to have at least one such school as that which is now in course of erection.⁴⁹

Building was finally completed. Vaughan reported that in addition to building splendid new schools for girls and infants:

⁴⁷ ED7/60 Grant application 7 October 1884

⁴⁸ *Ad Clerum* 21 January 1887.

⁴⁹ *Ad Clerum* 28 November 1888.

The struggle vigorously carried on in Blackburn for some years to provide a Higher Grade School for the use of all the Blackburn missions, have at last resulted in complete success. The schoolrooms are spacious, well contrived, and in all respects creditable to the Catholics of Blackburn.⁵⁰

The Almanacs enable the existence of the school, whose name was changed to St Alban's Higher Grade School, to be traced throughout the period of our study. Mr Russell left in 1888 and was succeeded by Mr J. McCall. From 1888 to 1891 the presence of an assistant certificated master, Mr P. Murphy, is also indicated. McCall seems to have been replaced by a Mr McCabe⁵¹ in 1895. Mr McCaffrey was appointed head teacher in 1896 and remained in post until 1902. Mr Douthwaite then took over until 1933 when Mr Atkinson replaced him. By 1937 the school was listed as a Higher Grade Central School for Boys. In 1942 Mr Conlon, B.Mus., replaced Mr Atkinson. Conlon remained head teacher of a school successively classified as a Modern Secondary School for Boys, then St Alban's Secondary Modern Boys' School.

Evidence suggests that the school was based on Lingard House⁵² and the 1903 Trust Deeds for both the Boys' and Girls' Upper Grade Schools exist⁵³. The deed packet contains a sketch plan. The Diocesan Finance Board Minutes⁵⁴ for the meeting of 27 November 1885 noted:

"The Committee has not yet paid the June interest on the debt of £1,000. The Secretary is advised to write to the treasurer, Mr Green, on the subject."

This would seem to indicate that the school was being managed by a committee, drawn up probably by the local clergy and that a sum of £1,000 had been borrowed from the Diocese to set up the school. Unfortunately no earlier minutes to confirm this have been found. The Minutes for the meeting on 25 June 1886 noted:

"The Rev. J. Newton, being responsible for the interest on the £1,000, should be asked to pay it and to try to get as much as he can towards it from the committee."

The minutes for 28 October 1886 record:

Therefore the mission of St Alban's is liable for the rent to the treasurer of the diocese, and the High School is liable for it to the rector of St Alban's. If the High School fails to fulfil its obligation, the Bishop will help the rector and try to save him from unreasonable loss.

⁵⁰ *Ad Clerum* 27 November 1889.

⁵¹ Given the proven ability of the Almanac editors to get names wrong, it cannot be ruled out that "McCabe" might be a misrepresentation of "McCaffrey". Details of the school are to be found under the St Alban's parish entry in succeeding almanacs.

⁵² *Diocesan Deed Packet* 127A.

⁵³ *Diocesan Deed Packet* 127A pieces 24-25.

⁵⁴ *Minutes of the Diocesan Finance Board* (Vol. 2).

The committee's plans to build new schools were duly laid before the Finance Board, whose minutes for 27 March 1888 state:

“Three plans including accommodation for High School, Girls’ School and Infants’ School are laid on the table. Mr Curran’s plan is preferred by the Inspector and will cost £3,000. The Board makes the following remarks on them “The High School accommodation appears inadequate and should be radically reconsidered”. If these observations are considered and acted upon and the building does not cost more than £3,000, the Board feels happy to approve Mr Curran’s plan.”

On 26 April, this approval for a building of £3,000 or less was again repeated as the Board’s suggestions had been attended to. This seems to apply to only the Girls’ and Infants’ Schools, as the following minute refers to the High School:

The Finance Board like both new plans for this school, but prefers the two-storey building for several reasons. The Board would however suggest that instead of the tracery in the large gothic window, there were nothing but long lights.

The Board advises strongly that the plans be sent to the Privy Council for inspection and approval before the building be begun. If a letter of the Inspector clearly signifies that such precaution is needless, of course, the Inspector’s responsible answer will be satisfactory to the Board.

At this stage the Committee began to have second thoughts. Thus the Finance Board Minute of 7 June 1888 records that:

The Very Rev. **Dean Woods** says that the Committee has ordered fresh plans because the cost of the building as proposed would be at least £1,300, and the Committee does not think it prudent to spend more than £700.

In a minute of 28 July 1892, the Finance Board states that:

Dean Woods was appointed by Dr Vaughan to pay the current accounts of this (Blackburn High) School and did so. He finds that he is now £100 out of pocket and came before the Board to ask for that amount as a loan to the school. The secretary mentioned that the Blackburn rectors in certain proportions accepted the present capital debt and that the proposed increase of capital debt would, he thought, require their acceptance. It was decided to lend the Dean personally £100 to enable him to carry out his (commission?) and as Dr Vaughan had undertaken to see him (the Dean) right, the matter would no doubt be settled to the satisfaction of the Dean.

On 11 August 1892, this hope seems not to have been well founded as the Board “requested the Bishop to take early advice in this matter” in regard to the Blackburn High School.

As building standards changed, the school building was considered by the Board of Education to be one of the worse in Blackburn and was duly blacklisted. The school however continued to use the plant until well after the Second World War.

3.2 St Stanilaus Collegiate School, Burnley, 1882.

Vaughan gave a passing reference to the St Stanilaus Collegiate School in Burnley, mentioned already in the 1882 Report. It would have been based at St Mary's, but extensive research in both the archives and in the parish have failed to uncover any more information at all. Whether it was a Boys' School distinct from the Girls' Convent School, or less likely the Girls' School itself, is not known. The presumption has to be that it did not succeed.

4: Case Study 12: The Christian Arts and Crafts School, Manchester, 1890

The Christian Art and Crafts School in Dover St, Manchester, together with its associated Guild, is a fine example of Bishop Vaughan's genius at identifying problems, and providing an answer that was brilliant in concept, yet flawed in practice. The problem was stated succinctly in the "Proposals for Consideration" that he issued in March 1890.

The Catholic population of England consists chiefly of the working class. During the last 40 years they had had the advantage of good primary education; but they still remain in the same relative low social and industrial position. One cause of this is that no direct effort has been made to open out to them higher industrial careers. Parents do not, as a rule, see their way to lift their children into better employment or positions than they are themselves engaged in. The clergy have hitherto directed their attention to the primary, not to the technical, education of their people. The result has been, that our people are now, relatively, where they were 40 years ago.⁵⁵

Vaughan anticipated that in the country there was "an increasing desire to turn primary education into a more direct preparation for industrial pursuits, by the teaching of drawing, and of manual skill". His Catholic community could enjoy a "more marked improvement in its industrial and social position" than any in England, provided that wealthier Catholics were prepared to lead the way by giving encouragement and active co-operation. Vaughan planned a three-fold operation to support this technical provision. He had already instructed all diocesan elementary schools to include drawing in their curriculum. He had established a "Diocesan School Board", whose work through peripatetic teachers will be considered elsewhere. Now he was establishing the Christian Art and Crafts School in the vacated Dover St premises of the Chorlton High School, close to the proposed Whitworth Art Gallery, and the newly founded Manchester School of Art.

The site and buildings formerly known as the Chorlton High School have been purchased during the year. They are used, at present, partly as a temporary home for the

⁵⁵ Proposals for establishing a school and guild, 24 March 1890. Vaughan *Acta* Vol. 5, p. 537.

Protection Society and the Rescue Sisters, and partly as a Christian Arts and Craft school.⁵⁶

Crucial to the success of the school would be the support of the Catholic community. Vaughan envisaged creating a "Guild" to ensure this. Its aim was to "elevate and sanctify art and craft work by the presence and influence of religion". There would be honorary and working members of either sex, as well as scholars. The honorary members would pay at least five shillings a year towards the work of the Guild. The working members would undertake gratuitous and voluntary service by teaching art and craftwork for an agreed number of nights or hours per week. All members would meet annually, or if need arose, more frequently, in a General Committee. An elected Executive Committee or Council of seven members, presided over by the Bishop, would deal with everyday affairs, correspondence with the Government, selection of apprentices and staff, and the general management of the school and its funds.

The scholars were divided into three categories. Firstly there were the apprentices. They would be few in number but would receive training under purely Catholic influence, helped and encouraged by the Guild to lead a good life, with the close personal attention of their teachers, and having a wide circle of friends through the Guild to promote their progress and success. Then there would be fee-paying scholars who would attend the school for a set number of terms. Lastly there would be those teachers already employed in school who wanted to learn the manual use of tools or the elements of a particular art or craft for the benefit of the school in which they taught.

Vaughan wrote to local priests giving details of the courses available and the conditions of attendance. Joinery, cabinet work, wood carving and modelling in clay were taught in night classes in line with the recent regulations published by the Science and Art Department in South Kensington. Pupils had to have attained Standard 4 in a public elementary school. They were to be taught drawing and had to attend the manual instruction school for a least 2 hours per week for 22 weeks during the year. They also had to pay a fee of 2d per week. Boys hoping to attend were to contact Mr Hanvey⁵⁷. A limited number of apprenticeships in the cabinet trade for boys of 15 and over were also available. They had to be recommended by the clergy, and were to receive in their first year 3/6 per week if they provided their own tools; otherwise just 3/-. Their wages would rise for each year of the apprenticeship.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Almanac* 1891 p. 44

⁵⁷ Mr Hanvey had for ten years been a foreman in a "great firm" of cabinetmakers in Manchester.

⁵⁸ *Letter to priests* 29 August 1890. *Vaughan Acta* Vol. 5, p. 557

Vaughan soon made the school entirely free for Catholic boys, who having paid for the material used, could take what they had made home.⁵⁹ The school, opened between 6.00-8.00pm and on Saturday morning between 9.30-11.30am, eventually numbered some 240 scholars on its roll, but their attendance was not too regular. Boys from Mount Carmel, Salford (36) attended on Mondays, from St Augustine's, Manchester (23) on Wednesday, from the Holy Name (27) on Thursday, from St Wilfrid's (40) on Friday, and on Saturday from St Bridget's (28), St Patrick's (8) and the Cathedral parish (44).⁶⁰ Tables, bookcases, washstands and dressing tables made at the school were offered for sale.⁶¹ Teachers attended the training courses with some irregularity, although 17 obtained either First or Second Class Certificates in the May examinations. The Art school, taught by Mr Petty, had been thoroughly equipped, the teaching staff strengthened, and instruction was given three times a week.⁶² Sadly the finance necessary to conduct the school was not forthcoming, possibly because funds promised from an external source failed to materialise, and the school closed in 1892.

“The drawing school for Manchester teachers has also been obliged to be closed for a like reason (it could not pay its way), or rather, I might say, for the want of public spirit on somebody's part. Who the somebody is, it is hard to say, it may however be put down to trusting too much to public institutions that are not Catholic. ... Now that drawing has become a “sine qua non” for head certificated teachers, the death of this school was untimely.”⁶³

5: Case Study 13: The Salford Higher Grade School for Boys 1891-1893

When the Salford Catholic Grammar School merged with St Bede's College, the premises were retained for use by a new school: the Salford Higher Grade School for Boys⁶⁴. The new school started as a result of the promise of Bishop Vaughan that Salford Catholics would not be left without a better class school⁶⁵ when the Grammar school moved. After six weeks the school had 40 pupils. Vaughan himself later reported that some fifty pupils were attending the school, and that further provision in accommodation would be necessary for a school “destined to increase in numbers and in importance”.⁶⁶ In 1892, the school re-opened with 65 pupils. Success appeared certain, and alternative premises were sought, as the number of pupils was getting near the total that allegedly had been a

⁵⁹ *The Harvest* May 1891, p. 166.

⁶⁰ *The Harvest* March 1891, p. 127-8.

⁶¹ *The Harvest* April 1891, p. 148.

⁶² *Ad Clerum* 24 November 1891 *Vaughan Acta* Vol. 6, p. 191.

⁶³ *Educational Statistics* 1893 p. 1.

⁶⁴ *The Harvest*, November 1891 p. 34.

⁶⁵ One intention was to prevent boys being sent to Board or non-Catholic schools. Several such pupils had already been transferred from such schools.

⁶⁶ *Advent Circular* 24 November 1891, *Vaughan Acta*

reason for the Salford Catholic Grammar School leaving the Crescent. The change of venue was actually announced. A portion of the former Seminary of Pastoral Theology at the Cathedral House, Salford, had been accepted by the Education Department as a Higher Grade School for 144 boys and was being adapted for that purpose⁶⁷.

So the Summer Holidays began on 21 July with an apparent secure future. It was planned that the school would reopen in the new premises on Monday August 14. The school had been well attended and it was expected that the change of quarters would bring a further increase in numbers. Particulars as to fees etc were available from Mr Henry Smith, the master, at 18 Rodney St Salford⁶⁸. Even in August, these hopes seem secure, and the date was again confidently published⁶⁹. Something however went wrong. The school apparently never made the transfer to the Cathedral House, and a pitiable plea was published in December.

Any school manager in want of a first class schoolmaster is recommended to apply to Mr Henry Smith 18 Rodney St Salford. Mr Smith's services are vacant through the non-reopening of the Salford Higher Grade School in September⁷⁰.

The fact of the closure was confirmed in the annual diocesan educational report, with an explanation of the financial reasons for the closure.

Against the above advance, the closing of the Salford Higher Grade School for Boys has, I am sorry to say, to be put in opposition. This school was just beginning to feel its feet and to gather together a number of older promising boys under excellent tuition. It could not however pay its way, and with increasing liabilities the Salford clergy have been sorrowfully obliged to let it fall⁷¹.

Thus ended this attempt to provide a higher level of education than would be found in the parish elementary schools. In passing it must be noted that although the number of pupils attracted to the school seemed relatively high, the school had to some degree been competing with the relatively well established St Chad's Grammar School, across the river in Manchester, a distance of about one and a half kilometres away. It also closed. That both schools failed within such a short time argues that the demand for such an education was less than anticipated, and indeed that the opening of the Salford Higher Grade School might have brought with it the seeds of destruction of both. The non-Catholic Manchester Grammar School was still then situated in the centre of Manchester. Another factor might

⁶⁷ **The Harvest**, June 1893 p. 211.

⁶⁸ **The Harvest**, July 1893 p. 257.

⁶⁹ **The Harvest**, August 1893 p. 260.

⁷⁰ **The Harvest**, December 1893 p.78.

⁷¹ **Salford Diocesan Educational Statistics Report for 1893**.

have been the drop by one third of the weekly fee that the school had charged before obtaining government grant, together with the apparent abolition of charges for the special subjects.

Some details of the curriculum and fees charged have been preserved. Special subjects taught were geography, English grammar, bookkeeping, French and Latin. The fee was 6d per week for all, whether special subjects are taken or not⁷². The parents of those who wished to see the school prosper were asked to send the extra three-pence a week as a "voluntary" contribution. The drawing examination took place in November, the general examination in December⁷³. The school also provided evening instruction with Science classes on Monday and Friday evenings, and a Physiography class on Friday evening. In recent drawing examination, the Salford Catholic Higher Grade School had obtained the highest mark - excellent - together with special certificates for the higher standards.

This school, being under the immediate protection of his Lordship the Bishop of Salford, he is naturally very anxious for its continued success, as it provides a long-felt want for the older scholars on leaving the elementary schools. Its principal aim is to give such pupils a thorough grounding in commercial knowledge, to enable them to compete with their more advantageously-placed rivals in the Board Schools⁷⁴.

The master of the school was Henry Smith⁷⁵, assisted by **William O'Dea**. Smith was certificated and had "excellent qualifications" both in general subjects and especially in science, and for some ten years had had constant successes with his pupils in both the College of Preceptors and the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations. William O'Dea was beginning his career in education, and together with his brother John, was to contribute greatly to the cause of Catholic education, both locally and nationally, for many decades.

The masters will be the same as since the opening of the school, Mr Henry Smith and William O'Dea, under the direction of the Bishop of Salford and the Very Rev. Canon Corbishley⁷⁶.

6 Conclusion: The Glass Ceiling remains.

Although the parochial elementary schools existed in sufficient number and quality to provide a relatively adequate education for working class Catholic children, the provision of further education across the diocese was limited. For boys there was no provision outside Manchester except for St

⁷² Formerly an extra fee of 3d per week had been charged for these subjects but as the school had come under government inspection, the Education Department refused to give the free grant if more than sixpence per week were charged.

⁷³ *The Harvest*, October 1892 p.22.

⁷⁴ *The Harvest*, February 1893 p.128.

⁷⁵ *The Harvest*, December 1893 p.78.

⁷⁶ *The Harvest*, July 1893 p. 257.

Paulinus' Catholic Institute at Blackburn. Even in Manchester, the provision had been reduced. The Xaverian Catholic Collegiate Institute and St Bede's College remained. Other provision had closed. For girls provision existed in the towns where convents operated. But their classes were smaller, and their curriculum less broad than that offered to the boys. The few middle class Catholic families who could afford to pay for this provision might well be tempted to use Catholic schools ~~on the~~ elsewhere in England and on the Continent. For children of the working classes, there was no alternative provision. Non-Catholic children enjoyed the developing provision offered by the School Boards, even if such provision was about to be declared illegal. In contrast Catholic children of a similar class were disadvantaged. They incurred the wrath of their clergy if they attended non-Catholic schools but if they remained loyal to the instructions of their bishops, they could not receive the education to enable them to better themselves. Yet the mood of the period stressed the growing importance of such education, and Catholics were as anxious as anyone to benefit from it. Bishops, priests and people saw the need. Resources however were lacking and the development of secondary provision remained piecemeal and fortuitous. As the new century opened, Casartelli became bishop and endeavoured to rectify the situation. His efforts are the subject of our next chapter.

Chapter 12: Early Twentieth Century Post Elementary Provision

1: Oversight of the Chapter

Casartelli's first Pastoral Letter dwelt on the challenge of providing secondary education. He understood the importance of secondary education, especially of boys, from his experience at St Bede's College and his involvement with the Conference of Catholic Colleges. The chapter opens with an account of the creation of the Conference of Catholic Colleges. Casartelli's Pastoral letter is examined. A brief reference is made to two early experiments made in Manchester and Bolton. The perceived threat of the Liberal Government to Catholic schools is mentioned. Two sources are studied that dwelt on the lack of secondary provision, the 1916 Deanery Conference and the campaigns of Canon **Driscoll**. The chapter ends with case studies of some of the secondary schools founded while Casartelli was bishop and of the HMI reports on their efficiency.

2: The Creation of the Conference of Catholic Colleges

Casartelli was deeply involved in the Conference of Catholic Colleges, not only as a participating headmaster, but also and more importantly as its first Secretary, a role he undertook until 1900. The formation of such a conference was first mooted in the Downside Review of January 1886¹. The Tablet² in welcoming the suggestion printed two letters of support, one from the Prior of Ampleforth and the second from Casartelli, who contributed a short article on the idea in the April issue of the Downside Review. In January 1896 Cardinal Vaughan invited the Headmasters of the main Catholic Colleges³ to an Inaugural Conference at Westminster. Vaughan had taken this action in the light of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, partly to keep abreast of any proposed legislation, but more importantly because the colleges and grammar schools would be educating the leading laity and clergy of the future. In particular Vaughan wanted children of ability in the working classes to have

¹ **Report of the Fifth Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges**, Downside, 29 - 30 May 1900, p.5 seq.

² **The Tablet** 16 January 1886.

³ For a brief history of these Colleges, see **The Catholic Schools of England** by A. S. Barnes London 1926.

access to such secondary education.⁴ HMI W. Scott Coward spoke on the whole issue of Secondary Schools and on the proposed registration of teachers and their training.⁵ Michael Sadler, a member of the Royal Commission and then at the Education Department, answered questions. The idea of annual conferences found favour. A Standing Committee was established to organise them. The subsequent annual conference papers and reports shed invaluable light on the development of secondary education.

Once formed, the Conference received recognition from both the State and the Church. The Board of Education recognised it as an organised body, and the Bishops charged it with the "consideration of the various questions that arise affecting Secondary Education"⁶. The annual meeting of Headmasters, and the delivery of papers on educational developments and curriculum forged a sense of unity and strength that enabled the Conference to pursue a vision greater than the interests of individual schools. Membership expanded as new schools were formed. Convent Secondary Schools were in due course admitted, although they later ran their own independent conferences. After 1909, the Conference was reduced to a single day.

The earlier years had seen negotiations with the Board of Education, the Catholic Education Council, and the Hierarchy. From 1902 a sub-committee of four bishops met conference delegates on various questions. With Government agreement a Catholic Secondary School Education Committee was formed in 1904, with one delegate from each diocese, and eight delegates, four lay and four clerical, from the Conference. This was later amalgamated with the Catholic Education Council at the request of the Government.

Fr Colley SJ for several years reported on educational legislation. In 1901 he spoke on the proposed Education Bill, and its probable effects on Catholic schools⁷. The "new" central authority now in place appeared to be taking careful stock of the situation before committing itself to action. The creation of

⁴ **Report of the Twenty Fifth Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges**, Beaumont, 10-11 May 1921 p. 25 seq. Paper by Casartelli *"Our Silver Jubilee"*.

⁵ **Idem** p. 34 seq. Paper by Mgr Francis Gonne *"Our Silver Jubilee"*.

⁶ **Letter** 19 June 1897 Cardinal Vaughan to Mgr Ward.

⁷ **Report of the Sixth Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges**, Ushaw, 21 - 22 May 1901, p. 14 seq. To illustrate national concerns, see for example Chapter 12 in Archer **Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century** (pp. 317-326), or Bailey's article *Technical Education and Secondary Schooling 1905-1945* in **Technical Education and the State since 1850** (pp. 97-119) edited by Summerfield and Evans, or Sherrington **English Education, Social Change and War 1911-1920** *passim*.

the Teacher Registration Council indicated an intention to raise the future academic qualifications of teachers. These proposals offered Catholics a challenge that could not be refused. With greater unity between elementary and secondary schools, promising Catholic boys could move from the Elementary Schools, and, helped by public scholarships or otherwise, rise to a higher level by securing a better education. The crux for Catholics lay in the help that their day Grammar Schools would receive from the new LEAs. Such schools would hardly be self-supporting but with external help might easily be kept efficient. Government grant of 50/- to 70/- was available and would be augmented by the local authority. However such Catholic schools needed to be started immediately, for once LEAs opened their own schools "the Councils will naturally be slow to help rival institutions, set up to draw boys away from the schools they themselves found or take over". Some bigotry had already arisen. The voice of intolerance was protesting against the spending of public money on denominational secondary schools. Nevertheless the Central Authority and most local authorities appeared to be fair-minded, and this gave hope for the future of Catholic schools.

Fr Butler's paper⁸ offered a few reflections. The Grammar Schools came between our ample public elementary schools, and our adequate colleges for liberal education. He questioned where the conscience of middle class Catholics lay. Mixed marriages were common, and children were often sent to non-Catholic schools. Loyalty to Catholic tradition needed to be developed in these parents. The important difference between a Christian training of their children in contrast to one merely dealing with social and commercial temporalities had to be stressed. Above all, pupils needed to be trained to live by true Christian principles.

The need to establish more secondary schools had long been identified by the Catholic community. The Conference briefly discussed the mode of establishing new Grammar Schools. Different ways of financing them were examined, and the need to educate Catholic opinion about them was stressed. A resolution was addressed to the Duke of Devonshire expressing the Conference's appreciation of the Government's efforts to safeguard secondary education.⁹

In 1902 Colley outlined the continuing need. The Catholic community was however "sadly behind hand in our provision of education for our middle classes". The proposed Education Bill permitted but

⁸ *Idem* p. 23 seq.

did not compel the new LEAs to submit schemes for Secondary Education. The need to provide efficient Catholic Secondary Day or Grammar Schools was being highlighted. Great expense would be incurred in their establishment and initial upkeep until Government grant could be obtained.

"Our numerous Catholics in the large towns will never hold their own unless they have a good proportion of the members of their body well enough educated to stand on a level with the representative men of other denominations. On the other hand education in Protestant or Undenominational schools can never produce a body of zealous and devoted Catholic leaders."¹⁰

The Low Week Hierarchy Declaration had already highlighted this need.¹¹ Colley repeated that such grammar schools must be started. The new LEAs, slow to start their own, would find it cheaper to utilise existing schools. Once they had established sufficient provision, additional Catholic provision would be indeed unwelcome.

"When we remember that the new authorities will have to meet all the expenses of the expiring School Boards and, in addition, the newly imposed burden of supporting the Denominational Schools; and also that they have for the most part already instituted costly Technical Schools, it is to be feared that they will be slow to burden themselves with new expenditure."

The future Cardinal Hinsley then offered a paper on "the place of Grammar Schools in a Scheme of Catholic Education in England".¹² Increased equality of educational opportunity was needed, for social, economic and imperial reasons. Catholics called as urgently as any portion of the community for educational uplifting, and if the Church did not provide it, would look elsewhere. The lack of Catholic Grammar Schools caused hardship for Catholic parents who were struggling out of the poorer ranks of the working classes, or who belonged to the lower middle classes. Wishing more for their children than the elementary school could provide, their choice would be either to keep their children in a station below that to which they might legitimately aspire, or to frequent non-Catholic schools to the great detriment of their religion. If the State and LEAs were crying "more Grammar Schools", how

⁹ *Idem* p. 27.

¹⁰ **Report of the Seventh Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges**, Ampleforth, 13 - 14 May 1902, p. 60 seq.

¹¹ Resolution 1: Bearing in mind the constant teaching of the Catholic Church as to the dangers and evils arising from mixed education, and the recent decision of the Holy See, that Catholic boys are not to be educated in the Public Schools of England, the Bishops again declare it to be of the highest importance to provide the Catholic youth of both sexes with secular instruction, Primary and Secondary, that shall be equal in efficiency with any in the country, while every care continues to be taken to conduct their education under Catholic influence, in a Catholic atmosphere, and according to Catholic principles.

much more loudly ought Catholics utter that same cry? For Catholics to remain outside these movements would be to neglect the opportunities for the Church's advancement, and to abandon our people to a position of intellectual, social and political inferiority. Whoever helped the cause of Catholic Secondary Education was building up the future of Catholicism in this country. It would be a great challenge in terms of finance, in terms of finding scholars committed to completing the full course of instruction, and in helping boys from elementary schools fit into the Grammar School regime. Such efforts at providing secondary education could not be confined within the narrow limits of parish interest, or within the circle of a single diocese.

3: Casartelli's 1903 Pastoral Letter

Casartelli addressed the issue of education, and especially secondary education, in his very first Pastoral Letter of 3 October 1903. Prophetically he wrote:

At the opening of a new Pontificate, a new Metropolitan reign, and a new Episcopate, and in the early days of a new century, "when the branch of the fig tree is yet tender and the leaves come forth," it seems appropriate to lift up our eyes and look out for 'the signs' of this Twentieth century in which we are called to play our part. And we shall not be far wrong if we estimate, that the chief work which lies to the hand of the Catholic Church in this country will for a long time be that of Education.

For well over thirty years, indeed, Education has been the Church's principal battlefield, and we owe it to those brave and undaunted champions who have gone before us that since 1870, and even from an earlier date, so much has been done, at the cost of so much sacrifice and such untiring labours, to secure the religious education of our children and to create a worthy and adequate system of primary education in all our elementary schools.

But a much wider and higher field of exertion is before us. There can be no doubt that the mind of the whole nation is deeply stirred with a conviction of the need of improving, broadening, and elevating our whole educational System, of co-ordinating all its grades, and of creating what is called "the ladder of education" leading from the primary school to the university. At the present moment, it is what is known as secondary education which occupies a large share of the public interest. We Catholics cannot afford to stand idly by and take no interest in this educational development. A vital question of our very existence is that of our secondary schools, of the adequate supply of these, especially in densely populated localities where at present they do not exist, and of bringing our primary education into some intimate connection with our secondary system.

The supply of our future school teachers will depend largely upon the solution of this difficulty as in the future a good secondary education will be absolutely necessary for all such as aspire to the teaching profession, and we must be either prepared to supply this, or see our children from the age of fourteen and upwards sent to non-Catholic secondary

¹² Report of the Seventh Annual Conference of Catholic Colleges. Ampleforth, 13 - 14 May 1902, p. 21 seq.

schools. And again the success and right of existence of our primary schools will no doubt eventually be judged very largely by the success which they are able to show in furnishing suitable candidates to the secondary schools. Later on again we must expect to be called upon to render our secondary schools so efficient that they will form stepping-stones and avenues to the still higher grades of academic and technical education. We are therefore only at the beginning of a great upward movement, and by the degree of our success in rising to the occasion, the future of the Church in this century must largely stand or fall.

Casartelli went on to express regret at the lack of financial support for the Universities Catholic Education Board. Participation in the national education movement was for Catholics not just a matter of religious importance, but also a patriotic issue.

Nor is it merely from the religious standpoint – though this must ever be our highest interest - that we Catholics should view our obligations in the educational movement of our times; it is a great national work, and we, as intelligent members of a great nation, are justly expected to feel a lively and practical interest in the whole question, whether of Primary or Secondary, of Technical or University Education, and strive to do our share in perfecting our national systems which are so necessary for the well-being of the empire to which we belong.

