

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

The contribution of the Society of Jesus  
to secondary education in Liverpool:  
the history of the development of  
St. Francis Xavier's College c.1840-1902

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of Hull  
by  
Maurice Whitehead, B.A. (Dunelm.)

April 1984

To my Mother and my Father  
who have given me every encouragement

= 4 APR 1984

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Summary of Thesis submitted for Ph.D. degree

by

Maurice Whitehead

on

The contribution of the Society of Jesus  
to secondary education in Liverpool:  
the history of the development of  
St. Francis Xavier's College c.1840-1902

On its foundation in 1842, St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool was both the first Catholic secondary school for the middle classes and the first Jesuit day school in Britain. Served in its early years primarily by Jesuit masters from Stonyhurst, it inherited educational traditions dating back to the foundation of the English Jesuit college at Saint-Omer in Flanders in 1593. As the earliest British manifestation of the renaissance of Jesuit day schools throughout nineteenth century Europe, St. Francis Xavier's College developed initially along continental lines, imbibing the spirit of the centuries-old Jesuit Ratio Studiorum, revised in 1832.

By 1875 a new era had begun to dawn as the needs of one of the largest commercial and industrial centres in the British Empire forced the Jesuits to examine critically the type of education being dispensed in their Liverpool college. Rapidly the curriculum was extended away from its traditional base rooted in the Classics to embrace scientific and technical training. As a result of this development St. Francis Xavier's was, by 1883, the largest school, boarding or day, run by the English Jesuits. Thereafter stress was increasingly to be laid on the pursuit of academic excellence, with public examinations as the chief criterion of success.

Drawing on a wide variety of archival sources in England, France, Belgium and in Rome, the study sets out to show the way in which the College developed during its first sixty years; how those developments were viewed from the headquarters of the Society of Jesus in Rome; and how the English Jesuits had to adapt to changing demands both from their Superior General in Rome and from economic and parental pressures at home. Finally, an attempt is made to demonstrate how the development of St. Francis Xavier's College influenced the foundation of a network of day schools run by the English Jesuits in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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PREFACE

Ignatius Loyola's Constitutions founding the Society of Jesus and approved in 1540 did not envisage the education of secular youth. Yet by the time of his death in 1556, through force of circumstances, Ignatius had sanctioned the opening of thirty-three Jesuit colleges for extern students in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, Austria and Bohemia. By 1740 the Society of Jesus was responsible for some six hundred urban secondary schools, many of them with 1500 to 2000 day pupils.

This period of rapid growth, during which the Jesuits became the "schoolmasters of Europe", has received extensive treatment from historians. Colleges have been examined in general terms and in their many particularities, with, for example, studies of the development of Jesuit theatre, the teaching of mathematics, history, geography and science and even detailed analyses of the contents of the libraries of individual colleges in the eighteenth century. The English Jesuit college founded at Saint-Omer in Flanders in 1593 is no exception. The general history of its development, its later migration to Bruges and Liège, its arrival at Stonyhurst in Lancashire in 1794, as well as studies of particular aspects of the life of the college, have been the subject of numerous books and articles.

When one turns to the nineteenth century the picture is very different. Scholarly surveys of the educational work of the Society of Jesus in France and Ireland have been undertaken in the past fifteen years. However, with



the single exception of a history of St. Stanislaus' College, Tullabeg, Ireland, from 1818 to 1886, no detailed examination of an individual college in either country yet exists. The situation in the United Kingdom is even more bleak. Apart from one publication to mark the centenary of the Jesuit college in Preston in 1965, no research on Jesuit secondary education in nineteenth century Britain has hitherto been undertaken; and this despite the fact that by the end of the century the Society of Jesus was in charge of several educational establishments: three boarding schools at Stonyhurst, Mount St. Mary's and Beaumont; five day schools at Liverpool, Glasgow, Preston, Wimbledon and Stamford Hill, in addition to colleges across the British Empire in Bulawayo, Grahamstown, Georgetown and Malta. The comparative neglect in general by historians of education of that crucial subject, the schooling of the Victorian middle classes, accounts in some measure for the particular lack of attention hitherto paid to the educational work of the English Jesuits of the period.

Once the Society of Jesus had begun its educational work during the lifetime of Ignatius Loyola, the twin principles of founding day schools rather than boarding schools and offering instruction free of charge were established. The question of poverty lay at the root of Ignatius' refusal to accept money and he quickly incorporated the principle of gratuitous education in his Constitutions. For this reason boarding schools were not held in favour by the early superiors of the Society.

Peculiar national conditions brought about the gradual introduction of boarders into some Jesuit schools, including the English college at Saint-Omer. Despite the passage

of the centuries Jesuits did not lose sight of the original intentions of their founder. More than three hundred years after the death of Ignatius, Fr. George Kingdon, Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst, could state to the Taunton Commission in 1865 that the Society of Jesus considered day schools more in accordance with Ignatius's wishes than boarding schools. In England in 1865 there was but one Jesuit day school, St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool. It is this one establishment whose development I wish to investigate.

An examination of the situation in which the English Province of the Society of Jesus found itself in the early nineteenth century, and the manner in which it reacted to that situation, are essential to an understanding of the first attempts to found a Jesuit day school in this country. The failure of such a school in London in the 1830s led to another experiment in Liverpool. In a nation with a polarized Catholic educational system with the schools of Stonyhurst, Ampleforth, Downside and Oscott on one side and the poor schools on the other, the school founded by the Jesuits in Liverpool was to prove to be both the first Catholic school for the middle classes conducted by a religious order and the first Jesuit day school to take root in Britain. Visited by the Jesuit General in 1849, it was raised to the rank of a full college of the Society of Jesus two years later.

From 1851 until 1897 St. Francis Xavier's College was the only fully fledged Jesuit day school in Britain. The transformation of other small English Jesuit day schools or collegia inchoata into full colleges, beginning with Wimbledon College in 1897, can only be understood in the

context of the development of the college in Liverpool. By the end of the nineteenth century former pupils of St. Francis Xavier's College who had become Jesuits were to be found making their mark in secondary education. The Society's two London colleges, at Wimbledon and Stamford Hill, were founded in 1892 and 1894 respectively by an alumnus of St. Francis Xavier's College. By 1920 many of the most important posts in the English Province of the Society of Jesus were held by former Liverpool pupils. For so long unique among the schools of the English Jesuits in its close adherence to the Ignatian ideal of a day school, St. Francis Xavier's College can justly claim a place of its own in British educational history.

Why was Liverpool chosen as a starting point for such a venture? How did a Jesuit day school in Liverpool succeed when a similar school in London had failed? How did the English Jesuits organize a day school without any prior experience or recent tradition of their own on which to draw? Did the Liverpool school develop in total isolation, or were there links with the renaissance of Jesuit day schools in continental Europe? Who were the teachers and where did they come from? How was the curriculum structured? Which subjects received the most attention and why? What was the atmosphere of the College? What were the religious ideals and motives put forward by the Jesuits? How were they received by the pupils? How did Jesuit day school education, with traditions dating back to the Counter-Reformation in Europe, adapt itself to the needs of pupils in what was then claimed to be "the second city of the Empire"? This study will attempt in some detail to answer these questions.

After a brief introductory survey of the English Province before, during and after the Suppression of the Society by Clement XIV in 1773 and a short sketch of the long standing connection of the Jesuits with Liverpool, an account is presented of the struggle to found a day school in that town in the period 1840-1842. Thereafter three main stages in the development of the school are examined. The first, from 1842 to 1865, was a time of uncertainty and limited growth, followed by a short period of serious and rapid decline for reasons which will become apparent. In the second phase, from 1865 to 1883, largely through the work of one outstanding Prefect of Studies, Fr. James Harris, the College was revitalised, increasing its roll from 80 to 400 pupils, thus becoming by 1883 the largest of all the colleges, boarding or day, run by the Society of Jesus in Britain. The third phase, from 1884 to 1902, saw the College attempting to adapt itself increasingly to the educational needs of a large commercial city.

The academic year 1901-1902 has been chosen as the terminus ad quem for a number of reasons. In the first place, it signalled the end of an era in the history of the College. From the mid-1870s academic excellence played an increasingly important role in the life of the school. The achievement of one of the pupils in 1902 in winning the first place in all England in the Oxford Local Junior Examination marked the completion of the first phase of this trend. It set a record which pupils were subsequently to equal and later surpass many times in other higher examinations. The Board of Education Inspection of the College in 1901 - the first of its kind in any English Jesuit college - and the acceptance a year later of the

first boy from a Catholic elementary school holding a civic scholarship further indicated that a new era had dawned. Secondly, the fact that the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus are at present open only to the year 1900 made inappropriate further research confined solely to source material in England. Finally, consideration of limitations of space and the reader's patience have prevented this work being carried beyond 1902.

During the course of my research I have incurred many debts. My thanks are due first to Professor V. Alan McClelland who, "persuasive and tolerant, with a gentle hand for correcting" (2 Tim. II 24), has guided me in my work and given every encouragement over the past four years.

Since 1980 it has been my privilege and pleasure to make regular visits to the Department of Historiography and Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus at 114 Mount Street, London W1. Exceptionally, because of my full-time teaching commitments, I have on many occasions been allowed access to the archives outside normal opening hours. Without such understanding help from the Archivist, Fr. Francis Edwards S.J. and from Fr. Geoffrey Holt S.J., this study could not have been undertaken. I am deeply grateful to them both for their generosity and hospitality. Similarly, Brother Francis Patterson, F.I.C., the present Headmaster of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, has kindly allowed me access in vacation time to archive material remaining at the College.

Photographs, ephemera and memorabilia in private hands relating to St. Francis Xavier's College have helped to clarify a number of points. Individuals whom I have approached have been uniformly kind in their response and

their help has been acknowledged separately in the footnotes. Here I should like to thank specifically Mr. Bernard Lightbound of Wokingham who generously allowed me to examine his collection of family papers. Numbering among his forebears both the founder and the first Superior of the College, Fathers Randal and Francis Lythgoe, as well as Thomas Lightbound, first President of the St. Francis Xavier's Association, he has been able to provide me with background information of prime importance in understanding the beginnings of the educational work of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool.

Through the kindness of Brother Donal Blake, C.F.C., a fellow student in the Department of Education at the University of Hull, normally resident in Rome, my period of study in the latter city was particularly fruitful. There I again received the kindest treatment from a number of archivists: Fr. Edmond Lamalle, S.J. and his assistant, Fr. Georges Bottereau, S.J. at the Jesuit Generalate; Fr. Josef Metzler, O.M.I. at the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide; and Mr. Nicholas Hudson at the Venerable English College.

The greater part of this study was written during the course of two summers in the peaceful atmosphere of the library at Les Fontaines, the Jesuit research centre at Chantilly, near Paris. In that unique collection of over 650,000 volumes I have been fortunate in finding most of the reference books which I have needed. To the Librarian, Fr. Robert Brunet, S.J. and his staff, my grateful thanks are due. Through the kindness of my colleague, Fr. Richard Blundell, S.J., I have been able to consult other reference books.

Finally, I should like to thank Francis and Carol Pimentel-Pinto for rendering Appendix IV into English; David Hamilton Ewart and Noel Ryan for assistance with graphics; James Lawless, Patrick Stone and Daniel Turner of the Wimbledon College Photographic Club for their help with illustrations; Richard Poole for aid with reprographics; Peter Fitzpatrick for his generous and valuable editorial advice; and my brother, Christopher, for reading the proofs.

Wimbledon College,  
London,  
April 1984

Maurice Whitehead

GLOSSARY OF TERMS RELATING TO THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

- A.M.D.G.  
(Ad Majorem  
Dei Gloriam) "To the greater glory of God" - the motto of the Society of Jesus. This, and the abbreviation "L.D.S." or Laus Deo Semper - "Praise to God always" - is commonly written by pupils in Jesuit colleges at the beginning and end of a theme (q.v.). The mottoes are intended to put both writer and reader in mind of the ultimate purpose of all work in a Jesuit school.
- Annual Letters  
(Litterae Annuae) Annual reports, often printed, detailing the progress of the work of a Province in the previous twelve months. Such reports are compiled from information submitted from individual local Jesuit superiors.
- Assistancy A grouping of Jesuit Provinces, normally bound together by national or linguistic ties.
- Assistant An adviser to the Jesuit General on the affairs of the Provinces making up an Assistancy.
- Beadle The senior scholastic (q.v.) in a Jesuit community. Traditionally the beadle of each community maintained a daily Beadle's Log.
- Brother A Jesuit not seeking ordination as a priest, holding an administrative post or exercising a craft or a particular skill, e.g. book-binder, cook, printer, infirmarian, sacristan.
- College A territorial sub-division of a Province under the direction of a Rector. By the late nineteenth century a number of the territorial colleges of the English Province also possessed an educational establishment also known as a 'college': e.g. St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, St. Ignatius' College, London.
- Collegium inchoatum A small Jesuit school intended as the basis of a future college but not yet sufficiently large or well established to merit being permanently raised to that status by the Jesuit General.
- Consultation A meeting of the Provincial with his consultants.



General	The head of the Society of Jesus, elected for life by a General Congregation - a body representing all the Jesuit Provinces and Vice-Provinces of the world.
Minister	In a Jesuit community the Minister plays a bursarial role, overseeing the general running of the house. Traditionally, like the Beadle, the Minister kept a regular <u>Log</u> recording the comings and goings of the community and visits to the house, meals, special celebrations and excursions.
Novice	A candidate for admission to the Society of Jesus.
Novitiate	House in which novices are trained.
Procurator	Treasurer of a Jesuit Province or of a district or territorial college.
Province	An administrative unit of the Society of Jesus determined by geographical and/or national factors.
Provincial	Priest appointed to take charge of a Province for a period of three to six years.
<u>Ratio Studiorum</u>	The educational code of the Society of Jesus, given its definitive form in 1599 and revised in 1832. It had as its original aim the giving to Christian youth all that was best in ancient culture and the motivating of pupils by the attraction of honour and the rewards of scholastic success. The accent on glory was counterbalanced by the aim of ensuring that the whole of schooling was directed towards bringing pupils to the knowledge and love of God.
Rector	Priest in charge of a Jesuit community in a college and responsible for overseeing the work of a parish or parishes attached to the college.
Scholastic	A Jesuit student for the priesthood.
Socius	Secretary to a Jesuit Provincial.
Superior	Title given to the head of a Jesuit community not large enough to rank as a 'college'.
Tertianship	The third year of probation or 'tertianship' is the final year of a Jesuit's formation. It has as its aim the renewal and deepening of the religious spirit.

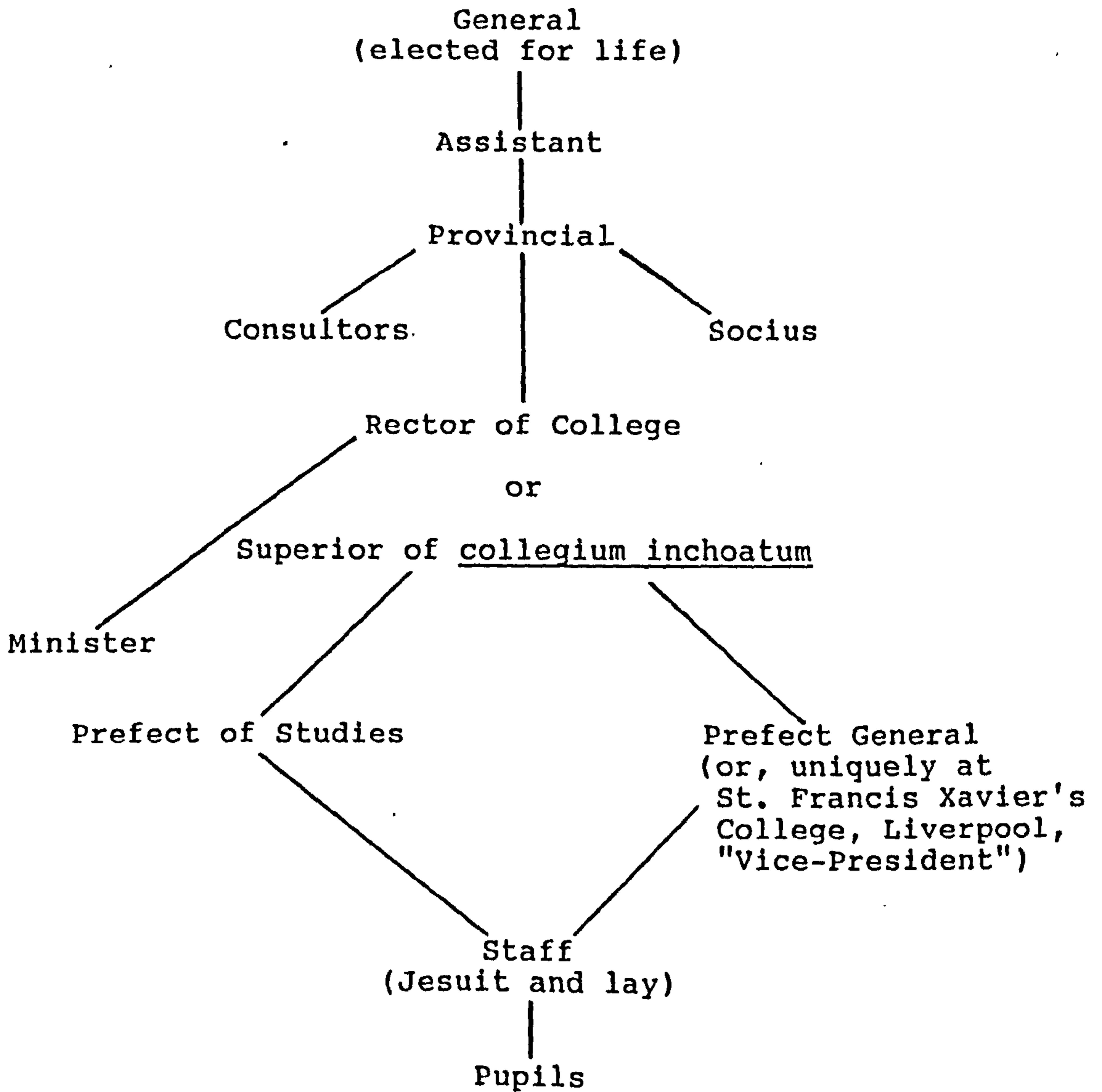
## Theme

In Jesuit colleges, the word "theme" originally denoted a translation exercise from the vernacular into either Greek or Latin (cf. the modern French usage thème: a translation from the vernacular into a foreign language). Gradually, by extension, the word came to denote a written exercise of any sort; and eventually, in day schools, "homework", which was to be written in a "theme book". The expression is still used at St. Francis Xavier's College and other Jesuit colleges in the English Province.

## Visitation

An inspection of a Jesuit community carried out by a Provincial, usually annually.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS  
IN RELATION TO COLLEGES



NOTE ON THE TRAINING OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS  
IN THE ENGLISH PROVINCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In order to clarify certain references made throughout the text to the training of Jesuits in the English Province in the nineteenth century, a brief guide to the whereabouts of the various places of training is included below.

I The Novitiate and Tertianship

1803-1854	Hodder Place, Stonyhurst, Lancashire.
1854-1861	Beaumont Lodge, Old Windsor, Berkshire.
1861-	Manresa House, Roehampton, Surrey.

II The Philosophate

1830-1926	St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst.
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III The Theologate

1830-1848	St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst.
1848-1926	St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph, North Wales.

Throughout the nineteenth century it was quite common and usual for certain members of the English Province to spend part of their period of training on the continent, particularly for theological studies and for the tertianship.

NOTE ON ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

The central archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome and those of the English Province in London have provided the greater part of the primary source material on which this study is based. The archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide and of the Venerable English College, both in Rome, have also yielded hitherto unknown material concerning the return of the Society of Jesus to Liverpool in the early 1840s. All these sources are chiefly in manuscript, often in the form of letters received or fair copies of letters sent. Much of the manuscript material, particularly correspondence to and from Rome, is in Latin. Each document referred to in the text is cited as it is catalogued in its own archive. In the footnotes the four principal archives used are identified as follows:

- APA - Archivum Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu  
(Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, 114 Mount Street, London, W1)
- ARSJ - Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu  
(Archives of the Jesuit General, Borgo Santo Spirito, Rome)
- AVCA - Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe  
(Archives of the Venerable English College, Rome)
- SCPF - Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide  
(Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or de Propaganda Fide, Rome)

The Jesuit archives in Rome and London also contain much useful printed material, such as the annual Province Catalogues, listing the place of residence, status and precise occupation of each member of the Province, and

Letters and Notices, the house-journal of the English Province, which has been published several times a year since 1862. Finally, mention should here be made of The Xaverian, the now very scarce monthly journal of St. Francis Xavier's Church, Liverpool, which has yielded much valuable information on the development of St. Francis Xavier's College. Full details of all archive material consulted, manuscript and printed, are to be found in the Bibliography.

## INTRODUCTION

### The continental background

The educational work of the English Jesuits can be said to have begun in the small town of Eu in Normandy in 1582 under the direction of Fr. Robert Persons. A former Fellow and Bursar of Balliol College, Oxford, Persons had left England in 1574, was received into the Catholic Church at Louvain and then proceeded to Rome where he entered the Society of Jesus. By the early 1580s, with penal laws being heavily applied in England and preventing the existence of schools for young Catholics, Persons petitioned the Duke of Guise for money to found "a seminary for English youth" on the continent. Having secured a promise of money, Persons begged from the French Jesuits at Eu their older, disused buildings there and opened a small school for about thirty boys. A little more than ten years later in 1593, a larger college was opened at Saint-Omer in Flanders. In a speech in Rome in 1597, Persons, now Rector of the Venerable English College in that city, was to describe St. Omers (1) as having been founded

....to receyve the first frye that cometh out of Inghland, which before must eather have stayed there and bene in deanger of infection, or else lose there tyme and lack maintenance on thys syde of the seas, for that there war no fyt place for to receive them here. (2)

The founding of the short lived school at Eu and the subsequent opening of St. Omers inevitably led to the

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(1) St. Omers (sic) is the usual designation for the English Jesuit College in the town of Saint-Omer.

(2) Stonyhurst MSS., Coll.N.ii. f.125, quoted in Beales, A.C.F., Education under penalty (University of London, Athlone Press, 1963), p.70.

provision of boarding places and the exacting of fees - a practice accepted through necessity but with great reluctance by the Jesuits, whose Constitutions favoured the establishment of day schools. The Saint-Omer college of the English Jesuits was to survive there until it was forced to migrate to Bruges in 1762, to Liège in 1773 and ultimately to Stonyhurst in Lancashire in 1794. Throughout this period of two hundred years the Society of Jesus was active in England working clandestinely in the missionary and educational fields for much of that time.