4: Early Experiments in Manchester and Bolton

4.1 Catholic Continuation Schools in Manchester

Evening or Night Schools had run in conjunction with Elementary Day Schools for many years. Under the care of Manchester Education Committee, many continued as Evening Continuation Schools. The M.E.C. policy was to give charge of the Evening School to the head teacher of the elementary school, and to use the same premises wherever possible, in the hope of creating a tradition of moving from day school to evening school as pupils came of age and left compulsory education. In his review of such schools, H. P. Smith recorded:

In another school, situated in one of the poorest parts of Manchester and conducted by a Roman Catholic Sisterhood, girls from the surrounding slums, when they leave the Day School to work in the mills, have for many years come back in large numbers in their clogs and shaws to attend school in the evening.¹³

Caroline Coignou gave more details¹⁴, stating that there were 15 Catholic Evening Schools in Manchester, comprising 25 separate departments, some dated back to the beginning of the evening

¹³ M. E. Sadler **Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere** p. 150

¹⁴ *Idem* pp.198-202. The **ED41 Files**, although heavily weeded, refer to Continuation Schools at St Francis, Gorton (1918-1925), St Wilfrid, Hulme (1918-1925), Corpus Christi, Miles Platting (1918-

school movement. They had struggled financially as government grants had not meet expenses. In 1892 Canon **De Splenter**, with the approbation of the Bishop, arranged with the Manchester School Board that Catholic Evening Schools should be under the Board's jurisdiction, with the Board meeting any expense not met by Government grant and also appointing the teachers. In practise the teachers were those engaged in teaching in Catholic Day Schools, a practice continued under the M.E.C. The schools were found mainly in the poorest parts of the city. One of the largest was situated at St Michael's, Ancoats, and was conducted by the nuns. Even so, attendance declined as each session progressed, although prizes of 5/- and 3/- were given to pupils attending 95% or 80% of the course. If half completed the course, it was considered good. Girls attended in larger numbers and more regularly than boys. The M.E.C. offered free tuition for one session to any child starting at the Continuation School immediately after leaving Day School. Although well taken up by Catholic children, the number returning for a second session remained disappointing. At the Holy Name Night School in 1905-1906, 56.8% of the boys duly enrolled for the first session, but of these only 18.3% returned for the 1906-1907 session. This massive decline was partly because of inability to pay the fees for the second session, to the indifference on the part of employers and to the M.E.C. ruling that pupils must enter for the whole of a specified course and not just the one subject that interested them.

Such schools were deemed useful in keeping growing children off the streets while deepening and extending their knowledge. There were also social and spiritual benefits, with the children maintaining their Church links by attending Mass and perhaps joining some guild, a society such as the SVP, a Sunday School, a Boys' Club or similar. The work done at Corpus Christi by the Norbertine Fathers was cited, as was that of the Jesuits at the Holy Name Church, and for girls by the Sisters of Charity in Ancoats. Coignou's conclusion on Catholic Continuation Schools put a brave face on a movement that seemed less than successful.

The number of pupils in the Catholic Evening Continuation Schools is still small in comparison with the number of those who ought to take advantage of the instruction offered. The numbers are creeping up surely though slowly, but undoubtedly much must be done in the near future to make evening continuation classes more attractive to the masses.

1925), St Edmund, Monsall (1918-1927) and St Patrick, Sudell St (1918-1925). It also mentions St Gregory, Farnworth (1926-1927).

4.2 Special Classes in Bolton

A Special class was opened at St Peter and Paul's Boys' School in Bolton in 1904 to offer a post-elementary education leading to the Preliminary Local Examination of the University of Oxford.¹⁵ The head teacher, **William O'Dea** extended the curriculum of the Upper Class to match that of the lower and middle forms of a good Secondary School. **Fr Holmes** provided equipment, including a chemical and physical laboratory, at considerable expense.¹⁶ More pupils entered the course and a Preliminary Class was formed to assist younger pupils. Twelve pupils took the Oxford Local Examination and succeeded with distinction.¹⁷ The clergy taught the Scripture lessons, while **O'Dea** taught Science, Mathematics and English Subjects. Further success was recorded in 1909¹⁸. Thirty-two successes had been obtained since 1904. Three former pupils were training as teachers, and one as a priest. In 1912 the class was still in existence but only one success was recorded in the Preliminary Candidates Honours List.¹⁹ This experiment showed that pupils could successfully be given a higher level of education even at an elementary school. It depended for its success however on the dedication and zeal of the clergy and of one remarkable head teacher. Not surprisingly the experiment was not replicated elsewhere.

5: The Perceived threat of the Liberal Government to Catholic Education

Flush with victory in December 1905, the new Liberal Government wished to honour its commitment to its Nonconformist supporters to undo the 1902 Education Act and remove what they saw as privileged treatment of Church Schools. A new Education Bill was quickly prepared whose proposals the Roman Catholic community saw as hostile. The Conservatives and the Anglican bishops in the House of Lords radically recast its clauses, and the Liberal Party preferred to drop the Bill rather than go to the country and possibly lose a new election and its first taste of power for a decade. As Seale explained:

¹⁵ **The Harvest** March 1906 pp. 55-56.

¹⁶ The first four boys to complete the course all succeeded in the Oxford examination. Two were placed 40th and 50th in the Honour Grade out of nearly 10,000 pupils who took the examination nationally.

¹⁷ **The Harvest** October 1906 pp. 231-232.

¹⁸ **The Harvest** March 1909 p. 70

¹⁹ **The Harvest** September 1912, p. 232.

But when, to no one's surprise, the House of Lords obstructed the passage of the Education Bill, the Liberals declined to dissolve, fearing to jeopardise their majority over an issue which, they suspected, aroused little popular enthusiasm in the country at large.²⁰

The history of the 1906 Education Bill has been sufficiently studied to render anything other than a brief mention here unnecessary. Sacks has studied the religious issues in detail.²¹ His synopsis of the Catholic position is succinct and accurate.²² Machin condenses his account admirably:

The main ministerial effort of 1906 was an Education Bill which tried to alter the provisions of 1902 in the interests of the Nonconformists. Liberal supporters were sharply at odds over the bill, as Catholics wished to retain the 1902 settlement because it benefited their numerous schools. The Opposition therefore attacked the measure as appealing merely to a section of Liberals and not being of national interest. The Lords passed amendments which would have drastically altered the character of the bill, so the Government withdrew it. Further measures to settle education over the next two years made little headway even in the Commons, and were withdrawn.²³

The Catholic response to these efforts has been partially described, as has the reaction within the Salford Diocese.²⁴ Two points remain to be emphasised. Firstly the combination of clergy and laity that had formed the Voluntary Schools Association formed a valuable medium of campaigning against the Bill. Secondly, the Catholic Federation, founded by Casartelli in 1910, made education a major topic of its campaigning until its demise. Consequently, month-by-month, news of educational affairs was made known to Catholics active in both politics and the Trade Unions. Every advance from a Catholic viewpoint was celebrated, and every reverse noted and suitable reaction suggested. No informed Catholic remained unaware of the diocesan stance on Catholic education and on the actions expected in its support.

It did however hold out a simple trap. Too many Catholics believed that it was through their action that the Bill had failed. They did not realise that the real cause lay in the House of Lords. The temptation to

²⁰ **The Liberal Party, Triumph and Disintegration, 1886-1929.** G. R. Searle, 1992, p. 81.

²¹ **The Religious Issue in the State Schools of England and Wales 1902-1914** Benjamin Sacks, University of New Mexico Press, 1961.

²² **Idem** pp. 93 seq., 121 seq., 183 seq.

²³ **The Liberal Governments of 1905-1915** G. I. T. Machin, pp. 6-7.

²⁴ **The 1906 Liberal Education Bill and the Roman Catholic Reaction of the Diocese of Salford** Fanning M. Undergraduate Thesis, Oxford 1996. Fanning made extensive use of the diocesan archives in writing his thesis and we had several long discussions on this and related topics. While his work and interpretation are solely his own, his conclusions are ones from which I would not dissent.

claim more credit than was their due, and to over-value their strength and influence possible did more harm than good to Catholic interests in the following decades.²⁵

If Casartelli could write "Deo Gratias" in his diary as the proposed 1906 Education Bill²⁶ was finally abandoned, he and the Catholic community quickly became convinced that the Liberal Government were trying to impose through use of the Secondary School Codes and by administration the changes they had been unable to implement by legislation. These were seen as making it impossible for the Catholic community to open new secondary schools, or to gain recognition for existing ones as yet recognised. The threat was two fold. Firstly educational advancement for the children of working class Catholic families would become impossible within Catholic provision. Secondly and more sinisterly the new code required that future teachers must have attended a recognised secondary school for a minimum period. If future Catholic teachers could not be trained within Catholic schools, where would Catholic teachers come from? And without suitable provision of Catholic teachers for the future, how would the existing Catholic elementary schools be staffed? The threat to Catholic education was perceived as more dangerous than ever. Articles 23 and 24 of the Regulations were seen as the death knell for Catholic Secondary Schools. They were altered in 1919.²⁷

6: 1916 Deanery Conference and Diocesan Synod

Provincial Synods were occasionally held, at which the Hierarchy laid out their hopes, their intentions, their guidance and their decisions. These were then taken up at Diocesan Synods, convened by the local bishop. Any decisions made by a Provincial Synod would then be adopted and promulgated, together with any local norms or decrees that the diocesan bishop wished to implement. He also had an occasion in his "allocutio" or address to the clergy to raise issues of concern or importance, a "state of the nation" overview. These Diocesan Synods occurred regularly from 1850 until the practice fell into near abeyance after the promulgation of the 1918 Code of Canon Law²⁸.

²⁵ **English Catholics** G. Beck (Ed) 1950 esp. Chapter 11 & 13.

²⁶ See Chapter 9, Section 3.

²⁷ **Report of the Twenty Fifth Conference of Catholic Colleges**, Beaumont, 10 - 11 May 1921 p. 37-38.

²⁸ The last Salford Synod held in 1957 merely reiterated verbatim the text of that of 1947.

Catholic priests in England had met for Clergy Conferences²⁹ since the times of the Vicars Apostolic. In 1916, there were 13 deaneries within the Salford diocese. The December Conference was asked to look at "De re scholastica" or more precisely the situation concerning Catholic Secondary Schools.

The Proponent's paper is to take the form of an essay discussing certain grave problems regarding our schools: 1. The recent abnormal multiplication of petitions for children to attend non-Catholic Secondary Schools; its causes and excuses alleged. 2. The problem of supplying in various diocesan areas some form of Catholic Secondary Schools, more especially for boys; suggested schemes. 3. The proposed compulsory continuation classes. 4. The proposed "specialised vocational teaching".³⁰

The Thirty Third Diocesan Synod Report summarised the Conference Reports and acknowledged that proponents had exceptionally been thrown on their own resources. There were no books to provide easy answers. Most had responded "with careful thought, serious treatment and labour of research".

What strikes one most in reading them is the unanimity of the conclusions arrived at both as to the pressing need of Catholic Secondary Schools and the limited means at our disposal for meeting the demand.³¹

On every side the importance of secondary education was being urged on parents. The new Council Secondary Schools were usually well equipped and well staffed, and poorer families could take advantage of scholarships and bursaries. In contrast, Catholic Secondary Schools were "too few, too expensive, and for the majority too distant". Catholic parents saw "the success to be obtained and the social advantages" offered and were also paying towards the cost of such schools through the rates. They did not see "why they alone should be deprived", and so, in the face of the ban on Catholic pupils attending non-Catholic schools, requested permission for their children to attend. "There is a great temptation held out to our people on the one hand; there is a lack of opportunity on the other." Thus spoke the unanimous verdict of all Conferences.

²⁹ By 1900, a pattern had emerged. Six meetings a year were held. One priest, the proponent, would deliver a paper on a set theme. His fellow priests would comment on its content. The Conference Secretary forwarded a report to the diocese, together with short answers written by younger clergy to set questions. Each autumn, the topics for the next conferences were announced, together with a resume of the reports received, often accompanied by an authoritative interpretation. Conferences thus offered "in-service training", designed to keep the clergy up to date in their professional studies of Scripture, theology, and pastoral awareness.

³⁰ Conference Cases 1916-1917, SDA *Acta* 1916+, pp. 15.

³¹ Report of the 33rd Synod, pp.32-36.

How to cope with the problem was a different matter. Many urged a campaign to rescind the 1907 Government "regulations" through agitation, pressure on Parliament. "And surely if we are called upon to bear the burdens of the country, as we are doing equally with others in this war, we have a right to share in their privileges, and a right to equal facilities with our fellow countrymen." It was however noted that even the repeal of legislation perceived to be unjust would not alone solve the difficulty. There was the expense of building and maintaining such schools. One proponent had gathered statistics about two existing schools in receipt of the Government £5 capitation grant, and had shown that even they were not self-supporting.³² The scheme of one proponent to solve the problem met with high praise. The first necessity was to have an organic connection between the area secondary school and the local elementary schools, a link the existing secondary schools did not have.

"A large school or a selected area containing several parishes should have its High School affiliated with the Catholic elementary schools in the surrounding parishes." It should be a school which is part of a system linked up with the elementary schools "to which their bright students may be expected naturally to go for the continuation of their studies". It should not be simply parochial, but it should command the support of all the parishes of its area. "It should not be under the exclusive control of any one of them or altogether independent of them." "All must have a common interest in it, all must contribute to its support morally or financially, or both."

The problem of the expense thus faced was appreciated. In the past parishes had paid handsomely to maintain their elementary schools. With the relief now obtained under the 1902 Education Act, parishes could now perhaps fund their common High Schools. The suggestion was made that parishes pay an assessment proportionally according to their population, and not per pupil in attendance, lest some be tempted to restrict access to reduce their assessment.

This plan would have the advantage of stimulating interest in the High School, and of inducing each parish to send as many pupils as possible, since the cost to the parish would be the same whether few or many pupils attended.

The use of religious teaching orders to staff the schools was seen as a way of lowering costs. With such a staff, "a Catholic High School could be supported for about one half what it costs to support a public High School". The estimate was that a High School for some fifty pupils would cost the united parishes of its area about £400 per annum.

³² The schools in question were St Francis Xavier School, Liverpool, and the Bradford Catholic Grammar School.

The general opinion of the conferences was that the Evening Continuation Classes had already proved a failure and that alternative schemes for children who had left elementary schools was imperative, preferably under Catholic supervision, using Catholic teachers, and conducted during the day time.

Compulsion however was unwelcome. "The tendency of modern legislation is to invade the domain of liberty" and this was seen as a potentially injurious to Catholic interests. The LEAs and indeed even employers might insist that Catholic children attend non-Catholic Centres where they might "be taught by Protestant or entirely irreligious teachers". For this reason too the idea of "specialised vocational training" met with reservations. It was difficult to envisage the creation of Catholic Vocational Schools. Were children required to attend non-Catholic centres or schools, such a scheme would remove a child of twelve or under from the Catholic School at the time the pupils would be "most responsive to religion and were being steadied in the practise of their Faith". It also required a child to make a vocational choice when too young, "before he knows his own mind and before he is really competent to judge what he is fit for". This clash between rival visions of education was succinctly described:

As set forth by its advocates the scheme of "specialised vocational training" is open to the charge of being purely utilitarian and "subordinates educational training to standards of usefulness and practical results".

While no implementation of any scheme for secondary provision would be possible during the course of the Great War, the fears and visions expressed through these conferences would find practical application in the years following the 1918 Education Act. Indeed they remain pertinent today.

7: Canon Driscoll and the Dearth of Catholic Grant Aided Schools for Boys

Canon Driscoll in particular articulated the growing concern about the lack of secondary education for boys at the 1923 Catholic Congress in Birmingham. The Catholic paper *The Universe* then took up the theme and Driscoll was asked to repeat his Congress paper at the annual Conference on Catholic Colleges held at Stonyhurst on 28 May 1924. A printed version³³ of this talk was circulated with the

³³ SDA Box 41 pamphlet "*The Dearth of Catholic Grant-Aided Secondary Schools for Boys*" Canon Driscoll, M.A.

Bishop of Salford's compliments and recommendation for careful consideration. The main thrust of Driscoll's argument, which clearly had the Bishop's support, was as follows.

The withdrawal of Articles 23 and 24 of the Secondary School Regulations, which had generally been thought to have been the main check to such school provision, had not been followed by any major increase in the number of central schools. Such apathy compared badly with the zeal of past generations of Catholics in providing elementary education. Driscoll identified two causes.

Firstly many Catholics failed to understand the enormous importance of the secondary day school in the national system of education and in the development of the Church in the country.

Secondly, because the parish was the usual unit of Catholic organisation, and secondary schools overstepped the limits of the individual parish, no one felt directly and immediately responsible, and thus nothing was done³⁴.

Yet such secondary provision was as essential now as elementary provision had been in the past. There was interdependence between the elementary schools, the secondary schools, and the training colleges. Capable boys were being enabled by scholarships and free places to pass through the secondary schools, on to universities. Indeed,

One manifest need of the Catholic community was the building up of a strong, well-educated middle class. It was from the middle class that men were drawn who controlled the public life of the country in councils and on boards of management. Talented boys had by lack of opportunity and by want of a good education been held back. Catholic secondary provision must be made available to them.

Driscoll outlined the Catholic situation. Of 1115 grant-aided secondary schools across the country, 66 were Catholic. Of this 66, only 14 were for boys. If 52 schools were needed for girls, (and the true figure would probably be higher), would not at least the same number be needed for boys? Government policy was eventually to raise from 25% to 40% the number of free places in grant-aided secondary schools. This would increase from 128,000 to nearly 250,000 the number of pupils gaining free places. Thus practically every child of average intelligence in elementary schools would have an opportunity for free secondary education. Without a viable Catholic secondary school provision, capable Catholic boys and parents were placed in the cruel dilemma of sacrificing their scholarships or holding them at a non-Catholic school which might be detrimental to their faith. The tradition of

³⁴ This concept of "parochiality" had been a major element in Fr Watts's argument in his confrontation when the Manchester Education Authority tried to constrain the newly agreed St Robert's school to the Hadow Report recommendations of accepting only children under eleven years of age.

Catholic Schools for Catholic children so firmly rooted in the minds of Catholics would be eroded. Such weakening of one of the chief bulwarks in the defence of our schools would be disastrous. Furthermore,

University education is a key factor in the creation of a Catholic middle class. University access through free scholarships flow from grant-aided secondary education provision. Vast areas of the country lack this provision for Catholic boys. Our present non-grant aided secondary provision is sparse and remains outside the national system and fails to meet the pressing need of the day.

As citizens, Catholics paid taxes and rates used in part for educational purposes. Through the dearth of Catholic grant-aided secondary schools however, they received nothing like their due proportion in return. In conclusion Driscoll returned to the two reasons why such a dearth of provision existed. His arguments, he believed, had dealt with the first problem: the failure to understand the need for such provision. His final thrust was to look at the problem of parochiality and look at possible opportunities:

The parish elementary school had now largely ceased to be the financial burden it once had been. Parish clergy now needed to see that secondary provision completed the traditional elementary provision. As an individual parish alone could not provide sufficient secondary provision, parishes and clergy shared a responsibility within an area or district to create such provision. Yet such an area grouping already existed within the Catholic Church: the deanery of local parishes. Every large town or populous area needed its own Catholic secondary school. Could not deaneries look at such provision as one of their most important and fruitful works? Catholic laymen in Bradford, Yorkshire, had succeeded in funding such a school. Could their example not be emulated elsewhere?

Although it was important that as many teachers as possible held university degrees, staffing should prove no real difficulty. As houses at Oxford and Cambridge had already been established for priests to receive university training, such priests could be available as teachers, and their presence in secondary schools where many future priests would now receive their education would have obvious benefits. Indeed the great religious orders might take a share in such provision. Finally there was the laity. The recent Congress had demonstrated the presence of many fine Catholic teachers, unable to find posts in the non-existent Catholic school. Ironically they often found themselves teaching Catholic boys in the non-Catholic schools, when both masters and pupils would prefer to be in a Catholic school, did they exist.

Finance would however be a problem. Apart from the initial funding of the building of the school, the high cost of maintenance also posed difficulties, especially if the LEA were bigoted or niggardly.

Parishes however might share the costs. Such schools would be in receipt of the scholars' fees and the Board of Education grant of £7 per pupil. LEA capitation grants might also be received. Otherwise Catholic policy should be to organise the Catholic vote and secure the return of Catholic councillors to bring pressure to bear on the local councils to deal more generously with Catholic schools. Bradford and other centres had shown what could be done.

Given Casartelli's recommendation of Driscoll's presentation, three points are worth noting. There is firstly the suggestion that the deanery or cluster of local parishes provide secondary schools. This is what happened in several of the case studies that follow. Secondly there is the suggestion that appropriate political pressure be brought to bear should LEAs be less than fair in the treatment of Catholic schools. Such action was not unknown in the Salford Diocese! And it would definitely feature in future activity. Finally there was question of the ability of clergy to work together to secure such provision, especially when certain clerics of *Prima Donna* dispositions objected.

8: The provision of Catholic Central Schools

Acutely aware of the need for the provision of secondary schools, Casartelli in 1906 raised the possibility of the Dominicans opening such a school in Pendleton where they staffed the parish of St Sebastian³⁵. Nothing came of this initiative. In 1907 he received a deputation of clergy and laymen regarding the want of Catholic Secondary Schools³⁶. In 1911 the Education Sub-Committee of the Catholic Federation sent a delegation on the same topic³⁷. His apparent inactivity was explained in 1913. He wrote in *The Federationist* that he had several times unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain the services of teaching congregations of Brothers. He appealed for boys and young men to give themselves to the religious life and the cause of Catholic education. There was not the same difficulty with girls owing to the many excellent convent schools³⁸. In 1917 he received a delegation of Catenians from Bolton regarding secondary schools for boys³⁹. He regarded a meeting with some of

³⁵ Diary 6 August 1906

³⁶ Diary 18 March 1907

³⁷ Diary 12 February 1911

³⁸ Diary Press cutting pasted in opposite entry for 1 October 1913 noting the death of Brother Edmund, a Christian Brother.

³⁹ Diary 17 April 1917

the priests of Bolton on this topic as unsatisfactory⁴⁰. The following day he met with the Brother Superior of the Irish Christian Brothers to talk about a scheme of a Boy's Secondary School in North Manchester⁴¹. Mr Sherry, a Bolton J.P., called on Casartelli about secondary schools⁴². Casartelli considered that the Fisher reform did not touch the ^{pnnucpal}principle grievance of Catholics that the "obnoxious regulations imposed on the establishment of secondary schools made it impossible for Catholics to provide these schools where boys anxious to become teachers could receive a secondary education"⁴³. Another meeting was held with the Christian Brothers regarding North Manchester⁴⁴. While attending the Hierarchy meeting in 1918, the Salesians approached him to discuss the possibility of opening a secondary school in the diocese, a project he felt could not be considered until after the War⁴⁵. Fr Crilly from Pendleton (Salford) was also asking about similar provision⁴⁶. Circulars were sent to the clergy as protest meetings against the secondary school regulations were arranged⁴⁷. Casartelli kept himself informed, meeting people such as Lord Braye⁴⁸, Secondary School HMIs such as Carson and Smith⁴⁹, and well-established head-teachers such as Brother Cyril, Provincial of the Xaverian Brothers⁵⁰. Pessimism was wide spread. The Parish Priests Advisory Committee which met him were particular pessimistic about the future of Catholic schools⁵¹. Casartelli wrote at length on the matter to the Archbishop of Liverpool⁵² and convened a well-attended meeting of Deans to discuss educational prospects⁵³.

By 1921 progress was being made. Fr McConville visited Casartelli and Canon Holmes regarding founding the school in Bolton⁵⁴. Later the Catenians became involved in the discussions. Progress was also taking place in Manchester, where Casartelli held a meeting with the local clergy to discuss the

⁴⁰ Diary 2 May 1917

⁴¹ Diary 3 May 1917

⁴² Diary 27 July 1917

⁴³ Diary 11 August 1917 pasted press cutting

⁴⁴ Diary 17 October 1917

⁴⁵ Diary 8 April 1918

⁴⁶ Diary 24 October 1918

⁴⁷ Diary 28 March 1919

⁴⁸ Diary 7 September 1919

⁴⁹ Diary 25 September 1919. They had dinner together.

⁵⁰ Diary 27 October 1919

⁵¹ Diary 26 November 1919

⁵² Diary 1 December 1919

⁵³ Diary 22 December 1919. Sadly his diary for 1920 has been lost and the thread of his activity resumes with his diary of 1921.

question of a Central School and the purchase of a site in Ardwick Green.⁵⁵ The Sisters of Charity were also intending to open as a Central School for Girls their former Industrial School in Longsight.⁵⁶ The main problem was financial and the Sisters wanted a loan. Difficulties developed with both these schools, mainly owing to the “selfishness” of certain elementary school head-teachers who were unwilling to let suitable children attend, with consequent financial implications. Casartelli was forced to write to the Manchester clergy⁵⁷. In Accrington Fr **McAvoy** S.J. planned to establish a Secondary School for Girls at Paddock House⁵⁸. The De la Salle Brothers had obtained a site in Salford for their new school⁵⁹. The Marist Fathers were also looking for a place in the north of the diocese to found their secondary school for boys, and Blackburn was eventually chosen⁶⁰.

8.1 De la Salle College for Boys, Salford

The De la Salle Brothers agreed to Casartelli's request to open a Boys' Secondary School in March 1923. Canon **Sharrock** on behalf of the Salford clergy had purchased the “Hopefield Estate” as the site of the new school. Brother Columba, the first Head Teacher, arrived on 18 August 1924 and the first 83 pupils were admitted on 23 September. The College officially opened 8 November 1924⁶¹. In February 1925 application for recognition was made and granted with effect from 1 January 1926, a mere 14 months after the opening. Lord Eustace Percy opened the main block on 10 May 1927. A Boarding Department opened in 1928. The first extension was opened in 1937 and housed an assembly hall, art room, three classrooms and extended facilities for chemistry and physics. It cost some £40,000. During its first 25 years, the number of pupils had grown from 83 to 625.⁶² After 18 years at the school in various capacities, Bro. Columba took charge of the new Teacher Training College at Hopwood Hall.

⁵⁴ **Diary** 22 March, 7 April, 8 June 1921

⁵⁵ **Diary** 22 May 1922, 27 September 1923, 6 June, 10 June, 5 July, 11 July 1924.

⁵⁶ **Diary** 13 February, 11 August, 6 October 1922.

⁵⁷ **Diary** 5, 8 July 1924, 18, 19, 20 August, 3 September, 17 October 1924.

⁵⁸ **Diary** 4 July 1923, 5 February, 18 May 1924.

⁵⁹ **Diary** 16 June, 16 September 1923.

⁶⁰ **Diary** 26 May 1924.

⁶¹ **Diary** 8 November 1924. This was the last surviving educational entry in Casartelli's diary as the entries for 11 November to 29 December have been removed. Casartelli fell fatally ill some 4 days before the opening over which he had intended to preside. He died in January 1925.

8.2 Thornleigh Salesian College, Bolton

Casartelli's negotiations with the Salesians and the co-operation of the Bolton clergy in establishing the school have already been noted in his diaries. The Catholic clergy of Bolton bought Thornleigh House for £4,000 at a public auction on 15 November 1923⁶³. The former Hargreaves family house had served successively as a hostel for female trainee teachers, for Belgium refugees during the Great War and as a convalescent home for wounded officers. The Ministry of Works and Public Buildings then disposed of the property. Canon **Burke**, who had been deeply involved in the establishment of Mount St Joseph's School for Girls, saw it as an answer to their prayers: a site for a similar school for boys. The house was formally handed over to the Salesians on 13 May 1924. A neighbouring house, Hayward Leigh was later purchased by the clergy and handed to the Salesians as a gift.

The College opened on 14 September 1925 with some 44 pupils⁶⁴. Classes were initially held in the two houses, with the physics laboratory being situated in the former wine cellars. French was taught phonetically using Linguaphone records. Sport also figured strongly in the memories of the first pupils. The construction of new classrooms began in October. These were occupied in September 1926. Of the 76 pupils then enrolled, 28 were boarders. Bishop Henshaw blessed the school in January 1927. In May the HMI paid a three-day visit and the school was duly placed on the list of recognised secondary schools. Fr Parker, the first head teacher, retired on health grounds in the summer and in September 1927 Fr **William Walsh** became head teacher, with 115 pupils at the school. Canon **Burke** headed the newly created Board of Governors until his resignation on health grounds in August 1938.

A Sixth Form was opened in 1932, when the pupils numbered 224. Another HMI inspection was successfully passed. An Old Boys' Association had been founded, the school magazine started, as had Debating and Dramatic Societies. J. F. Hindle became the first pupil to gain a place at University. Others began the tradition of entering the religious life, many as Salesians, others as diocesan priests. A third house, The Lees, was purchased and more classrooms and a refectory were built. At the end of

⁶² **De la Salle Pendleton Annual Magazine** 1949 p. 3. (Silver Jubilee Issue) The pupil figures per year were given thus: 1925 – 110, 1930 – 231, 1935 – 349, 1940 – 377, 1945 – 488.

⁶³ The details, which follow, were extracted from reminiscences in the booklet issued to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the College **Thornleigh Salesian College 1925 – 2000**.

the Second World War there were some 410 pupils on roll. Sadly 34 past pupils died in the combat. Wartime pupils also helped in farm camps, initially in Lancashire, but later in the Vale of Evesham. These camps continued until 1950. The College was recognised as a Direct Grant Grammar School under the 1944 Education Act.