#### The founding of the English Province 1623

The arrival in England in 1580 of the Jesuits Edmund Campion (1) and Robert Persons marked the beginning of the work of the Society of Jesus in this country. All the training of future Jesuit missionaries in England had, of necessity, to be conducted abroad. By 1607 an English Jesuit novitiate had been established at Louvain. After seven years it was transferred to Liège and in 1625 to Watten, near Saint-Omer. The year 1623 saw the opening in Ghent of a house of "third probation" or tertianship for English Jesuits who had completed their training - two years as novices, five years of teaching and seven years of seminary studies.

In England itself a Vice-Province was formed in 1619. This was raised to the rank of a full Province of the

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(1) Campion, a former Oxford don, had been received into the Catholic Church and had joined the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1573. After a short period of missionary work in England he was captured and put to death at Tyburn in 1581. He was canonised by Paul VI in 1970.



Society of Jesus by the Jesuit General in 1623. The first Provincial, Fr. Richard Blount, modelled the new Province as far as possible on the plan prescribed by the Institute of the Society of Jesus. As it was impracticable to form regular colleges in the educational sense in England, the Province was gradually divided into twelve Districts. To each of these "ideal" colleges were allotted certain revenues which, it was hoped, would help ultimately to finance the foundation of actual colleges. Each "College" or "Residence" (1) was assigned a certain number of missionary priests together with a Superior who, in the case of a College was nominated "Rector" and in that of a Residence "Superior". This arrangement existed until the Suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. It was retained by the ex-Jesuits during the period of their Suppression, was re-adopted when the English Province was restored in 1803 and continued, with a few changes, into the present century.

This full scale territorial organization gave the Jesuits a distinct advantage over the English secular clergy who, until 1850, were without a hierarchy of bishops (2). Between 1625 and 1750 there were, on average, 140 Jesuits working in England, with as many again in Flanders (3). Having greater mobility than the secular clergy they were

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(1) A "Residence" denoted an administrative unit of lesser importance than a "College".

(2) The secular clergy were not totally without a territorial organization, however. In the absence of a hierarchy of bishops England from 1688 onwards was divided into four Vicariates or Districts each under the supervision of a Vicar Apostolic - that is, a missionary, not a diocesan bishop.

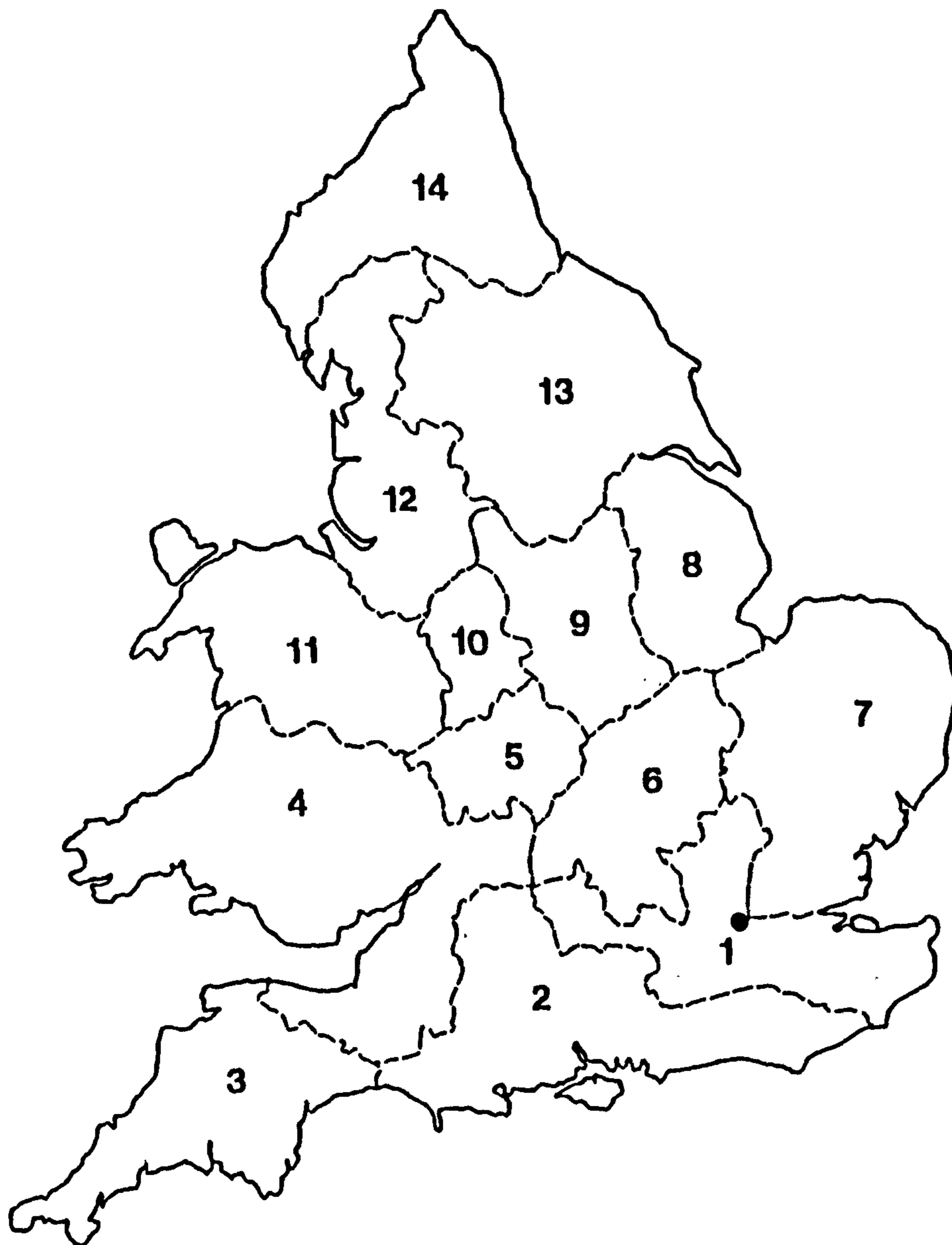
(3) For precise details of membership of the English Province during this period see Foley, H., Records of the English Province, SJ. (7 volumes, London, 1875-1883), V, pp. lxxi-cxxx.

PLATE I

TERRITORIAL COLLEGES AND RESIDENCES OF THE  
ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 1670

Based on details from H. Foley,  
Records of the English Province, Vols. I - IV

# TERRITORIAL COLLEGES AND RESIDENCES OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 1670



1. College of St. Ignatius or the London District.
2. Residence of St. Thomas of Canterbury or the Hampshire District.
3. Residence of St. Stanislaus or the Devonshire District.
4. College of St. Francis Xavier or the South Wales and Herefordshire District.
5. Residence of St. George or the Worcestershire District.
6. Residence of St. Mary or the Oxfordshire District.
7. College of the Holy Apostles or the Suffolk District.
8. Residence of St. Dominic or the Lincolnshire District.
9. College of the Immaculate Conception or the Derbyshire District.
10. College of St. Chad or the Staffordshire District.
11. Residence of St. Winefride or the North Wales District.
12. College of St. Aloysius or the Lancashire District.
13. Residence of St. Michael or the Yorkshire District.
14. Residence of St. John the Evangelist or the Durham District.

able to meet the problem of English Catholic education at all levels, from the clandestine village school taught by a travelling priest, to the college at Saint-Omer in Flanders. Few details of the extent of the Jesuits' covert work in operating small schools around the country survive. During the reign of James II, however, their work overshadowed that of all other Catholic schoolmasters, clerical and lay. In the short space of three years, using the existing framework of territorial "Colleges", they opened no fewer than twelve schools. Two of these were in London - at the Savoy and in Fenchurch Street. The remainder were situated in Bury St. Edmunds, Durham, Lincoln, Newcastle, Norwich, Stapehill (Dorset), Welshpool, Wigan, Wolverhampton and York. In Wigan there were over one hundred scholars in attendance (1) and at the Savoy college in London the four masters had charge of a school of 400 pupils, over half of them Protestants (2). To relieve this pressure a second Jesuit college was established at Fenchurch Street in March 1688. The prospectus or list of Rules of the Schools at the Jesuits in Fenchurch Street (3) demonstrates clearly the revolutionary educational work of the English Jesuits. Taking Ignatius' ideal that gratuitous education should be provided in a day school environment, the London colleges offered an enlightened policy of "comprehensive" interdenominational education unparalleled elsewhere in Europe at that time.

The Jesuits' educational work came to an abrupt and rude end with the arrival of William of Orange at the close

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(1) Annual Letters, 1685-1690, in Foley, op.cit., V, p.319.

(2) Beales, op.cit., p.251.

(3) The Rules are reproduced in Appendix I.

of 1688. The Fenchurch Street school was destroyed by the mob (1), the Savoy college broken up (2) and the library of the College of St. Chad at Wolverhampton burnt in the market place there (3). Most of the other Jesuit schools throughout the country met a similar fate (4). The passing of an Act of Parliament in 1700 imposing a penalty of life imprisonment on any Catholic found keeping a school thenceforth severely curtailed Catholic educational endeavour for many years.

#### Catholic schooling in the eighteenth century

From 1700 until 1791 no Catholic in England was officially permitted to work as a schoolmaster. A Relief Act passed by Parliament in 1791 allowed Catholics to open their own chapels and work as schoolmasters provided that their places of worship and the names of masters were registered at the local Quarter Sessions. However, long before the passing of the 1791 Act a small number of Catholic schools operated by regular and secular clergy, women religious and lay men and women were to be found functioning discreetly in various parts of the country. Some, such as the school at Fernyhalgh, in the heart of the strongly Catholic Fylde area of Lancashire, operated in a single locality for long periods under a succession

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(1) Foley, op.cit., V, p.269.

(2) Ibid., V, p.271.

(3) Ibid., V, p.420.

(4) The small Jesuit school at Stapehill in Dorset, however, appears to have survived into the early part of the eighteenth century; cf. Foley, op.cit., V, p.818. Precise details of the demise of the Jesuit schools are scanty. For an account of the break-up of the Fenchurch Street school see Holt.T.G., "A Jesuit school in the City in 1688" in Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 37, (1981), pp.153-158.

of heads (1). In some cases these schools functioned as preparatory schools for English Catholic colleges such as Douai and St. Omers, founded in exile on the continent in the reign of Elizabeth.

The destruction of the Jesuit schools in England in 1688 was not followed by any serious attempt to re-establish a similar national network of schools in the first half of the eighteenth century. The Suppression of the Society of Jesus by Clement XIV in 1773 made any hope of such a restoration seem extremely remote. After 1773 ex-Jesuits of the English Province in England, Wales, Maryland and Pennsylvania continued their work as chaplains and missionaries. On the continent the English ex-Jesuits, having been obliged to transfer their college from Saint-Omer first to Bruges and later to Liège, were protected by the Prince Bishop of the latter city in their work of educating boys. There they continued operating without total loss of the way of life which had existed prior to the Suppression.

#### The link with Russia

In Russia Catherine II refused to allow Clement XIV's Brief of Suppression of the Society of Jesus to be promulgated in her dominions and requested the Jesuits there to continue their educational work. In 1778 Pius

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(1) For an account of the school at Fernyhalgh see Beales, op.cit., pp.224-225 and the present writer's Peter Newby: Eighteenth Century Lancashire Recusant Poet, (University of Lancaster, Centre for North-West Regional Studies, Occasional Paper No.7, 1980), pp.20-26.

VI authorized the opening of a novitiate in Russia and in 1782 a Congregation was called to elect a Vicar General as Jesuit superior in White Russia. Four more such Congregations were held in 1785, 1799, 1802 and 1805, each electing a new superior and passing whatever legislation the Fathers deemed necessary to preserve the spirit and tradition of the Society in the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves. Fr. Francis Kareu, who had been elected Superior in 1799, was recognized in 1801 as General of the Society of Jesus in Russia by the new Pope, Pius VII. By the Papal Brief Catholicae Fidei he was empowered to receive new members, establish colleges and exercise a full apostolic ministry.

As early as 1783 the President of the English Jesuit College, formerly at Saint-Omer, but now established at Liège, had written to the Superior in Russia requesting affiliation to the remnant of the Society of Jesus there (1). In 1788 thirteen ex-Jesuits in Maryland had proposed a link with the Jesuits in Russia (2). Neither request met with success. In August 1801, shortly after Pius VII's confirmation of the Jesuits in White Russia, the London-based Procurator of the former English Province, Fr. William Strickland, wrote again to the General in Russia seeking the affiliation of the survivors of the English Province to the Jesuits in Russia. After a delay of over a year the news arrived in England from Russia in October 1802 that the Pope had granted verbal permission for the Russian Jesuits to accept aspiring members of the Society

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(1) See Holt, G., 'The English Province: the ex-Jesuits and the Restoration', Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 42, (1973), p.297.

(2) Ibid.

from outside Russian territory. By March 1803, at the suggestion of Fr. Strickland, the General nominated Fr. Marmaduke Stone as English Provincial (1). Stone had succeeded Strickland as President of the Liège Academy in 1790 and, with the deteriorating political situation in Flanders as a result of the upheaval of the French Revolution, had conducted the emigration of the Liège Academy to Stonyhurst in 1794. In May 1803 Stone was proclaimed Provincial and began the work of restoring the English Province.

#### The restoration of the English Province 1803

Circular letters were sent out by Stone to the survivors of the pre-Suppression Province, inviting them to rejoin the Society of Jesus. Of the 270 Jesuits of the English Province at the time of the Suppression in 1773, only seventy-three priests were still alive in 1803. Of these, thirty-six or thirty-seven rejoined the English Province before 1814 (2). By the time of the general worldwide Restoration of the Society of Jesus in August 1814 only twenty or twenty-one of the surviving remnant of thirty-one English Jesuits were still alive (3). The prospect of attempting any expansion of missionary or educational work beyond the confines of Stonyhurst and the scattered missions already being served in England and Wales must have seemed as remote as it had been at the time of the Suppression in 1773. Nor was the long term outlook for the English Jesuits promising when, in 1814, the English

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(1) Ibid., pp.297-298.

(2) Ibid., p.311.

(3) Ibid.



Vicars Apostolic refused to accept the Pope's general Restoration of the Society of Jesus.

The struggle with the Vicars Apostolic 1814-1829

When Pius VII had given his informal and private permission to the English ex-Jesuits to aggregate themselves to the Society of Jesus in White Russia in 1803, they had begun to live and act as Jesuits once again. However, as their permission was private, aspirant members of the Society still had to offer themselves for ordination as though they were to be secular priests. No indication seems to have been given to the English Vicars Apostolic of any private permission for them to live as Jesuits. Cardinal Borgia in Rome even went so far as to prohibit the English bishops from recognising the claims of the "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" unless and until they received orders to the contrary from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda (1). The Papal Bull Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum of 7 August 1814 restoring the Society of Jesus worldwide was not accompanied by a rescinding of the order of 1803 from Propaganda. As a result the English Jesuits continued not to be recognised.

There were two principal reasons behind the unwillingness of the English Vicars Apostolic to allow the Papal Bull of 1814 to cancel the order of Propaganda of 1803. In the first place there was a fear among a number

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(1) See Ward, B., The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 1803-1829 (3 volumes, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1911-1912), I, p.210 and III, pp.19-20. Before the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850 final authority in ecclesiastical matters lay with the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in Rome.

of the Vicars Apostolic that some of the old dissension and trouble which had existed in England in the past between the secular clergy and the Jesuits would be resuscitated following any formal recognition of the restoration of the Society in this country. Matters were further complicated by the fact that the Vicars Apostolic were fearful that open recognition of the Jesuits in England might jeopardize the passing of a future and much hoped-for Catholic Emancipation Act (1).

The conflict between the Vicars Apostolic and the "Gentlemen of Stonyhurst" was to prove long and tedious. By 1828 opposition to the Jesuits had waned considerably and half of the Vicars Apostolic were in favour of recognising the Society of Jesus. When eventually a petition was sent to Rome requesting the recognition of the English Jesuits, a response was forthcoming. On 1 January 1829 Leo XII made public his decision that in future members of the Society of Jesus could be ordained as such in England and could thereafter live publicly as Jesuits (2). The year 1829 was to prove momentous for the Society of Jesus - both in England and worldwide.

#### The Catholic Emancipation Act 1829

With one protracted battle won, the English Jesuits were immediately confronted with a fresh problem. The passage through Parliament of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in

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(1) Ward, B., op.cit., III, pp.20-21.

(2) Ibid., III, p.211.

the spring of 1829 soon revealed a restrictive clause aimed against the presence of the Society of Jesus in England. Although the Jesuits were specifically named, the clause in fact included all "members of religious orders, communities or societies of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows". It was intended that every such person resident in the United Kingdom at the passing of the Act should report himself to the local Clerk of the Peace, under a penalty of £50 per month, and that a central register of such names should be formed. Furthermore, any Jesuit or other religious who in future entered the country was to be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour and banished (1).

The existence of the clause provoked protest from former pupils of Stonyhurst, most particularly those resident in the town of Liverpool, a strongly Catholic enclave. On 9 April 1829 Lord Holland presented to the House of Lords a petition from "certain professors of the Roman Catholic religion, resident in Liverpool, who had received their education at Stonyhurst in Lancashire" (2). This group of men wished to make it clear that the Jesuits of Stonyhurst were "not only loyal but highly meritorious individuals" who were "of general utility and advantage" to the neighbourhood in which they lived (3). A day later

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(1) An Act for the Relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, 13 April 1829, 10 George IV, Cap.VII, 28 and 29.

(2) The Times, 10 April 1829.

(3) Ibid. Despite considerable research it has not been possible to establish the identity of the signatories of the petition. I have been assured by the Clerk of the Records that the original petition does not survive in the House of Lords' Record Office. Nor are copies of the petition to be found in the English Province Archives. However, a copy of a letter in the Stonyhurst Archives indicates that the "secretary" of the group of former pupils of Stonyhurst living in Liverpool was Peter M. Whitnall, a schoolmaster; cf. copy of letter of Lord Holland to Peter M. Whitnall, Stonyhurst MSS., A.II.29, f.46.

a similar petition from another former pupil of Stonyhurst, John Rosson of Liverpool, barrister-at-law, was presented to the House of Lords (1). In it Rosson pleaded that discrimination and injury should not be allowed towards a body of men "who have uniformly inculcated, along with sound learning and morality, the principles of affectionate loyalty to the King, obedience to the laws and love of the Constitution" (2).

In the event, the petitions were submitted in vain. The clause remained and the Bill became law, though the letter of the law concerning the Society of Jesus was never applied. What was of importance was the emergence in the Liverpool area of an articulate group of former pupils of Stonyhurst who were willing and ready to offer their former mentors unsolicited defence before Parliament. The friends of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool were destined to play an important part in the work of the English Province in the years to come.

#### The election of a new Jesuit General 1829

On 27 January 1829, Fr. Aloysius Fortis, the Jesuit General who had steered the Society of Jesus through its most difficult days immediately after the general Restoration of 1814, died in Rome. The Twenty First General Congregation in the history of the Society of Jesus was called and opened in Rome on 30 June 1829. On the fourth ballot, on 9 July 1829, Fr. Jan Philip Roothaan, a Dutchman, was elected General.

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(1) The text of Rosson's petition is reproduced in Appendix II.

(2) See Appendix II.

Roothaan's life hitherto had been an important time of preparation for the great task which lay ahead of him. Born in Amsterdam on 23 November 1785, he was the son of a surgeon, whose family had formerly been Calvinist. After completing his secondary studies at a gymnasium in Amsterdam, Roothaan had joined the Society of Jesus in White Russia in 1804. There, at Dvinsk, he had spent three years teaching Classics in the Jesuit college. After studying philosophy and theology at Polotsk, he had been ordained in 1812.

When the French invaded Russia in 1812, the Emperor Alexander I ordered the Jesuits to withdraw to the interior. Roothaan, by this time professor of Greek and Hebrew at Polotsk, had had to flee with other Jesuits to Opoczka. Whilst the French were approaching Moscow, Roothaan had been ordered to Pusza to teach Rhetoric to young Jesuits who had just completed the first two years of their training. There he had gained a reputation for hard work, modesty and piety. When the Jesuits were banned in Russia by the Emperor in 1820, Roothaan had fled in exile to Brig in Switzerland. He had again been ordered to teach Rhetoric to the scholastics there, had preached missions and had assisted the Vice-Principal, whose jurisdiction extended to Germany, Belgium and Holland. He had remained there until his appointment as Rector of the Jesuit college in Turin, an establishment attended by the best students in the kingdom, pursuing courses in literature, theology, law, medicine and surgery at the University.

With such a strong background in teaching and educational work, Roothaan, once elected General, was quick in taking measures to give clear direction to the educational work of the restored Society. At the General Congregation of 1829 he took note of the desires expressed by the

different provinces: each representative was anxious to preserve the Institute as laid down by St. Ignatius and to see the Society's work in education prosper. Unanimously a complete revision of the Ratio Studiorum was called for, with the aim of bringing the plan of studies up to date.

Before the Congregation could further discuss this matter, which had been acknowledged as a pressing topic even in the time of Fr. General Fortis, Roothaan felt bound to reveal his private thoughts on so important a point. He declared that circumstances and the feelings of all present demanded that action be taken; but he felt that nothing definite ought to be done until the question had been discussed fully by members of each Province (1). This resolution was duly adopted.

Without delay Roothaan invited each province to nominate one of its members, well-versed in educational matters, to sit on a commission to bring up to date the Ratio Studiorum and to tailor it to modern needs (2). By the end of 1830 the commission met in Rome. Italy was represented by Fr. Francisco Manera (1798-1847), professor at the University of Turin; Sicily by Fr. Vincenzo Garofalo (1794-1863); France by Fr. Jean-Nicolas Loriquet (1767-1845), the distinguished educationist, writer and former Prefect of Studies and Rector of the minor seminary of St. Acheul at Amiens; Spain by Fr. Emmanuel Gil (1794-1880); Germany by the Belgian, Fr. Joseph Van Hecke (1795-1874); Galicia

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(1) Cretineau-Joly, J., Histoire religieuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus, (6 vols., Paris-Lyon, 1846) VI, p.226.

(2) This request was made in the form of a circular letter to each province. See Roothaan to the English Provincial, Fr. Charles Brooke, 27 May 1830, APA, Epistolae Generalium 1750-1853, (hereafter Epist.Gen.1750-1853), f.281.

by Fr. Cornelius Van Everbroeck; and England by a Lancashire man, Fr. Thomas Glover (1781-1849), the General's Deputy Assistant for Spain, who had previously been Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst from 1822 to 1825 (1).