8.3 St Gregory's Central School for Boys, Manchester

Canon **Rothwell**, parish priest of St Edward's, Rusholme, noted the forthcoming auction of the Manchester Ardwick Industrial School⁶⁵. On 22 May 1922 a meeting of Manchester clergy was held at Bishop's House. Canon **O'Toole** of Birkenhead spoke about a scheme his clergy had undertaken to fund a central school. With one exception, the clergy agreed to initiate the provision of a central school for Manchester boys. They authorised the purchase of the former Industrial School for a sum not exceeding £15,000⁶⁶ and undertook to meet all liabilities in their entirety⁶⁷. The purchase was made. The Catholic Central School for Boys opened at 75-77 Ardwick Green North at the end of August 1923. The school would be carried on according to the regulations of the Manchester Education Committee for Central Schools, and no fees would be charged. Boys who had passed the recent examinations were eligible to attend and the Education Committee would also hold a further special examination in June 1923 at a date to be decided⁶⁸. A subsequent meeting to which the parish priests of Manchester, Salford, Stretford and Stockport had been invited was held at Ardwick on 26 September 1923. Five resolutions were carried. The area to be served by the school was limited to the Manchester rating area. The Manchester parish priests held themselves responsible for meeting the capital debt incurred. The first £10,000 would be distributed equally as a capital debt shared by all the parishes. Parishes actually having boys at the school would pay the interest on all other expenses. Parishes

⁶⁴ On the first morning, an interesting series of pupil registrations and the learning of the French National Anthem took place to hide the fact that the boys had arrived before the desks!

⁶⁵ SDA Box 41 Letter of Rothwell to Casartelli 14 May 1922 with later additional notes added.

⁶⁶ The actual purchase price was £10,000. A further £10,000 was thought necessary to adapt and equip the buildings

⁶⁷ SDA Box 41 Letter of Fr Parker to the clergy 10 October 1923.

⁶⁸ SDA Box 41 Letter of Fr Roche to Canon Rowntree 14 May 1923.

beyond the Manchester area sending pupils would be charged 50% more per capita. Bishop Casartelli added a note expressing his strong approval⁶⁹.

The original per capita payment decision was later rescinded. The new arrangement was that half the debt (£10,000) be divided equally among the Manchester parishes, and the remainder be met by a per capita charge. The diocesan chancellor would add it to the capital debt of the parishes concerned at a charge of 4% per annum, provided the clergy agreed. This should ensure that no single parish would have more than £500 added to its capital debt⁷⁰.

Later Casartelli relieved the Board of Management from all responsibility regarding the purchase money but expected it to carry on the school as a going concern. Each parish priest was asked for £1 for each pupil attending the school from his parish. Lists of pupils were provided. The priest remained free to make any private arrangements he wished with the individual parents.

We are sure you will appreciate the vital importance of this decision, and the Board look forward with complete confidence to your whole-hearted co-operation with them in making the school what we intend - the Catholic boys' charter for a higher education - that will enable our deserving boys to reap the advantages of a better social position in spite of initial lack of financial advantages on the part of their parents⁷¹.

The Chairman of the School managers, Mgr **Joseph Kelly**, wrote to the clergy in February 1926 to report progress. 450 boys were on role. The religious inspection report was most gratifying. Most of the urgent building needs had been attended to. The £1 per capita fee was reduced to a mere ten shillings for the years 1924-25 and 1925-26. Those who had paid the pound capita fee would be duly credited. £300 had been spent in 1925 on necessary repairs. Sadly not all parishes had paid their full quota. If all did, the annual contribution could be further curtailed as "the managers are determined not to ask for a shilling more than they really require for maintaining the efficiency of the school"⁷².

8.4 St Joseph's Central School for Girls, Manchester.

In August 1922 public notice was given of the intention to provide a new school for about 300 children at St Joseph's Roman Catholic Central School for Girls to serve the southern portion of the City of

⁶⁹ SDA Box 41 Letter of Fr Parker to the clergy 10 October 1923.

⁷⁰ SDA Box 41 Letter Parker to the Clergy 25 November 1923.

⁷¹ SDA Box 41 Circular from Fr Feeney to the clergy. No date.

⁷² SDA Box 41 Letter Kelly to the clergy 25 February 1926.

Manchester⁷³. This “new” Central School was established on the site of the former Girls’ Industrial School⁷⁴.

8.5 St Mary’s College for Boys, Blackburn

Casartelli before his death had persuaded the Marist Fathers to open a Boys’ Secondary School in Blackburn⁷⁵. As elsewhere, the local Blackburn clergy had been instrumental in supporting the school’s establishment. Their committee accepted responsibility for funding for ten years the interest charges that would accrue on the capital needed to start the school. Springfield House in one of the better residential areas of the town was purchased for £2,250 and adapted as a school. Fr Fox was appointed Head Teacher. The school opened on 16 September 1925 with some 37 pupils. Local neighbours were not too keen on having the school next to them. Their solicitors’ letters threatening legal action for breach of restrictive covenants were initially ignored, so the school was taken to court. The case was heard before Mr Justice Eve in London. He referred the matter to arbitration, the first such case under the new Birkenhead Land Act. The final verdict delivered in January 1927 pleased no one. The school could remain on site, but must not increase the number of pupils, then 70, nor erect any new buildings.

Another site was therefore found, a former playing field used by the Corporation and leased as allotment gardens. Purchased for £2,250, due notice to quit was given to the allotment holders. Adjacent land fronting the main road was next purchased for £400 and plans for the new school were drawn up. On March 11, 1930, the first sod was cut. Bishop Henshaw laid the foundation stone in June, building was completed in November, and Henshaw returned for the official opening. The total cost had amounted to some £8,000 at a time of national financial misery. A mammoth bazaar organised with the assistance of local parishes raised some £2,542. Board of Education recognition was sought in 1931. Inspectors came in October, and recognition was granted 30 December. This enabled boys to

⁷³ SDA Box 41 Public Notice 5 August 1922.

⁷⁴ Salford Diocesan Almanacs 1922, 1923 under parish entry 24 for St Joseph’s Parish, Plymouth Grove.

⁷⁵ St Mary’s College, Blackburn, Magazine 1950 (Silver Jubilee issue) *passim*. The historical account of the College is based on this source unless otherwise stated.

gain scholarships at the school from both Blackburn and Lancashire Authorities, which began paying capitation grants to the school.

With the assistance of Blackburn's Director of Education, Mr J. F. Carr, Treasury Grant was awarded with effect from 1 January 1935. An initial refusal had been made because of the national financial plight, but the second application succeeded. Board of Education memos are quite revealing. Notre Dame School was already recognised as efficient and in receipt of grant, so there was due provision for Catholic girls. Recognition of the Marist College would make similar provision available for Catholic boys, thus matching the provision for non-Catholic children. The only concern was whether this would open the floodgates to more applications. A survey was made nationally to see how many other schools might claim grant if the Marist application was granted. A few schools were identified, and the civil servants recommended recognition, though they anticipated they would have to "ignore some nineteen applications expected to come from other Catholic Schools in Lancashire"!

With expanding rolls, the school site was extended. Prospect House adjacent to the College was purchased in 1935. Fr Fox retired as Head Teacher in 1938 and was succeeded by Fr Cusack. His plans to extend the school buildings fell victim to wartime restrictions. Even so numbers on roll crept slowly up, with boys coming from Burnley as well as Blackburn and Lancashire County areas. In 1942 the pupils totalled 187. Another property, Bush House, was purchased in September 1944, when the pupil roll reached 216. Academically the school was improving year by year, and the Sixth Form began to gain University scholarships and honours with increasing regularity. Further success and expansion had to wait until after the War.

8.6 Mount St Joseph Convent School, Bolton

The Sisters of the Cross and Passion had established several houses in the Bolton area. Sir Charles Tempest had offered them land at Deane for a new convent. In 1879 building work commenced and the new convent opened in April 1882. Their premises in Pilkington St were then used as a Pupil Teacher Training Centre until 1907. In 1902 a small private secondary school was opened in the Deane Convent. Plans were made to expand this to meet the secondary educational needs of the town. Bishop Casartelli laid the foundation stone of the new school building in 1904, and the school was

officially opened in 1905 with an intake of about 60 pupils. The Sisters provided both the site and half of the construction costs. Thus was born the Mount St Joseph Convent Secondary School, known affectionately as "The Mount". Its development was succinctly reported:⁷⁶

The New Regulations for Secondary Schools, 1904-1905, followed the established Grammar School tradition, a pattern further enforced by the first School Certificate examinations introduced in 1917. Changes in the pattern of teacher training took place about this time. In 1906-1907 the Board of Education began to abandon the pupil teacher system for an alternative system known as the "Bursary System" ensuring the continual education of prospective teachers until the age of 17 or 18. Secondary Education was still not free and so throughout this period the Mount Sisters struggled to establish the right to give denominational instruction in school-time and to secure County Council scholarships for elementary school pupils. ... In October 1918 permission was granted to establish an advanced course of studies for pupils aged 16 – 18. ... From 1905 onwards the history of the Mount is one of slow but determined growth. As numbers grew the buildings grew and the curriculum widened. Girls were prepared not only for entry to Teacher Training and University but from 1929 they entered the Civil Service and public life.

8.7 Paddock House School for Girls, Accrington

If Casartelli was the inspiration behind the founding of this school, the Jesuit Fathers in Accrington and in particular Fr **Thomas McEvoy** were the driving force behind the school. He visited Casartelli on July 4 1923 to talk over Paddock House affairs, and Casartelli described him as being, in spite of recent ill health, a "wonderfully zealous and active priest". On February 5 1924 he again visited Casartelli regarding Paddock House, and other various schemes he had for education and was again described as "a man full of zeal". The diocesan clergy of the town however were neither consulted nor informed.⁷⁷ The spiritual care of both convent and school remained with the Jesuits, so that as late as 1943 the priest at Oswaldtwistle, Fr **Reardon**, could write in the parish log book just before a Canonical Visitation that:

...the convent in this parish known as Paddock House still remains an enigma. I have never met the Mother Superior. ... During the past two years a kindergarten school for boys and girls has been founded and like my predecessor Fr Callaway I was not even informed about it.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ **Centenary of Mount St Joseph Convent 1882-1982**. This is the source also for the quotation above.

⁷⁷ **A History of St Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Oswaldtwistle** by M. J. Broadley, 1997, pp. 46-47. Indeed the entrance to the school was by a gate in Coal Pit Lane that lay on the Accrington side of the Oswaldtwistle boundary. Technically therefore the postal address was Accrington even though physically the convent and school were within St Mary's parish, Oswaldtwistle

⁷⁸ **Log Book**, St Mary's, Oswaldtwistle, p. 62 cited by Broadley.

In his Advent Pastoral in 1920, Casartelli wrote:

Hitherto the important centre of Accrington with surrounding district has been, to our regrets, without any Order of Nuns. We are happy now to state that the Sisters of Mercy of Werneth Grange, Oldham have responded to open a branch house in the former town.

The Sisters arrived in 1921 to find the house empty and in poor repair. An ex-army wooden hut, used as a hospital during the Great War, became the school and remained in use until 1954.⁷⁹ Despite financial problems, the school opened on 21 January 1921 with 28 pupils. Within 7 years it had gained Board of Education recognition⁸⁰ and in 1930 obtained grant-aided status.⁸¹ A Preparatory School for younger children opened in 1939. Casartelli twice visited the school, in July 1923 and May 1924.

9. HMI Reports: an emerging pattern?

The ED 109 files⁸² at the Public Record Office in Kew contain the HMI Reports on schools inspected from early this century until the eve of the Second World War. Each file usually consists of three elements, the HMI Report, then a typed memo used at the meeting with the head teacher and the Governors and finally the letter sent with the school's copy of the HMI Report⁸³. The main points of concern are usually specified briefly yet accurately in the closing paragraphs. A certain pattern emerged clearly and quickly when the HMI Reports on St Bede's College Manchester, Xaverian College Manchester, St Mary's College Blackburn, Thornleigh College Bolton and the De la Salle College Salford, were examined. A brief glimpse at certain convent schools suggested that a similar pattern might also be found, although a more detailed study awaits completion.

⁷⁹ **Souvenir of the Centenary of the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy, Werneth Grange, Oldham** 1963.

⁸⁰ **HMI Reports** on the school for 1924-1932 are held in ED35.4991

⁸¹ **Sisters of Mercy (Colwyn Bay, Oldham, Accrington)**

⁸² These ED 109 Reports can find further expansion in the ED103 Reports out-stored at Hayes, containing other material on the school preserved in Board of Education files.

⁸³ The report usually but not always was in a printed format, of about 14 pages, giving a brief history of the school under inspection. There then follows a description of the school plant and finances, a review of the curriculum taught and a detailed summary of the content and delivery of each subject. This is presented without naming the individual teacher. Anyone with a thorough knowledge of the school would have little difficulty in identifying the individuals concerned. The report ends with highlighting points of excellence and of concern and a set of general conclusions. The second element consists of the typed memo sheets prepared by the HMI of the subsequent meeting with the Headteacher and Governing Body in which more detail of the areas of concern can be found, often with names, and comments. These can be very revealing. The final element is the letter sent with the school's copy of the HMI report.

Firstly the HMI were gravely concerned at the number of pupils who left the "secondary school" before completing the school year in which they had their 16th birthday and sitting the School Certificate⁸⁴ examinations. From the mid 1920s, the schools attempted to remedy this failure of pupils and parents to make full use of secondary education by insisting that a parental agreement be signed, with a financial penalty attached for breach of the contract. HMI concern was also expressed at the late age of entry into secondary school of many pupils, with the result that they failed to benefit from the secondary education offered and also hindered the progress of their fellow pupils as staff endeavoured to help them catch up on work already completed by their peers. Frequent and adverse comments abound on this relatively short average school life. In these two areas, the Roman Catholic schools were significantly below both national and local performance indicators.

The plant in the schools examined generally was inadequate. Classroom provision for individual forms was usually sufficient. Specialised rooms for certain subjects were rarer and much recommended. The provision of laboratories was usually deficient and prevented many areas of science being taught. Gymnasias and academic halls were generally none existent, although a hall of sorts could often be provided for special occasions by removing furniture and opening classroom partitions. Playground and sports facilities frequented earned detrimental comment.

The final major concern of the HMI was the paucity of academically trained teachers on the staff of the schools. Bishop Casartelli and others had of course foreseen this lack of provision from the first decade of the century. Steps taken to remedy the scarcity however took several years to bear fruition. The HMI also voiced grave concern in schools run by religious congregations at the use of novices⁸⁵ as teachers. Their number in proportion to the whole staff raised frequent criticism: they were usually untrained and as yet without academic qualification. While the HMI could accept a smaller number as supernumeraries, the finances of the orders frequently meant that no one else was available. When the

⁸⁴ Pupils were said to have "Matriculated" if they sat the School Certificate leaving examinations and obtained five subjects at credit grade, including English, Mathematics or a Science subject and one Foreign Language. The School Certificate was introduced after the Great War and was replaced by the General Certificate of Education in 1951. An advanced part of the examination, called the Higher School Certificate, was introduced in 1919.

⁸⁵ A novice was a person who had entered the religious order on probation before taking vows. Such persons might be in their late teens or early twenties.

payment of lay teachers according to the Burnham scale became standard, the HMI remained confused about the “payment” of priests and religious on the staff who were and never would be so paid.

Given the financial position of the country as a whole, and of the Catholic community in particular, the HMI were realistic enough to accept that the best possible efforts was usually being made in the circumstances. Their recommendations would aim at perfection, but with that pragmatic understanding that this might only be achieved “in the future” if and when funding became available. What was more important to them was the best possible provision of a suitable secondary education to the children of the Roman Catholic community to bring them up to par with their non-Catholic peers in a county that in general terms lagged behind other parts of the country. Pragmatic realism prevailed!

10. Summary and Conclusions

Casartelli had shattered the glass ceiling that had still existed at the end of Bilsborrow’s episcopate. Provision for secondary education had been secured in seven new locations, and these schools complemented existing ones within the diocese and others just beyond the diocesan boundary⁸⁶. The number of children availing themselves of these new opportunities, although increasing, remained relatively small. The financial costs of such an education remained an insuperable burden for poorer families, even if the school fees themselves were met from a scholarship. Little vocational training for children not aiming for matriculation was yet in place, except where the parish elementary school made use of LEA provision⁸⁷. This lack of provision mirrored the national picture. Senior Schools for all was the remedy proposed under the 1936 Education Act. To that provision we now turn.

⁸⁶ These schools included for boys Preston Catholic Grammar School and for girls, Notre Dame in Wigan, Harrytown in Romily, Loreto in Altrincham, Lark Hill and Winckley Square in Preston.

⁸⁷ In Manchester several Catholic schools clustered together to send their pupils to the Cavendish Handicraft Centre opened as a Catholic school in All Saints. The date of opening remains unknown, but the first Log Book entry for 8 June 1928 records the morning session closed for the Feast of Corpus Christi. The centre closed on 25 June 1940 when the teacher started “work on munitions”.

Chapter 13: Implementing the 1936 Education Act: Catholic Senior Schools

1. Overview of the Chapter

The theme of this chapter is the attempted provision of Catholic Senior Schools. An account is given of the founding and work of the Diocesan Schools Commission. Developments in Oldham are outlined. An account of the 1938 Salford Diocesan Delegation to the Board of Education follows. The consequences of the outbreak of war are then studied.

2. Creation and Role of the Diocesan School Commission

Henshaw recreated a Diocesan Schools Committee in August 1936¹. He had been led to do so following enquiries by both LEAs and HMIs made to the managers of Catholic parish schools about the provision of schools and extra rooms for senior education. Although Henshaw insisted that each parish would remain responsible as before for the provision of schools for its own children, the question of re-organisation introduced problems affecting neighbouring parishes in the same area. He therefore constituted the Diocesan Schools Committee to investigate the conditions in each area. He empowered it to consult with parish priests, to negotiate with the LEA and Board of Education on behalf of local managers, and generally “to decide what can and what ought to be done regarding the provision of school accommodation to meet the new demands”.

Henshaw decided that in cases where the grouping of parish schools was practicable, and new schools were built or old ones enlarged for the accommodation of children from several parishes, the Committee would allocate to each parish the due proportion of the debt to be borne. He also forbade individual bodies of school managers to make any arrangement regarding re-organisation without the approval of the Committee.

The original members were Canon **Sharrock**, Canon **Murray**, Dean **Delaney**, Dean **Dunleavy**, Dean **Maspero**, and Fr **Parker**, who served as secretary. In 1937, Henry Vincent Marshall replaced Sharrock, the Committee was renamed a Commission, and in 1941, Fr **Maxwell** replaced Parker as Secretary. Otherwise the team remained unchanged throughout the period until in 1944 Marshall reconstituted it as the Salford Diocesan Schools Association Re-organisation Committee. Parker and Marshall were the more active members. A working pattern was quickly established. Weekly meetings

¹ *Ad Clerum* 10 August 1936.

were held, to which selected clergy were invited to outline their plans for reorganisation. While the clergy generally thought in terms of the needs of their own parish, a source of potential conflict with their fellow clergy, the Commission endeavoured to look at the overall needs of Catholic children in a given area, which might be served by several LEAs. This necessitated close liaison with the Directors of Education in some 29 LEAs, all of whom had differing conditions under which grants might be made available to non-provided schools. The individual Directors of course had to represent and inform the considered opinions and decisions of their Education Committees, and in the last analysis, of their Borough or County Councils. They also reported to, and received the views of the Board of Education. The Commission were usually kept informed of all these activities, and would when situations developed, convene “conferences” with the clergy, the LEA and often the local HMI to promote progress. In London, the Board kept a watchful eye over progress, prodding when necessary, approving suitable plans, rejecting others, and seeking consideration from all parties for its concerns and views. Needless to say, the view the Board developed was frequently that adopted by LEA, Commission, Clergy, proposers and school managers alike. However, given the pressure of time, with a series of dead lines to be met, the Commission occasionally sent delegations to the Board over particular issues. The Commission’s vision, often ahead of that of the clergy, eschewed parochiality when this hindered provision for the children. The secretary was involved in much letter writing, prompting, prodding and other techniques of persuasion. Marshall’s experience here coloured his vision in regard to the 1944 Act and its implementation in a later decade. A detailed study of the final plans for implementing the 1936 Act anticipated in many details the actual implementation of the 1944 Act some three decades later. The initial work of the Commission ended with the opening of hostilities. It moved into new tasks, tidying up the financial aftermath of the failed 1936 Act implementation, and in anticipation of the 1944 Act, voicing the diocesan concerns regarding Catholic schools and pupils. In December 1936, the Committee sent to each parish priest a letter² and form seeking school details. The letter urged correspondent managers to read the *Education Act 1936*, the *Circular 1452* and the booklet *Elementary School Buildings*, all obtainable from HMSO, and warned them that the Board of Education would usually not contemplate any school in a town area for less than 320 children, a fact which made the position of many Catholic schools ~~both~~ difficult. The Committee reminded the clergy that proposals needed prior approval before being forwarded to their LFA. The form sought details of

² *Ad Clerum* 31 December 1936.

the present recognised accommodation and number of classrooms, the effective accommodation³, and the estimated number on the register both under and over 11 years old as on 1 January 1940, together with the number of non-Catholic pupils. Questions were asked about the provision of a school hall, a practical room for boys and girls, a science room and a school garden, with details of the size of the playground, and the presence and location of any playing fields. Final questions concerned the proposed re-organisation, whether by enlargement of present buildings or by combination with other parishes, giving the estimated number of pupils, and the estimated cost, on the basis of £30 per place for enlargement, and £40 per place for totally new schools. The replies slowly came in and provided the basis for advice and action. Deadlines were in position. Proposals had to be placed before the LEAs by March 1938. This with LEA permission might be extended to September 1938. The final deadline was that the schools had to be up and running by September 1941. In April 1938 The Lancashire Education Authority published a list of proposals for new non-provided senior schools received.⁴ Salford diocesan schools listed were as follows:

<u>Area served</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Size</u>
Walton le Dale & district	Walton le Dale	320
Great Harwood & district	Great Harwood	240
Horwich, Westhoughton & district	Horwich	240
Prestwich	Prestwich	160
Royton & Crompton	?	160

Extensions to existing schools were planned as follows:

<u>Area served</u>	<u>Site</u>	<u>Size</u>
Longridge & Ribchester area	Longridge St Wilfrid's	160
Padiham & Sabden	Padiham St John the Baptist	110
Ramsbottom	Ramsbottom St Joseph	80
-	Tottington Holly Mount	60
Urmston	Urmston English Martyrs	100
Denton	Denton St Mary	80

There were also some proposals to transfer senior pupils to Senior Schools in the areas of other Authorities. The Salford diocesan schools concerned were:

³ Effective accommodation was defined after rooms for senior pupils had been reduced to 40 per class, and infants and juniors to 50 per class. Practical instruction was usually to be provided on the school premises although in small schools one room might serve for both woodwork and domestic science. A rough sketch plan of the school was requested with the return of the form.

⁴ ED97/728 Board of Education File dated 23 April 1938.

<u>School</u>	<u>L.E.A.</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
Church Sacred Heart	Accrington	80
Oswaldtwistle	Accrington	120
Osbaldeston St Mary	Blackburn	20
Pleasington	Blackburn	20
Brierfield Holy Trinity	Nelson, Colne or Burnley	50
Barrowford St Peter & Paul	Burnley	10
Littleborough	Rochdale	60
Whitworth St Anselm	Rochdale	50
Lees	Oldham	60
Failsworth St Mary ⁵	Manchester	240

The report concluded that with the addition of Irlam St Teresa's School where no alterations or extensions were considered necessary, the summary given contained proposals for the re-organisation of all 116 Catholic schools in the Lancashire County Administrative area.

3. Case Study 14: Developments in Oldham

There were three main parishes in Oldham, St Mary's, St Patrick's and St Anne's, Greenacres. Corpus Christi parish was in Hollinwood, within the Borough, and there were parishes at Chadderton and at Royton. The parish of St Edward, Lees, adjacent to Greenacres, was outside the Borough.

Aware that providing a Senior School for the small numbers of pupils at St Edward's would not be viable, Lancashire LEA was more than happy to co-operate with Oldham LEA when in May 1938 Fr **Linehan**⁶ proposed that a Senior Mixed School be built in Gartside St, Glodwick, to serve the parishes of St Anne's, Greenacres, and of St Edward's, Lees. This would involve the purchase for £1,000 of the site of the Glodwick Spinning Company. The planned two-storey building would hold 240 pupils from St Anne's School and 60 from St Edward's School. 90% of the proposed pupils lived within the LEA area. If approved, St Edward's would become a Junior School with 110 children on roll, and St Anne's would become an Infant and Junior School with 280 and 190 children on roll respectively. The estimated cost of the school, including site purchase, was estimated to be £20,200.

In addition to the Gartside St site, a "one stream" school for 160 senior pupils in Hollinwood, serving the Corpus Christi parish and another Senior School at Chadwick Street serving the parishes of St Patrick and St Mary were proposed. In Hollinwood two possible sites were identified. The 3.5 acre site

⁵ A large proportion of children in attendance at this school resided in Manchester.

⁶ **Letter** 8 May 1938 Linehan to Oldham LEA. All correspondence cited is in SDA Box 176 unless otherwise stated.

at Chamber Road was preferred. The Chadwick Road site was about 5 acres in size and would cost £2,100. The school would be for 320 children drawn from the three schools, Dunbar St, St Patrick's, and St Mary's. The building cost was estimated to be £22,400, or between £60 and £70 per pupil. All three applications proposed that all the staff teachers be reserved teachers. The diocese required this as a sine qua non condition. Oldham wished to appoint the teachers and wanted a financial guarantee as well. Negotiations with the Diocese eventually produced a satisfactory agreement. The Diocese insisted that it be party to any scheme. This was partly to help LEAs realise they were not simply dealing with groups of individuals, and partly to retain oversight of school provision.

Canon **McGrath**⁷ at St Patrick's feared that this move to provide three Senior Schools was doomed. The LEA plans involved eleven Council schools, some being retained as Junior schools, others becoming Senior Schools, at a cost of only £9,000. The three Catholic schools together with one Anglican school would cost £35,000. He believed that Council opposition would be determined. Catholic councillors, his parishioners, supported his plan to purchase the Chadwick Rd site, a mill whose cellars were "ideal as anti air-raid shelters", and build there alone. Thus only two senior schools would be needed. This would cater for children from the parishes of St Mary and St Patrick. Those from Hollinwood could travel by tram, and those in Royton and Chadderton would have no provision. Six months later **McGrath** was still voicing his objection to the three-school proposal⁸. Canon **Maspero**⁹ seemed swayed by **McGarth's** arguments. The HMI in contrast had other ideas, and privately supported the three-school proposal.

In their reply¹⁰, the Board of Education, aware that the Lancashire LEA had no objections, were happy with the proposal for Glodwick. They were however reluctant to approve a "one stream" school for Hollinwood, and thought the Chadwick Street site too remote. They backed the LEA's estimate of future pupil numbers and therefore suggested that two Senior Schools, each holding 320 pupils, should be considered to serve the three parishes, one at Chadwick Street and one at Chamber Road. The LEA was requested to consult with the school managers on these observations, while the Board presumed that the Chadderton LEA were in general agreement with such proposals.

⁷ Letter McGrath to Marshall 21 April 1938.

⁸ Letter McGrath to Parker, 9 November 1938.

⁹ Letter Maspero to "Vicar" (?), 30 November 1938.

¹⁰ Letter Flemming to Kershaw, 14 July 1938.

In April 1939 Marshall¹¹ wrote to Oldham LEA on behalf of the Diocesan School Commission proposing these two Senior Schools. Three alternative schemes were offered should the first be unacceptable. The first option was for a Senior School in Chadwick Street for 400 pupils, with another in Chamber Road for 240 pupils. The second option increased the pupils in Chadwick St to 480, and in Chamber Road to 160. The third option proposed two Senior Schools for 320 pupils each at the Chadwick Street site, one for boys and one for girls. This of course was what Canon McGrath wanted. The Oldham LEA accepted this later option, and Harrison, Oldham's Director of Education, wrote to the Board of Education¹² seeking approval for two schools at the 5 acres Chadwick Street site. The Board replied¹³ that a site of 12-14 acres would normally be required for two such schools, and as the Chamber Road site was available, the Board could not consider any school for more than 320 pupils at Chadwick Street. As the Board believed that economy and efficiency required senior schools to accommodate complete streams (i.e. multiples of 160 children), the other options put forward were also regretfully unacceptable. Only the first proposal for schools at both Chamber Road and Chadwick Street for 320 pupils offered a satisfactory solution. As Chadderton LEA, the Catholic School Managers and the Diocese all favoured this scheme, the Board hoped that the LEA, appreciating the reasons given, would amend their resolution accordingly. This the Education Committee duly did¹⁴. Consequently the Public Notice for the Chamber Road School was published 23 May 1939.¹⁵ The details of this proposed mixed Senior School¹⁶ survive. The acre site cost £1785, to which another £900 was added for road charges. The building would have consisted of 429,500 cubic feet, and with the fences, gates, flagging, paving and cycle sheds, together with architects' and quantity surveyors' fees, was costed at £25,677. In addition to the classrooms, provision was made for cookery and laundry, an assembly hall, art room, science room, gymnasium, woodwork and metalwork rooms, toilets and cloakrooms, and administration rooms. A dark room and a biology room were envisaged. The building was to be principally of one storey with upper and lower levels, with brick walls, timber floors and reinforced concrete flat roofs.