The new Ratio (2), published in 1832, after the deliberations of the commission, was intended as a temporary guideline which could be perfected as time went by (3). Though it was never to have the force of law, as it was never to be ratified by a General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, the new Ratio gave decided impetus to the educational work of the Jesuits, not least in the English Province.

#### The second experiment in London 1824-1836

Five years before the election of Fr. General Roothaan, the English Jesuits had felt the need of making a fresh start in their educational work. The obstructive tactics of the Vicars Apostolic in the years following the general Restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814 were, by 1824, taking their toll on life at Stonyhurst. Younger members of the community there had grown uncertain whether they were actually Jesuits or not, whether their first vows

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(1) At the General Congregation of 1829 Fr. Glover had been elected Deputy Assistant for Spain, with the same powers and privileges as other Assistants. The Assistant must normally be a native of his Assistancy. On this occasion no Spanish Father was found competent to fill the office and a Deputy was selected instead by the Congregation. Until the creation of a separate Assistancy for England, Ireland and America in 1853, the Spanish Assistant usually attended to the affairs of those countries. See Letters and Notices, 18, pp.448-457.

(2) Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu (Rome, 1832).

(3) The scope of the revised 1832 Ratio and its effects in the English Province is the subject of discussion in Chapter 3.

had been strictly valid and to whom they really owed religious obedience. In 1821 the Novitiate at Hodder, on the Stonyhurst estate, was closed. An attempt was then made to begin training a fresh generation of Jesuits in various houses on the continent where the true spirit of St. Ignatius might more easily be imbibed.

Fr. Nicholas Sewall, the former Rector of Stonyhurst appointed Provincial in 1821, quickly decided that once funds permitted, the Society

....must establish a school, quite at a distance from Stonyhurst, and at which no Master or Scholar from Stonyhurst shall be admitted (1).

It was hoped that masters might be found among young Jesuits then in training in Rome and that these might "bring the boys up in the true spirit of the society" (2).

In 1824 it was decided to establish the proposed new school in London under the direction of Fr. Edward Scott, who had hitherto been the London agent of the Provincial, as well as Procurator of the Province. The new day school began life on 29th September 1824 at the Jesuit residence at 85 Norton Street, the modern Bolsover Street, off Euston Road. How many boys availed themselves of the new establishment on its opening is not recorded. What is clear is the desire of the Jesuit General that the education offered should be entirely free, in line both with Ignatius Loyola's original intentions and the practice of the London Jesuit schools which had operated in the reign of James II. A letter to the English Provincial from the English Jesuit agent in Rome, Fr. Thomas Glover, clarified the

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(1) Letters and Notices, 63, p.191.

(2) Ibid.



General's intentions:

....Fr. General has great objections that even the rent of the house should be paid by the parents of the scholars who frequent Fr. Scott's school; because he wishes their instruction to be entirely gratuitous, in the full spirit of the institute; and he bade me tell your Reverence not to be afraid to spend a little money in such an important undertaking: it is a seed, he said, which will produce a hundred fold; and he has no doubt that when the generous English shall see the object and utility of such an establishment, there will not be wanting means to render it permanent.(1)

The General's wishes were obeyed both by Fr. Sewell and by his successor as Provincial, Fr. Charles Brooke. In 1830 Fr. Brooke approved the removal of the school to Marylebone Park House, on the site of the present Royal Academy of Music. The collegium inchoatum was still very small, with only two masters and a handful of pupils. The Superior, Fr. Scott, in a letter to Fr. Thomas Glover in Rome in 1832, explained the financial difficulties of the school and how even large Jesuit missions such as those at Preston and Wigan could not support themselves without bench rents and stole fees:

People here will give nothing (in church collections etc.) but will pay for benches etc. And it is not an easy matter to change national habits. We charge nothing here for education, and the parents give us nothing, but if we made a small charge, we should, I think, double our number, which does not consist of thirty boys. Very few respectable parents can bring themselves to send their sons to a charity school.(2)

In the 144 years since the forced closure of the two free Jesuit colleges in London, habits and attitudes of parents had evidently changed radically.

The abandonment of gratuitous education 1833

On 1 February 1833 with the greatest reluctance the

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(1) Glover to Sewell, 21 August 1825, quoted in Letters and Notices, 63, p.193.

(2) Scott to Glover, 11 July 1832, APA, Foreign Correspondence 1776-1859, f.307.

Jesuit General, Fr. Roothaan, issued his Facultas Accipiendi Minervalia in Collegiis Americae, Angliae et Hiberniae (1). This dispensation for the acceptance of fees in Jesuit day schools in America, England and Ireland was forced upon him primarily as a result of pressure from Jesuits in America. There the dislike of free schools was so intense that Catholic parents preferred to send their children to non-Catholic schools rather than to free Catholic schools. The matter had been referred to the Pope by both Propaganda and the Jesuit General. Gregory XVI had decided that a dispensation should be granted. Aware of similar problems in England and Ireland, he had requested that the dispensation be extended to those two countries, but left the detailed arrangements to Fr. Roothaan. The new dispensation applied only to the London school and not to Stonyhurst, where the pension paid by parents was not intended to pay for teaching, but rather "pro sustentatione convictorum".

#### Decline and fall 1833-1836

Despite the introduction of fees in the London school, numbers continued to decline. The new Jesuit Vice-Rector in London, Fr. Randal Lythgoe, who took up office in 1833, explained the school's difficulties in a letter to Fr. Glover in Rome:

As to the school which we have, at present it does little or no good. We have only nineteen Scholars and one of that number is going to leave us. Those of the trades-

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(1) APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, ff.290-291.

people that can afford to give their children anything of a liberal education send them to Boarding schools or Colleges. (1)

By September 1834 the number of scholars had fallen still further to ten (2) but as late as March 1836 the Provincial, Fr. Norris, was still hopeful of maintaining the school, even for such a small number of pupils (3). Nevertheless, by August of the same year he had to report to Fr. Roothaan in Rome, "Clausa est schola" (4).

The failure of the London school must have come as a disappointing blow to the English Jesuits, as well as to Fr. Roothaan. A great question mark now hung over the future of the educational work of the English Province and it was far from clear what should next be done.

In the event the Jesuits did not have to wait indefinitely. In 1829 the friends of the Society of Jesus in the Liverpool area had given unsolicited support in the crisis concerning the anti-Jesuit clause in the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Ten years later, in 1839, the Society's friends in the vicinity of Liverpool again came to the assistance of the Jesuits by unwittingly setting in motion a series of events which was to lead ultimately to the shaping of the future work of the Jesuits in day school education in Britain. How and why the focus of their work in this field should suddenly have shifted from London to Liverpool and why it was to remain there until the close of the nineteenth century are questions which this study will attempt to analyse and answer.

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 2 May 1834, APA, College of St. Ignatius 1750-1874, f.176.

(2) R. Lythgoe to Fr. R. Norris, English Provincial, 17 September 1834, College of St. Ignatius 1750-1874, f.192.

(3) Letters and Notices, 63, p.196.

(4) Norris to Roothaan, 23 August 1836, ARSJ, Anglia 1003, XVI, 6.

CHAPTER ONETHE SOCIETY OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER c.1840-1842The early Jesuit connection with Liverpool

Owing to the absence of records it is impossible to determine precisely when the Jesuit Fathers of the "Lancashire District", otherwise known as the College of St. Aloysius, first began to serve as missionaries in Liverpool. By 1701 Fr. William Gillibrand, a Lancashire man educated at St. Omers, was serving Liverpool occasionally from his base at Crosby Hall, the home of the Blundell family at Little Crosby, a village seven miles north of the town (1). Outside Liverpool, Jesuits were to be found in the early eighteenth century serving at Ince Blundell, Formby, Lydiate, Croxteth and some fifteen other places in South West Lancashire (2). The first Jesuit priest to take up residence in Liverpool appears to have been Fr. John Tempest, alias Hardesty, who was serving the town by 1718 (3). In 1736 Hardesty built the first Catholic chapel in Edmund Street. When in 1746 the Scots retreated from Derby, a "No Popery" mob made an attack on the chapel and priests' house and razed it to the ground, making a bonfire of everything combustible (4).

Shortly after the battle of Culloden in 1746, Henry Peppard, a prominent merchant in the town (5) approached

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(1) Foley, op.cit., V. p.363.

(2) Ibid., V, pp.320-326.

(3) Ibid., VII, p.766.

(4) Ibid., V, p.365.

(5) Henry Peppard (1692-1771) was the son-in-law of the diarist Nicholas Blundell (1669-1737) the squire of Little Crosby whose daughter, Frances, he had married in 1733. Cf. The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell, 1701-1722 Tyrer, F, (ed.), (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 3 vols., 1968-1972), I, p.5.

the Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool asking permission to rebuild the Jesuit chapel. When this permission was refused, Peppard proceeded to collect subscriptions and built a warehouse of two stories close to the site of the destroyed chapel, declaring that no law could prevent his building such a structure and putting it to whatever use he pleased. The Corporation acknowledged his right to do this, but at his own risk. In 1759 the concealed chapel in the warehouse was again destroyed and rebuilt by the Jesuits, who thereafter were not disturbed again (1). After the Suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the ex-Jesuits remained in possession of the chapel in Edmund Street until 1783, when the building was handed over to the Benedictines (2).

Fr. John Price's mission in Liverpool c.1769-1813

In or about 1769 a young Cornish Jesuit, Fr. John Price, arrived in Liverpool, apparently to assist at the chapel in Edmund Street. Following the Suppression of the Society in 1773, Price worked independently of the Edmund Street chapel and with the help of his friends in the town opened a chapel in Chorley Street, moving later to Sir Thomas Buildings, off Dale Street (3). For forty years until 1813

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(1) Burke, T., Catholic History of Liverpool (Liverpool, 1910), p.13.

(2) The complex circumstances concerning the transfer of the chapel from the Society of Jesus to the Benedictines lie outside the scope of the present study but are recounted in detail in Burke, op.cit., pp.16-24 and in Bossy, J., "Catholic Lancashire in the Eighteenth Century", in Essays Presented to Michael Roberts (Blackstaff Press, Belfast, 1976) pp. 63-64.

(3) Brooke, R., Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, 1775-1800 (Liverpool, 1853), p.524.

Fr. Price worked single-handed from his own chapel, serving the Catholics of the town. In 1804 he renewed his vows in the restored Society of Jesus (1). On his death in Liverpool in 1813, Fr. Price's chapel was closed by the Jesuits to facilitate the foundation of a new parish of St. Nicholas, to be served by the secular clergy. This measure was understood to be a temporary arrangement and the lay committee promoting the new parish undertook to continue their efforts, once the church of St. Nicholas had been built, by raising another church to be served by the Society of Jesus from Stonyhurst (2). After the opening of St. Nicholas's, Copperas Hill, in 1815 the promised lay support for the Jesuits failed to materialize. The town of Liverpool now had four churches - St. Mary's, based on the chapel founded by the Jesuit Fr. Hardesty in the early eighteenth century but now served by the Benedictines; St. Peter's, Seel Street, also founded and run by the Benedictines; and two churches run by the secular clergy - St. Anthony's, Scotland Road, founded in 1804, and the new St. Nicholas's. The Jesuits were to wait over twenty-five years before being invited to return to Liverpool.

#### The Association for the Poor School at Gillmoss 1839

The first steps taken towards that return seem to have been almost fortuitous and were brought about by events outside the town. In 1839 the Earl of Sefton presented a plot of land, together with a generous subscription for the building of a Catholic elementary school at Gillmoss, on the edge of his estate at Croxteth Park, five miles north

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(1) Foley, op.cit., VII, p.633.

(2) Burke, op.cit. p.34.

east of Liverpool. The organisation of the new school was entrusted to Fr. Thomas Clarke, the Jesuit superior of the Gillmoss mission. On 13 October 1839 at the home of a Mr. Heyes in Tithebarn Street, Liverpool there took place "a meeting of several friends of the Reverend Mr. Clarke" (1), with the latter gentleman in the chair. These friends included Thomas Polding, James Lennon, James Leigh Strange, Dr. W.T.Callon, William Jenkins and Charles Cusack, all professional and business men from Liverpool. Having listened to a statement by Fr. Clarke regarding the necessity of providing a school for the poor children of Gillmoss and neighbourhood, they formed themselves into a society called "The Association for the Poor School at Gillmoss" (2). At the meeting it was resolved that the Association would comprise an unlimited number of members each on entry paying the sum of one shilling, with the exception of the collectors, who were to be members ex officio. The committee of the Association was to consist of as many people as would subscribe not less than sixpence per week. It was further agreed at the first meeting that Fr. Clarke would act as president and treasurer of the Association during its existence. A fortnight later Mr. Thomas Polding was appointed secretary.

The team of collectors worked efficiently and swiftly. After a series of weekly meetings between October 1839 and January 1840, sufficient money had been raised to finance

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(1) Up to the mid nineteenth century Catholic priests were often known as "Mr." rather than "Fr."

(2) Minute Book of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, 1840-1845 (hereafter Minute Book) APA, 6/4/3/5. Beginning life as the minute book of the Association for the Poor School at Gillmoss in 1839 the volume was put to a second and greater use from 1840 to 1845, as will be explained.

the new school. The success of the Gillmoss Association spurred its committee into further activity.

On 21 January 1840 the members gathered at the Rose and Crown tavern in Cheapside, Liverpool and resolved to form themselves into a "provisional committee for the formation of a society with a view to erect a Catholic church in Liverpool to be presented to the President of Stonyhurst College" (1). The signatories were Thomas W. Polding, Thomas Lightbound, William Jenkins, Dr. William Thomas Callon, James Lennon, Dr. Denis Madden, John Langsdale, Edward Holme and S.H. Moreton. Some, such as Thomas Polding and Dr. Callon, had been educated at Stonyhurst and were well acquainted with the Society of Jesus. Most of the others were close relatives of Fr. Randal Lythgoe, the Vice-Rector of the territorial College of St. Ignatius, based on London, who had had the unenviable task of closing down the Jesuit day school in the capital in 1836 (2). They were quickly joined by Mr. John Rosson, the barrister who had petitioned the House of Lords over the anti-Jesuit clause in the Emancipation Bill in 1829 (3).

Once the resolution had been passed by the Gillmoss Association, events moved with great speed. Within a short time Fr. Randal Lythgoe in London was able to write to Fr. Thomas Glover, the agent for the English Province of the

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(1) Minute Book, 21 January 1840.

(2) Thomas Lightbound, a miller and flour dealer and a recent convert to Catholicism, had married Catherine Lythgoe, the sister of Fr. Randal Lythgoe, in 1835; Edward Holme was the husband of another sister of Fr. Lythgoe; John Langsdale had married the widow of Lythgoe's brother and Polding and Callon were both cousins of Randal Lythgoe and relatives of Langsdale. The Lythgoe family came originally from Southworth Hall, a property near Warrington owned by the Society of Jesus from 1797 to 1828. See Gibson, T.E., Lydiat Hall and its Associations, p.210.

(3) Burke, op.cit., p.61.



Society of Jesus in Rome, informing him that he had "a person who can keep a secret, a Protestant, looking out for suitable land in Liverpool" (1). His letter suggests that the idea of a new Jesuit church in the town had been seriously mooted for some time previously. Certainly he could state that Mr. Tempest of Broughton Hall, near Skipton in Yorkshire, had promised £500 and Lord Shrewsbury "used to say that he would do something handsome, but unless Pugin is to be the architect, he may not" (2). On 5 February 1840, at another meeting at the Rose and Crown, the Gillmoss Association was "reorganised into a society for the erection of another Catholic church in Liverpool and called 'the Society of St. Francis Xavier'" (3).

#### The Society of St. Francis Xavier, 1840

One thousand copies of a specially prepared prospectus defining the aims of the new society were printed for circulation. It was noted that:

....such has been the increase of Catholicity in Liverpool during the last four years that it has become absolutely necessary to add to the present number of our places of worship. To assist so desirable an object, we ... have resolved with the help of God to endeavour to erect another edifice for the propagation of the Catholic faith. We know that it will be a task requiring energy and industry but, labouring in a holy cause, we have every confidence that it will ultimately succeed. We propose that the projected church should be served by clergymen connected with Stonyhurst whose predecessors were once the only Catholic

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 30 January 1840, APA, College of St. Ignatius, 1802, f.25.

(2) Ibid. By 1840 John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, had contributed generously to the building of the Catholic churches of St. Mary, Uttoxeter and St. Mary, Derby. Both churches were designed by his protégé, Augustus Welby Pugin. By the time of his death in 1852 the Earl is said to have donated more than half a million pounds to church building.

(3) Minute Book, 5 February 1840. From this point the Gillmoss Association minute book became that of the new Society of St. Francis Xavier.

missionaries in Liverpool and to them, under God, we may esteem ourselves indebted for the preservation of our faith at that period. (1)

Details in the minute book of the Society of St. Francis Xavier reveal the manner in which the need for a new church had been calculated (2). By 5 February 1840 the Society's committee were negotiating the purchase of land in Salisbury Street, at the eastern edge of the town.

There seems little doubt that much of the original inspiration for the idea of opening a new Jesuit church in Liverpool came from Fr. Randal Lythgoe. Lythgoe's far-sightedness and vision in developing the work of the English Province of the Society of Jesus was quickly to become apparent once he had been appointed Provincial in 1841 (3).

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(1) Quoted in Ryan, N., St. Francis Xavier's Church Centenary, 1848-1948 (Liverpool, 1948), pp.19-20.

(2) The committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier estimated the population of Liverpool in 1840 as 220,000, of whom 80,000 were thought to be Catholic. The five Catholic places of worship then existing, St. Mary's, St. Peter's, St. Nicholas's, St. Patrick's and St. Anthony's were estimated to hold an average of 2,000 people each. At four of the churches there were three Masses every Sunday; one church had four Masses. It was calculated that this allowed only a maximum of 32,000 people at attend Mass.

As was stated in the committee's Minute Book, "48,000 out of the 80,000 do not have the means, if they have the will, to attend Mass". The figure of 80,000 Catholics in Liverpool is again quoted in a letter concerning church accommodation in The Tablet, 30 September 1843, p.615. The figures above do not tally with the recent estimate of 40,000 for the Catholic population in 1834; see Bossy, J., The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 p.426, Table V. Yet even allowing for a much lower Catholic population, the church accommodation situation would still appear to have been critical. Part of the problem was caused by the practice of exacting bench rents, forcing poorer people to crowd into specially designated parts of churches, while rented seats elsewhere were left empty. For an attack on the problem, see letter of J. Reldas of Liverpool in The Tablet, 2 September 1843, p.549.

(3) Lythgoe was appointed Provincial on 14 September 1841. During the winter of 1839-1840 he was based in London.

Perhaps as early as the New Year of 1840 he was aware that he might soon succeed Fr. John Bird as Provincial. It is clear that some of the details of his vision for the future had been expressed in private to his family and friends in Liverpool. But in encouraging the Society of St. Francis Xavier in its work of opening a new church and re-establishing the Jesuits in Liverpool - an essential step before any Jesuit school or college could be opened - he seems to have under-estimated the enthusiasm of the members of the organisation. Already the committee of the new Society in Liverpool had made its aims and intentions public without consulting either the Jesuit Provincial or the local Vicar Apostolic, Bishop John Briggs.

Writing to Fr. Thomas Clarke at Gillmoss, Lythgoe explained that he had written to Fr. Bird two days previously, informing him of what he had done in Liverpool. He hoped that the Society of Jesus would be able to serve the projected church when it was finished and had advised his friends in Liverpool to secure a site and then send an Address to the Bishop "as numerously and as respectfully signed as possible", asking for his blessing. In reality, over-enthusiasm had already endangered the plan. Lythgoe was not unduly perturbed and was prepared for conflict if necessary. In his letter to Fr. Clarke, Lythgoe stated that if the Bishop refused to sanction the undertaking, he would have to give reasons for so doing; and should these be unsatisfactory, the next step would be to appeal to Rome, "where an appeal under present circumstances would in all probability be successful". Steady careful progress "would seem to have been a prudent course, but

Almighty God has permitted that it should be differently arranged". Finally, he urged Clarke not to do anything further before seeing the Provincial and suggested that the Address be sent to the Bishop as a matter of urgency thereafter. His letter ends with the following words:

You will have open enemies as well as hollow friends, and consequently the greatest prudence will be necessary. (1)

His warning was to prove prophetic.

On 9 and 10 February 1840, the committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier sent letters to Bishop Briggs and Fr. Bird respectively, informing them of the project and of the purchase of land. The Bishop was informed that, with his permission, the proposed church would be placed entirely at the disposal of the Society of Jesus. In order to cover their imprudent error, and taking the advice of Fr. Randal Lythgoe, the committee forwarded to the Bishop an Address signed by 622 people, craving his blessing on their undertaking (2). On 19 February 1840, in a curt note, Briggs replied to the committee, thanking them for the Address and promising to give the matter his "early and best consideration" (3).

The committee soon found itself with two types of adversary. Not only were non-Catholics openly opposed to the opening of a Jesuit church in Salisbury Street, but there were also not a few Catholics, including the secular

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Clarke, 5 February 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(2) The Address was sent on Thursday, 13 February 1840, four days after the original letter; see Ryan, op.cit., p.20.

(3) Briggs to Thomas Polding, secretary of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, 19 February 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

clergy, who were in opposition to the project (1). In order to deal with this hostility the committee first sent on 8 March 1840 an open letter of protest to the editor of the Protestant Protector. Secondly, they forwarded a letter to Bishop Briggs defending their motives. The Bishop replied, refusing to consent to the committee's plans and asking for the Society of St. Francis Xavier to cease making collections (2). This request was agreed to at a meeting of the committee on 29 March 1840 (3).

The committee's precipitate action in seeking to secure land without first consulting either the Bishop or the Jesuit Provincial was singularly unfortunate. The members of the committee do not seem to have been fully aware of the similar problems which had already arisen some years earlier in Manchester. There, where at that time there was an estimated population of 76,000 Catholics, various committees had been formed to organise subscriptions for the building of a large church to be designed by Pugin. Bishop Briggs, within whose jurisdiction Manchester lay, had fully agreed to the plans for the church, which was to have been presented to the Society of Jesus. At the last moment the Bishop had changed his mind and had decided that three or four other smaller churches would be required first before this large church could be built. The

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(1) .... As to Liverpool, as it is not within my District I may not be expected to say anything. You may, however, like to know that a piece of ground has been bought. Our Friends have petitioned the Bishop for leave to build, but he has returned no answer. The secular clergy are doing all they can to hinder the good work, but our Friends are firm. R.Lythgoe to Glover, 12 March 1840, Province Transcripts, APA, 14/2/16, f.102.

(2) Briggs to Polding, 23 March 1840, Stonyhurst MSS., A.II. 24(34), f.10.

(3) Minute Book, 29 March 1840.

Catholic population had been so disturbed at his conduct in the matter that the committees had been disbanded and the subscriptions, at one time as high as £75 per week, had suddenly ceased (1).

In 1839 there had been further talk of the Catholics of Manchester presenting a petition to the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Bird, requesting him to supply members of the Order as missionaries in the town. In a letter of the same year to Fr. Thomas Glover in Rome, Bird had indicated that he believed that a Papal decree issued on 29 September 1838 had removed existing obstacles to the building of churches by religious orders; but Bird, nevertheless, still anticipated opposition from Bishop Briggs, following the Manchester episode.

Had the committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool applied to Fr. Bird in the first instance, matters might have been much smoother. Instead a hornets' nest was stirred up. Early in 1840 the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in Rome sanctioned the building of a church by the Benedictines at Edge Hill, on the outskirts of Liverpool, just over a mile from the site of the proposed new Jesuit church in Salisbury Street. This permission, coupled with the activities of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, was seen by the secular clergy of Liverpool and district as a bid by the regular clergy, particularly the Benedictines and the Jesuits, to take control of the religious affairs of the town. In an effort to avoid "unworthy and discreditable warfare" between the regular

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(1) Fr. J. Bird, Jesuit Provincial, to T. Glover, 5 May 1839, APA, Foreign Correspondence 1776-1859, f.362.

and secular clergy, the latter group in Liverpool presented Bishop Briggs in May 1840 with a document detailing the "Opinions of the Clergy of Liverpool respecting the present state of Ecclesiastical Affairs in that town" (1) and asking for positive action to be taken by him to halt the regular clergy in their work.

The first appeal to Propaganda June 1840

All this agitation did not deter the Society of St. Francis Xavier. Presumably taking advice from Fr. Randal Lythgoe, who was fully aware of the problems which had existed in Manchester, the committee of the Society resolved at a meeting on 13 May 1840 that

....a memorial be framed praying for instructions regarding the future proceedings of the Society (of St. Francis Xavier) in its undertakings, embodying the Address of the Society to Dr. Briggs and his Lordship's definite reply; that the memorial be signed by each member of the Committee and that this memorial be addressed to Cardinal Fransoni, at Rome.(2)

Fr. Lythgoe evidently believed that if the secular clergy could petition Propaganda, there was no reason why the friends of the Society of Jesus should not do likewise. Thomas Polding, the secretary of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, posted the memorial to Rome on 3 June 1840 (3).

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(1) On receiving the memorial from the secular clergy of Liverpool, Bishop Briggs sent a copy to Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, Rector of the Venerable English College in Rome asking him to present the document to Propaganda as evidence of the feelings of the local clergy. As Rector of the English College, Wiseman was the Roman agent for the English Vicars Apostolic. The document can be found in the archives of the English College, Scrittura 73.3.3.

(2) Minute Book, 13 May 1840.

(3) The original memorial dated 2 June 1840, together with a covering letter from Polding, is to be found in SCPF, SC Anglia, 9, ff.794-797. Copies of the memorial can be found in APA, Ry 1/2 and in the Stonyhurst MSS., A.II.24(34), f.36.

Even after it had been sent, opposition to the lay Society remained as intense as ever. During mid-July 1840, James Lennon of Liverpool, a member of the committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, received a twelve-page letter from the Reverend Laurence Toole, a deacon at Ushaw College, Durham. Laurence Toole (1807-1892) was a Liverpool man - and evidently an acquaintance of Lennon - who had begun studying for the priesthood at Ushaw after being widowed. Made a deacon in 1839 and ordained priest at York in 1841, he later became a Canon of the Salford diocese and took a leading part in Catholic educational matters in Manchester (1).

Given his background, first as an adult layman and then an ordinand, his long letter is of particular interest for the light it throws upon the contemporary attitudes of sections of both the laity and the secular clergy towards the work of the Jesuits in England. Throughout the letter he attempted to show Lennon how misguided he was in belonging to such a committee. He began in the following manner:

....a party of the Catholics of Liverpool are about to be made the tools of a Jesuit agent in London, who is remarkable for his turbulence and intrigues. Will you tell me that this chapel in Liverpool is the wish or the desire of the people? Has not Mr. Lythgoe lately visited Liverpool to set the project on foot to annoy Dr. Briggs? Did not the design wholly originate with him? Has he not advised that the land should be somehow contracted for? That then application should be made to the Bishop? That if he replied refusing his consent, an appeal should be made to Rome? Is not this the origin of your chapel and the course of proceeding marked out for you? Now what is this appeal to Rome to be? A complaint against your Bishop to seek to bring him into disgrace, that it may forward the projects of the Jesuit agents in their intrigues at the papal court, a complaint which will be managed, prepared and sent to

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(1) As parish priest of St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Toole was later to be elected top of the poll in the first School Board election in Manchester. See Armytage, W.H.G., Four Hundred Years of English Education (Cambridge University Press, 1965), p.117.



Rome by the Reverend Mr. Lythgoe, the Jesuit agent in London, and will yet be intended to deceive the Pope and his Cardinals by purporting to come from the Laity of a portion of the Northern District.... It is to such men as Mr. Lythgoe that the Bishops are indebted for that disrespect to their authority and person, entertained and manifested towards them by so many of the Laity. (1)

After such strong words, Toole continued his analysis of the English Jesuits, softening his touch a little:

It is when they preach that I admire them, not when they intrigue and cabal: it is when they obediently discharge their duties and not when they secretly and covertly carry on their machinations against the constituted authorities in the Church of God, as Mr. Lythgoe is now doing in this Liverpool Chapel affair. (2)

He went on to warn Lennon to take great care in what he involved himself:

I tell you, my Dear Lennon, with all respect for your knowledge of the matter, you do not understand the present Ecclesiastical condition of this country. You may know part, but you do not know the full extent of the questions now pending in Rome, or you would see that this Liverpool Chapel is not projected for the Glory of God, which is your object in furthering it, but to aid the views of a party and advance the cause of the worst of all insubordination and ambition Ecclesiastical. (3)

Later in the letter he considered the individual members of the committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, having been "somewhat amused at the array of names with which you intend to astonish me as your Committee". Thomas Polding, the secretary, and Denis Madden, he observed, had never previously been involved in such affairs, and could be regarded as puppets. Dr. Callon, who had been educated at Stonyhurst had "missed being a Priest", and was perhaps anxious "to make the Body (that is, the Society of Jesus) a little reparation without thinking that it is at the expense of the peace of his Bishop and the Church of God".

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(1) Toole to Lennon, 14 July 1840, APA, College of St. Aloysius District Accounts, 1700-1849, f.200.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., f.201.

Edward Holme, brother-in-law of Mr. Lythgoe of London, "the mainspring of the whole affair", and Thomas Lightbound, "connected with the same family by marriage", made the entire business "a pure family matter", which apparently accounted for "their unwonted activity in the affair". Hugh Bullen and William Jenkins, also members of the committee, he considered "to be like yourself - having no object in view but the purest and the best". He confessed not to know John Langsdale, but as he was a convert, he was "probably unacquainted with the real state of affairs" (1).

The appointment of Bishop George Brown, July 1840

Though the memorial sent by the Society of St. Francis Xavier to Propaganda in Rome was canonically correct, no reply to it was ever received by the committee. The reason lay in the increase of the four English Vicariates to eight on 3 July 1840. As a result of this change, Lancashire became a separate Vicariate under a newly appointed Vicar Apostolic, Bishop George Brown (2). To him now fell the duty of approving or disapproving the plans of the Society of St. Francis Xavier (3).

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Up to 1840 Brown had been a missionary in Lancaster.

(3) Brown had accepted the offer of the position of Vicar Apostolic of the new Lancashire District just four days after the memorial of the Society of St. Francis Xavier had been sent to Propaganda. Owing to chronic ill health and partly through diffidence, he had been very reluctant to accept the Vicariate, expressing this to Rome in terms much stronger than the traditional nolo episcopari; see Brown to Cardinal Fransoni, 7 June 1840, SCPF, SC Anglia 9, ff.802-803: and Brown to Fransoni, 8 August 1840, *ibid.*, f.825.

At a meeting on 17 July 1840 the Society of St. Francis Xavier resolved that a further memorial be addressed to the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Bird, requesting the appointment of a clergyman to superintend its proceedings. This request was made because every other Catholic society in Liverpool was seen to have a clergyman at its head. After a short time it was acceded to and Fr. Thomas Clarke of Gillmoss was appointed (1).

Permission to build a church - and opposition thereto

At some stage during the summer of 1840 the new Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Brown, and the Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Bird, met at Stonyhurst. It appears that at this meeting the Bishop gave verbal permission for the building of a new Jesuit church in Liverpool (2). As soon as this consent became public, two distinct groups of Catholic opponents began to voice their protest. The first was openly anti-Jesuit. The second group held that the financial interests of the neighbouring churches under the control of the secular clergy, particularly the already financially over-burdened St. Anthony's, would be seriously damaged by the proposed Jesuit church to be erected so near to it: the need for a Catholic church in such a sparsely populated area as Salisbury Street, on the very edge of the town, could not be understood. Both parties argued with great force, making the position of the Bishop extremely difficult.

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(1) Bird to Clarke, 10 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(2) Confirmed in a letter of one John Bushell to Fr. George Jenkins, S.J., Procurator of the English Province, 23 September 1840, APA, RW/7.

Matters were followed keenly in London by Fr. Randal Lythgoe who, on learning by letter from Fr. Bird, the Provincial, that Bishop Brown had sanctioned the new building, wrote immediately to Fr. Thomas Glover in Rome with an alarming message:

I extract from Fr. Provincial's letter a strange piece of information. 'He (Dr. Brown) moreover informed me that it was the express wish of His Holiness that all churches to be erected in future should all pay five per cent of their income to the maintenance of the Bishop, in case the Regulars ceased to be able to serve it. My answer was that if such was the will of the Holy See, I should not oppose it. He told me that the Benedictines had agreed to the same, and that they had proposed that the Bishop should be named as one of the Trustees'. (1)

Lythgoe continued, saying he could see no objection to securing the church in the hands of the Bishop, in case the Society of Jesus should cease to serve it:

....but in allotting five per cent to the Bishop, I see that many difficulties may arise. What is to be understood by the income of the place? Will it embrace Jura Stolae, Funeral fees etc., as well as bench rents? Will lay Patrons submit to this? I feel satisfied that they will not. (2)

Glover replied from Rome immediately, taking a very different view from that of Lythgoe. He suggested that the Bishop's name should definitely not be inserted in the title deeds of the proposed church in Liverpool. The experience of what had happened in Bristol was sufficient

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 27 September 1840, APA, India papers, f.112.

(2) Ibid.

lesson against that (1). In addition, Glover reported that he knew nothing of the five per cent arrangement and could not elicit more information until certain clerics in Rome returned from their summer vacation; but he did suggest that bench rents, "a thing unknown in the church of God and the curse of catholicity in England", should be abolished completely (2). If Lythgoe and his Jesuit brethren in England were to "trust to the voluntary contributions of a well-served people", he observed, "the Providence of God would not fail" (3).

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(1) Glover to R. Lythgoe, 8 October 1840, APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, ff.326-329.

In the 1830s there had been a dispute in Bristol concerning the church at Trenchard Street, which had been built by an ex-Jesuit, the Reverend Robert Plowden. After Plowden's departure from the town in unusual circumstances in 1815 - for which, see Ward, B., The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (Longmans, 1911-1912), II, p.68 - the church continued to be served by Jesuits and was eventually taken over by a secular priest. When the restoration of the Society of Jesus was formally recognised in 1829, the Jesuits wished to recover the church; yet, curiously, Bishop Peter Augustine Baines, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, who had taken a chief part in bringing about the restoration, was unwilling to allow their claim to the Bristol mission. The matter was eventually the subject of negotiations between Bishop Baines and the Jesuit General in Rome and was not settled until after the Bishop's death in 1843; see Ward, B., The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (Longmans, 1915), I, pp.44 and 49 and Letters and Notices, 9, pp.195-198. In 1840, during the Liverpool church crisis, the Bristol affair must have seemed particularly grim from the Jesuits' point of view; hence Glover's warning to Randal Lythgoe. For a full account of the Bristol dispute and the negotiations with the Jesuit General in Rome during the period 1834-1847, see ARSJ, Anglia 1013, IV; and SCPF, SC Anglia 10, ff.544-549.

(2) Glover to R. Lythgoe, 8 October 1840, APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, f.326.

(3) Ibid.

In the meantime, Bishop Brown, apparently succumbing to external pressure of opposing Catholics, wrote to the Jesuit Provincial stating that a church was not wanted in Salisbury Street, but that such a building under the direction of the Society of Jesus in another and more populous part of the town would be extremely useful (1). Realising that Bishop Brown was under strong pressure from some of the secular clergy, Fr. Bird replied, begging to differ with the Bishop. He claimed that as Provincial he had accepted the site originally since it was at much more than canonical distance from any other place of worship (a point vehemently disputed by some of the opponents of the Society of St. Francis Xavier), and as it was in a healthy and convenient situation for those who were in the future destined to live in the vicinity. As it was virtually impossible, in any case, to find a site in a more heavily populated area, he hoped that the Bishop would reconsider the matter (2).

With so much controversy from all sides, a full committee meeting of the Society of St. Francis Xavier had been called for on 27 September 1840 (3). Discreetly, behind the scenes, Fr. Clarke had been trying to put the final touches to the legal transactions completing the purchase of the Salisbury Street site before the Bishop's objections became public. In the midst of all this activity the then secretary of the committee of the Society, Thomas Polding,

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(1) Abstract of letter of Brown to Bird (undated) in APA, 6/4/2/5. For a printed extract of the substance of the same letter see ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 3, pp. 21-22.

(2) Bird to Brown, 3 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(3) Minute Book, 27 September 1840.

decided not to continue in office (1).

The calling of a truce October 1840

In an attempt to ease tension, and "to allow time for interested parties to come to a satisfactory arrangement, so that religion is not the loser" (2), Bishop Brown suggested a temporary suspension of the proceedings of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, without revoking his permission for the building of a Jesuit church in Liverpool.

Nevertheless, Fr. Bird was not to be caught allowing his opponents time to regroup before making further attacks. Writing to Brown from Worcester on 9 October 1840, he reminded him that Salisbury Street was outside the critical canonical distance from existing churches and that this was a matter he had been instructed to observe in choosing localities for any church which he might wish to build. He attacked the avaricious self-interest of secular clergy who jealously scrutinised any proposed church building which endangered their tithes by encroaching within canonical distances but who had conveniently overlooked this cherished regulation when the secular churches of St. Mary (opened 1818) and St. Augustine (opened 1838) were built in proximity to existing Jesuit churches in Wigan and Preston respectively. Stating fearlessly that

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(1) The reasons for Polding's decision to stand down are unclear; see letter of Clarke to R. Lythgoe, 5 October 1850, APA, RW/7. As a relative of Dr. John Bede Polding, the Liverpool-born Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land (Australia and Tasmania), shortly to be appointed first Archbishop of Sydney, Thomas Polding may have resigned to avoid embarrassment to his family in a conflict with an English Vicar Apostolic.

(2) Brown to Bird, 6 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

those making the present objections had no other wish than to prevent the Jesuits building altogether, he concluded by pointing out that the greatest inconvenience would follow the Bishop's interrupting the exertions of the friends of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool (1).

Prior to his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District, Brown had not visited Liverpool for many years owing to poor health. Surprisingly, even in the period of three months following his appointment in the summer of 1840, claiming he had been "so much occupied with a continual torrent of business" (2) in Lancaster and elsewhere, he did not manage to visit the town. When eventually he did visit Liverpool in September 1840 he was ....not a little surprised to find that the place named for the new Church, namely Salisbury Street, is in a neighbourhood where there are scarcely any houses, and that it stands about midway between the large Church of St. Anthony and the intended new Church of the Benedictines on Edge Hill; that there are no people there in want of a Church, for the two above mentioned will accommodate more people than will live in that quarter of the suburbs for many years to come (3).

Fr. Bird wrote to Fr. Clarke at Gillmoss assuring him that he would have given up the Salisbury Street site if he himself had really thought it a genuine threat to St. Anthony's church. He considered that such an argument "is little better than treating us like a parcel of fools" (4). It had been suggested that there should be an inquiry into the extent of the Catholic population of the Salisbury Street

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(1) Bird to Brown, 9 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(2) Brown to Monsignor Charles Acton, 3 November 1840, Lancashire Record Office, Preston, RCLV. Brown's letter to Acton, the Pope's adviser on English affairs, giving important background information about the Liverpool dispute, is reproduced in Appendix III.

(3) Brown to Acton, 3 November 1840; see Appendix III.

(4) Bird to Clarke, 16 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.



area in order to clarify the position, but Fr. Bird dismissed this as absurd, declaring "...if there be a chapel, there will soon be a congregation" (1). Yet despite his dismissal of untenable attitudes, he concluded his letter with a fear that some of the more vociferous members of St. Anthony's parish might well close their own church "out of spite and to frighten the poor Bishop" (2).

The Provincial's bluntness of approach with the Bishop and his determination to challenge his requests for a truce did not take long in producing a reaction. The Bishop's Vicar General, Dr. Thomas Youens, notified Fr. Clarke at Gillmoss that he had been requested to inform him that the Society of St. Francis Xavier did not have the Bishop's sanction; he hoped that a halt would be called to its proceedings (3). Fr. Bird, still at Worcester, was ready for action. Writing immediately to Bishop Brown directly, he stressed that he was observing the decree of Gregory XVI allowing regular clergy the right to build churches. He reminded the Bishop that the latter's permission had originally been granted to build a church in Salisbury Street; and that, as Provincial, he himself took responsibility for Fr. Clarke's actions, having asked him to direct the Society of St. Francis Xavier (4). Brown replied at once requesting a copy of Gregory XVI's authorisation. He argued that Bird must be mistaken in his view of the situation, particularly as Cardinal Fransoni,

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Youens to Clarke, 17 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5. In his letter Youens appends the Bishop's own letter to his Vicar General, dated Manchester, 10 October 1840, requesting youens to inform Fr. Clarke about the matter.

(4) Bird to Brown, 21 October 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

the Prefect of Propaganda in Rome, had stated in a letter of 13 May 1839 that the regular clergy could not build churches without the consent of the local bishop. As far as England was concerned, Brown considered the Vicars Apostolic as the equivalent of bishops in those countries which possessed a Catholic hierarchy (1). In an attempt to calm the situation, Bird wrote to Brown saying that he could not believe that the Pope and Cardinal Fransoni were really in disagreement over the rights of the regular clergy to build churches; he hoped that matters could soon be smoothed over (2).

#### The Liverpool dispute in perspective

The argument raging in Liverpool was but an argument in microcosm. For three hundred years in England relations between the clergy, secular and regular, had been strained. Financial concerns were often at the root of such conflict, with Vicars Apostolic fearful that, having no control of the purse-strings of the Religious Orders, they would have no control over them at all. The problem was complicated by the fact that there had long existed a fear that the secular/regular division of the clergy created two distinct classes of priest. Indeed, in some quarters there existed the curious notion that perfection belonged to regular clergy alone! The question was particularly sensitive at the beginning of the 1840s. With the arrival in England of increasing numbers of Irish secular clergy,

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(1) Brown to Bird, 24 October 1840, ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 3, ff.26-27.

(2) Bird to Brown, 28 October 1840, ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 3, f.25.

often less well educated than their English secular counterparts, fears of a widening of the secular/regular rift were real. The entire question of relations between the secular and regular clergy was to develop into a great storm by the end of the 1870s and subsided only on the issuing by Leo XIII in 1881 of the famous Constitution Romanos Pontifices, which attempted to settle the matter for the whole Catholic world.

The seeds of that great storm existed in Liverpool in the early 1840s. It is clear that Fr. Bird saw the Liverpool affair as a crucial test. In two letters to Thomas Glover, the English Jesuit agent in Rome, Bird stated clearly that he was anxious about the Liverpool question because of the principle involved. If Bishops in England had the power now to prevent the Society of Jesus from building churches, the Jesuits would always be prevented from expanding their work (1). Privately, he considered Bishop Brown to be weak and suggested that a strong order to him from Rome would be effective (2). Within less than a week Bird was again writing to Glover, informing him that Brown had stated that he was now "determined to lay down his life rather than yield" on the Liverpool question (3).

There is little doubt that Brown's obduracy was being fuelled in part by his Vicar General, Dr. Youens. Youens provided the Bishop with details of the leading committee members of the Society of St. Francis Xavier. Instead of an organisation to further the Catholic faith in Liverpool,

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(1) Bird to Glover, 18 October 1840, APA, RW/7.

(2) Bird to Glover, 26 October 1840, APA, RW/7.

(3) Bird to Glover, 31 October 1840, APA, RW/7.

Youens viewed the Society of St. Francis Xavier as a sinister Jesuit plot, orchestrated by a scheming Fr. Randal Lythgoe manipulating his relatives, Messrs. Lightbound, Holmes, Langsdale, Polding and Callon, as puppets to further his own ends. He even went so far as to point out that John Langsdale was a convert and that the land on which the proposed Jesuit church was to be built had originally belonged to his Protestant uncle. Such detail was intended to show the Bishop the extent to which the Jesuits were prepared to go in achieving their goal of building a church in Liverpool (1).

Shortly after this information had been passed by Youens to Brown, the Procurator of the English Province, Fr. Jenkins, learned from Fr. Glover in Rome the "impenetrable secret" that the Bishop had himself written to Propaganda giving his objections. But Fr. Bird had also been able to put his side of the case to Propaganda and it was rumoured that Dr. Brown would soon rescind his request for a halt in plans to build a Jesuit church in Liverpool (2). Fr. Bird had, in fact, simply stated to Propaganda that land had already been purchased for the proposed church and commitments were already half made both by the Bishop's verbal permission to build, given at Stonyhurst, and by the fact that the Society of St. Francis Xavier had been busy raising funds. Also, though there were only some 1380 Catholics living in the vicinity of Salisbury Street out of an estimated total of 80,000 Catholics in Liverpool, the trend of recent

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(1) Youens to Brown, 5 November 1840, ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 3, f.20. (copy of original).

(2) Glover to Jenkins, 12 November 1840, APA, Province Transcripts, 14/2/6, f.104.

years suggested that there would be an increase in numbers in the near future (1). While waiting for a response from Rome, Bird urged Fr. Clarke to prevent the committee members of the Society of St. Francis Xavier from becoming too downcast, lest they forgot their original purpose - to build a church and make it over to the Society of Jesus (2).