¹¹ Letter Marshall to Harrison, 2 April 1939.

¹² Letter Harrison to Board of Education 5 April 1939.

¹³ Letter A. F. Sharam, Board of Education to Harrison, 12 April 1939.

¹⁴ Education Committee Minute, 24 April 1939.

¹⁵ Letter Taylor to Parker, 25 May 1939.

¹⁶ Proposal no date.

The Chadwick Road site now posed unexpected problems. The architect, Mr Yearsley, visited the site in June 1939 and reported to McGrath¹⁷ that

This site would have been quite suitable providing the demolition had not proceeded so far as I found it today. Unfortunately the major part of the basement referred to has now been demolished, thus leaving an abrupt drop of 12' below ground and street, which in my opinion has rendered the site quite unsuitable for scholastic purposes.

Yearsley next inspected an undulating and irregular site in the highest area of the town, Oldham Edge. He concluded that that site's disadvantages outweighed its advantages mainly from the point of cost and locality. The Chadwick Street site plan was abandoned. A new proposal, acceptable to the LEA, now suggested a site on Henshaw St, taken on a long lease by the old School Board, whose plans to build a school there never materialised.¹⁸ Neither did the proposed Catholic Senior School! The outbreak of war ended all such plans.

4. Salford Diocesan Delegation to the Board of Education 1938

On 10 February 1938 the Board of Education received a delegation from the Salford Diocese. Mr Ainsworth, Mr Flemming and Mr Woodward represented the Board; Henry Vincent Marshall, Canons **Sharrock** and **Murray** and Fr **Parker** represented the diocese. The main purpose of the visit was to ask for the Board's help in the problem of reorganising Catholic Schools throughout the diocese, a matter that had been the subject of correspondence the previous year.¹⁹

The diocesan delegates outlined the work already achieved. In about two-thirds of the diocesan area, reorganisation had been completed. Estimates, which in themselves were thought to be on the low side, revealed that the costs were too much for the school managers, especially as the diocese had in recent years spent over £250,000 on school improvements in accordance with H.M.I. recommendations. There were now some very good schools in the diocese, but the majority still needed improvement, and leaving aside the question of re-organisation, the diocese was now in debt to the sum of some £354,391. The cost of the proposed scheme covering some 32 new schools would come to another £250,000, and this sum excluded improvements to junior schools, especially those school in slum clearance areas. It was believed that the securities the diocese could offer would probably be adequate to finance through borrowing merely sixteen schools. Though anxious to comply with the Board's

¹⁷ Letter Yearsley to McGrath 7 June 1939.

¹⁸ Letter Taylor to Parker, 31 May 1939.

¹⁹ **ED97/728 Board of Education Memorandum** 22 February 1938. As this 8 page document is itself a summary of the main points of the meeting, it is difficult to further summarize it without distorting its content.

requirements, and while unwilling to lag behind in the business of re-organisation, the hard financial facts had to be faced, and so the Board's advice was being sought. Two alternatives seemed to them to be viable. Either they could concentrate on the provision of new senior schools, leaving the bulk of existing schools untouched, or they could provide new senior schools only where necessary in the new housing areas in the suburbs, and devote the remaining funds to improving existing all-age schools, with minimum extensions necessary to cater for the additional age group. The slow ^{pace} of slum clearance and rehousing itself was a difficulty, with uncertainty about future development, and a near impossibility to find new school sites within easy access of the new estates. Given the scattered nature of the Catholic community, pupils attending Catholic Senior Schools had far greater distances to travel than pupils of Council schools, a difficulty increased by the refusal of local authorities to provide special travelling facilities.

The Diocesan Schools Committee believed that the better course would be to concentrate on the provision of new senior schools, and the reorganisation of existing schools in the suburbs. That would leave the "inner ring" of urban centres and slum clearance areas untouched. In particular the Board was asked if it would press the LEAs to provide Practical Rooms required for senior pupils if the managers dealt with deficiencies of playgrounds, classrooms and halls; the target for improvement in "blacklisted" schools. They believed that Section 20 of the 1921 Act laid this provision as a statutory duty on local authorities. The Board's refusal to approve certain plans for all-age provision, such as St Alphonsus', Stretford, had increased their difficulties, and it was hard to see how complete proposals for Catholic re-organisation could now be forwarded to the local authorities before the deadline of the end of February. Indeed the fact that the Salford diocese had striven in the past to comply with the Board's requirements in one sense was now penalising them. In other areas where such financial commitment had not taken place, the Catholic community could start their re-organisation schemes with a "clean" financial sheet. Canons **Murray** and **Sharrock** supported Marshall's argument, as they felt finance was the crux of the matter. Although they realised that the Board was legally bound by the terms of the 1936 Act, nevertheless they wished to plead for leniency wherever possible in order to lighten the financial responsibilities of the diocese.

For the Board, Mr Ainsworth reminded the delegation that, subject to Section 34 of the 1921 Act, the Board could not compel managers to part with their senior pupils, or to reorganise against their will. It had, and would, discourage Catholic managers however from spending money on perpetuating the out-

of-date form of organisation present in many schools. As public opinion was now demanding that school amenities should reach modern standards, those schools unable to achieve such standards would have no future, and expenditure on them would be wasted.

Any grant from a LEA was permissive and discretionary under the 1936 Act, though they could extend the deadline to September. The delegation needed to remember that the proposals required were not meant to be final and complete; their implementation however had to be fully carried out by September 1940 for LEAs to accept them. That deadline could not be extended without new legislation. The diocese, Ainsworth noted, still had some 17 schools on the "blacklist". His advise would be to tackle first those schools whose futures were clear.

Mr **Parker** urged that the Board show as much flexibility as possible in examining plans for new schools or improvements, and wondered if the normal requirements might be somewhat relaxed, given the special difficulties the diocese faced. Ainsworth replied that such approval was really a matter for the LEA, and the Board could scarcely object if the LEA required full provision. However the Board would not be unreasonable in dealing with proposals passed by the LEA, so long as the plans could be regarded as adequate. **Parker** then raised the question of economies in provision. It might enable the diocese to build more schools not fully equipped, rather than fewer schools completely equipped. Ainsworth stated that he was naturally reluctant to make such suggestions, but senior school gymnasia might be one possibility. Fleming however thought the scale of economies between full and partial compliance would be too small to appreciably extend the diocesan programme. Ainsworth then suggested informal approaches with individual LEAs at an early stage of proceedings would be valuable.

The next point of contention was the small but isolated Catholic school. **Parker** wondered if the addition of one or two classrooms would suffice, without demand being made for the full provision on modern lines that the regulations required. He again asked whether it was not the LEAs' statutory duty under the 1921 Act to make provision for the Practical Instruction on senior pupils in Catholic schools. Ainsworth reported that he had had such an application already, but had tried to dissuade the managers to abandon the proposal and instead send their children to the Council Senior School. The Board would be reluctant to accept proposals of this kind, even if there was no possibility of re-organisation with other Catholic schools. There was no statutory obligation under the 1921 Act on the LEA to make such provision. He referred to the situation in Todmorden where the LEA had provided two Senior Schools

fully equipped for use by all senior children in the area. It was open to Catholic children to take advantage of this provision by sending their children to these Council Schools. The diocesan delegation stated emphatically that under no circumstances would they allow Catholic children to attend Council schools if this could possibly be avoided. Fleming anticipated that as public opinion changed, the travelling distances between schools would decrease as a hindrance to re-organisation. The delegation finally asked if the provision of an "higher top" might be accepted in such small isolated all-age schools. Ainsworth again repeated that he would not wish to see managers spend money on perpetuating such out-of-date provision. The Board was duty bound to press for proper facilities for senior pupils in Catholic schools should managers refuse to allow attendance at Senior Council Schools, and expected that reorganisation schemes would include adequate proposals for the improvement of Infant and Junior accommodation. The HMI were obliged to call attention to such deficiencies as they found, and the Board could make no promises to "hold their hand" in respect to such schools. Reassuringly he added:

The deputation might accept his assurance that the Board would not deliberately increase the difficulties which managers had to face.

More light is thrown on the situation in an interview held on 31 March 1938 between Sir Percy Meadon, Chief Education Officer for Lancashire, and Mr Flemming and Mr Butt of the Board of Education. Meadon outlined the plans for Catholic re-organisation in Lancashire²⁰, which involved the three dioceses of Liverpool, Lancaster and Salford. In informal discussions with the three bishops, he had found them willing to implement the Act. They had been as willing to ignore diocesan boundaries as the Authority had been to ignore local government boundaries when necessary. Consequently, the proposed scheme saw the creation of 21 new Catholic Senior Schools across the county to provide for the existing 114 Catholic schools. In addition eight "Senior Tops" were envisaged. When one Methodist school, and the Church of England schools were included, the total cost of re-organisation of non-provided senior schools was about £500,000. Meadon was anxious to hear what the Board's attitude would be to the provision of the "Senior Tops". Each of them would comprise facilities for woodwork, science and cookery, would occupy about 750 square feet, and would cost about £1000 each, and it the Authority's intention to pay 50% of their cost.

For the Board, Flemming replied that he had not yet met such a proposal and so could not give the Board's opinion, although he thought the Board would refuse to sanction the scheme on the grounds

²⁰ ED97/728 Board of Education Interview Memorandum 1 April 1938.

that it did not provide senior accommodation as envisaged by the Act and that public money should not be wasted on such unsatisfactory schemes. He thought the Board might prefer senior Catholic pupils from such small isolated Catholic schools to attend Council senior schools. Meadon was very much surprised at this interpretation as he himself considered the scheme to fall within the 1936 Act.

When Flemming stated that it was a question of national policy, Meadon replied that the Roman Catholic question was an affair of the North West of England.²¹ Then followed a subtle threat. Meadon emphasised that the Catholic authorities regarded the scheme as an integral whole and drew attention to the possibility that, should the "Senior Tops" be rejected, "Cardinal"²² Downey might be willing to throw over the whole scheme and start a "controversy" of the "Liverpool" type. If he did so, then both Salford and Lancaster would almost certainly stop their schemes. Meadon's subtle threat of adverse reaction by the Catholic Authorities however was not perceived as being too realistic by the Board of Education civil servants. Flemming in a footnote reports mentioning it to two colleagues, adding that he did not attach much importance to the argument²³. His colleague agreed with his interpretation, and noted that in both Staffordshire and Surrey, the Catholic Authorities had agreed to send the seniors from their small isolated schools to County senior schools in return for grant aid for adequate Catholic senior schools elsewhere in the counties.

5: The consequences of the outbreak of War

In December 1939 Harrison, Director of Oldham Education Authority, wrote to Bishop Marshall²⁴. The LEA had received an application for payment towards professional fees incurred in preparing schemes for non-provided senior schools. A snag had arisen. Because the formal agreements had not been completed, the LEA had no statutory power to meet the 75% of the costs involved although the LEA admitted the moral obligation of so doing. The Education Committee was considering whether such expenditure might be met under the provisions of paragraph 228(1) of the 1933 Local Government Act. Such expenses might then be paid by loans, and proposers of all such schools were being informed of the Education Committee's proposals. Harrison had informed both the Board of Education and the Association of Education Committees of the position, which doubtlessly applied to a number of LEAs. He concluded:

²¹ The Memorandum states "North East".

²² Another slip of the typewriter. Downey was the then Archbishop of Liverpool. He was never a Cardinal.

²³ Fleming's handwriting is not too legible.

²⁴ Letter with enclosure, Harrison to Marshall, 13 December 1939.

It would be in the interests of all concerned if as strong representations as possible were made to the Board of education, and no doubt you will be considering the advisability of making representations through the appropriate bodies representing the church.

Marshall duly thanked Harrison, and stated that he had already written to the Board of Education to the same effect.²⁵ Meanwhile in Oldham changes were taken place among the clergy. Fr Strumble replaced Fr **Linehan** at St Anne's, and Canon **McGrath**, the Catholic representative on the Education Committee, died. The Board of Education declined to sanction loans for payment of the fees in question. Strumble wrote to the Diocesan Schools Commission in April 1940²⁶, outlining the Oldham LEA's stance, and noting that the fees involved for the proposed Catholic Senior School came to £230 owed to Mr Greenhalgh as architect's fees. He then wrote to Marshall²⁷ outlining the two questions put to the Oldham LEA.

What further steps has the LEA taken or is about to take to meet the fees incurred, now that a loan for that purpose is not sanctioned by the Board of Education?

Is the LEA as acting partner in a gentleman's agreement prepared to accept its responsibility for fees and to meet the same out of revenue?

It seems likely that no financial help was received, and that the outstanding costs incurred in preparing plans for uncompleted Senior Schools were eventually met from parish or diocesan revenues. When the 1944 Education Act was implemented, the sites for such schools were deemed to be "Special Agreement" sites. Thus the 1936 Education Act gave way to wartime restrictions and rationing and became a mere footnote in the history book.

6. Conclusion

The diocese, if somewhat late in the day, had made a determined effort to implement the 1936 Education Act and provide new Catholic Senior Schools wherever possible. Their efforts involved working closely with other Catholic dioceses, and with many LEAs, with the majority of whom the diocese seemed to enjoy good relations. They faced certain difficulties. The Catholic community clearly perceived itself to be parish based and inter-parish co-operation was hard to achieve. When individual priests chose not to co-operate, even Bishop Marshall found it hard to move progress. The financial implications were crippling, yet formed only a part of the financial outlay on schools, as work progressed to deal with blacklisted elementary schools and the provision of new elementary schools in

²⁵ Letter Marshall to Harrison, 18 December 1939.

²⁶ Letter Strumble to Parker, 27 April 1940.

²⁷ Letter Strumble to Marshall, 28 May 1940.

the expanding suburbs. The attempt to provide Senior Schools failed for one reason beyond the control of either the diocese, the LEAs or the Board of Education: the outbreak of war. The attempt however was consistent with the Five Principles. Provision was to be made to provide Catholic schools as and when means permit. Such schools would be under Catholic control. The idea that such provision would be found in Council schools for Catholic pupils was unacceptable. The role entrusted to the Diocesan Schools Commission, with its brief to look beyond the confines of parish and concentrate on meeting the real needs of pupils was, one might argue, radical if not revolutionary for its day. The experience gained here would resurface after the War when the diocese took active steps to become involved in post war planning and ensure the provision of churches and schools in the overspill estates of the 1950s onwards. If few Senior Schools had been opened, useful lessons had been learnt and would inform diocesan plans and action in the future.

Chapter 14: Bishop Marshall and World War Two

1. Overview of the chapter

The Second World War ¹ affected education in many ways. School routines were disrupted by closure and evacuation. School premises were reduced in number both through requisition by military and civilian authorities¹ and by enemy action. Maintenance and repair became nearly impossible, even after blitz damage. Buildings could be used by two different schools, the host school, and the visiting evacuated school. Some evacuated schools were temporarily set up in very un-school like premises. The number of teachers was reduced as men volunteered or later were conscripted into the forces, and the supply of newly trained teachers dried up for the same reasons. The implementation of the 1936 Education Act ceased, and amid much discussion, the framework of the 1944 Education Act was prepared and enacted. Our task is to briefly examine the effects of such issues on schools within the Salford diocese. An outline of the life of Henry Vincent Marshall, the sixth Bishop of Salford, is given. Consideration is given to the effects of evacuation. As a case study, the effects of evacuation on the St Augustine's Boys' School will be considered. The effects of the Blitz on diocesan schools are recounted, including certain propaganda elements. Finally although the Act itself is beyond the scope of this thesis, reference is made to the growing movement that led to the 1944 Education Act and the re-opening of the old wounds of the dual system, denominational instruction, and its financing.

2. Life and Work of Henry Vincent Marshall

Henry Vincent Marshall, the only Irish born Bishop of Salford, was born in 1884 at Listowel, County Kerry, studied at All Hallows College, Dublin and was ordained priest in 1908. He served as curate in three parishes, including one where two parish priests died in short succession. His skill and ability at holding that parish together were noticed and in 1922 he was asked to form a new parish in inner city Manchester at Collyhurst. Hostility was formidable and included three attempts to burn down his temporary church. Eventually he succeeded and a large school-chapel was opened, complete with a presbytery that could be turned into two houses for teachers if another presbytery were ever built. In 1934 he was moved to Longridge, an unsuccessful move if anecdotal evidence is to be believed. He returned to Manchester in 1935 as parish priest at St Anne's, Ancoats. He became Vicar General in

¹ SDA 204/137-149 holds Notices of Requisition for several Manchester Schools

1936, a Canon in 1937, and on the death of Henshaw, Vicar Capitular in 1938, and was consecrated Bishop of Salford in 1939. By then he had become the hard man of the new Diocesan School Commission. His experiences of the inability of priests to co-operate for the common good, of the financial problems facing non-parochial schools, and of the difficulties involved in negotiating with LEAs and the Board of Education marked him for life. After the Second World War, Marshall used these experiences to mount a highly successful building programme to implement the 1944 Education Act. That epic story is however beyond the scope of this thesis. Plumb in noting his death neatly summed him up thus. "Bishop Marshall, whose strict attitude towards the granting of dispensations, or any sort of deviation from duty done and seen to be done, earned him the sobriquet of Marshall Law. Died in St Joseph's Hospital, Manchester on 14 April 1955 and is buried in Moston Cemetery". No biography of Marshall has yet been written, although John Davis² and others have begun exploring his work and influence amid the effects of the Second World War.

3. The Effects of the War: Evacuation and Blitz

3.1 The challenge of evacuation

Plans had been made pre-war to evacuate children, with or without their mothers, from perceived target areas to areas of presumed safety. When war started, evacuation began. During the phoney war, many returned home, only to leave again, on either an individual basis or as part of officially organised evacuations, after their towns and homes had been blitzed. A third phase took place in the south of

² John Davis *"L'art du possible", the Board of Education, the Catholic Church and negotiations over the White Paper and the Education Bill, 1943-1944* *Recusant History* Vol. 22, No. 2 October 1994 pp. 231-250; *Bishop Moriarty, Shrewsbury and World War Two* *Recusant History* Vol. 25, No. 1, May 2000 pp. 133-158; *Palliatives and Expedients: The 1944 Education Act: Archbishop Downey and the Catholic Response* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 20 1993 pp. 47-70; *Rome on the Rates: Archbishop Richard Downey and the Catholic Schools Question 1929-1939* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 18, 1991 pp. 16-32; *A blunt, unsophisticated working man: J. T. (Joe) Tinker, MP, and the 1944 Education Act. The Catholic School Question: Bishop Henry Vincent Marshall 1945-1955* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 27, 2000, pp. 91-105; *Bishop Henry Vincent Marshall: relations with the Manchester Jewish Community and other Christian Communities* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 26, 1999, pp. 96-109; *Evacuation during World War Two: The response of the Catholic Church* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 25, 1998, pp. 38-61; *Coping with the Blitz: St Peter's, Seel Street, Liverpool* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 23, 1996, pp. 29-39; *World War II: Social Effects on the English Catholic Community: A Critical Bibliography.* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 23 1996 pp. 48-50; *Evacuees, Gas Masks and National Savings: Haslingden St Mary's School during World War II* John Dunleavey *North West Catholic History* Vol. 22, 1995 pp. 25-32; *Schools Today, Home Rule Tomorrow* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 16, 1989, pp. 18-24; Brian Plumb *A Liverpool priest's journal of the Blitz* *North West Catholic History* Vol. 9, 1982, pp. 18-24.

England when the V1 and V2 attacks began in summer 1944. Titmuss bluntly recognised that all had not been well handled.

The indiscriminate handing round of evacuees in the billeting of 1939 inevitably resulted in every conceivable kind of social and psychological misfit. Conservative and Labour supporters, Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, lonely spinsters and loud-mouthed boisterous mothers, the rich and the poor, city-bred Jews and agricultural labourers, the lazy and the hardworking, the sensitive and the tough, were thrown into daily intimate contact.³

He noted in particular how this affected Catholic mothers from Liverpool and Glasgow. In Clydeside, 56% of these mothers had four or more children. Many returned home by the next train, dissatisfied with their newfound accommodation. Troubles at reception areas were often accentuated by these religious differences. As he noted:

The harmful educational consequences of scattering some Roman Catholic and Jewish schools over wide areas were increased by the absence of places of worship and a lack of religious instruction. The chief fear of the Roman Catholic authorities was that the children were in danger of being weaned from the faith of their parents. Many of these children from Glasgow were billeted in strong Presbyterian homes in South West Scotland, while the Nonconformist villages of North Wales received many Catholics from Merseyside. What many people in the reception areas failed to appreciate was that in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church spiritual health was more important than physical safety.⁴

Titmuss noted that the Archbishop of Edinburgh in a Pastoral Letter urged that evacuated children should return home if no facilities for religious teaching existed in the reception areas. He also reported the view of some priests in Liverpool during the 1940-1941 Blitz that "children should run the risk of being bombed rather than receive education at non-Catholic schools in reception areas".

Gosden noted the more diplomatic approach of Cardinal Hinsley to the Minister of Health⁵. Roman Catholic leaders were disturbed to find evacuated Catholic children having to attend non-Catholic schools in some parts of the country. Hinsley described the situation as "untenable" and requested that the children be transferred to towns where there were Catholic churches, and where they might share a school by shifts. Otherwise he considered that Catholic parents would have no alternative but to bring their children home. Gosden noted the efforts made during the 1940 evacuation to avoid the mistakes of 1939. Reception area LEAs were reminded that many Catholic children had returned home for lack of Catholic church or school or teachers and that every care should be taken to avoid this. Reception areas should arrange for Catholic teachers to teach Catholic children wherever possible.

³ **Problems of Social Policy** Richard M Titmuss, p. 112.

⁴ **Op. cit.** p. 179

⁵ P. H. J. H. Gosden **Education in the Second World War** pp. 17-18, 38.

Dent⁶ in 1944 studied the impact of the war on education from a sociological angle. He noted the shambles of evacuation in nearly every area except transport and the response generated. He noted the improvements generated: nursery education, school meals, the role of youth organisation, the registration of youth (which posed problems for Catholic authorities). He then looked ahead to the future, paying particular attention to religious education and dual control, themes to be considered later in this chapter.

Wallis studied the evacuation of Merseyside children and families into North Wales.⁷ Her detailed research revealed a similar situation to that described by Titmuss and Gosden. She demonstrates well the mindset both of the Roman Catholic clergy and evacuees and of the host families.

Religion, mainly Calvinistic Methodism, still played an important part in the social life of the region and the Welsh language was closely associated with this religious activity. More than this, however, in most of the counties, Welsh was also used extensively in the home, in social intercourse, and often, too, as a medium of instruction in the primary schools.⁸

Into this situation came the evacuees, one third of them Roman Catholics. Friction developed in certain districts between the hosts, and the teachers of Roman Catholic schools evacuated there, particularly when the teachers and their clergy attempted to take action to safeguard the religious welfare of their pupils. Their visits were regarded as “unwarranted interference” in the running of the host’s home and were “deeply resented”.⁹ The host families felt it wrong for young children to have to walk miles in all weathers to the nearest Catholic church, if there was one. They could not leave the child at home unaccompanied when they themselves went to Chapel, yet they were “chastised” or so they felt, by the Catholic clergy, who “were naturally anxious about so many of its young members being deposited into such a “well established” Protestant area”. In some areas where there were no Catholic churches, other premises were used for Mass. This placed great strain on the small number of resident clergy, and with petrol-rationing, priests from beyond the immediate area were unable to help.

Other problems existed. Denbighshire Education Committee in October 1939 correctly pointed out that it was strictly speaking illegal for denominational instruction to be given on Council school premises during school hours! Claims by Liverpool LEA that they were trying to keep Catholic children together in places where there were Catholic churches were not always believed. The Clerk of Llanrwst U.D.C. observed that 200 Catholic children had been sent to Llanrwst where there was no

⁶ H. C. Dent *Education in Transition* pp. 166, 185-6, 188 seq.

⁷ Gilliam Wallis *North Wales: A case study of a reception area under the Government Evacuation Scheme 1939-1945* M. A., University of Wales, 1979.

⁸ Wallis *op. cit.* p. 10

⁹ Wallis *op. cit.* pp. 33, 163-68.

Catholic church, while 500 Protestant children had been sent to Abergele, where there was a large, newly built Catholic church. Yet an appreciation of the spiritual needs of the Catholics did exist among the Welsh. A member of Ogwen R.D.C. praised the conduct of the Catholic children, and noting that their strict attendance at religious services was an example to Protestant children. Better liaison developed between Catholic Diocesan Authorities and those in charge of reception arrangements. Many evacuated teachers worked hard, and diplomatically to develop good relations between host families and their Catholic charges. Wallis sums up the situation succinctly:

As far as North Wales was concerned, the religious clash stemmed from what must be one of the more glaring examples of lack of fore-thought in an evacuation scheme which sent large numbers of Roman Catholic children to an area of staunch Calvinistic Methodism, without making adequate provision for their religious needs. That a class, religious or cultural clash might occur when "town met country" had, apparently, not even been envisaged, let alone foreseen as a possible cause of failure in the scheme. As the experience of North Wales showed, health problems, education, clothing, language and religion had all been largely neglected in the pre-evacuation plans, and it was only gradually, by a combination of government guidance and local initiative, that problems were eliminated.¹⁰

The situation so well described by Titmuss, Gosden, Dent and Wallis existed within the Salford diocese when children were evacuated from Manchester and Salford. Marshall wrote to the Deans in 1941 about the spiritual care of evacuated children, and issued two questionnaires about evacuation and reception areas.¹¹ He again raised the matter in late autumn¹² and with the clergy in December.¹³ He began diplomatically enough:

Whilst I am anxious to acknowledge the genuine efforts made by the Authorities in the danger areas to place our evacuated children so that they would receive their education in a school atmosphere which is as Catholic as the circumstances permit, and whilst I bear testimony to the tolerance shown and the help given in most Reception Areas, I regret that a few cases of intolerance and interference with our children's faith have been reported to me. A case of merging the children of one of our Catholic schools with pupils of neighbouring Council schools has also been reported to me.

Marshall had no qualms about the use of a non-Catholic school building so long as the Catholic school using it preserved its identity, and that in practice meant being taught by their own Catholic teachers. Separate Catholic religious instruction to Catholic children absorbed into a non-Catholic school would not be acceptable. Hence Marshall's questionnaires, one for priests in danger areas, the other for priests in reception areas. He wanted information about the real situation, and he wanted it if possible within

¹⁰ Wallis *op.cit.* pp. 165, 260.

¹¹ SDA 200/13-15 **Letter to Deans and Questionnaires** 3 March 1941

¹² **Letter to Deans** 2 November 1941.

¹³ **Ad Clerum** 15 December 1941.

the week. Clergy in reception areas were reminded to ensure the evacuated children attended Mass, and to take as much care of them as they would of their own flock.

I am aware and gladly bear testimony to the loyalty of the teachers who accompanied the evacuated children of my diocese: they have done heroic work, for which I pray that God will bless them; I ask them to crown this good work by making some arrangement so that our children will not be left without a helper and guide at the week-end, and especially at the Sunday Mass.

Marshall's optimism proved ill founded and he quickly changed his stance. In his November letter to Deans he wrote:

Although it would not be advisable for me to say so publicly, I am not in favour of future evacuation of our School Children. THIS OPINION IS FOR THE PRIVATE USE OF THE CLERGY AND MUST NOT BE COMMUNICATED TO THE LAITY. The risk to the souls of the children is too great and I have had sad experiences of proselytism and the merging of our children in non-Catholic schools. As far as I can see we have no Government guarantee that our children will be billeted near Catholic schools. I repeat that I would rather see our children killed than that they should lose their precious gift of Faith, purity and piety. Many of the evacuated children come from homes where there is little faith; if they are sent to districts where there is no Catholic school their parents will not help us to transfer them to safer billets. Hence whilst I recognise that there are some suitable places to which our children may be sent, the undesirable places are so many that we priests must be constantly on the watch to prevent quietly any evacuation to such areas.

3.2 Case Study 15: St Augustine's Schools, Manchester, and Evacuation.

When the St Augustine's Boys' School was evacuated from Chorlton on Medlock to St George's School, Altrincham in 1939, a School Log Book was begun and continued until 1944. Altrincham is some ten miles from Manchester, and trams, buses and the electric railway ~~was~~^{are} offered easy and frequent access between the two areas. The evacuated school opened on the afternoon of 25 September 1939, with 100 boys present out of 111 on role, and six teachers. Initially the school premises were only available from 1.30-5.00pm. Consequently morning activities, starting at 10.00am, included games, nature walks, and gardening. The following week, St Augustine's had the morning slot. Inspectors from both Manchester and Cheshire Education Committees paid visits, as did the clergy from St Augustine's Church, and from St Vincent's Church, the local Altrincham parish. On 16 October, arrangements were completed for both schools to simultaneously occupy the premises as "two" full time schools. Conferences were also held concerning the welfare of the evacuated children, living in homes across Altrincham and Timperley.

During the mid-term holiday, some teachers remained with the children, and took their own holiday after the children returned. Apart from the increased workload on staff that this imposed, the Headteacher had also to oversee the home tutorial system for use with those children whose parents

had refused to have them evacuated from Manchester. This usually entailed a weekly visit to Manchester. In late November 1939 a Conference was held with representatives of both LEAs, the head-teachers of St George's School and of the different departments of St Augustine's Schools. It was decided to accommodate the Boys' and Girls' Departments together. The Juniors and Infants would occupy the annex at St George's School. Manchester would provide desks and other furniture.