At local level hope had not been totally abandoned. During November 1840, Fr. Randal Lythgoe had visited the Reverend Mr. Wilcock, the incumbent at St. Anthony's, and apparently had had conciliatory talks with him. These were followed by an interview with Dr. Brown, probably at Ushaw College, Durham. The Bishop promised to visit Liverpool again and examine the question there (3).

Fr. Bird was able to use these events as a pretext for writing to the Bishop, informing him of the new move to re-establish peace at St. Anthony's. He also mentioned that a correspondent in Rome had told him that Propaganda had written to Dr. Brown. Being anxious to inform his friends in Liverpool of the good news that their site would no longer be objected to, he was interested to know if the Bishop could confirm the report. He also hoped that Dr. Brown was not offended by his own application to Propaganda, which had been made to avoid conflict and to smooth over

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(1) Bird to Propaganda, 16 November 1840, SCPF, SC Anglia, 9, ff.873-874. It is not clear how Fr. Bird arrived at a figure of 1380 Catholics living in the Salisbury Street area.

(2) Bird to Clarke, 9 December 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(3) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 1 December 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5, The meeting between Lythgoe and Dr. Brown presumably took place on 17 November 1840 as an entry in the Bishop's diary for that date reads "Lythgoe called: nothing". This is the only reference to Randal Lythgoe and the Liverpool affair in the diary which covers the years 1840-1850. See Diary of Bishop George Brown, Lancashire Record Office, Preston, RCLV, Acc.3770.

what he considered "imaginary difficulties" on the part of one or two of the clergy (1).

Dr. Brown's reply was abrupt. After the meeting between Fathers Lythgoe and Wilcox, the latter had been far from convinced that damage would not be inflicted on St. Anthony's; the Bishop's own objections to the Salisbury Street were not "imaginary", but real; and he had not yet heard from the Sacred Congregation (2). What Dr. Brown did not know was that copies of Fr. Bird's letter to him, and his reply, were immediately dispatched to Fr. Glover in Rome, and translated into Italian, to be used if necessary as further evidence to Propaganda of the justice of the Jesuits' cause (3).

#### The first Annual Report January 1841

A year had now passed since the foundation of the Society of St. Francis Xavier and the first Annual Report of the organisation was duly published (4). In the document the committee of the Society expressed the hope of success in their endeavours in the near future.

The publication of the Report drew three strong attacks. In the first place, Dr. Brown wrote to the Jesuit Provincial

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(1) Bird to Brown, 15 December 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(2) Brown to Bird, 22 December 1840, APA, 6/4/2/5.

(3) Copies in Italian of the letters of Bird to Brown, 15 December 1840, and Brown to Bird, 22 December 1840, together with remarks on the Liverpool affair in Italian, in Fr. Glover's hand, are to be found in APA, RW/7.

(4) First Annual Report of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, 24 January 1841. Copies can be found in APA, RW/7 and ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 2. The latter copy was sent with a covering note by Randal Lythgoe to Fr. General Roothaan in Rome on 2 February 1841.

complaining about the activities of Fr. Randal Lythgoe and the Society of St. Francis Xavier. He considered their latest actions as a grievous violation of respect and submission to authority, since the entire question of the new church was pending before higher authority; and he demanded that their activities cease (1). Fr. Bird's reply expressed his sorrow that the Report had caused the Bishop displeasure. It had been considered a mere expression of opinion and hope for the successful conclusion of a point which had not yet been decided by authority (2).

Next, Brown wrote from Lancaster to Cardinal Fransoni at Propaganda quoting the reply of St. Chad to St. Theodore of Canterbury on being informed by the latter that his consecration as a bishop was irregular:

*Si hoc ita sunt, libenter ab officio discedo: quippe qui me neque unquam dignum arbitrabar sed obedientiae causa jussus consensi.*(3)

Brown continued his letter declaring that he would prefer to return to the tranquillity and obscurity of his former work, catechising the country folk of North Lancashire, than have to continue much longer with his present problems with the Jesuits in Liverpool (4). The Bishop presumably imagined that this threat would impress the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and provoke a decision against the Society of Jesus in the Liverpool affair.

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(1) Brown to Bird, 9 February 1841, APA, RW/7. The reverse side of the letter bears a note outlining Bird's reply to the Bishop.

(2) *Ibid.*, (reverse side).

(3) "If you believe my consecration was irregular, I gladly resign from the office; indeed I never believed myself to be worthy of it. But I consented to receive it, however unworthy, in obedience to the commands I received."

See Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. Colgrave, B. and Mynors, R.A.B., (Oxford University Press, 1969), pp.334-335.

(4) Brown to Fransoni, 16 February 1841, SCPF, SOCG vol.961, f.125.

The third line of attack on the Report came in the form of a circular letter published by the authorities of St. Anthony's parish. It outlined the history of the foundation of the church, noted the possible prospect of a new church of St. Francis Xavier and the problems implied by its proximity to existing churches, and indicated the dangers of clashes of interest in Liverpool if the plan for building the Jesuit church were to go ahead. Briefly, it was argued that there was still a debt of £12,000 on the church and cemetery of St. Anthony's; that £1300 would be due on the completion of St. Anthony's school; and that "the following societies are all in active opposition:

- 1) a society at Seel Street church for the erection of a church
- 2) a convent and penitentiary at Edge Hill
- 3) a society at St. Mary's, for the erection of a new church
- 4) a society under the direction of Fr. John Maddocks for the erection of a church at Old Swan
- 5) the Reverend Gentlemen of Copperas Hill, soliciting for the erection of a convent in that district."<sup>(1)</sup>

That the defendants of St. Anthony's had good, strong objections to the site chosen by the Society of St. Francis Xavier for a new Jesuit church cannot be denied. There were comparatively few Catholics in the vicinity of the proposed church and after more than a year of hard battling little had been achieved. The committee of the Society began to become increasingly depressed. Two months passed without any progress in negotiations and without further news from Rome.

Fr. Randal Lythgoe was prompted to write in the strongest terms to Fr. Thomas Glover:

Now with regard to the Church of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool, you know that the ground is bought and that our Friends are ready to come forward if Rome will speak.

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(1) Circular letter, 10 February 1841, APA, RW/7.



It is really distressing to see how the zeal of Catholics is cooling on account of the apathy of Rome. If the Society is not allowed to build in Salisbury Street, all exertion for the advancement of religion in Liverpool will practically cease. If Propaganda does not intend to support the wishes of the Catholics of Liverpool, it would be better to say so at once, and the ground might then be sold. But if this should be the case, there is an end of all endeavours hereafter on the part of the laity to get up a church for the Society of Jesus either in Liverpool or London or any other great town. (1)

Fr. Glover's reply, gently reprimanding Lythgoe for his impatience, is interesting for the light it throws on Bishop Brown's own relations with Roman authorities:

With respect to the new church in Liverpool, you must have patience: it is in vain to attempt to move the Propaganda (sic) to any precipitate act; it will not be hurried from its accustomed slow, but in the end secure pace. It would have been more becoming in you to attribute these delays to prudence and caution, and justice, than to apathy. In fact Propaganda has already written a strong letter to Dr. Brown, urging him to withdraw his opposition to the site! Dr. Brown has answered that letter, declining to comply with the request, for the reasons which the Annual Report of the Society of St. Francis Xavier satisfactorily refutes, and offering to resign his mitre, if the Propaganda persists in its opinion. This hasty proceeding of the Bishop has displeased much the Prefect and Secretary of the Sacred Congregation. I have laid a translation of the Report before them, which will afford them matter for another communication to the Bishop. So that I have no doubt, with patience, prudence and the greatest deference to the Episcopal authority, we shall succeed in the end. Above all things, do not be in a fit of impatience or passion of any sort with the site you have already purchased. That would ruin your cause for ever. I feel you may find it difficult to persuade the Society of St. Francis Xavier to persevere in their exertions; yet I think you might make the leading members comprehend the necessity of patiently waiting some time longer; the justice of their cause, and the futility of the reasons opposed against them, are rightly estimated here; at the same time some deference and condescension (sic) is due to the opinions and prejudices of their opponents. Some people think that because their case is clear, a decision ought to be given immediately: whereas if they would compare the Propaganda to the court of Chancery in England, and the comparison

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Glover 17 April 1841, Province Transcripts, APA, 14/2/16, f.105. It must be remembered that the Society of Jesus was then negotiating in London for the opening of the first Jesuit church in the capital. The success or otherwise of the Liverpool affair - very much a test case - would have a profound effect elsewhere.

would stand in many points, they would find that off-handed decisions are not to be expected. Again each one imagines that his own case is the most urgent, and that the Propaganda has little else to do than to attend to it; whereas it has in causes of the highest importance, from every quarter of the globe. Expound these and similar reasons to the Society; and tell them that 'in the end they will be victorious. Take care not to divulge that I have seen Bishop Brown's letter; or else, I shall see nothing more.(1)

It is not recorded whether Fr. Lythgoe was able to give further encouragement to the committee of the Society of St. Francis Xavier after receiving Glover's letter. By the beginning of June 1841, Glover learnt from Fr. Bird that

....the Liverpool Committee are falling to pieces. I am afraid that they will soon sink to nothing. What is to become of the Decree of Gregory XVI? Cui bono? (2)

Again, just over a fortnight later, he informed Glover that

....nothing or next to nothing is doing in Liverpool: the Committee has nearly died away - just the effect that the obstinate Vicar Apostolic intended and looked for; it may be revived should a decided sentence come from Rome.(3)

#### Randal Lythgoe's appeal for peace, June 1841

On 21 June 1841, Fr. Randal Lythgoe and Bishop Brown met in Birmingham at the opening of St. Chad's Cathedral. This was a spectacular event, a celebration of both the Catholic and the Gothic revivals in England; the first cathedral to be built in Britain in three hundred years, designed by Pugin, was to be opened in the presence of the architect. The Mass on this occasion was sung by Dr. Thomas Walsh, Vicar Apostolic of the Central District, and his co-adjutor Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, the future Cardinal,

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(1) Glover to R. Lythgoe, 6 May 1841, APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, f.329. The Italian translation of the first Annual Report of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, referred to above, can be found in SCPF, SOCG, Vol.961, ff.129-130.

(2) Bird to Glover, 3 June 1841, APA, Province Transcripts, 14/2/16, f.106.

(3) Bird to Glover, 21 June 1841, APA, College of St. Ignatius, 1802, ff.46-47.

preached (1). Thirteen bishops were present, including two from Scotland, one from the United States and Dr. John Bede Polding, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. In addition, over one hundred and fifty clergy (a very large number for the day) and all the leading Catholics of the land, from the Earl of Shrewsbury downwards, attended. After the opening Mass a magnificent banquet was held in Birmingham Town Hall, under the presidency of Lord Camoys. The number and length of the speeches can be gathered from the fact that the dinner began at three o'clock and the company did not depart until after nine. Towards the end of the celebrations a toast was proposed to "the Clergy, secular and regular". Fr. Randal Lythgoe had been asked to reply. In view of the fact that problems in Liverpool must have been weighing heavily on his mind, Lythgoe's remarks are interesting. Indeed his words could almost be interpreted as a personal address to Bishop Brown. He began by declaring that he was honoured and delighted to reply to such a toast:

....it gives me an opportunity of expressing how desirous I am...that the secular and regular clergy should be united, not alone in the honours paid at the dinner-table but, above all, that they should be one in mind, in heart in the promotion of the great object in which we are all engaged. We have the same standard, we fight under the same chief; our object is the same, our belief is the same, our hope of resurrection is the same. Some of us may be clothed in white, some in black, some in grey, some in brown: but whatever those may say who do not understand our religion, neither our external habit nor the discipline to which we choose to subject ourselves constitutes any essential difference in our points of faith. No; the holy solitary, the devout religious woman, the anxious and zealous missionary believe alike; have all the same object. The former lift up their hands to heaven, whilst the latter fight the battles of the Lord. Yes, and it is this generous combination, with the right subordination and dependence

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(1) Wiseman had been consecrated bishop in 1840 after a period of twelve years as Rector of the Venerable English College, Rome.

of the parts upon each other, which forms the beauty and the strength of the Catholic Church. The Vicar of Christ, from whom all depend, the venerable bishops, the clergy, secular and regular, with the pious laity form but one whole which, like the celestial hierarchy, can never clash when each component part contributes to move in its proper sphere. Nothing, my Lord, can contribute more to cement this union, such as these which put us in mind of the glorious days of the Catholic Church in this land. Such structures as the one which has just been opened cannot be raised every day; but zeal and industry may be enabled to erect less costly edifices. May, then, fresh churches arise on every side (1). Their ministers may not overabound in worldly store; but he who has care of the birds of the air and the lilies of the field will not fail to supply the wants of his zealous ministers. I again thank you for having so kindly drunk to our health. (2)

The spirit of unity and friendship which prevailed in all the speeches at the Birmingham banquet was long remembered; indeed, the occasion was long looked back upon as the most important day in the Catholic revival in England. As far as the Liverpool affair was concerned, Randal Lythgoe was able to report to Fr. Glover that following his encounter with Dr. Brown in Birmingham he felt satisfied that "if a kind but firm order were sent to him from Rome, the affair would be terminated" (3).

Randal Lythgoe appointed Provincial, September 1841

The entire circumstances of the Liverpool affair were to be altered a mere two months after the opening of St. Chad's Cathedral, when, on 14 September 1841, Fr. Randal Lythgoe was appointed English Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in succession to Fr. Bird.

Within days of taking up office, Lythgoe received the

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(1) My own emphasis.

(2) The Tablet, 26 June 1841, pp.414-415. An account of the proceedings in Birmingham can also be found in Ward, B., The sequel to Catholic Emancipation (Longmans, 1915), II, pp.13-15.

(3) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 29 July 1841, APA, RW/7.

welcome news that the Pope's adviser on English affairs, Monsignor Charles Acton in Rome, had handed his own opinion on the Liverpool dispute to Propaganda. He learned that Acton's views were favourable to the Society of Jesus and centred mainly around the principle of the powers of the regular clergy in England. As Acton was highly regarded by Propaganda, much was to be hoped for from his involvement (1). Nevertheless, despite his support for the Jesuits in general, Acton could see that the specific financial objections from St. Anthony's parish in Liverpool had some degree of force (2).

After his first Provincial Congregation at Stonyhurst in October 1841, Randal Lythgoe went to Liverpool to plead again with the Rev. Mr. Wilcock of St. Anthony's for conciliation. Though he managed to have an interview with the Vicar General, Dr. Youens, in which little further progress was made, he did not succeed in meeting Dr. Brown. The Bishop flatly refused to see Lythgoe and promptly left for Rome "to conquer or lay down his mitre" (3). Lythgoe's appeal in Birmingham for peace and reconciliation had

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(1) Glover to R. Lythgoe, 18 September 1841, APA, RW/7.

(2) Acton to Glover, ? September 1841, APA, RW/7.

(3) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 21 October 1841, APA, RW/7.

During October and November 1841, Lythgoe appears to have established himself temporarily at the Jesuit mission at Lydiate, north of Liverpool; see Gibson, op.cit., p.293.

evidently been totally ignored (1).

In order to strengthen the Jesuits' position from the Roman end, with the imminent arrival of the Bishop there, Lythgoe drafted a long letter to Glover, enlarging on the ancient connection of the Society of Jesus with Liverpool, and arguing the impossibility of their finding a site for a church close to the docks, as the Bishop had suggested

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(1) Brown was apparently completely unaware of the support and loyalty which Randal Lythgoe had pledged to him, apart from what had been said at the Dinner in Birmingham. In 1839 Fr. Glover had written to Lythgoe from Rome asking him what his opinion was of the Reverend George Brown of Lancaster, whose name was being mentioned in Roman clerical circles as a potential future bishop. Lythgoe had replied that as a bishop he would be "excellent"; see R. Lythgoe to Glover, 15 September 1839, APA, Foreign Correspondence, 1776-1859, f.364. Five months later, in response to a more detailed enquiry from Glover, Lythgoe had replied: D. Georgius Brown (apud Lancaster) si valetudo hoc permittit, mihi aptior videtur ad Episcopalem dignitatem quam ullus alius ex clero saeculari; annos habet quasi 50. Est pius, doctus, prudens, Religionis zelator, Sancta Sedi addictus, et omnibus aliis boni Pastoris requisitus, munitus olim, Religiosus Ordinibus erat infensus, sed omnia praejudicia diu deposuit. Est ex honesta familia. See R. Lythgoe to Glover, 16 February 1840, APA, Foreign Correspondence, 1776-1859, f.367. Having given such a good testimonial of Brown's abilities, Lythgoe must have found the Bishop's conduct towards the affairs of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool exceedingly trying.

Lythgoe's reply as above:

Health permitting, Fr. George Brown at Lancaster would seem to me more worthy of being made a bishop than any other member of the secular clergy; he is about 50 years old. He is pious, learned, prudent, zealous in Religious matters, faithful to the Holy See and has all the qualities needed in a good priest. He was once hostile to Religious Orders, but for a long time he has laid prejudice aside. He is of a respected family.

over a year before (1). He noted two important developments affecting the work of the Church of England in Liverpool:

Since we bought the land in Salisbury Street another Protestant church has sprung up within a few hundred yards of it. The Protestant Institute or University of Liverpool, not 200 yards from it, is rising fast and when finished will rival some of the Colleges at Oxford.(2)

Lythgoe's reference to the 'Protestant Institute or University', that is, Liverpool Collegiate Institution, then in the course of construction in Shaw Street, is significant. Doubtless he was worried by the thought that the Anglican middle classes were busy providing new educational opportunities for the youth of Liverpool while the Society of Jesus, able and willing to offer a similar opportunity to the young Catholic boys of the town, was being hampered in its work by an impossibly difficult bishop who should himself have been actively fostering the education of his flock.

By the end of November 1841, the Bishop had returned from Rome. It would appear that the Prefect of Propaganda had successfully urged him to moderate his attitude to the Society of Jesus particularly with regard to its proposed return to Liverpool. At a charity dinner in Liverpool, presided over by Lord Clifford, Bishop Brown introduced the new Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Randal Lythgoe, and praised the Society of Jesus. Fr. Lythgoe in reply, recounted the Society's old connections with Liverpool and expressed his hope that they would be resumed in the near future. These remarks met with the approval of the assembly, with the exception of the Reverend William Parker, of St. Patrick's, Toxteth Park, the leader of the opposition, who refused

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(1) R.Lythgoe to Glover, 26 October 1841, SCPF, Acta, vol.205, f.82.

(2) Ibid. The church referred to was presumably St.Silas's, Pembroke Place, opened on 1 October 1841.

to drink the toast, so offending his best friends (1).

It seems that at this stage much of the argument with St. Anthony's had shifted towards the provision of a burial ground at the proposed St. Francis Xavier's Church. The burial ground attached to St. Anthony's was then nearly full and it was felt that the new church would have an unfair advantage over the neighbouring parish if it were able at the outset to benefit financially from a burial ground. Fr. Lythgoe was not to be distracted by such a minor mercenary issue and wrote to Rome conceding that a burial ground would not be attached to the proposed new church (2).

Early in 1842 the opposition party at St. Anthony's issued through Dr. Brown an unexpected set of proposals to Propaganda in Rome. First they suggested that the Society of Jesus be empowered to erect a school with a church for the scholars on the ground already purchased. They further proposed that the Vicar Apostolic be instructed within three months to open as much free ground as possible for burials at St. Anthony's.

That the opposition party should have suggested the opening of a Jesuit school in Liverpool as a solution to the problem is surprising as there had not been any previous mention by anybody of such a possibility (3). In Jesuit

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(1) A report of the charity dinner is to be found in a letter of R. Lythgoe to Glover, 26 November 1841, APA, RW/7.

(2) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 24 January 1842, APA, RW/7.

(3) As will shortly be shown, the report on the Liverpool affair, presented confidentially to Propaganda in September 1841 by the Pope's adviser on English affairs, Monsignor Acton, strongly urged, inter alia, the opening of a Jesuit college in Liverpool. Acton's report was not examined in detail by Propaganda until 28 February 1842. It is possible that in the period between September 1841 and February 1842, Acton's suggestion was divulged to the Jesuits' opponents in Liverpool. This would seem to be the only explanation for their sudden, extraordinary suggestion.



circles in Rome, the new proposals were seen as playing for time. Fr. Glover wrote a strong letter of protest to Acton complaining that the proposal for a church attached to a college and reserved solely for the use of pupils was "illusory in the highest degree" (1). The Catholics of Liverpool had contributed money for the erection of a church, which they regarded as the first and most urgent necessity. If they were to be deprived of this advantage, they would withdraw their contributions and the business would be ended. He continued:

The prospect of a College in opposition to and in the very face of the Protestant institution is a future plan which cannot be executed until the Society be firmly established and become better known in Liverpool. The importance of such an institution in such a situation must be evident to all. (2)

#### The intervention of Fr. General Roothaan

Throughout the long two years of the Liverpool dispute, the Jesuit General, Fr. Roothaan, had been kept in close touch with the situation without personally intervening. Now, with what must have been considered by the Jesuits themselves as a grave threat to the future missionary work of the Society of Jesus in England, he felt it is his duty to make his first and, as it proved, only representation to Propaganda on the matter. Writing to Cardinal Fransoni he acknowledged the recent receipt from Propaganda of a copy of the letter written by Brown to Propaganda nearly a year before, on 16 February 1841. The document in question, containing the reference to Saints Chad and Theodore and Brown's own thinly veiled threat to resign his office as bishop if the Jesuits won in the Liverpool

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(1) Glover to Acton, 16 February 1842, SCPF, Acta, vol.205, f.82. A copy of the same document can be found in APA,RW/7.

(2) Ibid. The "Protestant institution" alluded to was again the Liverpool Collegiate Institution in Shaw Street.

affair, Roothaan found "quite important" (1). Politely and charitably, the General pointed out that Brown himself had admitted he did not know the town of Liverpool. Furthermore, the Bishop had referred to the "power of the Jesuits in Rome" as a threat to his own position; in reality he urgently needed to be reminded that there were two other major disputes raging at that moment in Bristol and London concerning the claims of the Society of Jesus to work as missionaries in those two cities. In such a situation it could scarcely be claimed that the Jesuits had the upper hand and were about to crush the secular clergy (2).

Propaganda examines the Liverpool affair, February 1842

To what extent, if at all, Roothaan's intervention affected the outcome of the Liverpool is impossible to assess. Within five days of receiving the General's letter the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda met to examine the entire case and scrutinise the report received in September 1841 from Monsignor Acton, now newly nominated cardinal. Acton's thirty-five page manuscript report "Sulla erezione di una nuova Chiesa da dedicarsi a S. Francesco Saverio et da uffiziarsi dai Padri della Compagnia di Gesù nella Città di Liverpool" (3) was to prove a model of lucidity. With his unusual Anglo-Neapolitan background Cardinal Acton, first judge of the Roman civil courts and consultor or adviser on English affairs both to Propaganda and the Pope, was an ideal arbiter in the

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(1) Roothaan to Frasoni, 23 February 1842, ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 4, ff.2-3.

(2) Ibid.

(3) SCPF, SOCG, vol.961, ff.57-92. Acton had been nominated cardinal on 24 January 1842; see D.N.B., I, p.65. A printed copy of Acton's report can be found in ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 3.

dispute (1).

Beginning with a survey of the growing importance and prosperity of Liverpool as a centre of commerce, Acton argued that religion should not be neglected in the town: there were, in fact, only fifteen or sixteen priests working among a Catholic population of 80,000. In an important section of his survey, entitled "Ragioni per aprire in Liverpool una Chiesa ed una casa per i Gesuiti" (2), the Cardinal pointed out that the dispute in Liverpool was not merely a small domestic issue but one which had wider implications. First of all, with the Benedictines, the Jesuits had served Liverpool during penal days and, as a matter of justice, ought to be considered now as an order

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(1) Charles Januarius Acton (1803-1847) was the second son of Sir John Francis Acton, the sixth baronet, of Aldenham, Shropshire. The family had long been connected with Naples and the father of the future cardinal was prime minister of Naples for several years. In 1811, on the death of his father, Charles Acton left his birthplace in Naples and was sent to England for his education. After studying at Westminster School and Magdalen College, Cambridge - a highly unusual background for a Catholic of the period - Acton left England to begin training for the priesthood in Rome. Leo XII later appointed him one of his chamberlains and, in 1828, secretary to the Papal Nuncio in Paris. Next he was appointed governor of Bologna. On the accession of Gregory XVI, he was named Secretary of the Congregation Disciplina Regolare, the duties of which were to prevent and correct all violations or relaxations of discipline in religious communities. Acton was also Cardinal Protector of the Venerable English College, Rome from 1843 until his death in 1847; see D.N.B., I, pp.65-66 and Williams, M.E., The Venerable English College, Rome: a history, 1579-1979 (Associated Catholic Publications, London, 1979), p.234.

(2) The text of this section is reproduced in its printed form in Appendix IV. The printed version of the report was published by Propaganda in April or May 1842. Copies can be found in SCPF, Acta, vol.205, ff.37-59 and in ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II, 6.

worthy of being allowed to re-establish themselves in Liverpool. Next, as Stonyhurst was forty miles away, it was not unreasonable to allow the Society of Jesus a base in the nearest large town. As Liverpool was also a major port, it was desirable that a suitable base should be provided for Jesuits passing through the town on their way to and from the foreign missions. Thirdly, and most significantly, Acton pointed to the future possibility of the foundation of a Jesuit college in Liverpool. What was lacking both in Liverpool and London was a school for those Catholics not so poor as to need to send their sons to poor schools and not sufficiently wealthy to send them to boarding schools. Small academies run by Catholic laymen were few and far between in England and there was not one in Liverpool to be found listed in the 1841 Catholic Directory. The only educational provision the Directory did show for Catholic children in the town was a total of 1530 places for boys and girls at St. Nicholas's, St. Peter's and St. Patrick's Poor Schools, together with an orphanage. Day schools such as those opened by the Jesuits in the larger towns of Italy would, he felt, be a boon to the sons of Catholics living in the larger towns of England. Such a day school in Liverpool would undoubtedly attract a large number of boys. The only consideration would be to make parents pay a small monthly fee, as did the Jesuits in Dublin; the existence of a small tuition fee removed the distaste of parents sending their sons to a free school. (1).

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(1) Though he did not mention the fact, the small Jesuit school in London in the 1820s had not prospered, it will be recalled, because it had offered gratuitous education.

Acton envisaged a Jesuit school in Liverpool not simply dispensing learning for its own sake, but giving pupils a training in virtue and piety and preparing them to face the world of business and commerce without losing their religious beliefs. Appending some statistics to his report, Acton showed the extent of non-Catholic educational activity in England in the early 1840s: the British and Foreign Schools Society and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge were making a significant contribution to education while the National Society for the Education of the Poor were educating 1,276,947 scholars out of a total population of 13,897,187 in England and Wales (1). Such a situation demanded action from the Catholic authorities. Who, asked Acton, could better begin work in Liverpool in improving the education of middle class Catholics than that Order founded for a great apostolic mission - the Society of Jesus?

#### The effect of Acton's report

In raising the Liverpool dispute above the level of local mercenary considerations and petty arguments over minor issues such as the opening of burial grounds, and in setting the problems of the Catholics of the town in a national context, Acton gave a new perspective to the entire question. His recommendation that a Jesuit college be established in Liverpool as a first step in an urgently needed national effort to meet the educational needs of the sons of the Catholic middle classes of England was of

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(1) SCPF, Acta, vol.205, f.59. The latter figure used was evidently based on the 1831 census return for England and Wales.

great significance. It had taken an English cleric living in Rome to indicate the way in which Catholic education in England ought to develop.

In Rome, Fr. Thomas Glover, the agent for the English Jesuits, recognised the importance of Acton's report and within a few days of the meeting of Propaganda wrote to the Cardinal to express his thanks:

Allow me to present to your Eminence the humble but most sincere acknowledgement of gratitude in the name of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, and I am convinced, of all other religious orders in our country, for your energetic and, I trust, efficacious defence of the cause of justice and of religion. May the God of justice and of holiness reward your disinterested zeal. On the part of the Society (of Jesus) a debt of gratitude is contracted, which will be gratefully repaid, as far as our humble prayers for your welfare may be acceptable at the throne of grace... Whatever decree is now made should have reference to the future, for it would require centuries before a change could be made. Now, daily experience proves that the more Catholic churches are multiplied, the more Catholics increase; and the raising of a new church has never injured one pre-existing. (1)

The decision of Propaganda, April 1842

Within six weeks of examining Acton's report, Propaganda made public its findings, sending its decision on 17 April 1842 to Fr. Roothaan, the Jesuit General in Rome, the Society of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool and Bishop Brown (2). The verdict was that the Society of Jesus was to be allowed to build a church in Salisbury Street, but it was not to be opened for six years after

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(1) Glover to Acton, 2 March 1842, SCPF, Acta, vol.205, f.60.

(2) The copy of the decree of Propaganda addressed to Fr. Roothaan and signed by Archbishop Ignatius Cadolini of Edessa, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation, is to be found in ARSJ, Anglia 1013, II,7; that intended for the Society of St. Francis Xavier is preserved in APA, RW/7; a copy of the letter sent by Propaganda to Bishop Brown can be found in SCPF, Lettere e Decreti, 1842, parte la, vol.327, f.388.

the publication of the present decree of Propaganda. Neither baptisms, marriages nor funerals were to take place in the church, and the sum of ten pounds per annum was to be paid to the Bishop. The decree made no mention of the possibility of a Jesuit school being opened in Liverpool, following Cardinal Acton's recommendation. As no formal application for the opening of such a school had ever been made to Propaganda by the Society of Jesus, it is not surprising that the Sacred Congregation did not make a pronouncement on the question. However, Acton's call for the establishment of a Jesuit school and the publication of his report on the Liverpool dispute lent tacit support to the idea.

The entire affair seemed to have reached a successful conclusion when Fr. Randal Lythgoe, the English Jesuit Provincial, received a letter from Bishop Brown, then in Rome, expressing his pleasure at the decision, giving his assent to the terms agreed and expressing his desire for peace and harmony (1). Lythgoe evidently replied graciously to the Bishop in Rome and received a further letter from Dr. Brown in which the Bishop thanked him for his friendliness of manner and expressed his great personal regard towards the Society of Jesus (2). Though the storm had passed and peace had been restored, neither man knew that there was soon to be further turbulence ahead.

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(1) Brown to R. Lythgoe, 25 April 1842, APA, RW/7.

(2) Brown to R. Lythgoe, 14 May 1842, APA, RW/7.

CHAPTER TWOCOLLEGIUM INCHOATUM 1842-1851Private plans, Summer 1842

Nearly two and a half years of activity and controversy had now passed since the formation of the Society of St. Francis Xavier. The temporary lull which seems to have occurred during the summer of 1842, after the decision of Propaganda, must have come as a welcome relief to the lay committee (1). Fr. Randal Lythgoe, however, as active as ever, was about to embark on a new and important work.

Early in September 1842, he made his way to the Jesuit mission at Spinkhill, near Sheffield, in order to open there a new boarding school, the future Mount St. Mary's College (2). The development of Spinkhill had been in his mind for some time. Nine months earlier, in a letter written to Fr. Thomas Glover in Rome at the height of the Liverpool crisis he had stated that he wanted to develop devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the English Province and intended "to build a small church at Spink Hill to be called St. Mary's Mount" (3). It is interesting to note that at that stage the possibility of opening a school there was not mentioned. At Spinkhill the Jesuits were already well established and the opening of a new school in the locality would not appear too surprising.

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(1) A period of calm is suggested by the absence of any further reference to events in Liverpool between May and October 1842 in the English Province and Roman archives of the Society of Jesus and in those of Propaganda.

(2) Mount St. Mary's College opened on Wednesday 14 September 1842; see The Tablet, 10 September 1842, p.480.

(3) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 24 January 1842, APA, RW/7.



This proved to be the case, but the situation in Liverpool was a different matter. It had been earlier acknowledged by Fr. Glover in Rome that the opening of a Jesuit school in Liverpool was a desirable goal which could only be achieved once the Society of Jesus was re-established in the town. Privately, Lythgoe was beginning to think otherwise. The educational needs of the Anglican middle classes of Liverpool were now being met in the newly founded Liverpool College, then in the course of construction in Shaw Street, overlooking the very site of the proposed church of St. Francis Xavier. Lythgoe saw this as a very real threat to the intentions of his superiors in Rome regarding a Jesuit school in Liverpool. Furthermore, another threat to the future of the Society of Jesus in the town suddenly appeared on the announcement that the Vicar Apostolic, Dr. George Brown, was intending to open a school for Catholic boys at St. Domingo House, Everton, not a mile from the site of the proposed Jesuit church. Quietly, without consulting his superiors, Randal Lythgoe had already taken positive action to avoid the collapse of his vision of a future Jesuit college in Liverpool.

Writing from Spinkhill to the Jesuit General, Fr. Roothaan, in mid-September 1842, Lythgoe explained that because of the obligatory six year delay in the opening of the proposed church of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool some immediate action on the part of the Society of Jesus was needed in the town. Consequently he had already made arrangements to take, for a small price, a house in a convenient location with the idea of opening a small day school where the "rudiments of Grammar" might be taught by one priest and two scholastics. He hoped that this

collegium inchoatum might eventually develop into a full college. He explained that he needed to move quickly in establishing a school because of the imminence of the opening of Bishop Brown's new school at St. Domingo House and because he did not wish to be accused later of having created competition. In acting in this manner he hoped that he was behaving in accordance with the General's wishes (1).

Roothaan replied stating that he saw the opening of a school in Liverpool as opportune and indeed necessary, but he was worried that the small community of Jesuits proposed by Lythgoe might be so small as to be depressing and that it might adversely affect morale (2).

#### The opening of a school at Soho Street October 1842

The Accounts of the Jesuit Procurator in Lancashire show that during the course of October 1842 the Provincial's cousin, Fr. Francis Lythgoe, took possession of a house in Soho Street, Liverpool, on the hillside just below the site for the proposed new church. On 17 October, the Lancashire Procurator, Fr. West, paid Fr. Francis Lythgoe £5 "towards

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Roothaan, 18 September 1842, ARSJ, Anglia 1003, IX,1. The Rev. John Fisher and the Rev. Alexander Goss, First President and Vice-President respectively of the new school (later to become St. Edward's College) arrived at St. Domingo House, Everton on 16 October 1842. After preparations had been made, the first student arrived on 17 January 1842. See St. Edward's College Register, 1842-1900, Upholland MSS., Upholland College, Lancashire. Randal Lythgoe's action in opening a collegium inchoatum in Liverpool was, therefore, taken to prevent later accusations of unfair competition.

(2) Roothaan to R. Lythgoe, (letter undated), ARSJ, English Province Letterbook 1830-1850 f.180.

PLATE II

THE FOUNDING FATHERS

Top left

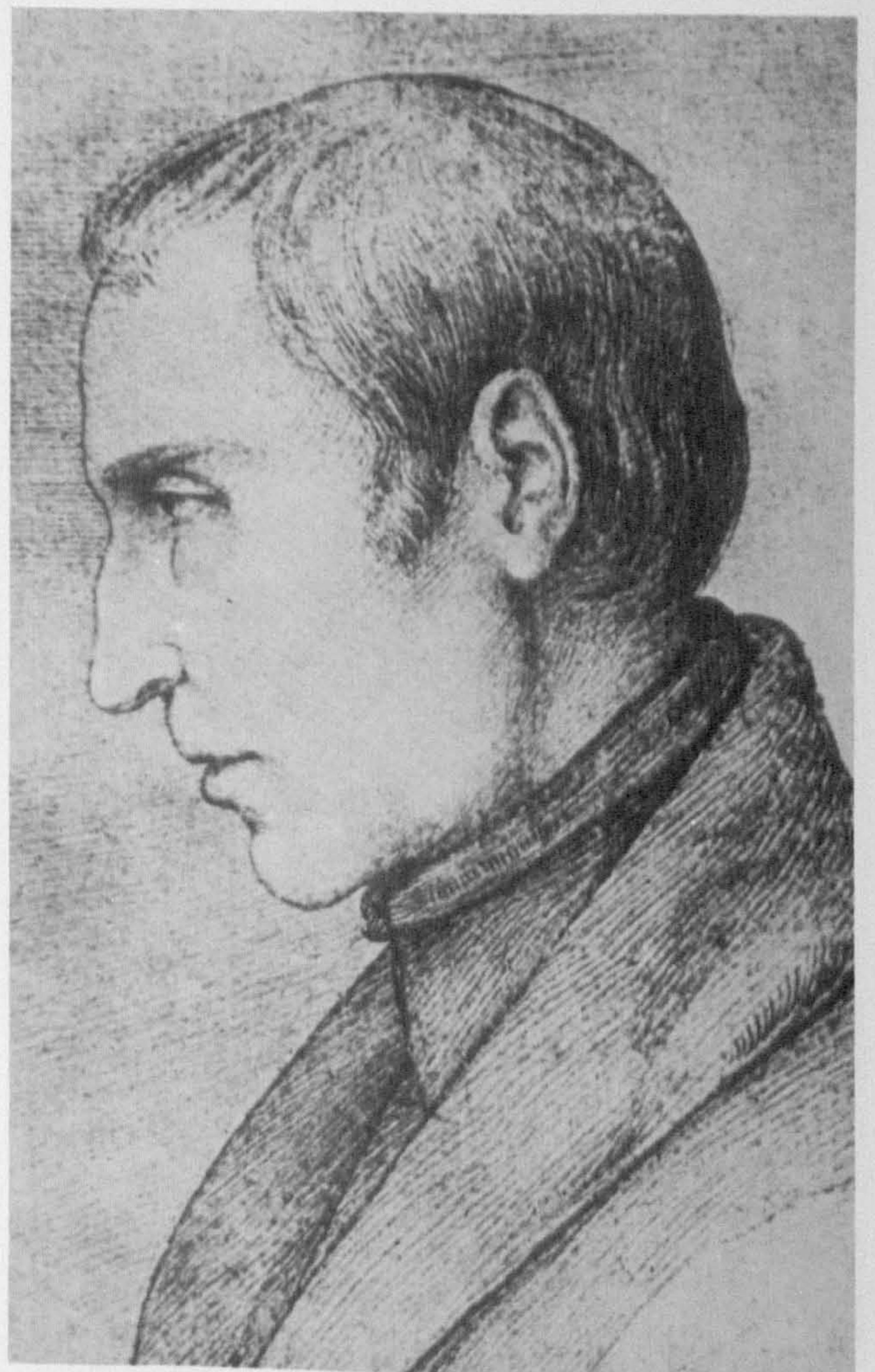
FR. RANDAL LYTHGOE, S.J. (1793-1855)  
Provincial of the English Province of the Society of Jesus  
1841-1848  
Founder of the collegium inchoatum of St. Francis Xavier,  
1842

From an early photograph of c. 1850, APA, 31.

Bottom right

FR. JAN PHILIP ROOTHAAN, S.J. (1785-1853)  
Superior General of the Society of Jesus 1832-1853  
Founder of the College of St. Francis Xavier, Liverpool,  
1851

From a drawing of Fr. Roothaan in prayer dated 1832 by  
Edward Steinle in the Roman Archives of the Society of  
Jesus.



furnishing the school" (1). This would seem to be the first record of the impending return of the Jesuits to Liverpool. Three days later an unnamed person was sent to the Jesuit mission at Bedford Leigh, in East Lancashire, where "a pair of bed stocks, mattress, feather bed, bolster, pillows, blanketts (sic) and a quilt" were purchased for the new house in Liverpool. Once the barest essentials had been obtained, the school could open. But pupils had first to be found. The following Prospectus was published in the Liverpool Mercury:

Catholic Preparatory Day School, No.36, Soho Street  
The Rev. R. Lythgoe begs to announce to the Catholics of Liverpool that he has taken measures for opening a Preparatory Classical and Commercial Day School, at No.36, Soho Street, to be conducted by Masters from, and in connection with Stonyhurst.

The Religious and Moral Instruction of the Pupils will form the first care of the Teachers. The Pupils will also be taught the different branches of education usually taught in such schools, and when Parents wish it, French, Latin and Greek also, without any extra charge.

The terms will be Two Pounds Ten Shillings per Quarter; payment will be made in advance. Pens, Ink and Paper will be provided. School Books will be the only extra charge.

Application for Admission must be made to the Rev. Francis Lythgoe (late of Holywell), at No.36, Soho Street. The School will be opened on Thursday next, the 27th instant. (2)

The school was placed under the care of Fr. Francis Lythgoe (1796-1873) who was joined on 5 February 1843 by a young assistant master, Fr. Charles Havers, who had recently been ordained (3). The actual opening of the school on 27 October 1842, unlike the laying of the foundation

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(1) Liverpool School Account in APA, RW/6. On the same day, 17 October 1842, Fr. West made an entry in the accounts for "Dinner for Fr. Provincial and self at the Adelphy (sic) 4/11½d". The "Adelphy" still survives as the Adelphi Hotel in the centre of Liverpool.

(2) Liverpool Mercury, Friday 21 October 1842. The term "Preparatory Day School" did not denote a preparatory school in the modern sense, but rather a school preparing pupils for a future career.

(3) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.137.

stone of Liverpool College in 1840 (1) was not heralded with any ceremony. Yet the event was of great significance. The Jesuits had now returned to Liverpool after an absence of nearly sixty years. The first Catholic secondary day school in Liverpool had been opened and a new era in the educational work of the English Province of the Society of Jesus had begun.

It is interesting to find that the Prospectus for the new school in Liverpool stresses the link with Stonyhurst so strongly. The reasons for this are clear from a letter which Randal Lythgoe sent to Fr. Glover in Rome in December 1842:

Your Reverence is probably aware that I hired a house in Liverpool in the beginning of October in order that we might lay the foundations as it were of a future College by establishing a preparatory day school. I was induced to do this through the pressing solicitations of Our Friends and because I felt that if such a school were opened later, it would be represented as opened in opposition to St. Domingo's House in the suburbs of Liverpool, which is to be opened as a school or college after Christmas. (2)

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(1) For an account of the ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of Liverpool College on 22 October 1840, see Wainwright, D., Liverpool Gentlemen (Faber, 1960), pp.31-34.

(2) R.Lythgoe to Glover, 8 December 1842, APA College of St. Ignatius, Farm Street, 1802, ff.55-56. The imminent opening of St. Edward's College was probably not the sole reason for the "pressing solicitations" of the Jesuits' friends in Liverpool. The defeat of the Liberal party by the Tories in the local election of November 1841 led to the introduction of a policy which made it impossible for any Catholic child to attend further the North and South Corporation schools. There, for six years, a bold experiment in interdenominational education had operated with great success. The Tories' insistence on the removal of the Douai Version of the Bible from the Council schools and its replacement by the Authorized Version led, by December 1842, to the withdrawal of over 900 Catholic pupils from the schools. Fees at the new school opened by the Jesuits in Liverpool would have prevented all but a few of the Catholic boys formerly at the Council schools from attending. However, the establishment of any new school, fee-paying or otherwise, for the Catholics of Liverpool would have been warmly welcomed by the Catholic population. It is highly likely that Randal Lythgoe was urged to begin his school as a first step in the provision of Catholic schools for Catholic children after the Tories' victory. For a full study of the crisis at the North and South Corporation schools see Murphy, J., The Religious Problem in English Education: The Crucial Experiment (Liverpool University Press, 1959).

By emphasizing the link with Stonyhurst, Randal Lythgoe presumably felt that further conflict with the Bishop might be avoided - especially as his permission for the opening of a school in Liverpool had not been sought, and probably would not have been forthcoming. Conflict with Dr. Brown, however, had already begun. In his letter to Fr. Glover in Rome, dated 8 December 1842, Fr. Randal Lythgoe referred to a matter "which unless soon settled may do incalculable damage to Religion".

The "faculties crisis" December 1842

The fear of this "incalculable damage" lay in the Bishop's refusal to grant Fr. Francis Lythgoe faculties to hear confessions because he was not a missionary in the town, but merely the Liverpool agent for Stonyhurst. While giving the Society of Jesus assured rights to open a church eventually in Salisbury Street, the recent Decree of Propaganda had also given Bishop Brown a "stay of execution" until 1848. Doubtless irritated by the speed with which Fr. Randal Lythgoe had opened his new school, Dr. Brown seems to have been doubly determined to have the Decree observed to the last letter. In granting the Jesuits the slightest foothold in any form of missionary work before their due time - even in a matter as modest as faculties for hearing confessions - the Bishop apparently felt that the Society would be able to exert undue influence on the laity in Liverpool.

The situation was serious enough for Randal Lythgoe to write a second letter to Fr. Glover five days later. A complaint had apparently been made by Lythgoe to the Bishop, but as Dr. Brown was then on his way to Rome, his Vicar

General, Dr. Thomas Youens, had replied, stating that as Fr. Francis Lythgoe was in Liverpool "as the conductor of a School", the exercise of his faculties was to be "restricted to the inmates of the House in which he resides". In the meantime, Fr. Randal Lythgoe had done all in his power to protect the authority of the Bishop. He had asked his cousin to inform all people from outside the new school who asked him to hear their confessions that he was waiting for faculties from the Bishop and that he was expecting an answer (1).