As staff fell sick, it was occasionally necessary to move teachers between Altrincham and Manchester. Male teachers were not exempt from military service. The first to leave was Mr Bowler in January 1940. Plans were in hand to re-open the schools in Manchester after the Christmas holidays. During the Christmas break, the children remained in Altrincham and the staff each took charge of the children for a day. In January 1940, the school found itself split. Some children remained in Altrincham. The buildings in Manchester were re-opened for those who had remained in the city. The staff was distributed rotationally between the two sites. Some 20 children from the Holy Family Infant School then at Timperley were moved to Altrincham and rejoined the St Augustine's School there. Severe weather and the lack of fuel caused the school to close for over a week in February 1940. In April an Air Raid practice was held and the children from all five departments were in the shelter within ten minutes. Further and faster drills were subsequently held. In May a pupil was knocked down by a car at lunchtime and went to hospital. The 1940 summer holidays were cancelled and the school remained in session, with the staff staggering their own holidays to remain in charge of the children. Attempts were made to re-evacuate some children from Manchester in August 1940, including a few non-Catholic boys, with their parents' consent. Ironically Altrincham was bombed in August, and after each air raid warning, the school opened at 10.00am¹⁴. Several night raids and a daytime raid occurred in August and September. By now it took under three minutes to reach the shelter! Staff shortages caused re-arrangements of classes and rooms in late September. More evacuees arrived from Manchester. By late October it was decided that no more evacuees could be accepted. School remained "open" during the October holiday and activities were arranged for the children who came. Air raids continued frequently by night and day throughout the autumn. Throughout the period, the health of the children was checked. Eyesight and teeth were examined and the school nurse and doctor paid visits. So also did the clergy of both parishes and inspectors from both LEAs. Some peacetime traditions were maintained. On 19th December a Children's Tea Party and Concert was held.

¹⁴ Children arriving later than 10.00am because of the previous night's raid were to be marked in the register with a "W", not an absence mark.

Three days later came the great Blitz on Manchester, in which St Augustine's Church and Presbytery were destroyed¹⁵ and the schools badly damaged. Curiously the Altrincham logbook makes no reference to it, although the trauma and worry about the death and injury of family and friends, and the loss of homes must have been great. Thereafter references to air raids became less frequent. A half-day holiday was granted so the children could watch a "War Weapons Week" demonstration on 4 February, and in March the children were asked to attend daily Mass as part of the National Week of Prayer.

One revealing case appeared in the logbook. A Catholic foster parent caring for one girl pupil was moving to Liverpool and wished to take the evacuated child with her. The child's mother was dead, her father was posted as a deserter from the army, her grandmother had been killed in the blitz, and her surviving aunt had given written permission. Officialdom forbade the move, which took place regardless.¹⁶

A gas mask drill on 2 April revealed several defective masks which were then repaired. A further test on 7 April for another 20 children at the gas tank found no defective masks. The remaining children had their masks tested the next day.

The pattern of having the school open during holiday times with organised activities supervised by the teachers continued, as did the rotation of teachers between Manchester and Altrincham. The children remained mainly healthy, although some cases of infection were occasionally detected. With appropriate action, the children's cleanliness duly improved. A small trickle of new evacuees arrived in May and June 1941. Both the school and the annexe were burgled and some damage caused. Occasionally there were air raid warnings. In July Mr Lavin was expecting to be called up into the Royal Air Force. Another teacher, Mr Kennedy, moved from St George's to Hurst Green for a few weeks in October 1941. A supply teacher from Manchester came to help out in December, and the Mayor of Altrincham, who arranged a party for the children, made a visit.

Most logbook entries for Spring and Summer 1942 refer exclusively to the comings and goings of members of staff. Indeed the school closed totally from 24 July to 10 August as with only one teacher present, no staggering could be arranged. In October and at Christmas the school again closed for the holiday without supplying alternative activities. By 1943 teachers were reporting sick, and some were

¹⁵ Dean Dunleavy was injured and died in 1942, and Fr George Street, the curate, was killed outright

¹⁶ Logbook p. 42.

absent for some time. Miss Crawford for example was absent from 15 February until 22 April.¹⁷ Staff also retired, and on 19 April, a party was held to celebrate the retirement of an unnamed Manchester teacher.

St Augustine's staff and children finally left St George's School on 16 August 1944 and removed to St Hugh's Parish Hall in Timperley where the 72 Manchester children were joined by 50 evacuated children from London. A certificated teacher from London, Miss Margaret Roberts, initially joined them. On December 13th, the evacuated Manchester children returned to their homes, thus ending their evacuation in Cheshire. Two teachers remained with the London children at St Hugh's until their return to London on 8 January 1945.

Other logbooks supplement this account. St Augustine's Infant School Logbook records the evacuation of 19 pupils on 1 September 1939, along with their older siblings, a total of some 90 children.¹⁸ Their teachers also supplied at Altrincham by rotation. On 38 occasions between 4 September and 22 November the school started at 10.00am because of night time raids.¹⁹ On 23 December the York Street School was severely damaged by a landmine. The school re-opened on 31 December in the premises of the Holy Family School, All Saints. On 2 January 21 pupils were evacuated to Clitheroe. Three returned home immediately. On 27 January another 19 infants were evacuated to Oswaldtwistle, although one returned immediately. Sickness among the staff was reported, with absences from Miss Herdman at Whalley (17 February to 24th March) and Miss Southern at Whalley (24 February to 13 March). Both returned to Manchester. The formal merger of the two Infant Schools took place on 1 September 1941 with Miss S. O'Dea as Headteacher. There were then 14 children at Whalley, aged from 5 to 13 years old. Eight children were evacuated to Clitheroe in September. In November the headmistress visited the reception areas at Chipping and Hurst Green.

The Girls' School Logbook started after the transfer to the Holy Family School. Some pupils had already been evacuated to Altrincham and others were evacuated to the Ribble Valley after the Christmas Blitz. There is also an account by one child of her evacuation to Hurst Green. Some 64 pupils were evacuated on 2 January 1941 to the villages around Clitheroe with two teachers.²⁰ On 27 January another 100 children, including 41 from the Girls' Department, were evacuated to Oswaldtwistle. Remaining children from both departments left in Manchester were then taught

¹⁷ Log Book pp. 60, 62.

¹⁸ Infant Logbook p. 72.

¹⁹ Idem pp. 76-78.

²⁰ Girls' School Logbook p. 1.

together. Attendances rose slowly from 9% to 35% in the first week. Miss Carroll and Miss Devlin alternated between Manchester and Oswaldtwistle. Miss Blackburn was recalled from Oswaldtwistle to Manchester but went to Whalley instead because the male teacher there had been called up. In June the Girls' Department in Manchester moved into three rooms in the Cavendish Council School. In September some wool was obtained from the Red Cross and nine days later the newly knitted garments were returned. Girls in Standard 8 also visited the tercentenary celebrations for Blessed Ambrose Barlow, the Manchester Catholic Martyr. The death of Dean **Dunleavy**, school manager and parish priest, was marked by the closure of the school for his Requiem Mass and by attendance at a memorial service. He was replaced by Fr O'Leary.

In April 1942 the pupils were distributed in Manchester, Altrincham, Oswaldtwistle and Hurst Green. Two teachers worked in Altrincham, one each at Hurst Green and Oswaldtwistle, and three in Manchester. Flexibility became normal, with staff moving between departments when needed. In September 1942 the Science Room in Cavendish Council School was allocated for use by St Augustine's girls as a classroom. The difficulties posed by the high tables were considered a small price to pay for the extra space thus available.

In May 1943 the evacuated school at Oswaldtwistle was closed. In August there were still 2 teachers and 33 children in Altrincham. In February 1944 the use of Cavendish School ceased as the pupils returned to the repaired premises on York Street, where Junior and Senior Girls' Departments were merged together, 217 pupils and 6 teachers. The Boys' Department then moved from York Street to Cavendish School where the top floor was reserved for them. On 22 May a Miss Shepherd from the Manchester Museum retired. For several years she had given the senior girls a weekly natural history lesson, and had throughout shown great kindness and helpfulness, especially at the time of the blitz. With her retirement that weekly lesson ceased. In December the evacuees from Altrincham returned. The wartime log ends with thanksgiving celebrations for victory in the Holy Family Church in May 1945.

The logbooks of all departments witness to the tireless effort of the teachers to maintain some semblance of normality. Their devotion while caring for children in the reception areas was outstanding, as was their willingness to accept larger workloads while colleagues took their belated holidays or were absent from school through illness, or had joined the armed forces. They were not

however unique in this, and their story is similar to that of teachers in many other schools cross the country.

3.3 The effects of the Blitz

Manchester and Salford were major targets for German bombers and suffered two major air raids as well as many smaller attacks. Catholic churches, presbyteries, convents and schools suffered damage. Some were totally destroyed. Repairs or improvised replacement of plant were subjected to bureaucratic and often changing regulation, shortage of labour, and of material, if licenses to proceed could actually be obtained.

The War Damage Act 1941 provided for the insurance of movable goods (furniture, fittings etc) through payment of compulsory premiums. Exemption from this tax applied to churches, chapels and presbyteries if so occupied, convents, and elementary schools and parish halls if used solely or principally for the promotion of religion. Nevertheless the Tax Commissioners frequently demanded contributions for such properties, and the clergy and diocesan authorities wasted much time in refuting such demands or in reclaiming payments already made.²¹ To help in such matters, Marshall set up a War Damage Committee. Fr Cronin was appointed Secretary. In due time, this Committee acted on behalf of all Catholic owned property, including that owned by religious orders.²²

²¹ **Ad Clerum** 3 September 1941. The instructions to follow when blitz damage occurred were very bureaucratic. WAR DAMAGE TO NON-PROVIDED SCHOOLS. 1. When damage occurs, Managers should at once inform (a) the Local Education Authority and (b) the Secretary appointed by the Diocesan Reorganisation Committee who will lodge a notification of damage on Form C.1 with the Regional Office of the War Damage Commission. 2. The Diocesan Secretary will arrange with the Managers as to securing estimates, specifications and (if the expenditure exceeds £500) plans, if possible, for urgently necessary repairs and later as to giving orders to the contractors for the carrying out of the work. 3. The Diocesan Secretary will forward the estimates etc. to the Local Education Authority, who will consult the Board of Education and obtain the Board's approval. (See note below) 4. The Local Education Authority will return the estimates to the Diocesan Secretary informing him of the Board's approval. The Diocesan Secretary will then complete Form C.11 and send it to the Regional Office with a statement that the Board's approval has been given. The Regional Office will notify the Commission's willingness to pay the proper cost of the agreed works and will issue Form C.11B (application for payment). 5. The Diocesan Secretary will then arrange with the Managers for the work to be done, after obtaining any necessary licence from the Ministry of Works. 6. When the accounts are ready, the Diocesan Secretary will apply to the Regional Office for payment by forwarding the accounts with Form C.11/B and C.2A completed. Note: The above procedure applies only in cases where the cost of repairs exceeds £100. If under this amount, the Diocesan Secretary will arrange with the Managers to carry out the work forthwith. When it is completed the Managers should inform, the Local Education Authority and the Diocesan Secretary, who will apply for payment by sending in accounts together with Form C.11 and C.2A. No consultation with the Board of Education or the Local Authority will be necessary.

²² See for example the letter from the War Damage Committee to Brother Columba 3 July 1942 concerning damage to the de la Salle College, Salford, and to the Priest in Charge at Stonyhurst College 19 June 1942, both of which point out that the Government's War Damage Commission wished to deal with a single agency in such claims.

Further complications arose from wartime propaganda requirements. The Nazis had informed the Vatican about damage from RAF bombing to churches and convents across Europe. The British Government did not wish such a one sided view to prevail. In February 1941 the diocesan authorities received requests from the Manchester Registration District²³, acting on behalf of the Registrar General, and from the Secretary of the Archbishop of Westminster²⁴ to provide details of churches and other property destroyed and damaged in the Blitz. The local press were also interested, and the diocese on 1 February supplied a list to the Daily Herald of destroyed, badly damaged and slightly damaged property. The church, presbytery and schools of St Augustine's parish in York St, Manchester, and the Catholic Deaf and Dumb Club at 368 Chester Rd, Manchester were destroyed. The church, schools and presbytery of St Joseph's parish Salford were badly damaged, as was the church of St Mary's, Swinton, although damage there to the house and school was less severe. Loreto Convent School in Hulme²⁵, St William's School-chapel in Angel Meadow, St Joseph's Elementary Schools in Longsight, All Souls' School at Weaste and the Corpus Christi church, priory and school in Miles Platting were also badly damaged. Lesser damage was sustained at St Gabriel's University Hostel in Victoria Park, St Lawrence's School in Old Trafford, Mount Carmel School in Salford, St Winifride's School in Heaton Mersey, Stockport, Adelphi House Convent School in Salford and the Convent School in Chorlton cum Hardy.

In reply to a letter from Archbishop Amigo of Southwark²⁶, expressing concern, Marshall could however reply:²⁷

I am enclosing a cutting from the Diocesan Rescue Magazine in which the facts of the air raid damage are officially given. Most of the damage, thank God, was slight as far as our buildings were concerned, and now that the tidying-up process has been completed, our places do not appear to have altered very considerably; the damage is restricted to Manchester and Salford, other parts of the diocese having so far escaped.

²³ Letter dated 3 February 1941

²⁴ Letter dated 1 February 1941, giving reasons for the request: i.e. to respond to the German action.

²⁵ The damage to Loreto College for example was substantial. Sister M. Carmel wrote to Marshall 15 January 1941: We propose to roof over what is left of the School Wing without attempting at present to rebuild the storey destroyed. We are distressed to find that we must send the estimates to the Board of education as well as to the Ministry of Supplies, as the cost exceeds £500, as this procedure means further delay, during which the lower storeys are bound to suffer from the weather.

²⁶ Amigo was preparing his text for a broadcast to South America, part of the British propaganda campaign. Marshall trusted that "your broadcast will be successful in every way"

²⁷ Letter Marshall to Amigo 1 March 1941. For Marshall, an Irishman, the war had become personal as his own home at Wardley Hall had been damaged in the blitz, as well as so many of his churches and schools. Two priests had died in the Blitz: one at St Augustine's, and one of a heart attack after his own house and parish had been badly damaged.

Catholics in the United States, concerned about the effects of the War on their co-religionists in the United Kingdom, launched a relief appeal in March 1941. A cable sent to Bishop Myers, Auxiliary Bishop in Westminster, sought details of damage and how help would be distributed. Myers replied:

The displacement of population in Great Britain owing to evacuation has left many churches, schools and charitable institutions without normal support in large centres. In bombed areas immediate repairs are urgently needed for damaged churches, presbyteries and schools. In many places all has been destroyed except the debt. A most serious factor is the absence on national duty of our most active church helpers, men and women. Only five dioceses out of eighteen have no war needs namely Lancaster, Nottingham, Plymouth, Newcastle and Menevia.

Bishop Myers outlined damage across the country. Details of this exchange of cables were sent to Marshall who replied:²⁸

Estimates so far received of the damage done to Churches, Institutions, Convents and schools of my diocese amount to roughly £125,000. The damage is the result of air raids on Manchester, Salford and their neighbourhood. The Bishop of Salford and the Trustees of the Diocese of Salford hold themselves responsible for the distributions of charities for the above purpose. Hundreds of families in the neighbourhood of Manchester and Salford - Catholic families - have been rendered homeless, and their goods destroyed. It is impossible to give even an approximate estimate of the damage or amount of relief needed. It must approach something like £5,000. The Diocesan Central Council of the St Vincent de Paul Society will act as agents of charity for the relief of the poor.

4. Towards the 1944 Education Act

A joint letter from the main religious leaders of the country was published in *The Times* on ²¹ ~~20~~ December 1940 under the heading "Foundations of Peace" which laid down ten principles on which post-war reconstruction should be based. The Anglican Archbishops on 12 February issued a statement with five points or proposals on religious instruction²⁹. These re-opened the wounds of religious education and dual control which bedevilled negotiations leading to the 1944 Education Act. Dent as a contemporary analyst regarded this as "deplorable". He identified two issues.

The separate issues can be stated in two simple questions: (1) Have parents (not the Churches but the parents) the right to expect that in the schools provided by the community denominational religious instruction shall be given? (2) Have denominations the right to ownership of buildings and a say in the administration of schools which are integral parts of the publicly provided system of education?³⁰

He considered that in a democracy, the only answer to these questions had to be given by the community itself. His own view was that the old controversies were dying. Church Schools were

²⁸ Letter Marshall to Myers 19 March 1941.

²⁹ *Education in Transition* p. 189.

³⁰ *Idem* p. 166.

closing at the rate of over 100 a year³¹, and the physical condition of the remaining schools was such that under new building requirements “The denominations could not possibly have replaced them: they had not even been able to keep them in repair”.³² The traditional response from the Nonconformists and Roman Catholics had been generated by the position taken by the Anglicans. While the “Nonconformists played on their major grievance, the fact that in so many districts the only public elementary school available was a Church of England one, the Roman Catholics stressed their own, that while they had to pay rates and taxes towards the provision of schools to which they could not send their children because of the religious instruction there given, they were denied adequate financial aid to build their own schools”.

The position of the Hierarchy in the negotiations leading to the Act has been described adequately by Beales³³, by Phillips³⁴ and most recently by Aspden³⁵. Davis has devoted several articles to the theme. From a Catholic perspective the most useful essay is that of Bishop Brown of Pella.³⁶ The saga shows that different bishops held different visions of Catholic education and what might be the best outcome for Catholic schools. Butler thought he needed to negotiate with the Westminster prelates alone. Bishop Brown of Pella believed his was the role of negotiator. Butler discovered that other bishops felt in no way constrained by any tentative agreements that might have been reached. Northern bishops saw things differently and Archbishop Downey of Liverpool began to warn his people: “Prepare to fight for your schools”.³⁷ Bishop Marshall had, with the Bishop of Nottingham, already announced his intention to re-establish a Catholic Association. Marshall was at one stage closely involved in the national negotiations, but being a relatively new bishop, only consecrated in 1939, his youth was against him. Consequently his role nationally was less significant than the leadership he gave at diocesan level.

³¹ Perhaps his “error” was to have regarded “the Churches” as a unified entity. They were not. And among the closing schools were few if any Catholic ones. His vision of the financial inability of the Catholics to subsidise their own schools was to be proved wrong after the 1944 Education Act. Otherwise his prognosis was quite accurate regarding the schools of the other Churches.

³² Dent *op. cit.* pp. 189, 191

³³ A. C. F. Beales *The Struggle for the Schools in The English Catholics* esp. pp. 393-409.

³⁴ F. R. Phillips *Bishop Beck and English Education 1949-1959* pp. 6-16.

³⁵ K. Aspden *Fortress Church* pp. 262-264.

³⁶ *The Education Act 1944: The Secret Story*: an unpublished essay held in Southwark Diocesan Archives.

³⁷ *Catholic Times* 31 July 1942

The Catholic Parents and Electors Association³⁸ developed from a lay initiative begun by Mr C. I. Kelly in Ilford when the LEA declined to provide an air-raid shelter for the local Catholic school. He had the support of his parish priest, Canon Palmer, and of two brothers, Fr John Heenan of Barking and James Heenan, a Labour councillor. What he did not have was the support of his own bishop or of Cardinal Hinsley! Kelly then pursued wider Catholic Educational issues although the Hierarchy believed they should conduct all necessary negotiations with the Board of Education, in a gentlemanly manner and privately. In October 1942 Kelly circularised the Hierarchy suggesting the creation of a national system of parish associations based on the Bradford model³⁹. The Catholic press repeatedly mentioned educational matters and ordinary Catholics began to grow militant, beyond the control of the Hierarchy. In August 1943 a meeting was held to discuss the "orderly development" of the movement. The Hierarchy duly approved of the establishment of the CPEA in each diocese, under the control of the diocesan bishop. There was to be no national organisation as such. Some bishops quietly sidelined the organisation. Others used it as an effective tool.

Among these was Bishop Marshall of Salford. He had been considering reviving the defunct Catholic Federation. Kelly wrote a long letter to him outlining the role of the C.P.E.A. to which initially Marshall made no apparent response. In May 1942 Marshall consulted with his senior clergy about the attacks being launched on the dual system, especially by the N.U.T. He suggested they use their influence with local LEAs to try and prevent endorsement of such attacks in the Association of Education Committee's subcommittee reply to the Green Paper. He next involved select laity. Catholic teachers were to be asked to attend a N.U.T. meeting in Manchester and oppose certain proposals, without mention of his initiative. By Spring 1943 Marshall was willing to permit lay activity on behalf of Catholic schools, so long as they remained under clerical control at parish or diocesan level. The Bradford C.P.E.A. informed him that applications to join were being received from Salford parishes. Elliott noted three points. He contrasted the apparent apathy of Catholics in the diocese towards the much-publicised threat to Catholic schools before the middle of 1942, and their enthusiastic commitment thereafter. He saw Marshall defending not so much Catholic schools as the Catholic community itself. Finally he referred to the survival of the Salford C.P.E.A. for more than a decade

³⁸ I am grateful to Mr Kitt Elliott for allowing me sight of his three essays on the C.P.E.A., whose activities he is presently researching for a Ph.D. The section that follows is largely a condensation of these essays, with additional material taken from the diocesan archive boxes SDA 28, 138, and 300.

³⁹ Bradford Catholics, facing a local educational issue, had modified the Ilford constitution and established associations in some 12 parishes. The Ilford constitution was based on one devised in Salford.

after the 1944 Education Act because of the appeal the organisation had to certain senior clerics and lay people. He concluded:

What developed under the leadership of Marshall and Masterton was an active lay movement, led by and in co-operation with the clergy, which appealed particularly to members of the increasingly large and significant Catholic middle class, of which F. J. Doyle, Charles Kelly, and the Heenan brothers were good examples. Its activities centred on the needs of the Catholic education system but its interests ranged widely over areas such as public health, housing and child welfare. It offered lay Catholics the opportunity to reconstruct the social context of their lives during the period between the end of the Second World War and the Second Vatican Council.

1942 saw positive action by the bishops. A joint Pastoral Letter was issued on Whit Sunday on the theme that post-war reconstruction had to be based on Christian principles. Ten specific principles were addressed. That on education stated:

Religious education, to meet the wishes of the parents, should be available to all schoolchildren and on such conditions that the general education of the child should not suffer in any way from its parents' insistence on religious education.⁴⁰

Marshall in his Advent Pastoral Letter dwelt on the question of "Dual Controls" in schools⁴¹. An Ad Clerum asked if a new lay organisation was needed to defend Catholic Schools⁴². Another Ad Clerum referred to a leaflet published on the Schools Questions⁴³ and another issued a questionnaire on Catholic elementary schools⁴⁴. In June 1943 Marshall invited his clergy to consider the formation of some sort of association. He then established a steering committee and by late July had authorised the establishment of the CPEA in the diocese. His 1943 Lenten Pastoral Letter addressed the Schools Question again⁴⁵. His next Pastoral Letter⁴⁶ in July dwelt on the CPEA and its associated leaflets on schools. Five letters to Deans and five Ad Clerum letters dealt with educational issues⁴⁷. In October some 30,000 Catholics attended a mass meeting at Belle Vue. A large outdoor demonstration was held in Piccadilly on Sunday afternoon, 10 October 1943. Marshall commented to his clergy in Manchester and Salford:

As this will be the last large demonstration before the tabling of the Bill, I hope you will try to make it as successful as you possibly can. Much may depend on the impression that such a successful demonstration may make on the

⁴⁰ **The Harvest** 1942 pp. 103-105. In 1942 **The Harvest** published four articles on educational matters, warning on the forthcoming attack on the Dual System and defining a Catholic vision of education. Marshall had set up a Central Committee for Catholic Action, and one of the constituent sub-committees dealt with education.

⁴¹ SDA 200/10.

⁴² SDA 200/23.

⁴³ SDA 200/40.

⁴⁴ SDA 200/41.

⁴⁵ SDA 200/105.

⁴⁶ SDA 200/109.

⁴⁷ SDA 200/118, 119, 120, 125, 126, 130, 133, 134, 135, 137.

Government. I have good reason to believe that previous meetings held in the Diocese have had a certain influence on the Members of Parliament.⁴⁸

Another meeting a month later attracted some 60,000. By Spring 1944 the Salford C.P.E.A. claimed a membership of 57,742. What had begun as a lay-led organisation in the South of England, independent of clerical control, had now developed into a formidable weapon in the hands of a determined bishop who would use all the pressure it could bring to bear on politicians at local and national level in defence of Catholic schools until his dying day. In Advent 1943 the Hierarchy issued another Joint Pastoral Letter on the Schools Question, and in Spring 1944 Marshall issued his own Pastoral Letter on "The Present Education Bill"⁴⁹. The Harvest continued its series of articles, highlighting the unacceptable financial position of Catholic schools if the proposed Education Bill were passed without amendment. The campaign to influence the 1944 Education Bill in favour of Catholic schools was in full swing.

5. Conclusion

Catholic schools survived both evacuation and blitz. The greatest threat they faced lay in the proposed Education Bill. Initial reactions towards it have been briefly outlined. The 1944 Education Act itself remains outside the scope of this. Suffice it to say that Marshall, perceiving the threat to Catholic Schools, had mobilised his clergy and people to face that threat and to counter-attack by outlining the "justice" of the Catholic case to the general public as well as to politicians. Bishop Marshall will always be remembered for the way he later led the diocese in implementing the 1944 Education Act. The Diocesan Emergency Fund he started to raise the money needed continued in existence until the following century. His planning saw the successful provision of secondary modern schools across the diocese, and the gradual rebuilding or funding of many primary schools, especially in areas where "overspill" housing estates were developed as massive slum clearance schemes were implemented after the Second World War. These monumental efforts however lie beyond the scope of this thesis. Dent outlined the progress of the 1944 Education Act. Perhaps his conclusion can aptly end this chapter.

There remained the Roman Catholics. They wanted at least a 75 per cent grant-in-aid for their schools; the President of the Board of Education was determined not to go beyond 50 per cent. In the White Paper they have been offered a valuable

⁴⁸ SDA 200/135.

⁴⁹ SDA 200/108.

concession in the revival of the relevant clauses of the Education Act, 1936, for they proposed 289 agreements under that Act. All these they can revive, and receive on them up to 75 per cent grant. This, I am told on unimpeachable authority, will cover their post-primary school problem. At the moment of writing it is not possible to say what attitude they will take if this proposal is incorporated in the Bill. At present they reject it. They have pressed and will no doubt continue to press, their case indefatigably in every possible quarter. But it is surely inconceivable that they will be allowed, or in the last resort will desire, to wreak the measure.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Education in Transition p. 197.

Summary and Conclusion

1. Summary

Elementary Schools

This thesis has studied Salford Diocesan Catholic School provision from 1870 to 1944. An account has been given of the slow yet continuous expansion of parish elementary schools, and the increase in both number and training of their teachers. This provision not only included building schools in new missions and parishes, but extending and upgrading existing schools as pupil numbers grew and Board of Education regulations changed. It is the first comprehensive account of the development of these schools.

Secondary Provision

Turner had laid the foundation for secondary education. Vaughan established St Bede's College for boys. His attempt to create Collegiate Institutes scarcely succeeded and provision in Manchester and Salford decreased after his episcopate. Not until Casartelli became bishop was another attempt made to improve secondary provision. By then national aspirations were developing and Henshaw faced the challenge of providing Senior Schools, an attempt thwarted by the outbreak of War. The convents meanwhile had continued to expand and offered post elementary education for girls in a different way to that provided for boys. Their schools, better distributed across the diocese, were smaller if more numerous than the boys' schools, so the number of boys and girls so educated was comparable.

The Financial Burden

The financial costs of Catholic schools and the difficulties parishes found in raising the money is a constant factor throughout the period. Tenbus sees the financing of Catholic schools as an important element in fusing together the three strands of the Catholic population: native-born recusant stock, immigrant Irish, and the converts. Efforts to improve the situation began as soon as the iniquities of the 1870 Education were grasped. Some success was finally gained after the Voluntary School Associations were formed. The 1900 Visitation Report well illustrates the financial plight of the time. Consequently the 1902 Education Act was welcomed and later attempts to undermine its provisions were stoutly resisted, even though ultimate success lay more in Tory opposition in the Lords than to

Catholic clout on the streets. With the advent of secondary schools and senior schools, other problems emerged. As in practical terms the parish was the “Church” for most Catholics, the concept of schools existing outside the parish, or being jointly owned by neighbouring parishes was hard to grasp and, as the history of post elementary education has shown, even harder to finance.

Political Activity

Political activity extended into many spheres. Initially it included ensuring that the minority of Catholics entitled to vote duly registered, and then used their combined vote to maximum effect, especially in School Board elections. The use of Parliamentary Petitions was both frequent and ineffectual. Vaughan’s campaign to create Voluntary School Associations initially to influence public and parliamentary opinion, and later to administer government grant was more successful. After the 1902 Education Act, Casartelli, Henshaw and Marshall successively and “noisily” campaigned to inform ordinary Catholics about the “Schools Question” and to mobilise them to win over Members of Parliament and demonstrate the “justice” of the Catholic position to their fellow citizens, in the face of opposition from Trade Unions, part of the Labour Party, the Co-operative Movement and especially the National Union of Teachers. The lack of a consistent and common vision and policy among the hierarchy was clearly evidenced, as school needs varied so much between dioceses, and individual bishops considered it was their right as bishops to act as they each thought fit.