On receiving the two letters from Randal Lythgoe, Fr. Glover must have taken the matter immediately to Propaganda. Dr. Brown's hostile attitude to the return of the Jesuits to Liverpool, displayed so clearly in 1841, was still fresh in the minds of the Prefect and Secretary of the Sacred Congregation. Fr. Glover was able to have the problem solved rapidly and he quickly replied to Fr. Randal Lythgoe, informing him of action already taken by Propaganda:

On 27th December 1842, an Injunction was sent by the post to Dr. Youens, ordering him to give faculties to Fr. Francis Lythgoe, and telling him that Propaganda would have given the same order to Dr. Brown, had he been in Rome; but he not being yet arrived, the order is sent immediately to him. I have not seen the injunction, but it was sent sealed to me to have it properly directed, and I sent it to the post. I would have written this news to you sooner, had I learned sooner the import of the injunction. (2)

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Glover, 13 December 1842, APA, RW/7.

(2) Glover to R. Lythgoe, 3 January 1843, APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, f.333. A copy of the Injunction of Propaganda addressed to Dr. Youens from Rome on 27 December 1842 is to be found in SCPF, Lettere e Decreti, 1842, Parte 2a, vol.328, f.1036. For Bishop Brown's acceptance of the Injunction see T. Youens to Cardinal Fransoni, 10 January 1843, SCPF, SC Anglia 10, f.255.



The injunction was complied with and the matter was closed (1). The Jesuits were now free of external distractions and able to set about developing their new collegium inchoatum or "college in the making".

### The first pupils

Details of the early years of the school are unfortunately limited owing to the absence of records. On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of St. Francis Xavier's College in 1892, the then Vice-President of the College, Fr. Richard Sykes, noted that for the first twenty-three years of its history there were in the College archives but four volumes - three ledgers for the period 1845-1869 and a short Journal for 1856-1858. None of these documents has been located; they do not appear to have survived. Fortunately, however, extracts from these documents in their manuscript form had been published in The Xaverian (2),

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(1) No evidence of further difficulties between the Jesuits in Liverpool and Dr. Brown affecting the educational work of the Society of Jesus has been discovered in either English or Roman archives.

(2) The Xaverian first appeared in 1884 and was published monthly until 1950. It was originally described on the title page of the first issue as "A Monthly Paper of Information on College, Church and School of St. Francis Xavier, Salisbury Street". Up to December 1919 it contained a section entitled College Notes which provides an invaluable record of life at St. Francis Xavier's College. After the publication of the first issue of the St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine in January 1920, The Xaverian ceased to publish College Notes. Copies of The Xaverian are extremely scarce. A complete run is to be found in the English Province Archives, APA, 835/6. Another complete run is to be found at St. Francis Xavier's College, Woolton. The British Library does not possess a single issue of the journal. However, a complete run for the years 1884-1904 collected meticulously by the distinguished French Jesuit historian, Fr. Alfred Hamy (1834-1904) is to be found in the Jesuit Library at Les Fontaines, Chantilly. Fr. Hamy served as a missionary at St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, from 1883 until 1886.

during the course of 1892. When supplemented with notes from Letters and Notices, the house-journal of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, and with a short diary for the years 1845 and 1847-1848, there emerges some picture of the life of the school in its early years.

When the "Preparatory, Classical and Commercial Day School" opened its doors at 36 Soho Street on 27 October 1842, no more than two pupils enrolled (1). Their names are not known but they were presumably the sons of the same "Friends" whose "pressing solicitations" had encouraged Fr. Randal Lythgoe to open the school. When the numbers increased they certainly included the sons of members of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, who were still active collecting funds for the new church in Salisbury Street.

From lists compiled from the early ledgers it is clear that the leading Catholic families of the town sent their sons to the school. Among many other names are found those of Adamson, Anderton, Aylward, Cafferata, Fairhurst, Finney, Gillow, Kaye, Lightbound, Massey, Rockliff, Roskell, Stananaught, Strawson, Verdon, Whitty, Withnell and Yates (2). Just over four months after the opening of the school both Fr. Lythgoe and the Rector of St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Fr. Thomas Brownbill, were to report independently

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(1) The Xaverian, July 1892, p.102 states that eleven pupils eventually attended the school during its short time at Soho Street. The Lancashire District Accounts note that two pupils attended the school on the opening day, 27 October 1842, and that by December 1842, there were still only three pupils in attendance. See APA, College of St. Aloysius District Accounts 1700-1849, f.51.

(2) For a list of pupils in the period 1845-1849, see The Xaverian, May 1892, pp.71-73.

to the Jesuit General that the Liverpool venture showed great promise (1).

By August 1843, Fr. Francis Lythgoe lost the assistance of Fr. Charles Havers, who was sent to work for two years in Calcutta (2). He was replaced by two young scholastics, Mr. Peter Gallwey and Mr. Jerrard Strickland. Both were Irish and had been educated at Stonyhurst, entering the Society of Jesus at Hodder at the end of their schooling.

#### The move to St. Anne Street 1843

At some stage during 1843, a house was secured at 45 St. Anne Street to which the small school moved in November of that year. A pupil at that time later recalled that his first acquaintance with the school was when it was still in St. Anne Street:

....My first recollections are of a Retreat with which I presume the term must have opened. I remember to this day how I puzzled over the meaning of the word Retreat, and wondered why from time to time we went into a dimly lighted room, which struck me as a strange kind of church; the only one to which I had been accustomed being St. Anthony's. This must have been in 1844.... I have the most distinct recollection of Mr. Strickland, whose kindness

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(1) R. Lythgoe to Roothaan, 2 March 1843, ARSJ, Anglia 1003, III, 9; and T. Brownbill to Roothaan, 4 April 1843, ARSJ, Anglia 1003, VII, 26.

(2) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.137. In 1835 a few Jesuit missionaries began a small school in Calcutta which they conducted until 1846. For an account of the school, St. Xavier's College, see Letters and Notices, 31, pp.42-49 and 201-207.

and amiability, though I only came under him for a very short time, have made an indelible impression on my mind. (1)

By this time Fr. Joseph Johnson, himself a Liverpool man, had arrived from Gillmoss to succeed Fr. Francis Lythgoe as Superior. In addition, Mr. Jerrard Strickland left to continue his studies at Vals, and Mr. Gallwey was joined by his cousin and contemporary, Mr. Peter Sherlock (1819-1910), also a scholastic (2).

Peter Gallwey was later destined to hold many of the highest offices in the English Province: Prefect of Studies and Minister at Stonyhurst, 1855-1857; Rector of Farm Street, 1857-1869; Novice Master at Roehampton, 1869-1873; and Provincial, 1873-1876. We read that

he was unmistakably in earnest, working hard himself, and bent on making everyone else work hard, full of life and energy, no admirer of tradition, but ever eager to start fresh experiments.... In a word, he could not abide stagnation. (3)

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(1) The Xaverian, June 1892, pp.86-87. Jerrard Strickland (1822-1856) later continued his studies in France at Vals, and then at St.Beuno's, North Wales. Ordained priest in 1851, he served for a time as a missionary in Accrington. In 1853 the Society of Jesus opened a small secondary school in Manchester with the permission of the local Bishop. The school, in Rusholme Road, near All Saints' Square, was put under Strickland's charge. There he was assisted by a Jesuit novice, Thomas Brown Parkinson. After less than two years the school closed, the lack of a Jesuit parish in the town being a serious hindrance to the success. In 1855 Strickland was sent to the Crimea as a military chaplain. The "kindness and amiability" he had shown at Liverpool soon became evident. Hearing that in the French hospitals an epidemic of deadly fever was raging, he threw up his appointment to go where he felt his ministry was more urgently needed. He was struck down with fever himself and died in the Crimea on 26 April 1856 aged 33. See Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.198; Letters and Notices, 23, p.476, 27, p.556 and 31, p.387.

(2) Shortly before coming to Liverpool, Peter Gallwey (1820-1906) had graduated at Stonyhurst with the external degree of B.A. of the new University of London. The novelty of Jesuits receiving degrees from the University prompted Peter Sherlock to describe his cousin as the "B.A." and himself the "C.B.A." - that is, 'Cousin to the "B.A."' ! See Letters and Notices, 31, pp.149-150.

(3) Testimony of Fr.Edward Purbrick, quoted in Gavin,M., Memoirs of Fr.P.Gallwey (Burns & Oates,1913), pp.3-4.

During one school vacation in his three years as a master at Liverpool he is said to have spent a great deal of time painting the boys' desks (1). A Jesuit colleague writing after his death noted that "he never minced matters; he was blunt and straight in his early manhood, blunt and straight in his green old age" (2). In later years as a master at Stonyhurst, disappointed by the performance of some of the boys in an oral examination, he did not hesitate to say that above the door of every classroom ought to be written the warning "aut disce aut discede", (either learn or go)! (3). Even as a young man, Mr. Peter Gallwey must have made a deep impression on the small group of schoolboys in Liverpool.

Some detail of the life of the small school at St. Anne Street can be gleaned from the diary kept in all probability by Fr. Joseph Johnson, the Superior of the Jesuit community. Running from 1 January 1845 until 29 April 1848, the diary is, unfortunately, silent for the entirety of 1846, during the course of which year the school was to move to Salisbury Street (4). We find that on 2 January, 1845, there were but 24 scholars on the list. However, even amongst such a small group of pupils, a sense of competition was fostered by the reward of regular outings for the most successful. Entries such as the following

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(1) Letters and Notices, 31, pp.149-150.

(2) Statement by Gavin, op.cit., pp.4-5.

(3) Ibid.

(4) St.Francis Xavier's School Diary 1845-1848, APA,832. The Diary is contained in a long, narrow green accounts book containing mission accounts for the year 1864.

are not infrequent:

'at 11 o'clock Mr. Gallwey walked with the distinguished to the Old Swan and Gillmoss, where we dined with them' (10 February 1845);

'the distinguished went to Cheshire with Mr. Strickland' (2 June 1845);

'the distinguished went to Brighton (1) with Mr. Strickland' (11 June 1845).

However, there was occasional light relief offered to all the students:

'all the Scholars had an entire Recreation Day and saw the Zoological Gardens (2) or Croxteth. They had sandwiches, Buns, Ginger Beer and Buttermilk, and a veal pie for each one' (18 June 1845).

The masters and boys walking out to Gillmoss at that time would have noted progress in the construction of the church of St. Francis Xavier in Salisbury Street, less than a quarter of a mile up the hillside from their temporary school. On 18 March 1844, the first excavations for the church were blessed by Fr. Randal Lythgoe, the Provincial (3). Soon afterwards John Joseph Scholes (1798-1863), perhaps the greatest rival of Pugin as a leading Catholic architect, was commissioned to design the new church. The choice of Scholes rather than Pugin was no surprise as he had been commissioned to design the church at Stonyhurst ten years earlier and in 1844 was commissioned by Fr. Randal Lythgoe

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(1) Presumably Brighton-le-Sands, Waterloo, on the Lancashire coast just north of Liverpool.

(2) The Liverpool Zoological Gardens in West Derby Road, less than a mile from the school, had been opened in May 1833.

(3) Burke, *op.cit.*, p.75.

to design the new Jesuit church at Farm Street, London, Fifteen months later, on 9 July 1845, Bishop Brown and his co-adjutor, Dr. Sharples, blessed and laid the foundation stone of the church and "all the assisting clergy were invited to a Lunch at our house, 45, St. Ann (sic) Street with the Bishops" (1).

At the end of August 1845 a further two acres of the Angel Field, immediately adjacent to the site of the proposed church in Salisbury Street, were purchased for £2670 by the Society of Jesus (2). On this land a house, 6 (later 8) Salisbury Street, had already been built (3). Up to this time Fr. Joseph Johnson had acted as Superior of the small Jesuit community. Now the work of the school and the time required to supervise the building of the church were too much for one man. Accordingly, on 3 December 1845, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, Fr. Francis West, the former Procurator of the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, was appointed Superior and Clerk of Works, with Fr. Johnson becoming the first full-time Prefect of Studies to the school.

#### The move to Salisbury Street 1846

Fr. Randal Lythgoe's appointment of Fr. West as Superior was particularly helpful to the development of the new school. Fr. Johnson could now give his undivided attention to his pupils and masters with the supervision of the

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(1) St. Francis Xavier's School Diary, 9 July 1845.

(2) The property was conveyed from one John Buck Lloyd, and another, to the Reverend Randal Lythgoe, and others, on 28 August 1845; see St. Francis Xavier's Church and School Property Book: August 1912, APA, 832.

(3) Ryan, *op.cit.*, p.22.

PLATE III

PLAN TO SHOW THE PURCHASE OF PROPERTY  
FOR ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH, COLLEGE  
AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1844-1852

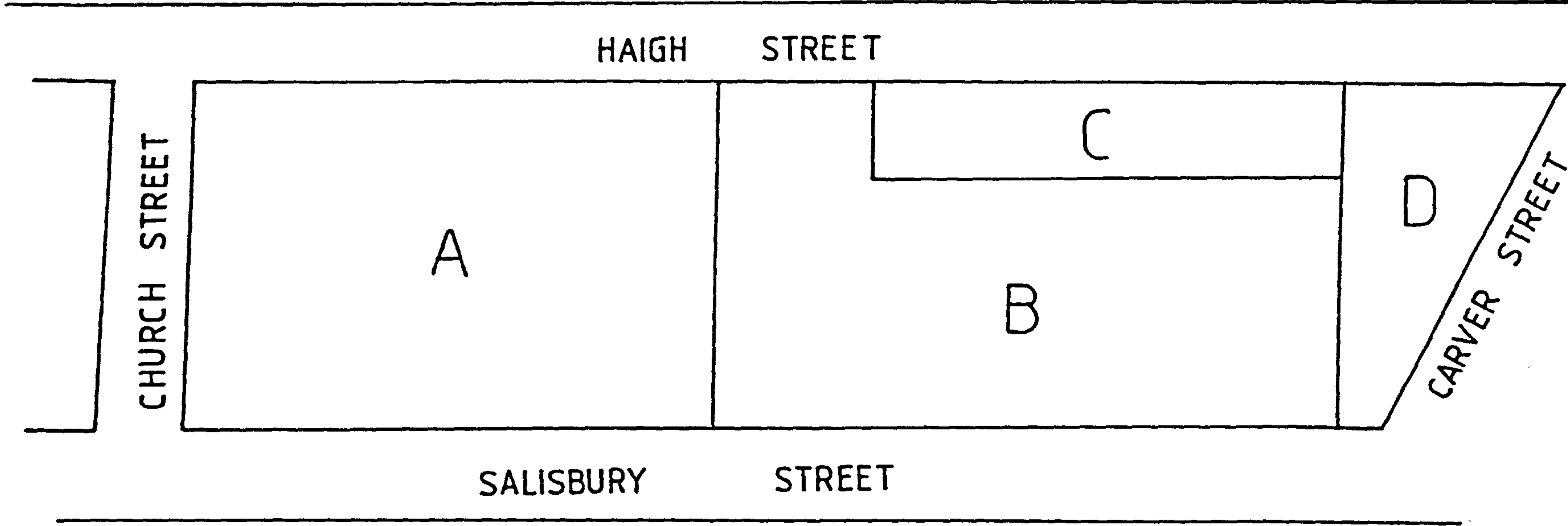
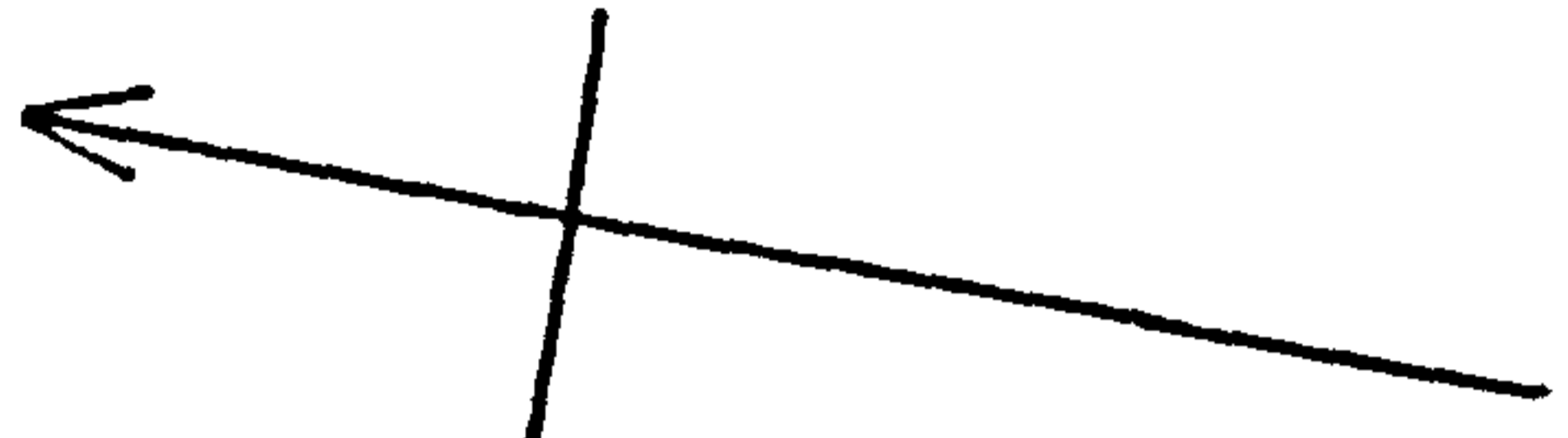
Based on a plan in  
St. Francis Xavier's Church and School  
Property Book: August 1912, APA, 832

KEY

- A Site of No.6 Salisbury Street and future Church of St. Francis Xavier, purchased 4 April 1844 for £2174
- B Site of future College of St. Francis Xavier, purchased together with
- C Site of future Elementary Schools, conveyed to the Society of Jesus, 28 August 1845 for £2670
- D Site of No. 4 Salisbury Street, purchased 24 September 1852 for £1600



St. FRANCIS XAVIER'S  
LIVERPOOL



SCALE IN FEET

building work in Salisbury Street entrusted to excellent hands (1). Early in 1846 (2) the masters and scholars from St. Anne Street moved into the newly acquired building in Salisbury Street, where the school was re-established.

Salisbury Street was to be the home of the school for the next 117 years. At first, however, accommodation was so limited that rooms had to be shared with the Jesuit community: a parlour was used as the schoolroom, the dining-room as a chapel and a pantry as both a sacristy and confessional (3). Indeed, Fr. Joseph Johnson recalled teaching his small group of boys in the schoolroom whilst the Provincial, Fr. Randal Lythgoe, was taking breakfast in another corner of the same room! (4)

Little is known of the course of studies offered to the small group of scholars in the mid-1840s. In comparing the prospectus for the school published by Fr. Randal Lythgoe in the autumn of 1842 with that of the new St. Edward's College, published around Christmas of the same year, (5) it is striking to note how much more appears to have been

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(1) Fr. West had considerable architectural knowledge and had supervised construction work at Stonyhurst. He had also superintended the building of St. Ignatius' Church, Preston. See Holden, A., A History of the Church and Parish of St. Ignatius, Preston, 1833-1933, (Preston, 1933), p.15.

(2) The precise date is not known, unfortunately, owing to a gap in the School Diary for the whole of the year 1846. However, the house was occupied by February 1846; see R. Lythgoe to Roothaan, 12 February 1846, ARSJ, Anglia 1003, III, 21. In this letter Lythgoe informed the Jesuit General that the land adjacent to the church had been purchased by a Protestant friend of his and had been resold to the Society of Jesus soon afterwards. Lythgoe saw the land as suitable for building a future college as well as "all kinds of public (i.e. elementary) schools". The whole site, he stated, had been purchased "at a moderate price".

(3) Ryan, op.cit., p.36.

(4) The Xaverian, February 1893, p.222.

(5) The prospectus is reproduced in Appendix VII.

offered from the beginning at the latter school. One of the pupils at 6 Salisbury Street about the year 1846 recalled in 1892 that

the course of studies was certainly not too high or overwhelming for our youthful minds. The small boys of St. Francis Xavier's College of today, I am sure, could not help laughing if they saw the work we had to do then compared with what they have to do in these days of high pressure. However, if our progress was but slow, I venture to think that most of us were thoroughly well-grounded in the three 'R's'. (1)

From the same former pupil we learn that Exhibition Days took place at the school but these were very modest affairs at the beginning with "not a dozen visitors". Theatrical performances were held, and these too were extremely limited:

We had neither stage nor scenery, some blue and white check curtains doing duty for everything. The costumes were something wonderfully grotesque and certainly 'necessity was the mother of invention' in our case. I remember in one of our plays there was a sentinel. For headgear he wore a large lady's muff, with a roll of white paper in the centre for a plume! (2)

Outside the school, there was plenty of space, with a large playground in the field, where the game of rounders was played. During the construction of St. Francis Xavier's Church, we learn that "a big lot of rubbish taken from the foundations of the Church piled up high at one end (of the playground), added much to the pleasure of hare and hounds, prison bars, etc., etc.", played by the boys of the school (3). In his spare moments away from supervising building operations, Fr. Francis West would join the boys. He is described as being in 1848 a "white-haired old man" who wore a black frock-coat, black and white striped plaid

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(1) The Xaverian, May 1892, p.74.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

trousers, top hat and white muslin necktie, "looking quite a venerable old gentlemen and every inch a father". It is further recorded that in the playground, he "amused himself with the boys as one of themselves, entering into the spirit of their games and especially at marble-playing (1). The young scholars of eight and nine years of age may have been able to escape into their own children's world in the new school playground but the harsh realities of life were not far away.

#### The effects of the Irish famine 1847

During the course of 1847, no fewer than 296,231 Irish landed in Liverpool, fleeing the famine in their own country (2). Although more than 134,000 of these unfortunates had emigrated, mainly to America, by the end of that year, many of the remainder stayed on in Liverpool(3). The town into which they poured had an unparalleled density of population - the highest in England (4). Nowhere else in the country was poverty more desperate, housing more squalid, drunkenness and prostitution so rife as in the overcrowded quarters of the town in which they were forced to seek shelter. Often the only habitation available was in cellars. By the end of 1847 at least 35,000 people were living below street-level, without light or ventilation (5).

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(1) Letters and Notices, 41, p.97.

(2) Burke, op.cit., p.84.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Duncan, W.H., "On the Physical Causes of the High Rate of Mortality in Liverpool" in Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners for Inquiry into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, Parliamentary Papers, 1844, XVII, pp.12-33.

(5) Burke, op.cit., p.84.