The Case Studies

Fifteen Case Studies are presented in the thesis. Their importance is to provide historical accuracy in particular cases from which the general case is argued. The HMI reports on the secondary schools in the 1930s illustrate this well. Each school was different yet common concerns were identified by HMI. Given that reports on only four schools were examined, it is possible that the schools were not typical of the rest. Had reports on eight or sixteen or all the schools been included, the conclusions would be safer. Yet as a pattern has emerged, there is reason to argue from the particular to the general, without too great a fear that false conclusions might be drawn.

The second value of these Case Studies is to illustrate what was happening in individual schools so as to anchor to reality the general arguments being rehearsed. Thus Case Studies 1, 2 and 3 give examples of different types of elementary schools, urban, rural, and multiple, in Vaughan’s episcopate. Case

Studies 5 – 8 examine black listed schools in different types of urban community: small towns, a city, and a valley village. Case Study 9 deals with a short-lived *cause celebre* and school reorganisation at age 11. The next four Case Studies look at different attempts to provide secondary education in the late nineteenth century. Provision of Senior Schools in the late 1930s is illustrated by Case Study 14. The final Case Study concentrates the mind on wartime difficulties. It would be possible to omit them all, but the thesis would be poorer for it.

2. Conclusion

The thesis has tried to demonstrate that behind all the educational activity, and informing it, lay a series of principles, developed by Turner, and adhered to by each successive bishop.

The first principle was that education had to be based on religion. In other words, education meant the forming of the whole person, body and soul, and was not simply a case of cramming in knowledge or training the person to be a unit of economic production. A secular vision of education which left out spiritual values and a sense of life being a journey towards an eternal award, be it Heaven or Hell, was considered to be totally disastrous. Each bishop in his own way, especially in Pastoral Letters, expressed and developed this vision.

Because for Catholics education was essentially based on religion, Catholic education had to be under the control of the bishop. This second principle devolved from the Catholic teaching of the Faith and the vision Catholics had of “Church”. Each bishop by his words and actions endorsed this vision and through his clergy, especially his Chief Religious Inspector, sought to exercise such a control.

Catholic schools had to be made available to all Catholic children as and when means permitted. As late as the 1930s, Henshaw was lamenting the fate of children bereft of the chance of a Catholic education. Such a lament figured loudly in the Pastoral Letters and Ad Clerum of his predecessors. In mission after mission, priests endeavoured to found schools even before opening churches and building presbyteries. The cost in terms of finance and workload was perhaps the chief burden of the clergy, as the 1900 Returns demonstrated. Yet they succeeded so well that School Boards, LEAs, HMIs and the Board of Education took it as axiomatic that no Catholic School would ever be handed over from Church control. This willingness to provide Catholic schools applied even to post-elementary provision, even if that provision was late in coming, too little and too poorly distributed to meet adequately the needs of the Catholic community.

The fourth principle was that such education had to be efficient in its secular and religious content. Concern about the religious content was based on a fear that souls might be lost eternally if the Faith was not properly taught and subsequently practised. Henshaw's comments on the reception of the Last Sacraments in the 1930s nicely illustrate this over-riding spiritual concern. The careful prescription of religious syllabi and inspection from Vaughan onwards confirm the continuous existence of this vision. The importance of the secular content lay mainly in the need to obtain government grant, which was based on attendance and academic standards. The trauma of the annual inspection loomed large in the early days when often teachers would leave before an inspection, or if unsuccessful, shortly afterwards. As schools grew in size and number of staff, it became the boast of Church schools, both Catholic and Anglican, that they were delivering an education equal to if not better than the Board Schools, at far less cost. Post 1902, the delivery of the curriculum devolved to the LEA.

Children have parents. Parents have primary rights over the nurture of their children, especially rights of conscience over religious development. As State intervention, or interference, in education grew, these primary parental rights became more important, and a development took place in both understanding and articulating them, at a time when some saw the State as having a greater right. The defence of parental rights, the fifth principle, is manifest in the utterances and writings of each bishop. They consistently argued that such rights applied to all parents, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

The thesis concludes with the argument that these five principles, initially developed as Bishop Turner laid the foundations of Catholic education across the diocese, were upheld and implemented, adapted and developed by each and every one of his successors. This account of the Salford Diocesan Catholic Schools 1870-1944 has demonstrated not only the story of the continuous expansion of school provision, but adherence to the basic principles. Such expansion was maintained at a cost that at times nearly overwhelmed the financial resources of the Catholic community.

Table 1:

1900 Visitation Returns

Opening Balances - Surpluses and Deficits

School & Location	Surplus at start	Deficit at start	Surplus at end	Deficit at End
Accrington St Anne	No figures given	-	-	131.66
Accrington S. Heart	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Ashton u Lyne St Ann	No return			
Ashton u Lyne St Mary	-	154.85	-	161.76
Aspull Our Lady	-	110.54	-	154.47
Astley Bridge Holy Infant	-	97.08	-	107.23
Bacup St Mary	-	169.40	-	144.54
Barton All Saints	88.49	-	217.35	-
Barton Holy Cross	157.93	-	206.41	-
Billington St Mary	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Blackburn St Alban	-	4949.06	-	881.52
Blackburn HGS	-	809.37	-	823.94
Blackburn St Ann	20.68	-	-	384.65
Blackburn St Joseph	-	367.95	-	413.85
Blackburn St Mary	-	162.30	-	252.88
Blackburn St Patrick	-	357.88	-	348.10
Blackburn St Peter	-	128.75	-	210.73
Blackley Mount Carmel	13.80	-	93.67	-
Bolton St Edmund	-	219.35	-	181.94
Bolton St Mary	-	410.89	-	287.50
Bolton St Patrick	-	68.63	-	12.15
Bolton St Peter & Paul	-	325.13	-	278.56
Bolton St William	-	357.68	-	407.68
Brierfield H. Trinity	-	38.65	-	56.22
Brownedge St Mary	Benedictines	-	No data	-
Burnley St Augustine	-	160.98	-	306.56
Burnley St John	-	481.11	-	535.36
Burnley St Mary	-	233.17	-	499.18
Burnley St M. Magdalene	41.97	-	94.58	-
Bury St Joseph	-	385.00	-	349.94
Bury St Marie	-	172.5	-	210.98
Bury Guardian Angels	-	87.90	-	103.79
Castleton St Gabriel	-	40.46	11.16	-

School & Location	Surplus at start	Deficit at start	Surplus at end	Deficit at End
Chipping St Mary	26.94	-	29.35	-
Chorlton St Augustine	-	-	-	184.25
Clayton le Moors St Mary	-	603.35	-	647.50
Clitheroe St Michael/John	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Colne Sacred Heart	-	86.30	-	20.18
Darwen St Joseph				
Darwen Sacred Heart	-	15.86	1.55	-
Denton St Mary	-	25.21	-	34.44
Eccles St Mary	32.12	-	8.89	-
Failsworth St Mary	-	126.77	-	137.54
Fairfield St Anne	-	89.35	-	44.53
Farnworth St Gregory	-	301.04	-	297.57
Great Harwood St Hubert	-	146.40	-	166.05
Halliwell St Joseph	-	123.39	-	94.20
Haslingden St Mary	-	292.45	-	341.69
Heaton Norris St Mary	-	1.89	-	17.20
Heywood St Joseph	-	241.46	-	284.90
Hollinwood C. Christi	-	338.30	-	314.77
Horwich Our Lady	-	29.46	-	35.92
Horwich Holy Family	-	57.81	-	69.00
Hurst Green St Joseph	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Irlam St Patrick	-	43.45	-	24.20
Lee House St William	No school	-	-	-
Lees St Edward	-	133.44	-	233.22
Levenshulme St Mary	-	No figure given	-	212.98
Littleborough St Mary	-	37.50	-	108.62
Little Hulton St Edmund	-	784.11	-	780.77
Longridge St Wilfrid	-	295.64	-	304.69
Manchester St Alban	-	25.00	-	50.00
Manchester St Aloysius	-	53.25	-	2.86
Manchester St Anne	-	172.43	-	125.40
Manchester St Augustine	-	1294.46	-	1489.02
Manchester St Bridget	-	389.55	-	415.65
Manchester St Chad	-	663.49	-	847.34
Manchester C Christi	Religious	-	No data	-
Manchester St Edmund	54.37	-	-	14.04
Manchester St Edward	-	200.74	-	201.94
Manchester Eng. Martyrs	No school	-	-	-
Manchester St Francis	Franciscans	-	No data	-

School & Location	Surplus at start	Deficit at start	Surplus at end	Deficit at End
Manchester H. Family	-	878.44	-	1029.21
Manchester H. Name	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Manchester St Joseph	-	1105.50	-	1224.29
Manchester St Mary	-	1115.53	-	1224.54
Manchester St Michael	-	667.45	-	838.39
Manchester St Patrick	-	No figure given	-	860.14
Manchester St Thomas	-	126.98	-	183.26
Manchester St Vincent	-	274.66	-	364.07
Manchester St Wilfrid	-	98.77	-	216.61
Manchester St Lawrence	-	244.46	-	360.37
Manchester St William	-	14.80	-	36.57
Middleton St Peter	-	97.93	-	201.60
Moorside St Charles				
Mossley St Joseph	-	79.53	-	198.79
Nelson H. Saviour	-	303.90	-	304.70
Nelson St Joseph	-	719.15	-	894.18
Nelson St Peter & Paul	-	189.94	-	275.64
Newchurch St Peter				
New Springs H. Family	-	37.64	-	63.57
Oldham St Ann	-	199.54	-	288.01
Oldham St Mary				
Oldham St Patrick	-	14.93	-	194.31
Osbaldeston St Mary	0.66	-	-	0.05
Oswaldtwistle St Mary	-	98.16	-	304.70
Padiham St John	-	30.01	-	23.14
Pendlebury St Joseph				
Pleasington	-	68.38	-	92.15
Prestwich OLG	-	546.97	-	633.68
Radcliffe St Mary	-	108.10	-	116.17
Ramsbottom St Joseph	-	38.92	24.77	-
Rawtenstall St James	-	188.57	-	184.85
Reddish St Joseph	-	263.15	-	246.37
Ribchester	27.20	-	7.18	-
Rishton St Charles	-	149.04	-	206.55
Rochdale St John	-	152.87	-	50.69
Rochdale St Patrick	-	1452.58	-	1464.05
Royton	-	141.15	-	166.23
Salford All Souls	-	345.67	-	268.63
Salford Mount Carmel	-	150.47	-	69.77

School & Location	Surplus at start	Deficit at start	Surplus at end	Deficit at End
Salford St Ann Adelphi	-	126.55	-	54.00
Salford St Boniface	-	323.05	-	307.39
Salford St Sebastian	Dominicans	-	No data	-
Salford St James	-	95.75	-	149.10
Salford St John	-	57.87	-	56.48
Salford St Joseph	-	518.37	-	306.58
Salford St Peter	-	281.94	-	174.49
Samlesbury St Mary				
Shaw St Joseph				
Stacksteads St Joseph	-	153.12	-	153.71
Stretford St Anne	-	110.52	-	98.07
Swinton St Mary	-	169.57	-	157.33
Todmorden St Joseph	-	160.04	-	159.55
Urmston Eng. Martyrs	-	190.75	-	190.98
Walton le Dale	Benedictines	-	No data	-
Westhoughton S. Heart	-	223.84	-	249.19
Whitworth St Anselm	-	346.34	-	366.78
Withington St Cuthbert	-	73.78	-	85.53
Totals	£464.16+	£25,140.65+	£694.91+	£30,963.38+

Table 2:

1900 Visitation Returns

Income from Grants and Other Sources

*Indicates 2 grants received during financial year: probably late payment of previous year's grant and payment of current year's grant.

School & Location	Annual Grant	Fee Grant	Aid Grant	Other Income
Accrington St Anne	Information	not	available	50.00
Accrington S. Heart	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Ashton u Lyne St Ann	No return	-	-	-
Ashton u Lyne St Mary	322.58	153.87	82.50	125.06
Aspull Our Lady	105.67	49.35	50.00	38.95
Astley Bridge Holy Infant	117.06	59.62	*107.00	63.50
Bacup St Mary	131.21	78.12	60.00	85.18
Barton All Saints	197.95	108.12	40.00	194.72
Barton Holy Cross	245.26	137.25	60.00	26.47
Billington St Mary	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Blackburn St Alban	889.02	458.25	207.25	406.98
Blackburn St Ann	783.44	391.87	185.00	192.54
Blackburn St Joseph	662.11	321.00	155.25	529.62
Blackburn St Mary	528.00	259.87	126.00	162.48
Blackburn St Patrick	38.50	27.25	40.00	73.44
Blackburn St Peter	446.08	218.75	110.25	103.99
Blackburn HGS	49.65	28.87	45.00	200.16
Blackley Mount Carmel	340.90	180.50	*146.25	26.00
Bolton St Edmund	501.58	246.25	120.50	267.22
Bolton St Mary	609.38	294.36	296.75	210.30
Bolton St Patrick	313.58	169.87	*157.50	155.00
Bolton St Peter & Paul	728.28	355.12	*331.25	114.08
Bolton St William	204.77	104.37	*110.00	30.00
Brierfield H. Trinity	76.23	53.62	69.85	43.12
Brownedge St Mary	Benedictines	-	No data	-
Burnley St Augustine	29.93	28.17	64.25	10.00
Burnley St John	244.87	140.00	61.25	108.22
Burnley St Mary	723.08	323.87	175.50	185.32
Burnley St M Magdalene	308.45	152.87	78.50	133.26
Bury St Joseph	365.51	199.62	85.75	164.58
Bury St Marie	191.26	105.12	55.00	26.61

School & Location	Annual Grant	Fee Grant	Aid Grant	Other Income
Bury Guardian Angels	223.21	118.87	60.00	90.00
Castleton St Gabriel	66.17	47.75	*122.00	62.81
Chipping St Mary	35.43	22.12	30.00	25.34
Chorlton St Augustine	-	19.50	79.78	65.77
Clayton le Moors St Mary	204.58	99.87	55.00	225.00
Clitheroe St Michael/John	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Colne Sacred Heart	229.00	132.12	124.75	72.41
Darwen St Joseph				
Darwen Sacred Heart	241.82	110.75	120.00	65.41
Denton St Mary	95.68	60.87	67.00	15.00
Eccles St Mary	254.75	139.62	60.00	135.00
Failsworth St Mary	332.65	166.87	81.25	89.25
Fairfield St Anne	216.82	115.12	55.00	22.51
Farnworth St Gregory	622.78	305.62	148.25	258.00
Great Harwood St Hubert	403.67	197.50	105.75	43.17
Halliwell St Joseph	343.32	176.37	75.50	51.52
Haslingden St Mary	251.11	148.12	67.00	138.66
Heaton Norris St Mary	276.97	136.62	70.75	128.76
Heywood St Joseph	271.00	158.87	*171.25	192.67
Hollinwood C. Christi	253.33	144.75	127.25	12.85
Horwich St Mary	101.22	44.62	69.15	31.25
Horwich Holy Rosary	211.57	108.25	55.00	16.26
Hurst Green St Joseph	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Irlam St Patrick	25.02	15.15	64.77	6.17
Lee House St William	No school	-	-	-
Lees St Edward	104.76	53.00	60.00	15.00
Levenshulme St Mary	-	24.75	65.00	41.83
Littleborough St Mary	53.34	34.37	59.85	19.33
Little Hulton St Edmund	116.22	63.25	62.56	88.52
Longridge St Wilfrid	207.01	156.12	50.00	122.27
Manchester St Alban	346.88	169.25	90.00	52.38
Manchester St Aloysius	367.72	179.75	85.50	93.25
Manchester St Anne	1043.72	501.25	232.00	401.00
Manchester St Augustine	614.98	285.50	159.25	233.49
Manchester St Bridget	725.85	354.25	163.00	135.48
Manchester St Chad	418.08	193.75	102.50	39.38
Manchester C Christi	Religious	-	No data	-
Manchester St Edmund	773.52	574.11	(combined)	224.47
Manchester St Edward	89.83	57.12	55.00	7.50

School & Location	Annual Grant	Fee Grant	Aid Grant	Other Income
Manchester Eng. Martyrs	No school	-	-	-
Manchester St Francis	OFM	-	No data	-
Manchester H. Family	478.57	231.87	123.50	29.00
Manchester H. Name	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Manchester St Joseph	265.75	144.75	128.50	24.09
Manchester St Mary	295.35	146.62	70.00	22.00
Manchester St Michael	475.48	243.75	199.25	-
Manchester St Patrick	781.50	354.25	197.75	172.50
Manchester St Thomas	290.77	142.50	72.00	91.75
Manchester St Vincent	90.22	56.12	74.76	25.25
Manchester St Wilfrid	942.67	444.25	220.00	360.00
Manchester St Lawrence	206.20	102.22	-	83.22
Manchester St William	118.15	67.37	40.00	74.90
Middleton St Peter	188.85	87.75	60.00	59.90
Moorside St Charles	-	-	-	-
Nelson H. Saviour	88.02	58.62	50.00	13.00
Mossley St Joseph	196.92	86.25	60.00	66.37
Nelson St Joseph	150.98	85.87	50.00	56.00
Nelson St Peter & Paul	Nothing	Nothing	Nothing	51.50
Newchurch St Peter	-	-	-	-
New Springs H. Family	118.00	57.87	98.88	10.00
Oldham St Ann	339.25	195.75	86.50	7.50
Oldham St Mary	-	-	-	-
Oldham St Patrick	629.91	298.25	155.25	166.20
Osbaldeston St Mary	27.82	1.87	40.00	18.99
Oswaldtwistle St Mary	330.89	169.62	83.50	169.02
Padiham St John	180.47	107.75	110.00	84.69
Pendlebury St Joseph	-	-	-	-
Pleasington	44.87	22.00	61.40	44.08
Prestwich OLG	74.70	40.37	45.00	83.07
Radcliffe St Mary	325.37	Combined	60.00	78.27
Ramsbottom St Joseph	116.04	75.62	107.00	49.00
Rawtenstall St James	173.95	109.37	55.00	235.11
Reddish St Joseph	76.61	46.12	40.00	38.14
Ribchester	49.66	28.50	50.00	22.57
Rishton St Charles	151.87	87.00	64.85	123.50
Rochdale St John	408.63	203.63	191.75	93.18
Rochdale St Patrick	338.43	209.37	167.00	90.00
Royton	100.74	58.25	50.00	87.34

School & Location	Annual Grant	Fee Grant	Aid Grant	Other Income
Salford All Souls	221.57	112.25	110.00	82.65
Salford Mount Carmel	798.40	-	*791.00	233.47
Salford St Ann Adelphi	310.38	150.37	160.75	95.30
Salford St Boniface	246.80	126.12	55.00	89.00
Salford St Sebastian	Dominicans	-	No data	-
Salford St James	557.39	268.08	145.00	189.47
Salford St John	1144.21	529.12	522.50	325.88
Salford St Joseph	595.08	297.37	135.25	177.43
Salford St Peter	346.48	177.00	193.50	70.00
Samlesbury St Mary	-	-	-	-
Shaw St Joseph	-	-	-	-
Stacksteads St Joseph	137.91	81.62	60.00	161.93
Stretford St Anne	45.75	27.87	58.12	17.57
Swinton St Mary	292.46	151.50	70.50	80.27
Todmorden St Joseph	57.57	32.75	74.76	5.00
Urmston Eng. Martyrs	41.65	21.00	72.00	16.26
Walton le Dale	92.53	57.98	69.00	50.42
Westhoughton S. Heart	154.37	83.00	59.50	10.00
Whitworth St Anselm	92.53	57.98	69.00	50.42
Withington St Cuthbert	62.55	36.62	40.00	80.00
	Annual Grant	Fee Grant	Aid Grant	Other Income
Sub-totals	£31,930.63	£15,883.16	£11,259.48	£11,213.72
Percentage of Income	45.4%	22.6%	16%	16%
TOTAL INCOME	£70,286.99			

Table 3:

1900 Visitation Returns

Expenditure: Salaries and other costs

School & Location	Salaries	Equipment	Repairs, Rates	Other Costs
Accrington St Anne	79.87	61.90	40.00	-
Accrington S. Heart	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Ashton u Lyne St Ann	No return made	-	-	-
Ashton u Lyne St Mary	425.66	97.11	182.00	12.15
Aspull Our Lady	166.95	37.75	79.15	4.12
Astley Bridge Holy Infant	194.42	48.07	59.85	-
Bacup St Mary	208.00	70.80	60.85	-
Barton All Saints	331.14	76.42	3.37	1.00
Barton Holy Cross	304.75	88.04	23.72	2.00
Billington St Mary	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Blackburn St Alban	1169.07	329.61	849.77	-
Blackburn St Ann	1255.97	466.25	221.31	14.60
Blackburn St Joseph	893.72	381.10	385.50	54.06
Blackburn St Mary	791.23	189.50	176.65	9.45
Blackburn St Patrick	71.00	20.62	75.72	.52
Blackburn St Peter	717.42	89.57	154.05	-
Blackburn HGS	164.00	59.25	115.00	-
Blackley Mount Carmel	437.00	73.01	82.10	7.50
Bolton St Edmund	640.70	158.95	258.17	14.35
Bolton St Mary	763.17	174.03	320.45	29.34
Bolton St Patrick	308.42	93.14	128.91	9.03
Bolton St Peter & Paul	1127.40	206.13	118.53	30.10
Bolton St William	388.75	40.08	46.75	23.56
Brierfield H. Trinity	183.25	35.18	35.58	6.34
Brownedge St Mary	Benedictines	-	No data	-
Burnley St Augustine	116.00	52.38	109.52	-
Burnley St John	399.25	112.63	109.57	3.15
Burnley St Mary	1088.93	202.20	374.19	8.48
Burnley St M Magdalene	402.33	75.21	139.72	3.23
Bury St Joseph	414.00	112.60	216.79	1.03
Bury St Marie	351.50	56.27	1.88	6.82
Bury Guardian Angels	360.65	54.45	92.95	8.92
Castleton St Gabriel	152.28	40.98	52.67	1.17

School & Location	Salaries	Equipment	Repairs, Rates	Other Costs
Chipping St Mary	84.50	51.06	9.92	1.03
Chorlton St Augustine	147.50	119.61	80.17	-
Clayton le Moors St Mary	275.00	96.24	251.47	6.25
Clitheroe St Michael/John	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Colne Sacred Heart	351.21	66.03	74.91	-
Darwen St Joseph				
Darwen Sacred Heart	323.62	96.69	94.83	5.43
Denton St Mary	140.04	68.90	37.30	1.55
Eccles St Mary	380.33	89.90	64.35	55.80
Failsworth St Mary	423.97	184.21	122.62	-
Fairfield St Anne	285.59	68.45	20.58	-
Farnworth St Gregory	846.14	250.67	204.22	28.17
Great Harwood St Hubert	639.42	88.65	43.68	-
Halliwell St Joseph	449.71	85.25	90.83	1.95
Haslingden St Mary	423.57	67.71	161.60	1.35
Heaton Norris St Mary	414.07	77.91	127.97	8.47
Heywood St Joseph	456.86	71.42	214.53	28.75
Hollinwood C. Christi	410.00	55.49	78.60	.52
Horwich St Mary	269.97	53.04	68.52	5.80
Horwich Holy Family	150.91	55.81	55.79	.92
Hurst Green St Joseph	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Irlam St Patrick	74.92	44.96	-	-
Lee House St William	No school	-	-	-
Lees St Edward	207.17	110.21	13.17	2.00
Levenshulme St Mary	142.07	152.51	34.57	2.48
Littleborough St Mary	119.03	65.85	50.38	2.75
Little Hulton St Edmund	155.87	62.06	96.28	11.62
Longridge St Wilfrid	348.00	101.38	40.00	4.17
Manchester St Alban	459.05	77.23	145.38	1.86
Manchester St Aloysius	436.92	79.56	152.10	6.80
Manchester St Anne	1387.01	219.64	465.30	-
Manchester St Augustine	984.33	200.09	255.28	29.43
Manchester St Bridget	984.91	139.74	268.00	12.00
Manchester St Chad	642.00	120.22	158.29	17.05
Manchester C Christi	Religious	-	No data	
Manchester St Edmund	1586.08	222.10	215.28	21.91
Manchester St Edward	173.00	35.53	16.85	2.37
Manchester Eng. Martyrs	No school	-	-	-
Manchester St Francis	Franciscans	-	No data	-

School & Location	Salaries	Equipment	Repairs, Rates	Other Costs
Manchester H. Family	774.13	177.10	188.95	2.03
Manchester H. Name	Jesuits	-	No data	-
Manchester St Joseph	581.46	96.62	201.65	2.15
Manchester St Mary	453.40	72.08	118.25	.75
Manchester St Michael	722.32	107.61	177.88	1.50
Manchester St Patrick	1117.52	178.32	309.68	18.50
Manchester St Thomas	397.02	80.58	175.69	-
Manchester St Vincent	176.36	40.50	137.37	5.10
Manchester St Wilfrid	1443.07	222.37	85.27	2.00
Manchester St Lawrence	350.00	42.92	112.75	1.05
Manchester St William	153.87	48.77	103.82	13.05
Middleton St Peter	290.00	80.75	129.23	.14
Moorside St Charles				
Mossley St Joseph	356.00	35.71	141.18	.93
Nelson H. Saviour	132.03	17.97	60.00	-
Nelson St Joseph	303.73	74.16	140.00	-
Nelson St Peter & Paul	65.10	14.80	57.30	-
Newchurch St Peter				
New Springs H. Family	193.99	51.70	57.68	2.07
Oldham St Ann	514.83	79.92	120.37	2.35
Oldham St Mary				
Oldham St Patrick	219.11	299.75	213.91	3.20
Osbaldeston St Mary	67.50	14.02	6.46	.89
Oswaldtwistle St Mary	478.62	69.62	106.39	.15
Padiham St John	296.65	68.60	107.50	3.27
Pendlebury St Joseph				
Pleasington	114.87	39.90	37.13	11.41
Prestwich OLG	144.82	48.73	127.60	1.70
Radcliffe St Mary	299.14	77.04	120.12	4.93
Ramsbottom St Joseph	210.00	15.41	46.91	3.63
Rawtenstall St James	322.50	100.62	117.24	19.00
Reddish St Joseph	130.20	46.03	4.06	.80
Ribchester	117.33	15.88	35.40	2.23
Rishton St Charles	303.55	81.03	105.25	2.91
Rochdale St John	611.05	96.93	79.58	7.45
Rochdale St Patrick	552.60	179.30	104.33	-
Royton	186.83	80.31	53.68	.57
Salford All Souls	293.16	55.98	99.05	1.25
Salford Mount Carmel	1107.46	172.30	187.50	12.87

School & Location	Salaries	Equipment	Repairs, Rates	Other Costs
Salford St Ann Adelphi	459.67	64.21	111.77	8.64
Salford St Boniface	322.10	92.85	6.67	-
Salford St Sebastian	Dominicans	-	No data	-
Salford St James	927.31	139.53	147.12	19.45
Salford St John	1558.54	313.37	402.32	35.72
Salford St Joseph	942.96	141.61	117.27	2.00
Salford St Peter	526.67	85.31	63.61	5.94
Samlesbury St Mary				
Shaw St Joseph				
Stacksteads St Joseph	275.23	57.91	108.42	-
Stretford St Anne	105.00	28.79	2.56	.53
Swinton St Mary	396.53	111.62	54.89	6.71
Todmorden St Joseph	110.00	33.30	11.27	2.43
Urmston Eng. Martyrs	110.80	17.49	16.84	7.20
Walton le Dale	Benedictines	-	No data	-
Westhoughton S. Heart	186.09	80.78	48.62	16.73
Whitworth St Anselm	88.62	35.57	27.55	2.45
Withington St Cuthbert	116.29	32.69	80.88	-
Sub-totals	£47,688.63	£10,899.71	£13,296.55	£747.03
Percentage of total	65.7%	15%	18.3%	1%
TOTAL COSTS				£72,631.92

Table 4:

Manchester Catholic School Accommodation in 1910

School	Pupils	Accommodation
Mount Carmel Blackley	672	892
St Edmund's, Miles Platting	1289	1202
St Chad's, Cheetham Hill	573	895
Corpus Christi, Collyhurst	974	918
St Patrick's, Livesey St	2010	2042
St William's, Angels Meadow	160	437
St Michael's, Ancoats	639	677
St Alban's, Ancoats	457	610
St Willibrord's, Clayton	215	232
St Anne's, Ancoats	1364	1324
St Bridget's, Bradford	1131	1065
St Vincent's, Openshaw	385	451
St Anne's, Openshaw	355	508
St Mary's, Mulberry St (Deansgate)	341	400
St Augustine's, Chorlton on Medlock	1137	885
Holy Family, All Saints see St Augustine's		464
St Aloysius, Ardwick Green	659	621
St Lawrence's, Cornbrook	314	515
Holy Family Infants, All Saints cf. St Augustine's		244
St Wilfrid's, Hulme	1114	1162
St Francis', Gorton	1403	1226
Holy Name (Branch School) Brook St	139	172
Holy Name	840	865
St Joseph's, Longsight	431	601
Sacred Heart, Gorton	248	236
St Edward's, Rusholme	156	255
Bishop Bilsborrow Memorial School	193	304
St Augustine's, Chorlton cum Hardy (St John's)	105	152
St Mary's, Levenshulme	199	191
St Cuthbert's, Withington	166	242

TABLE 5

MISSIONS OPENED 1903-1924 DURING CASARTELLI'S EPISCOPATE¹

Parish	Town	Year	1940 Catholic Population	Map
St Alphonsus	Brooks Bar	1903	2000	1
St Antony	Trafford Park	1904	600	2
Sacred Heart	Blackburn	1905	1007	3
St Willibrord	Clayton	1906	2900	4
St Dunstan ²	Moston	1912	1680	5
St Wulstan	Great Harwood	1912	900	6
St Peter & Paul	Barrowford	1914	310	7
St Robert	Longsight	1915	1900	8
St Peter	Newchurch	1915	650	9
St Herbert	Chadderton	1916	448	10
St Hilda	Tottington	1916	180	11
St Anne	Crumpsall	1917	1312	12
St Luke	Salford	1922	750	13
St Malachy	Collyhurst	1922	2020	14
St George	Nelson	1922	445	15
Servites	Salford	1923	2700	16
St Charles ³	Moorside	1923	850	17
St Mark ⁴	Pendlebury	1923	350	18
Holy Souls	Blackburn	1924	500	19
English Martyrs	Whalley	1926	269	20

¹ Figures for Tables 5, 6 and 7 are taken from the 1940 Diocesan Almanac

² An earlier attempt to form a parish at Moston in 1901 failed.

³ A school already existed in the area.

⁴ Idem.

Map of missions opened 1903-1924 during Casartelli's Episcopate.

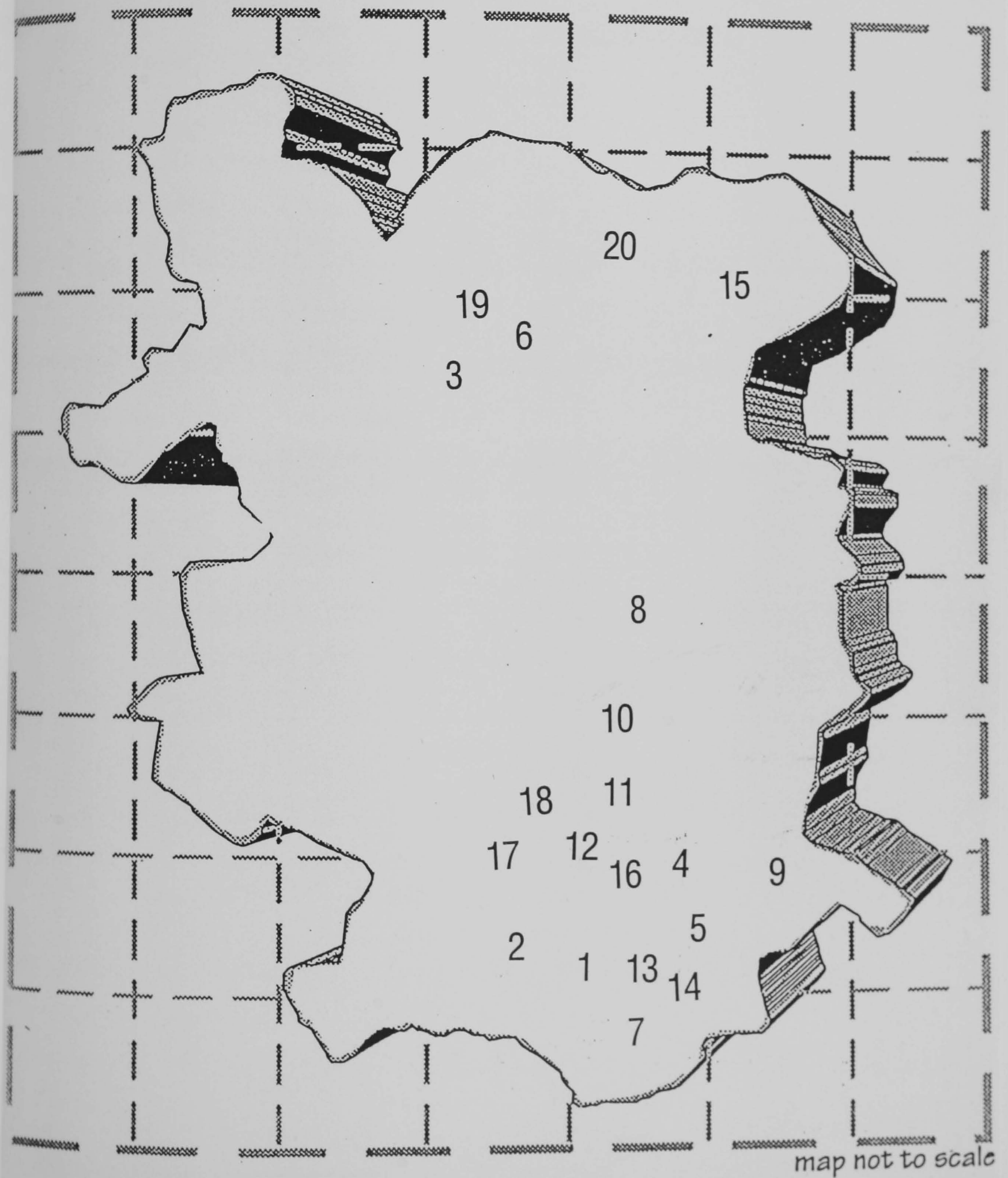


TABLE 6

PARISHES OPENED 1925-1938 DURING HENSHAW'S EPISCOPATE

Parish	Town	Year	1940 Catholic Population	Map
St Ethelbert ⁵	Deane	1923	1450	21
St Osmund	Brightmet	1923	423	22
St Kentigern ⁶	Fallowfield	1926	1400	23
St Teresa	Firswood	1928	637	24
Christ the King ⁷	Burnley	1928	492	25
St Catherine	Didsbury	1929	903	26
St Clare	Blackley	1929	1950	27
St Columba	Tonge Moor	1931	680	28
Our Lady of Lourdes	Farnworth	1931	259	29
St Ambrose	Didsbury	1933	1200	30
St Margaret Mary	New Moston	1935	1115	31
St Stephen	Droylsden	1935	1200	32
St William ⁸	Great Lever	1936	1250	33
Christ the King	Newton Heath	1937	N/A	34
St Hugh	Lostock	1938	N/A	35

⁵ A school already existed in the area.

⁶ A school was shared with St Edward's, Rusholme.

⁷ St Thomas' School already existed in the area.

⁸ A school already existed in the area.

Map of Parishes opened 1925-1938 during Henshaw's Episcopate

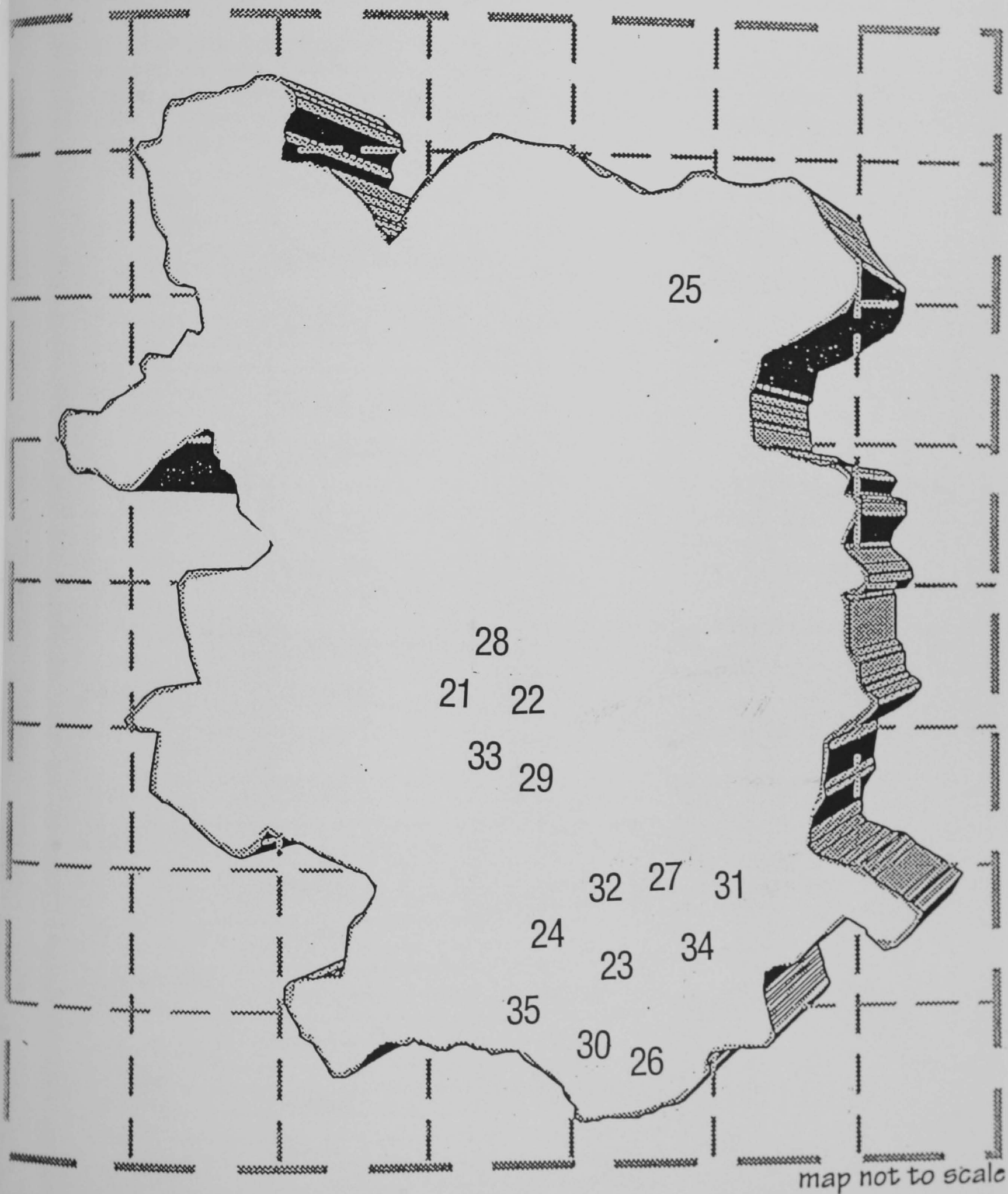


Table 7

Catholic Elementary School Provision in 1944.

In 1873 only four of the 76 missions in the diocese were without day schools. To that number needed to be added the Salford Catholic Grammar School and the Catholic Collegiate Institute in Manchester together with the various select classes run in most of the convents. The growth of Catholic education across the diocese by 1944, some seven decades later, is revealed in the following list.⁹ It is also instructive to realise how many of the schools were staffed by religious teaching congregations.

Salford	All Souls, Weaste	M, I	Mr A. Barnes
	St John's	B	Mr R. Reid
		G, I	FCJ Sisters
	St Ann, Adelphi	M	FCJ Sisters
	St Thomas of Canterbury	M	Mr Yale
		I	Miss A. Kerley
	Our Lady of Dolours	No School	
	Mount Carmel, Ordsall	S	Miss Gray
		J	Mr J. Jolley
		I	Miss Coffey
	St James, Pendleton	B	Mr S. Carroll
		G, I	FCJ Sisters
	St Joseph, Ordsall	B	Mr J. Doherty
		G	Mother Joan, FCJ
		I	Mother Theresa, FCJ
	St Boniface	M	Mr M. J. Gallagher
		I	Miss M. Battle
	St Luke, Irlam's o'th'Height	J, I	Cross and Passion Sisters
Salford	St Peter, Greengate	M	Mr Millar
		I	Miss M. Warburton
	St Sebastian, Pendleton	M	Mr. J. Craig
		I	Sister Patricia
Accrington	St Oswald	M	Mr Marra
		I	Miss Gardiner
	Church	M	Mrs Greenough
		I	Miss Flannery
	St Anne	M	Mr W. McGregor
		I	Miss A. C. Hope
Ashton u Lyne		M	Mr T. Curran
		I	Miss Forbes
	St Mary	M	Mr J. Cooper
		I	Miss Gilligan
Bacup	St Mary	M	Mr H. Coupe
		I	Miss B. Turner
Bamber Bridge			
Barrowford		M	Miss D. Harring
		I	Miss M. Cummins
Barton on Irwell		M, I	Mr W. Wade
Billington		M	Miss Duffy
Blackburn	St Alban	M	Notre Dame Sisters
		B	Mr F. T. Atkinson
	St Ann	G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
		B	Mr George Kent

⁹ The abbreviations used are as follows: M = Mixed, B = Boys', G = Girls', I = Infants', J = Junior, S = Senior, N = Nursery. The names of the head teachers are also included, together with the name of the town and parish. The information has been collated from the 1945 Almanac and represents the state of affairs in 1944.

		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
	Holy Souls		No School
	St Joseph	B	Mr J. Holland
		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
Blackburn		B	Mr J. Standen
		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
	St Peter in Chains	M I	Notre Dame Sisters
	St Teresa		No School
Bolton	Holy Infants Astley Bridge	M	Mr P. C. Broderick
	St Columba	J I	Miss J. F. Shannon
	St Edmund	J	Cross and Passion Sisters
	New School	M	Mr J. E. Phythian
	St Ethelbert, Deane	J, I, N	Cross and Passion Sisters
	St Joseph, Halliwell	M	Mr James Hignett
		I	Miss W. Smithson
	St Mary	B	Mr B. Byrne, B.A.
		G, I	Cross and Passion Sisters
	St Osmund, Breightmet	No School	
	St Patrick	M	Mr E. Bleasdale
		I	Miss M. McCormick
	St Peter & Paul	B	Mr Edward Proctor
		G, I	Cross and Passion Sisters
	St William	J I	Cross and Passion Sisters
Brierfield		M	Mr P. Devine, M.A.
Brownedge		B	Mr F. McMellon
		G, I	Sisters of Charity of St Paul
Burnley	Christ the King	M	Miss Gordon
		I	Sisters of Mercy
	St Augustine	M	Mr Alexander Dyson
	St John the Baptist	M, I	Sisters of Mercy
	St Mary	B	Mr Parkinson
		G, I	Sisters of Mercy
	St Mary Magdalene	B	Mr J. B. Thornber
		I	Miss B. Moran
Bury	Guardian Angels, Elton	M	Mr T. P. Marsh
		I	Miss M. Murphy
	St Joseph	M	Mr Patrick Murphy
		I	Miss A. Barron
	St Marie	M, I	Daughters of the Cross
Castleton		M	Miss M. Diggle
Chadderton		No School	
Chipping		M	Miss Dorothy Price
Clayton le Moor		M	Mr J. Sedden
		I	Miss M. Ryan
Clitheroe		M	Mr Francis McNulty
		I	Miss E. Myerscough
Colne	Sacred Heart	M	Mr J. C. Rudden, F.G.S.E.
		I	Daughters of Jesus
Darwen	Sacred Heart & St Edward	M, I	Cross and Passion Sisters
	St Joseph	B	Mr J. Hughes
		G	Miss A. Matthews
		I	Sister Mary Albertus
Denton	St Mary	M	Mr M. Tobin
Droylsden		J	Miss N. Malone
Eccles	St Mary	M	Mr J. Finnigan
		I	Miss M. Dyson
Failsworth		M	Mr Groarke
		I	Miss A. Higgins

Farnworth	St Gregory	B, G	Mr A. Warrington
		I	Miss S. Brown
	Our Lady of Lourdes	No School	
Great Harwood		M, I	Miss Ada Furness
	St Wulstan	M I	Miss Mary McGrath
Haigh	Immaculate Conception	M	Miss G. Moore
Haigh		I	Miss N. Ireland
Haslingden		M	Mr Owen Lindsay
Heywood		M	Mr John E. Mehan
		I	Miss Agnes Cross
Hollinwood		M	Mr J. L. O'Loughlin
		I	Miss A. O'Meara
Horwich	Our Lady of the Rosary	M, I	Mr Bernard McKenna
	Holy Family	M	Miss M. Brennan
Irlam	St Teresa	M	Mr F. Brady
Lee House		No School	
Lees	St Edward	M, I	Mr T. S. O'Loughlin
Littleborough		M, I	Miss Agnes Atherton
Little Hulton		M, I	Mrs M. C. Kerigan, B.A.
Longridge		M	Miss M. Massey
Lostock Hall		M, I	Miss Kelsall
Manchester	Corpus Christi	J, I	Mr Webster
		M	Mr Ambrose Philips
		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
	English Martyrs	All	IBVM Sisters
	Holy Family		See St Augustine's
	Holy Name Dover St	B	Mr A. Holland
	Holy Name Burlington St	I	Miss A Hagan
		I	IBVM Sisters
	Mount Carmel, Blackley	B	Mr Thomas V. Kelvick
		G, I	Daughters of the Cross
	Sacred Heart, Gorton	M	Mr J. Hughes
		I	Miss M. E. Earley
	St Alban, Ancoats	M	Mr J. P. Gahan
		I	Mrs A. T. Sherratt
	St Aloysius, Ardwick	M	Mr J. J. Finan
		I	Miss M. Slattery
	St Alphonsus, Brooks's Bar	M, I	IBVM Sisters
	St Ambrose, West Didsbury	M J	Mr Henry Avery
	St Anne, Ancoats	B	Mr Thomas S. Glancy
		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
	St Anne, Crumpsall	M, I	Miss G. Gough
	St Anne, Openshaw	M	Mr W. Timms
	St Antony, Trafford Park	M, I	Miss M. Hawe
	St Augustine (Holy Family) ¹⁰	B	Mr T. Callaghan
		G, J & I	FCJ Sisters
	St Brigid, Bradford	B	Mr L. Lofthouse
		G	Mrs Lofthouse
		I	Miss T. Johnson
	St Chad	B	Mr J. E. Travers
		G, I	Notre Dame Sisters
	St Catherine, East Didsbury	M J	Miss M. Conway
	St Clare, Blackley	M	Mr William Froelich
	St Cuthbert, Withington	S	Mr T. Clift B.A.
		J	FCJ Sisters

¹⁰ Schools belonging to St Augustine's had been destroyed in the Blitz and the schools had either been transferred to the Holy Family buildings or evacuated to Altrincham, Oswaldtwistle or Whalley.

	St Dunstan, Moston	M	Mr William Reid
	St Edmund, Miles Platting	B	Mr W. Mulligan
		G	Sisters of Notre Dame
		I	Mrs N. Connolly
	St Edward, Rusholme	M	Mr J. Sullivan
		B	Mr John Kilroy
		G	Miss M. Keenan
		I	Miss N. Jackson
	St John Bosco, Blackley	No School	
	St John, Chorlton cum Hardy	M	Christian Retreat Sisters
	St Joseph, Longsight ¹¹	M	Mr W. Bardsley
		I	Miss E. McPhillips
	St Kentigern, Fallowfield	No school:	See St Edward's, Rusholme.
	St Lawrence, Old Trafford	M, I	IBVM Sisters
	St Malachy, Collyhurst	B	Mr John Power
		G	Sisters of Charity of St Vincent
		I	Miss A. Tarrant
	St Margaret Mary, New Moston	J, I	Presentation Nuns
	St Mary, Mulberry St	M, I	Miss M. McCarthy
	St Mary, Levenshulme	M	Miss I. Locke
	St Michael, Ancoats	B	Mr Herbert Martin
		I	Mrs Anastasia Mooney
	St Patrick, Livesey St	B S	Mr John McIver
		B I	Miss A. Farrell
		G S I	Presentation Nuns
	St Robert, Longsight	M	Mr T. Mulvey
	St Vincent, Openshaw	M, I	Mr Francis Dillon
	St Wilfrid, Hulme	B	Mr Francis Doyle
		G, I	IBVM Sisters
	St Willibrord, Clayton	M, I	Mr B. Kearney
Middleton		S	Mr J. Payne
		J, I	Cross and Passion Sisters
Moorside		M	Mr D. Higgins
		I	Miss Hopkins
Mossley	St Joseph	M, I	Mr M. A. Brennan
Nelson	Holy Saviour	M	Mr W. Robinson
		I	Miss W. Gallagher
	St George	M	Mr F. Sefton
		I	Miss C. Hargreaves
	St Joseph	M	Mr J. Mulryan
		I	Miss M. Noon
Newchurch		M, I	Miss M. A. Branston
New Springs		M, I	Miss Isaac
Oldham	St Ann	M	Mr J. F. Wright
		I	Miss M. Kilcoyne
	St Mary	B	Mr Joseph Coulthard
		G, I	Sisters of Mercy
	St Patrick	B	Mr C. E. Dorrان
		G, I	Sisters of Mercy
	Dunbar St	M	Miss W. Dorrان
Osbaldeston		M	Miss Vera Walmsley
Oswaldtwistle		B	Mr T. Patten
		G	Miss Heaney
		I	Miss S. Hunt

¹¹ The schools had been destroyed in the blitz and other parish property was used to house the children.

Padiham	St John	M	Mr Joseph Berry
		I	Miss M. J. Whalley
Pendlebury		M, I	Mr L. Livesey
Pleasington		M, I	Miss C. Ryan
Prestwich		M, I	FCJ Sisters
Radcliffe		M I	Daughters of the Cross
Ramsbottom		M	Mr Pierre Higgins Dip in Ed, M.A.
Rawtenstall		M I	Mr J. Cassidy
Reddish	St Joseph	M, I	Mr S. Tenpenny, B.A.
Ribchester		M	Miss Mary Knowles
		I	Miss Bretherton
Rishton	St Charles	M	Miss M. Keane
		I	Miss Burke
Rochdale		M	Mr G. Devlin
		I	Miss C. Gledhill
		M	Mr Joseph Ashworth
		I	Miss Josephine Scully
	St Vincent, Norden	No School	
Royton	St Aidan & Oswald	M, I	Mr W. Eric Critchley
Sabden	St Mary	M	Miss M. Newman
		I	Miss T. Keatinge
Samlesbury		M	Mrs Southworth
Shaw	St Joseph	M I	Mr J. J. Devaney
Stacksteads		M	Mrs H. Moloney
Stockport	(Convent & High School)		
	St Mary, Heaton Norris	M	Mr William R. Cassidy
		I	Miss Derbyshire
Stonyhurst		M	Miss Winifred Burns
		I	Miss Mary Cross
Stretford	St Anne	M, I	Miss Griffin
	St Hugh of Lincoln ¹²	M, I	Sisters of Charity of St Vincent
	St Teresa	J M	Miss M. Hawe
Swinton	St Mary	M	Mr A. Rainford
		I	Miss E. O'Shaughnessy
Todmorden		M	Sisters of Mercy
Tottington		M I	Sisters of Charity
Turton	St Aldhelm		No School
Urmston	English Martyrs	M I	Mr A. Havekin
Walton le Dale		M	Mr G. Green
	Higher Walton	I	Mr R. F. Dilworth
Westhoughton		M	
Whalley	English Martyrs	No School	
Whitworth		M, I	Mr T. Gourke
Winton	St Gilbert	M	Mr Thomas F. Maher, B.A.
	(Holy Cross Schools)		Miss Brennan
Private Schools			
Manchester	Loreto Convent School,		IBVM Sisters

¹² This was a private school unrecognised by the Stretford I.E.A.

TABLE 8

CATHOLIC SECONDARY PROVISION IN 1944

Location	Name of School	Run by
	Secondary Schools for Boys	
Blackburn	St Mary's College	Marists
Blackburn	St Alban's Central School	Laity
Bolton	Thornleigh College	Salesians
Manchester	St Bede's College	Diocese
Manchester	St Gregory's Central School	Laity
Manchester	Xaverian College	Xaverian Brothers
Salford	De la Salle College	De la Salle Brothers
Stonyhurst	Stonyhurst College	Jesuits
	Secondary Schools for Girls	
Accrington	Paddock House	Sisters of Mercy
Blackburn	Notre Dame Convent and Boarding School and P. T. Centre	Notre Dame Sisters
Bolton	Mount St Joseph and P. T. Centre	Cross & Passion Sisters
Brownedge	Convent Boarding and Day School	Sisters of Charity St Paul
Burnley	Convent Boarding & Day School	Sisters of Mercy
Bury	Convent High School	Daughters of the Cross
Colne	Convent High School	Daughters of Jesus
Manchester	Convent Day School, Blackley	Daughters of the Cross
Manchester	Loreto Convent Boarding, Secondary & P. T. Centre	I.B.V.M.
Manchester	Convent High School, Boarding School and P. T. Centre, Bignor St	Notre Dame Sisters
Manchester	Convent High School, Chorlton	Christian Retreat Sisters
Manchester	St Joseph's Central School	Sisters of Charity of SVP
Manchester	Hollies Convent School	FCJ Sisters
Oldham	Werneth Convent Boarding School	Sisters of Mercy
Salford	Adelphi House Secondary School	FCJ Sisters
Salford	Mount Carmel School	Marist Sisters
Stockport	St Winifred's High School	Sisters of Charity of SVP
Tottington	Claremont Boarding School	Sisters of Charity J & M
	Tertiary Provision for Girls	
Salford	Sedgeley Park Training College (F)	FCJ Sisters
Manchester	St Gabriel's Hall (University students)	Cross and Passion Sisters
	Extra-diocesan Provision	
Altrincham	Loreto Convent School	IBVM Sisters
Preston	Preston Catholic Grammar School	Jesuits
Preston	Lark Hill Convent School	FCJ Sisters
Preston	Winckley Square Convent School	Holy Child Jesus Sisters
Romily	Harrytown Convent School	Sisters of Exton
Wigan	High School for Girls	Notre Dame Sisters

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The Acta of Bishop Vaughan, 1872-1892.

Similar in content to the above Acta are those of Bishop (later Cardinal) Herbert Vaughan. The most noticeable addition is the annual inclusion of educational statistics.

Correspondence

Vaughan's correspondence to Casartelli.

The Acta of Bishop Bilsborrow, 1892-1903.

Five bound volumes hold the main Acta of the third Bishop of Salford.

The 1900 Visitation Report

In 1900 Bilsborrow issued a unique questionnaire asking clergy about the state of their missions and schools: plant, finance, religious practice and any difficulties they faced. (SDA 20, 25, 26, 57 and 129.)

The Acta of Bishop Casartelli, 1903-1925.25,

Eleven bound volumes contain Casartelli's Acta.

The Casartelli Diaries.

Casartelli was a faithful diarist unless his frequent ill health prevented him from writing entries. The Salford Diocesan Archives hold his diaries 1903-1924 except for 1 year.

The Casartelli Visitation Reports

This bound volume holds the reports made by Casartelli, John S. Vaughan and Henry Hanlon when they officially "visited" parishes and institutions within the diocese. Occasional references are made about schools within these reports.

The Casartelli Copy Letter Books.

Casartelli kept the copybooks for the letters he wrote as Bishop. He had a habit, in diaries and letters, of referring to individuals by their initials. The writing is occasionally illegible.

The Acta of Bishop Henshaw 1925-1938.

The earlier Acta of Thomas Henshaw, Fifth Bishop of Salford, are contained in two bound volumes. Later material is to be found distributed across several archive boxes, which will be referred to by their number, e.g. SDA Box 117.

The Acta of Bishop Marshall 1939-1955.

Marshall's unbound Acta are also distributed across many archive boxes.

Other contemporary material.

Deed Index.

This bound volume in the Diocesan Archives holds the earliest records of land leased or conveyed for diocesan, parish and school use. It has been supplemented by access to the schedules and site plans of diocesan churches, schools and presbyteries.

Diocesan Finance Board Minute Books

Public Record Office

ED7 Files

ED11 Files

ED41 Files

ED48 Files

ED99 Files

ED109 Files

Frondes Silvulae.

The magazine of the Salford Grammar School founded by Turner was entitled "Frondes Silvulae".

Salford Diocesan Voluntary Schools Association Logbooks

School Log Books.

Log books were required under the 1862 Revised Code and contain daily entries by the teacher, and a summary report of the annual HMI Inspection. The following books were examined.

St Aloysius Infants' School, Cavendish Rd

St Anne's Boys' School, Ashton under Lyne

St Anne's Girls' School, Ashton under Lyne

St Augustine's Boys' School, Manchester

St Augustine's Girls' School, Manchester

St Augustine's Infants' School, Manchester

St Peter and Paul's Boys' School, Bolton

St Oswald's Infants' School, Oswaldtwistle

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Catholic Parents and Electors Association Papers SDA

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Appendix 1: Short Biographies

Note: The years of birth, ordination and death are given for the clergy. Dates of parish appointments are sometimes approximate.

Allies Thomas William 1813-1903

Allies, convert Anglican clergyman, 1850, Professor of Modern History, Dublin Catholic University, Catholic Poor School Committee, devoting the rest of his life in its work. His daughter Mary wrote his biography in 1907: Thomas William Allies. See also A Life's Decision Burns Oates, London 1913.

Benoit Peter Louis 1820-1847-1892

Born Belgium, served Bishop Turner as secretary, Canon Penitential and after 1855 as Vicar General, attending the First Vatican Council as his theologian. Helped bring the Xaverian Brothers to Manchester. Vaughan placed him in charge of the Mill Hill where he is regarded as a second founder. Held in high regard in his native Belgium where several weighty articles about him have been written in Flemish.

Beesley James 1834-1862-1910

Born Liverpool, assistant at St Mary's, Oldham 1862-1868, rector St Mary's, Ashton during the Murphy Riots, Salford Cathedral and Seminary, St Anne, Stretford 1892-1910, Made Monsignor 1897, Provost 1903 and Vicar General 1907.

Boulaye John 1840-1864-1912

Born Manchester, assistant at Livesey St 1864-1867, St Mary's, Oldham 1867-1872, Farnworth 1872-, convalescence, rector St John, Rochdale 1895-1897, Osbaldeston 1897-1902, Failsworth 1902-1903, Halliwell 1903-1912. Made Dean 1886, Canon 1891. Vicar General 1903 and Provost 1910.

Brown George Hilary 1786-1810-1856

Brought up at Ushaw, priest in Lancaster, Vicar Apostolic to the new Lancashire District 1840, Bishop of Liverpool 1850-1856.

Brown William 1862-1886-1951

Born Dundee, convert 1880, served in Southwark Diocese at Camberwell, founder-rector Vauxhall. Interested in social and educational affairs, friend of Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Made Vicar General

1904, Provost 1916, Apostolic Visitor for Scotland 1917 regarding educational issues. Auxiliary to Southwark as Bishop of Pella 1924.

Buckley Michael **1859-1883-1929**

Born Kilkenny, assistant St Anne, Ancoats 1884-1894, St Mary, Burnley 1894-1895. Haslingden 1895-1904, St Mary, Oldham, 1904-1911, Whitworth 1911-1929.

Burge Thomas **1846-1784-1929**

Born London, a Benedictine priest, Secretary to Bishop Hedley 1881-1884, worked in parishes, taught in schools, a noted writer and musician.

Burke John **1858-1885-1939**

Born Limerick, served St Mary, Oldham 1886-1889, St Mary, Blackburn 1889-1894, rector St Joseph, Shaw 1894-1908, St Patrick, Bolton, 1908-1918, Halliwell 1918-1939. Made Canon.

Burke William Alfred **1843-1868-1891** **Chief Religious Inspector 1884-1885**

Born Manchester, served St Chad, Manchester 1869-1876 St Alban, Blackburn 1876-1883, rector St Augustine, Manchester, 1883-1888, St Mary, Blackburn, 1888-1889, Redemptorist 1889-1891.

Burns Thomas Francis

Burns, born Manchester 1873, worked as a railway clerk before giving his entire time to promoting the Catholic Federation, and organising the National Conference of Catholic Trade Unionists. He was awarded the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* 1915.

Butler Thomas J. **1849-1875-????** **Chief Religious Inspector 1877-1879**

Born Limerick, awarded B.C.L. and J.C.B. (Louvain) served Salford Seminary 1876-1881, Mount Carmel, Salford, Cathedral. Retired in ill health. Date of death unknown.

Carter Edmund **1816-1841-1875**

Born Samlesbury, served Livesey St, Liverpool (caught plague, convalesced Runcorn), St Peter and Paul, Bolton (1845-75). Canon 1852.

Chip Henry **1864-1891-1937**

Born Dublin, served Cathedral 1892-1897, St John, Rochdale 1897-1937. Taught at St Bede's College prior to ordination. Canon 1915.

Coelenbier Adolphus **1853-1879-1912**

Born Belgium, served St Mary, Ashton 1880-1881, St Marie, Bury 1881-1883, Larnworth 1883-1899, St Anne, Ashton 1899-1900, rector Westhoughton 1898-1919

Colley Reginald 1848-1883-1904

Born Surrey, Jesuit, rector Stonyhurst 1885-1891, convalescence South Africa, Prefect of Studies Stonyhurst 1894-1901, Provincial 1901-1904

Cooke John C 1890-1914-1957

Born Macclesfield, Cambridge University (M.A.), taught St Bede's College 1917, vice-rector 1926, rector 1938, monsignor 1945, parish priest Rusholme 1950-1957, Canon 1951.

Corkerry James 1871-1896-1930

Born Ireland, served St Edmund, Manchester 1896-1901, convalescence, rector Urmston 1902-1910, Prestwich 1910-1926, Blackley 1926-1930. Involved in Sedgley Park Training College, rebuilt schools in Blackley.

Crilly Joseph 1844-1878-1930

Born Co Crieavagh, late vocation, served St Bede's College 1880-1881, St James, Salford 1881-1882, rector Aspull 1882-1888, Horwich 1888-1899, St James, Salford (rebuilt schools) 1899-1930. Rural Dean. Involved in De la Salle College.

Crombleholme William 1825-1857-1884

Born Chipping 1825, served Cathedral 1857-1858, rector Ashton under Lyne, 1860-1884, opened two churches and school, with another at Denton, including an Industrial School, survived the Murphy Riots and Cotton Famine, twice went fund-raising to the USA, dying there in 1884.

Crook Edmund 1846-1872-????

Served St Peter & Paul Bolton 1872-1880, Aspull 1880-1881 and St James, Salford, 1881-1882

Croskell Robert Mgr Provost 1808-1835-1902

Born Liverpool, "The Old Provost" served most of his priestly life in the Manchester area. St Augustine 1835-1838, St Chad 1838-1842, rector 1842-1853, St Augustine 1853-1859, convalescence, Stretford 1859-1860, Blackley 1860-1867, Levenshulme 1867-1902. Canon and Provost in 1852

Cusack Timothy 1868-1893-1932

Born Ballindesart, served Cathedral 1893-1895, Livesey St 1895-1898, rector Royton 1898-1932.

De Clerc Augustus Joseph 1831-1856-1889

Born Belgium, served Cathedral 1857-1862, rector Salford Catholic Grammar School 1862-1889, also St James, Salford 1860-62, 1863-1868. Chancellor of diocese, monsignor 1881, Canon Theologian 1888.

Delany Stephen

1900-1925-1965

Served Blackley 1925-1936, Mulberry St 1936-1941, parish priest Trafford Park, 1941-1951, Sacred Heart Gorton, 1951-1955, St Peter & Paul, Bolton, 1955-1965. Edited "The Harvest" 1941-1951. Canon.

De Splenter Bruno

1835-1865-1899

Born Belgium 1835, served Cathedral 1865-1868, St James, Salford 1868-1869, Cathedral 1870-1875, teaching at Salford Seminary and Grammar School, founder-rector St Edmund, Manchester, 1877-1898, retired Courtrai.

De Trafford Annette

1834-1922

Born 1834 at Tichborne Park, Hampshire, Annette married Sir Humphrey de Trafford 1856, was widowed 1886 and died in 1922. Lady de Trafford was a generous benefactress to the Children's Rescue Society and to many missions and schools across the diocese. Obituary, Harvest 1922 p. 12.

Dillon Michael Edward

1838-1863-1895

Born Ireland, served St Mary, Burnley 1863-1865, St Patrick, Oldham, 1865-1866, Livesey St. 1866-1868, St Mary, Ashton 1868-70, St Mary, Burnley 1870-1873, Hulme, 1873-1875, Goulden St. 1785-1876, St Mary, Burnley 1876-1880, Haslingden 1880-1895.

Dillon Thomas

1870-1897-1938

Born Ireland, served St Peter & Paul, Bolton, 1897-1900, rector Whitworth 1900-1905, convalescence, convent chaplain, prison chaplain 1908-1930, parish priest, St Luke, Salford 1930-1931, retired on health grounds.

Dootson Paul

1868-1894-1924

Born Oldham, served at Ashton, Failsworth, Pendleton, convent chaplain, Osbaldeston 1901, Radcliffe, 1902, rector Reddish 1903, Holy Family, Manchester 1904, Todmorden 1908, Mossley 1909, Radcliffe 1918, sick leave 1921.

Drescher John Moses

1879-1905-1958

Born Rochdale, served St Hubert, Great Harwood 1905-1909, St Joseph, Darwen, St Marie, Bury 1910-1914, Forces Chaplain, rector Newchurch in Rossendale 1815-1924, Eccles 1924-1958.

Drinkwater Francis H

1886-1910-1982

Born Middlesex, served Leamington 1910-1915, Forces Chaplain 1915-1918 (wounded, gassed, despatches) founded "The Sower" 1919, Birmingham Diocesan School Inspector 1920+, author.

Driscoll James

1870-1893-1927

Canon Driscoll, D.D., M.A., after outstanding studies in Rome, taught at St Edmund's College 9 years, Headmaster of Westminster Cathedral Choir School for 11 years, Headmaster of the Cardinal Vaughan School, Westminster, 1914, Canon 1916, member Catholic Education Council.

Dunderdale Richard

1829-1856-1887

Born Bolton, served St Anne, Manchester 1856-1860, founder-rector St Mary, Blackburn 1860-1887.
Rural Dean.

Dunderdale William

1827-1854-1887

Chief Religious Inspector 1874

Born Bolton 1827, ordained 1854, served Hulme 1854-1857, founder-rector St Hubert, Great Harwood, 1857-1885, Canon Theologian 1875, Rural Dean 1884. President of Ushaw College 1885, resigned for health reasons 1886 returning to Great Harwood.

Eyck Matthew

1858-1882-1917

Chief Religious Inspector 1916-1917

Born Varandael, Holland, served Hulme 1882-1892, St Brigid, Bradford, 1892-1896, founder rector St Vincent, Openshaw, 1896-1898, Reddish 1898-1899, chaplain Buckley Hall Boys' Orphanage and Industrial School, rector St Teresa, Irlam, 1910, St Edward, Rusholme, 1914. In 1903 he became editor of "Illustrated Catholic Missions" in place of Bishop Casartelli. Involved in Sedgley Park Training College.

Feeney Patrick J.

187?-1902-1942

Member of the Congregation of the Divine Pastor at St Anne's, Blackburn, 1908-1915, served St Mary, Oldham 1915-1921, parish priest St Joseph's, Longsight 1921-1942. Schools lost in Blitz

Formby Matthias

1813-1840-1892

Born Bamber Bridge, served St Livesey St, 1840-1841, St Mary's Manchester, 1841-1856, rector
1856-1862, Stretford, 1862-1892. Canon 1852.

Fowler William

1858-1881-1916

Born Devon, convert, served on the staff at St Bede's while training for priesthood, served Hulme 1881-1882, rector Littleborough 1882-1885, Castleton 1885-1888, Radcliffe 1888-1894, Rishton 1894-1897, St Mary's, Bolton, 1897-1905, Barton, 1905-1916.

Gadd Charles Joseph

1838-1861-1907

Born Salford 1838, served Cathedral 1861-1872, as Bishop's Secretary to Vaughan, Bilborrow and Casartelli, Monsignor 1880, Canon 1884 and Vicar General 1891, Vice Rector St Bede's College

1885-1891, rector St Chad, Manchester 1891-1900, Barton 1900-1907. Edited the Diocesan Almanac 1877-1887, served twice as Vicar Capitular. Wags spoke of "My Lord and My Gadd".

Griffin George Thomas **1886-1913-1973**

Rector St Robert, Manchester 1927-1934, Oswaldtwistle, Hulme 1938-1943. Rural Dean.

Hayes John **1837-1861-1900** **Chief Religious Inspector 1877-1887**

Hayes, born Wigan, served St Chad, Manchester 1861-1867, rector Swinton 1867-1877, Vice Rector and rector of the mission at St Bede's College, at Great Harwood while Dunderdale was at Ushaw, convalescence, rector Blackley and Barton, 1880-1900. Canon 1892.

Hill Henry **1846-1872-1920** **Chief Religious Inspector 1880-1884**

Born Patricroft, served Cathedral, Livesey St, founder-rector St Michael, Manchester, 1877-1880, chaplain, Mulberry St, Mossley 1885-1887, St Hubert, Great Harwood, 1887-1920. Edited religious books for school use.

Holmes Derek **1935-1960-1996**

Born Blackburn, Ph.D. (Cambridge) 1960-1970, served Mulberry St 1970, lectured in Church History at Ushaw 1970-1986, St Peter, Blackburn 1986-1987, Administrator St Joseph, Salford, 1987-1989, parish priest, Firwood, 1989-1996. Wrote several books and many articles.

Holmes Robert **1862-1888-1928**

Born Lancashire, served Livesey St, founder-rector, St Anne, Accrington, 1897-1901, St Peter and Paul's, Bolton, 1901-1921, Farnworth 1921-1928. Canon 1916

Howard Henry

Lord Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshall of England, born 1847, succeeded his father in 1860 both in title and in the role he played as the leading Roman Catholic layman of the day. See entries in the Catholic Who's Who.

Hughes Philip **1895-1920-1967**

Born Manchester, noted historian and academic, writing many articles and several books. Studies Louvain, Rome, Minnesota 1920-1924, served St Chad, Manchester 1925-1929, Openshaw, Westminster Diocesan Archivist 1934-1939, lectured for many years at the College of St Thomas in Minnesota and Notre Dame University, USA.

Kelly Joseph**1871-1896-1930**

Procurator, Valladolid, rector Chorlton cum Hardy 1916-1930. Confined to wheelchair after riding accident.

Kershaw John**1816-1843-1890**

Born 1816, Unitarian and a chemist, convert, rector Neston 1843-1845, Barton 1845-1890. Canon 1852. He greatly assisted Bishop Turner in educational matters.

Klein Peter**1849-1874-1931**

Born Germany 1849, to England because of the Kulturkampf persecution, served Bacup and Hulme, rector Rawtenstall 1893-1906, retired to Germany.

Lane John**1850-1876-1913**

Served Livesey St 1876-1882, rector Blackley 1882-1884, Bacup 1884-1903, St Mary, Oldham, 1903-1904 and Levenshulme. Distinguished scholar.

Lawless James**1845-1872-1915****Chief Religious Inspector 1879-1880**

Born Manchester 1845, served St Anne's, Ancoats, 1872-1874, convalescence, chaplain to Sir Joseph Ratcliffe and at Blackley Convent, rector Withington and workhouse chaplain 1880-1890, Pleasington, 1890-1915.

Linehan John**1884-1910-1971****Chief Religious Inspector 1930-1957**

Born in Clyne, Ireland, served St Brigid, Manchester, 1910-1914, St Mary, Swinton 1914-1915, Forces Chaplain (Dardenelles, Mesopotamia and Gallipoli) 1915-1917, served Hulme, 1917-1919, St Joseph, Bury 1919-1923, founder-rector St Osmund's, Bolton 1923-1927, parish priest St Anne's, Oldham, 1927-1940, Castleton 1940-1943, sick leave, Samlesbury 1943-1945, St Mary, Blackburn, 1945-1968. Rural Dean. Deeply involved in the post war secondary provision negotiations. Retired 1968.

McAvoy Thomas**1876-1910-1954**

Fr McAvoy S.J. was parish priest at the Sacred Heart parish, Accrington from 1917 until his death in 1954.

Maguire Patrick**1856-1879-1909**

Born Co. Limerick 1856, spent his whole priestly life at St Joseph's, Ordsall, as assistant 1879-1897 and rector.

Manning Henry Edward 1808-1851-1892

Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, a convert Anglican clergyman, played a pivotal role in Victorian English Catholic life. Born 1807, he became Archdeacon of Chichester, but resigned in 1851 and was ordained a Catholic priest by Cardinal Wiseman. For some time he was superior of the Oblates of St Charles. In 1865 he succeeded Wiseman at Westminster. He was strongly in favour of Papal Infallibility at the First Vatican Council. He was greatly involved in educational and social issues. He died in 1892. Many books have been written about his life and work.

Martindale Cyril Charlie 1879-1911-1963

Martindale, born 1879, became a Catholic after leaving Harrow, Jesuit, noted writer and broadcaster.

Maspero Gaetano 1879-1904-1955

Born Royton, served Stretford 1904-1908, Heaton Mersey, 1908-1913, Livesey St, 1913-1917, Rescue Society 1917-1929, parish priest, Livesey St, 1929-1947, Levenshulme, 1947-1955. Rural Dean, Canon 1940.

Maxwell Louis Anthony 1895-1921-1972

Parish priest, Sacred Heart, Gorton 1940-1950, St Dunstan, Moston, 1950-1954, St Mary, Burnley, 1954-1972. Educationalist.

Moore John 1865-1892-1903

Born Waterford, served Livesey Street, 1892-1893, Cathedral, 1893-1895, St Edmund, Manchester, 1895-1896, St Joseph, Salford, 1896-1897, rector Greengate, 1897-1903.

Morrissey James 1852-1875-1903

Born Manchester, served St Mary's, Burnley, as assistant 1876-1891 & rector 1891-1903. Canon 1897.

Moyes James 1851-1875-1927

Born Edinburgh, served St Bede's College 1876-1892. Canon Theologian 1890. Went with Vaughan to Westminster, becoming Canon again. Edited Harvest and Dublin Review, member Papal Commission on Anglican Orders.

Mulvaney Henry 1824-1852-1896

Born Co Cavan, founder rector Bacup 1852-1881, rector Pleasington 1881, retired Southsea.

Murray James 1870-1895-1953

Born Kilkenny, served Hulme 1895-1899, rector St Anne, Ashton 1899-1913, Hulme 1913-1935, Whalley Range 1935-1953. Educationalist.

Mussely John C 1842-1867-1910

Born Belgium, served Livesey St, 1868-1873, St Augustine, Manchester 1873-1875, rector Radcliffe 1875-1881, Rawtenstall, 1881-1893, Livesey St, 1893-1905, St Joseph, Blackburn, 1905-1910, Canon Theologian 1899.

Newton Francis 1861-1887-1924

Born Manchester, served Barton, 1887-1891, founder-rector Urmston 1891-1893, rector Eccles, 1893-1923, retired.

Newton John 1834-1858-1896

Born Warrington (?), served St John, Rochdale, 1859-1860, Mulberry St, 1860-1863, rector Mulberry St, 1863-1884, St Alban, Blackburn 1884-1896.

Norris John 1843-1869-1911

Oratorian, Headmaster of Oratory School, Birmingham, 1872+.

Nugent Francis James 1874-1897-1936 Chief Religious Inspector 1917-1930

Born Pendleton, served St Peter and Paul, Bolton, 1897-1901, rector Castleton 1901-1917, parish priest St Patrick, Oldham 1917-1936. Served 18 years on Oldham LEA. Canon in 1927, Vicar General 1930. Noted for his logical mind and ability in mathematics, philosophy and theology.

O'Brien Denis 189?-1922-1978

Born Ireland, served Irlam 1922-1923, St Peter, Blackburn 1923-1934, Bacup 1934-1936, St Aloysius, Manchester 1936-1939, Hospital chaplain, 1939-1941, parish priest, Fallowfield 1941-1949, Prestwich, 1949-1961, retired, 1961-1978.

O'Callaghan Malachy Joseph 1840-1865-1911

Born Limerick, served in Radcliffe, 1865-1872, St Mary, Oldham, 1872-1876, Lees, 1876-1878, rector Ardwick, 1878-1899, retired after accident to London.

O'Callaghan Thomas 185?-1880-1917

Born Co. Cavan, served St Patrick, Bolton, 1880-1882, Todmorden 1882-1883, rector St Anne, Oldham 1883-1894, St Patrick, Oldham 1894-1917. Rural Dean, Canon 1907. Prominent in school building and educational affairs.

O'Dea William 1870-1936

Born Manchester 1870, teacher. Head at St Peter & Paul, Bolton, helped found the Catholic Teachers' Guild, 1908 first President of the National Federation of Catholic Teachers Associations. For many

years served on the Catholic Education Council. He wrote many pamphlets, addresses and letters on educational matters and served on several committees of enquiry. He was an active member of the Catholic Federation and edited its journal, *The Federationist*.

O'Doherty James Kenny 1843-1868-1903

Born Co Clare, incardinated 1878, founder-rector St Thomas of Canterbury, Salford, 1878-1898, rector Great Harwood, 1899-1903.

O'Kelly Lionel Joseph 1859-1882-1943

Born Manchester, served Salford Grammar School 1882-1887, St Mary, Burnley 1887-1894, rector St Anne, Ancoats, 1895-1900, 18994-1929, Rescue Society, Rural Dean, Vicar General 1912-1929, Canon, Provost.

O'Neill Edward 1829-1852-1895

Born Waterford, served Burnley, Oldham, Mulberry St 1854-1866 as hospital chaplain facing typhus epidemic, rector St John, Rochdale, 1872-1895. Canon 1893.

O'Rourke Andrew 1855-1879-1926

Born Co. Clare, served briefly at St Mary, Ashton, 1879-1880, St Anne, Ancoats 1880-1890, Hulme, 1890-1892, rector Swinton, 1892-1926. Chaplain to the Swinton Industrial Schools.

O'Toole Aloysius Thomas 1863-1888-1927

Born Birkenhead, educated Oscott and Rome, served Macclesfield 1888-1889, Stalybridge 1889-1895, rector Oswestry 1895-1901, St Joseph, Birkenhead 1901-1925, Our Lady's, Birkenhead 1925-1927. Canon, Shrewsbury Diocese.

Parker Thomas Leo 1887-1915-1975

Served as Secretary to Casartelli and Henshaw, parish priest Higher Broughton 1937-1941, Bishop of Northampton 1941-1967, retired.

Poock Anselm 1864-1896-1926

Born Ipswich, convert Baptist/Anglican, served Cathedral 1896-1900, Procurator St Bede's College 1900-1903, then rector 1903-1912, rector St Augustine, Manchester 1912-1926. Monsignor, Canon.

Pool Cornelius 1857-1884-1916 Chief Religious Inspector 1909-1915

Born Macclesfield, served St Bede's College as Prefect of Discipline, 1884-1892, responsible for the attached mission, St Alban, Blackburn 1892, St Augustine, Manchester, rector St Charles, Pendleton.

1894-1898, St Joseph's, Heywood, 1898-1916. Canon 1909 and a member of the Diocesan Finance Board.

Quick Thomas **1833-1863-1898**

Born Blackburn, in charge of the Boys' Reformatory School at Mount St Bernard 1863-1864, served Ardwick 1864-1866, St Augustine, Manchester, 1866-1880, founding St Joseph's Industrial School, 1871, rector Pleasington 1880, returned to Industrial School, 1881-1885, USA Nebraska, Kansas City and South Dakota.

Raymond Octave **????-????-1910**

Gifted musician, born Belgium, served Cathedral pre1872-1880, Livesey St 1880-1881, St Mary, Burnley 1882-1887, rector St Mary Magdalene, Burnley 1887-1901, retirement 1901-1910. Had taught at St Bede's College.

Reardon Augustine **1890-1915-1954**

Born Bristol, served Rusholme 1915-1920, Livesey St, 1920-1929, chaplain Withington Hospital, 1929-1937, parish priest, Elton, 1937-1938, Oswaldtwistle 1938-1943, retired sick 1943-1954, to Lisbon and Los Angeles.

Richardson George **1813-1901**

Richardson was solicitor, converted to Catholicism in 1830. Father of Canon Richardson, member of the first Manchester School Board in 1870, prominent in Catholic affairs under Turner. See Dictionary Gillow Vol. 5, p. 411.

Richardson George **1847-1872-1909** **Chief Religious Inspector 1884-1908**

Born Manchester, served St Mary's, Burnley, 1872-1876, Livesey Street, 1876-1881, St Alban, Blackburn, 1881-1883, St Mary, Ashton under Lyne, 1884-1887, administrator Livesey Street, rector St Augustine, Manchester, -1909. Educationalist, served Catholic Poor School Committee, involved in Sedgley Park Training College.

Roche Florence Henry **1863-1890-1949**

Gained B.A., served Salford Seminary 1890-1892, St Mary, Bolton, 1892-1895, St Alban, Blackburn 1895-1897, rector Elton 1897-1900, Ardwick 1900- retirement.

Rothwell Charles **1856-1886-1927**

Served Cathedral 1887-1892, Holy Family, Manchester, 1892-1893, becoming rector 1893-1902, rector Urmston 1902-1906, Irlam, 1906-1910, Urmston again, 1910-1917, Rusholme 1917-1927. Edited *The Harvest* 1892+. Monsignor, Canon

Russell William Francis **1852-????**

Pupil teacher in the British School, Clapham, trained at Boro' Road, Southwark, 1870-1872, gaining a second class certificate, taught Wiltshire, Fort Augustus, and for three years at St Bede's College, Manchester, St Paulinus Collegiate College, Blackburn 1884-1888.

Saffenreuter Gustave **1840-1865-1911**

Born Germany in 1840, served at Hulme 1865-1869, founder-rector of St Jame, Salford, 1870-1899, Fairfield 1899-1904, retired Germany. An account of the (false) accusation against him made for Irish political reasons is recounted by Greenall in *The Making of Victorian Salford* pp. 212-226.

Schneiders Francis

Described as being "Of Treves", served Cathedral 1875-1876, Farnworth 1876-1879, Mount Carmel Salford, 1879-1882, also on staff St Bede's College as Chaplain, left diocese 1883.

Sharrock Thomas **1847-1873-1893**

Born Bolton, served Barton, 1873-1879, founder-rector Eccles 1879-1893. Canon.

Sharrock Thomas **1875-1900-1946**

Born Bolton, served St Peter & Paul, Bolton 1900-1903, St Joseph, Blackburn, 1903-1905, Cathedral 1905-1909, then Administrator, parish priest St Hubert, Great Harwood. Canon 1911.

Sheehan William Joseph **1822-1845-1891**

Served St Chad, Manchester 1845, rector 1853-1891, Monsignor, Canon, Vicar General 1876+, brought the Sisters of the Cross and Passion and the Notre Dame Sisters to work in his schools.

Smith Robert **1853-1883-1922**

Born Blackburn, by trade a weaver, late vocation, mainly self-taught, served Ashton, St Ann, Blackburn, 1888-1890, rector Withington 1890, Oswaldtwistle, Pendleton 1894, Whitworth, St Joseph, Nelson, 1894-1922. Wrote several "historical" pamphlets and with friends, founded an Industrial School and facing financial problems, encouraged them to sue Casartelli on the grounds that he was his agent. The diocese defended the case and won! He was associated with Mother Clare, who tried to

found a religious congregation that the diocese eventually refused to recognise. His last days were spent in a mental hospital.

Taylor Peter **189?-1917-1965**

Served St Patrick, Oldham, 1917-1933, parish priest, Westhoughton, 1933-1937, Hollinwood 1937-1965. Canon. Died in aircrash.

Timony Francis **1850-1880-1917**

Born Co. Leitrim, served Heywood, 1880-1882, St Michael, Ancoats, 1882-1886, St Mary, Ashton, 1886-1888, rector St Alban, Ancoats, 1888-1917.

Toole Laurence **1807-1841-1892**

Born Liverpool, a merchant tailor, late vocation, served Weld Bank, 1841-1846, St Peter & Paul, Bolton, 1846-1847, rector Hulme 1847-1892. Canon 1852. Deeply involved in educational affairs, gave evidence to Parliamentary Enquiries, and brought the Loreto Nuns to Manchester in 1851.

Twomey Thomas **1861-1885-1902**

Born Limerick, served St John, Rochdale, 1885-1888, St Ann, Ashton 1888-1889, founder-rector Denton, 1889-1894, rector St Mary, Ashton 1894-1902, Radcliffe 1902.

Tynan Joseph **1862-1885-1939**

Mgr Provost Tynan, D.D., B.C.L., renowned scholar, canon lawyer, theologian and educationalist, born Ireland, served Holy Family, Manchester, 1885-1887, St Michael, Ancoats, 1887-1895, rector Farnworth 1895-1913, St Mary, Burnley 1913-1939. He served on the Diocesan Finance Board, Burnley Education Committee, Catholic Education Council, and Voluntary Schools Association. Canon 1902, Monsignor 1904, Rural Dean 1913, Provost.

Van der Beek Anthony **1863-1888-1946**

Born Belgium, served Chaplain Buckley Hall 1893-1895, rector Whitworth 1895-1900, Irlam 1900-1903, Colne 1903-1915, Pleasington 1915-1930

Vaughan Jerome **1841-1867-1896**

Brother of Cardinal Vaughan, Jerome remains a shadowy figure with a bent towards monasticism. Downside 1867-1876, founded Fort Augustus 1876, left, founded "Gregorians" Chorlton cum Hardy, Ramsgate 1889-1890, Downside.

????-????-1962

Salesian priest, taught French Thornleigh College, head master 1927-1940 rector 1940-1946. Later rector at three other Salesian schools: Farnborough, Cowley and Chertsay.

1849-1878-1933

Born Holland, served Westhoughton 1878-1880, rector Haslingden, 1880-1883, Royton, 1883-1892, Todmorden, 1892-1901, Denton, retired.

1802-1825-1865

Born Seville, academic, rector English College Rome, founded *The Dublin Review*, Vicar Apostolic 1840, First Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster 1850.

1838-1866-1905

Born Manchester, convert, served Hulme 1866-1870, St Mary, Blackburn, 1870-1873, rector Whitworth, 1873-1874, St Bede's College, 1874-1876, Swinton, 1876-1892, St Peter and Paul, Bolton, 1892-1901, retired North Wales 1901-1905.

1838-1869-1913

Born Westmeath, served St Ann, Blackburn 1869-1874, rector there 1874-1913. Founded Congregation of the Divine Pastor.

Chief Religious Inspector 1874-1879

Born Woodhampton on the Fylde, served St Chad, Manchester, 1854-1861, rector St Mary, Oldham, 1861-1869, convalescence Blackley Convent, rector of the newly founded St Bede's College 1877-1891, procurator for the newly merged College 1891-1895, chaplain to Crumpsall Workhouse 1878-1891, retired. Canon 1878, Monsignor 1880.