Such appalling conditions were not of the Irish immigrants' making. In 1845, even before the arrival of the main influx of refugees, in the poorer parts of the town there were neither public latrines, nor municipal services for cleansing the privies; there was no municipal water supply for household use, no lighting in the narrow, noisy passages that led to the crowded courts, and only one public park for a population in excess of 300,000 (1). These intolerable conditions were the result of years of neglect by the Town Council, so often too involved in party intrigue to worry about such mundane matters or to heed the many warnings given by Catholic leaders such as Sir Arnold Knight, M.D., in the early 1840s (2).

Eventually the Town Council could delay no longer and was forced to take measures which led to the passing of the 1846 Sanitary Act, enabling the local authority to appoint a Medical Officer of Health, the first in the country. Unfortunately, the powers of Dr. W.H.Duncan, the holder of the new post, were so limited and authority so divided between the Town Council and the Select Vestry that he could do little or nothing to alleviate the fierce onslaught of fever which ravaged the lower part of the town shortly after he took up his duties.

By February 1847 the mortality from fever in Liverpool was 18 per cent above the average for the town; by June, a staggering 2000 per cent. In addition, epidemics of smallpox, measles, diarrhoea and dysentery raged through

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(1) Prince's Park was laid out in 1843 by Richard Vaughan Yates, and placed by him under a Trust. There was no municipal park in Liverpool until 1856.

(2) Burke, op.cit., p.82.

the town. As the months wore on, no fewer than ten of the twenty-four Catholic clergy of Liverpool died as a direct result of ministering to the sick and the dying (1).

Given the appalling condition of Liverpool by the summer of 1847, it is scarcely surprising to find the following entry in the St. Francis Xavier's school diary for 1 July 1847:

The vacation began. As there was much sickness and some could not attend the Examination, there was no Public Examination of the Scholars. The prizes (five in number) were given out yesterday at the end of evening schools and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary was sung after the distribution at 3½ o'clock. (2)

Schools resumed as normal on 9 August 1847, but subsequent entries in the School diary, unfortunately, do not amplify the bald statement concerning sickness amongst the pupils. Though child mortality was high in Liverpool even before 1847 (3) there is no record of how many boys, if any, at St. Francis Xavier's School died during the 1840s. The School diary ends on 3 April 1848 after which there is, sadly, no further detailed daily record of the internal life of the school until 1856.

It seems very probable that the diary was kept until 1848 by Fr. Joseph Johnson, the Prefect of Studies. In that year, as the building work on the church neared completion, the services of Fr. West were no longer required in supervising construction work. The Prefect of Studies, Fr. Johnson, was appointed Superior of the Jesuit community in Liverpool and the situation which had existed from 1842 until 1845 was restored: there was now no longer a full-

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(1) Ibid., p.87.

(2) St. Francis Xavier's School Diary 1845-1848, APA, 832.

(3) For details of mortality rates of children in Liverpool in 1843, see Liverpool Mercury, 1 August 1844.

time Prefect of Studies allocated to the school, the Superior of the community also being expected to keep a general eye on masters and pupils. It is presumably for this reason that the diary stops abruptly in April 1848.

The years 1846-1848 had left their mark indelibly on the town. The disputes which the Society of St. Francis Xavier had encountered in the early 1840s in attempting to invite the Jesuits back to Liverpool now seemed petty in the face of so much human misery. The Society of Jesus was soon to play both a missionary and educational role in Liverpool which even the far-sighted Fr. Randal Lythgoe could not have envisaged in 1840. The Decree of Propaganda of 1842 had stipulated that the new church was not to be used for baptisms, marriages or funerals. Now, as a result of the Irish famine, parishes such as St. Mary's and St. Anthony's simply could not cope with the teeming thousands who were unable to attend Mass on Sundays owing to lack of accommodation. During the course of 1848 discussions between the Society of Jesus and Bishop Brown led to his signing an agreement which raised the status of the new church of St. Francis Xavier to that of a parish church.

#### The opening of St. Francis Xavier's Church 1848

The missionary work of the Jesuits in Liverpool began once again on the opening of the church on 4 December 1848 - the transferred feast of St. Francis Xavier, 3 December being the First Sunday of Advent. Solemn High Mass was celebrated in the presence of Dr. Brown, with Fr. William

Cobb, the new Jesuit Provincial preaching (1). Though there was torrential rain on that day, and the anticipated attendance was considerably reduced, services in the first few weeks after the opening were very full, setting a pattern which was to last for more than a century. (2).

#### The visit of Fr. General Roothaan 1849

As revolution swept through Italy in 1848, the Jesuit General, Fr. Roothaan, after consulting Pius IX, left Rome. From the spring of 1848 until 1850 he established his headquarters in Marseilles. During this period he visited almost all the Jesuit houses in France and a large number in Holland, Belgium, Ireland and England. Surprising though it may seem, Roothaan's visits to these countries went unnoticed in the press.

Having visited Ireland, Roothaan arrived quietly in Liverpool on 29 October 1849 and stayed at St. Francis Xavier's. A meeting for all the Jesuits in the Liverpool area was called at Salisbury Street. This conference and personal contact with Roothaan gave the Fathers fresh inspiration (3). In turn the General's visit gave him an opportunity to assess work of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool. With their new church open for worship the Jesuits were able to embark fully on their missionary and

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(1) Fr. Randal Lythgoe's term of office as Provincial had ended on 1 January 1848. Fr. Cobb remained in office for two years only and was succeeded by Fr. John Etheridge.

(2) For a full account of the opening ceremony and the subsequent development of services at St. Francis Xavier's Church, see Ryan, op.cit., p.30.

(3) For an account of Fr. Roothaan's tour in England and Ireland, see Ligthart, C.J., The Return of the Jesuits (T. Shand, 1978), pp.319-321. The tour is also partially documented in APA, Epist.Gen. 1750-1853, ff. 362-364.



education work in the town. Accordingly, on 15 October 1851, Fr. Joseph Johnson received from Fr. Roothaan the diploma of Rector (1). St. Francis Xavier's School, the collegium inchoatum now emerged from its fledgling state into a fully-constituted college of the Society of Jesus. Work could henceforth begin in earnest and there was now every hope that the aims of Fr. Randal Lythgoe in founding the school nine years earlier would be fulfilled (2).

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(1) There seems to be some mystery surrounding the appointment of the first Rector of St. Francis Xavier's. On 13 July 1851, Fr. Roothaan wrote in a letter to Fr. John Etheridge, the English Provincial, "Pm. Bird in officio Rectoris Collegii St. Franc. Xav. confirmo"; cf. APA, Epist. Gen. 1750-1853, f.376. No evidence has been discovered to indicate why Fr. Bird, a former Provincial, was being considered for the post, and why the existing Superior, Fr. Johnson was made Rector instead. See also Letters and Notices, 31. p.230.

(2) Up to the summer of 1851, the Jesuit school in Liverpool appears to have been known as "St. Francis Xavier's Catholic School". After being raised to full Collegiate status in October 1851 it was known as "St. Francis Xavier's Collegiate School"; after 1857 it is always referred to as "St. Francis Xavier's College"; see The Xaverian, April 1892, pp.59-60. The creation of the new College of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool in 1851 required some administrative changes in the English Province of the Society of Jesus. The College of St. Aloysius, the "Lancashire District", was divided into two, with the Jesuit missions of St. Helens, Portico, Croft, Leigh, Lydiate being attached to the new College in Liverpool. The Jesuit missions north of the Ribble remained attached to the College of St. Aloysius. The Old College of St. Francis Xavier in the West Country was dismantled and its dependencies of Hereford, Shepton Mallet and Bristol were now transferred to the College of St. George, based on Worcester; see Letters and Notices, 31, p.230. In January 1874 the territory covered by the College of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool was severely pruned on the creation by the Jesuit General of the new Missionary College of the Holy Name, erected in 1893 into a full College, based on the church of the same title in Manchester. The new College was given jurisdiction over St. Helens, Leigh, Prescott, Portico and Ditton. This left St. Francis Xavier's College in Liverpool with jurisdiction only over the mission at Gillmoss, the parish at Lydiate having been handed over to the diocese of Liverpool in 1860. See Letter and Notices, 31, p.394, and letter of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. P. Gallwey, English Provincial, 26 November 1873, APA, Epist. Gen., 1853-1873.

CHAPTER THREEEARLY DIFFICULTIES 1851-1865The shortage of pupils

The newly-created College did not at first prosper as well as might have been expected in a town whose population had risen from 286,487 to 376,075 in the ten years between the census of 1841 and 1851 (1). During the period 1851-1862 there was a slow increase in pupil numbers followed by a sudden and dramatic drop as Table I indicates:

TABLE I  
NUMBERS OF PUPILS AT  
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1853-1865 (2)

Year	Number of pupils
1853	24
1858	61
1862	120
1865	84

The problems of pupil shortage were not peculiar to Liverpool. Similar difficulties were to be faced later by the Jesuits in Glasgow during the early years of St. Aloysius' College. Writing of the situation there shortly

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(1) These figures give the total population of the townships of Liverpool, Everton, Kirkdale, West Derby and Toxteth for the census of 1841 and 1851.

(2) See The Xaverian, July 1892, p.102; November 1892, p.172; Visitation Return for St. Francis Xavier's Parish, 5 November 1862, Lancashire Record Office, Preston. Owing to lack of records these are the only figures available for the period.

after the opening of the school in 1859, one un-named Jesuit stated:

There was not in all Glasgow a single Catholic school of higher class than the ordinary poor schools and yet there was a Catholic population of more than 100,000, being one-fourth of the whole population....Only twenty-five boys presented themselves and several months elapsed before their number had increased to fifty. It was at once apparent that the demand had to be created after the supply had been provided; there was much talk among the people of their wish for education but it was speedily discovered that it was accompanied by little real desire of instruction and training of their children....that the ambition of the majority did not aspire to more than the ordinary elements taught in a Poor School....If we can inspire the parents with a little higher ambition and lead these to secure for their children the goods of education as well as those of fortune, they will be well able to rank as Gentlemen in Glasgow and the Church will no longer be in the extraordinary condition in which it now finds itself, when almost the entire Catholic population belongs to the lower and uneducated ranks of life. (1)

#### Concomitant sociological problems

In comparison with the situation in Glasgow in 1859 the state of affairs in Liverpool on the opening of the small school in Soho Street in 1842 had been far worse. The wrecking of the experiment in educating Catholic and Protestant children together in the North and South Corporation schools as a result of the controversy over the use of the Douai Version of the Bible had been a grievous blow to the Catholic body. Over 900 Catholic children had been withdrawn from the schools. In 1847 it had been acknowledged publicly that the situation regarding school accommodation for Catholic children in Liverpool "...was in a much worse state than any other town in the Kingdom, owing to the immense immigration" (2). By 1849 it was

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(1) Letters and Notices, 2, pp.17-18.

(2) Burke, op.cit., p.93.

claimed that because of the intransigence of the Tories in not removing the restrictions which prevented the attendance of Catholic children at Council schools, thousands of Catholic children were "prowling about the docks and streets in a complete state of mental and moral destitution" (1). That such a claim was scarcely an exaggeration is clear from the report of the chaplain of Kirkdale Gaol in 1849 stating that there were 144 boys and girls of tender years in detention there (2).

The new College of St. Francis Xavier had been founded originally in 1842 to serve the needs of a very small Catholic middle-class minority. Since then the unexpected influx of so many thousands of Irish people had changed the social balance of the Catholic community, making the Catholic middle-class an even smaller minority. The truth now was that a disturbingly large number of Catholic parents could neither afford the quarterly fee of two pounds asked at the College nor even find room for their children in the severely limited number of overcrowded Catholic poor schools in the town. It was clear by 1851 that not until a much larger body of Catholics could raise themselves from the "lower and uneducated ranks of life" could an institution such as the College function to the full. If educational opportunities for the latter part of the population could be widened by the Society of Jesus and others, the College would have a far greater importance and impact in the town. Only then would it be the serious equal of the Liverpool Collegiate Institution that Randal Lythgoe and Thomas Glover

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(1) Burke, *op.cit.*, p.94.

(2) *Ibid.*

had envisaged in 1840.

In London the church at Farm Street established by Randal Lythgoe had opened in 1849. The Jesuits there were accused in some quarters of not caring for the education of the poor. Cardinal Wiseman, writing to Fr. Frederick William Faber in 1852, could state:

The Jesuits have a splendid church, a large house, several priests, besides Westminster. Scarcely was I settled in London than I applied to their Superior to establish here a community in due form, of some ten or twelve Fathers. I also asked for missionaries to give Retreats to congregations, etc.. I was answered on both heads that the dearth of subjects made it impossible. Hence, we have under them only a church which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing towards the education of the poor at its very door. I could say much more, but I forbear. (1)

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the situation in London, the same accusation could not be levelled against the Jesuits in Liverpool. The new College there was intended to serve the Catholic boys of the town in general, and not merely those of the immediate vicinity of Salisbury Street. And yet at the school pupils from all districts of the town were in short supply. It was realized that in such a desperate situation a start had to be made somewhere. For the Jesuits, the immediate area of St. Francis Xavier's parish was an obvious place in which to begin. (2).

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(1) Wiseman to Faber, 27 October, 1852, quoted in Ward, W., The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman (Longmans, 1898), II, p.116.

(2) The situation of the Jesuits in London and Liverpool was, in any case, very different. St. Francis Xavier's Church had become a parish almost by accident, as a result of Irish immigration; and, being a parish, the provision of schools apart from the College was becoming a pressing need. The Jesuit church in Farm Street was not a parish church and did not in fact become so until as recently as 1966.

One of the Mission staff, Fr. Richard O'Carroll, himself an Irishman, set to work to begin improving the situation. First, he secured from his Jesuit superiors a small plot of land valued at £600 and measuring 807 sq. yds. in Haigh Street, behind the Presbytery-cum-College (1). Next, he applied for a Government building grant through the Catholic Poor Schools Committee. In an appendix to his letter of request to the Committee of Council on Education, Fr. O'Carroll listed his reasons for applying for a grant. They help to explain the problems being faced by the new College.

a) Great numbers of distressed settlers from Ireland whose children, unless in school, become frequently lost in the street.

b) No Roman Catholic school within practical distance of this church round which, however, great numbers of the poorer classes are settling in the new small streets that are being erected, the houses of which are all let before finished.

c) The 500 children, almost destitute of instruction or the means of instruction on secular knowledge, flock each Sunday to the church, which the clergy are obliged to turn into a school to give them some religious instruction.

d) That your Lordships have given, within the last few months large assistance to the Edge Lane School of St. Austen (sic) situated only a few yards from our church; and that we respectfully represent that the class of Catholics for whose instruction we wish to provide are far more destitute, and that we have nothing like a proportion of the wealthy class on whose charitable aid we can rely. (2)

Hoping for eventual Government aid, Fr. O'Carroll set about raising his own funds by organizing a bazaar, and tramping the streets of Liverpool seeking financial assistance. In all, by a variety of means, he managed to raise £2308, to which was added a grant of £800 from the

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(1) By the School Sites Act of 1841 no grantor of land could give more than one acre for a proposed school. For details of the site, see St. Francis Xavier's Church and School Property Book: August 1912, APA, 832.

(2) Ryan, op.cit., pp.129-130.

Committee of Council on Education in June 1853 (1).

The schools were built during the course of 1853-1854, and opened on Sunday, 23 October 1854 (2). The boys' department was put under the supervision of a Mr. Andrew Kelly, then aged twenty-two (3), and the girls' and infants' department was managed by the Sisters of Mercy from the nearby convent at Mount Vernon. By the time that the schools opened in earnest at 9 a.m. on the following day, all the available places had been taken and hundreds of children had to be turned away (4).

The desperate poverty of the parents of the first children to attend the new schools at St. Francis Xavier's is clearly evident from details in the Annual Grant Form for the year 1854-1855, summarized in Table II. The table shows the weekly rate paid by the pupils in that year for their tuition, the rates being calculated according to the means of the parents.

TABLE II

RATES OF WEEKLY PAYMENTS AND NUMBERS OF CHILDREN PAYING EACH RATE AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS 1854-1855 (5)

	6d	4d	3d	2d	1d	Totals
Boys	5	24	27	45	51	152
Girls	7	12	20	--	121	160
Infants	--	--	--	--	160	160
					Grand Total	472

(1) Ibid., p.131.

(2) Ibid., p.133.

(3) Annual Grant Form for St. Francis Xavier's Elementary School, 1854-1855, P.R.O., Kew, ED 7/62, f.289.

(4) Ryan, op.cit., p.134.

(5) Annual Grant Form for St. Francis Xavier's Elementary School, 1854-1855, P.R.O., Kew, ED 7/62, f.289.

Excluding the 160 infants who paid the flat rate of 1d per week, no fewer than 217 of the 312 remaining pupils, or 69.5%, came from families able to afford twopence or less per week.

To meet the pressing demand for school accommodation, Fr. O'Carroll soon had to begin considering ways of extending his new buildings. In September 1856, prompted by the Government Inspector and the School committee, he again wrote to the Committee of Council on Education, proposing to raise the existing 'infants' school one storey. His plans were accepted and a Building Grant of £400 was awarded. This helped to meet the cost of £877 for the extension, which was completed by 1859 (1).

In the meantime, the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier's had begun to take measures to provide for the education of those in the parish who were too old to benefit from the new elementary schools and whose families had been too poor to afford to send them to St. Francis Xavier's College. On Passion Sunday, 1856, it was announced from the pulpit of St. Francis Xavier's Church that:

In order to give those whose instruction has been neglected an opportunity of completing their education, an assistant master has been engaged, and a night-school for boys and young men will open on Tuesday next, March 11th. It will be carried on between the hours of 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. The school wage will be in proportion to the advanced instruction required, viz. 8d, 6d, or 4d. All must furnish themselves with books and writing materials. As the books, to secure uniformity of instruction should all be the same, the Government treatises will be furnished to all who attend at the reduced prices. The Pastors of the church beg to interest the zeal of the congregation, and especially the parents, in this undertaking. All youths whose schooling has been interrupted or broken off too soon are exhorted to avail themselves of this opportunity of completing their education. (2)

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(1) Ryan, op.cit., p.134.

(2) St. Francis Xavier's Church Notice Book, 9 March 1856, APA, 910.



It was not until November 1865 that the same opportunities were extended to girls when the Sisters of Mercy took charge of a female night school in the parish.

By 1852 provision already existed in Liverpool for the daily attendance of about 15,000 Catholic children in Catholic poor schools. The majority of these schools were in the hands of female Religious. The developments in 1852-1853 at St. Francis Xavier's were part of a general move by the Catholic clergy throughout the town to improve a desperate situation. In his Annual Report for 1852, Mr. T.W.M. Marshall, H.M. Inspector of Schools, noted that a pleasing feature illustrating the satisfactory progress of Catholic schools which deserved special mention was ....the number and character of new school buildings, recently completed or now in the course of erection, in various parts of the country. By far the most remarkable example of this kind of progress is exhibited at Liverpool where, indeed, it is on a scale of so much magnitude as to call for special observation.

A large number of elementary Catholic schools have been established during past years in this town to supply the educational wants of a community believed to amount to about 120,000. But, though for the most part of great dimensions, they have been wholly inadequate to receive the thousands of children seeking instruction. The following account has been handed to me of the efforts now making to restore the proportion between the supply and the demand, and it is certainly characteristic of the zeal and liberality with which Catholics are performing their share in the general work of popular education to deserve a place in this report. I should add that I have visited all the schools contained in this list, with the exception of the last.

Name of School	Present state	Accommodation	Cost (£)
St.Thomas's Mount Vernon	Opened	600	2,500
St.Hilda's, Eldon Street	Opened	500	1,100
St.Ann's, Edge Hill	Opened	850	2,500
St.Helen's Blackstock St.	Opened	750	920
St.Nicholas's Copperas Hill	Enlarged	400	400
St.Joseph's	Building	1,200	3,600
Holy Cross	Building	1,400	2,800
St.Francis Xavier	Plans obtained	1,000	Not known

It appears, therefore, that additional accommodation is now being provided in the Catholic schools of Liverpool for nearly 7,000 at a cost of 15,000 L.; and of these only two will receive any assistance from the grant administered by the Committee of Council. Such a fact requires no comment; but it ought to be noticed, as indicating the spirit which has inspired these great works, that the most costly of these schools is being erected at the expense of an individual, and that the first on the list is a memorial to the memory of a clergyman. I have already mentioned that all the girls' schools in this town either are already, or will be during the ensuing year, committed to the charge of "religious" teachers.

It will not, perhaps, be thought a mark of presumption, if I take the liberty of expressing my admiration at the rare zeal and intelligence with which the Catholic clergy and laity of Liverpool co-operate together in this and similar works. I have had no greater consolation in the labours of my office than that which I owe to these gentlemen, with whom it has been my privilege to be associated, and the success of whose generous labour I have now the satisfaction of recording. (1)

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(1) General Report of T.W.M.Marshall, Esq., H.M. Inspector of Schools, for the year 1852, in Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1852-53, (London, 1853) pp.1060-61, P.R.O., Kew, ED 17/17.

All this educational endeavour in Liverpool was well under way by the time the recently restored Catholic Hierarchy held the First Provincial Synod of Westminster at Oscott in July 1852. There the Bishops declared:

....the first necessity is a sufficient provision of education adequate to the wants of the poor. It must become universal. No congregation should be allowed to remain without its schools, one for each sex.... Indeed, wherever there may seem to be an opening for a new mission, we should prefer the erection of a school so arranged as to serve temporarily for a chapel, to that of a church, without one. For the building raised of living and chosen stones, the spiritual sanctuary of the Church, is of far greater importance than the temple made with hands; and it is the good school that secures the virtuous and edifying congregation. (1)

In Liverpool the fruits of the pioneering work of the clergy in providing poor schools were not to be seen fully for another generation. But without these early efforts, St. Francis Xavier's College could not have achieved so rapidly the successes it was to obtain by the end of the century.

#### Other developments in Liverpool Catholic secondary education

Developments were taking place also in the field of secondary education in the town. In January 1850 Fr. James Nugent opened a Catholic Middle School in Rodney Street under the patronage of Bishop Brown. The syllabus offered a commercial education and religious instruction, as well as evening classes, a library and reading room. Terms were four guineas per annum, compared with eight pounds at St. Francis Xavier's. By 1853 Nugent secured a plot of land in Hope Street and raised monies for the opening of a

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(1) Deliberation of the First Synod of Westminster, July 1852, quoted in Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1853, (London, 1853) p.38.

Catholic Institute to supersede the Middle School. The Institute was opened by Cardinal Wiseman on 31 October 1853, just six months after the laying of the foundation stone. Fr. Nugent, once installed as Director of the new Institute, set about developing drama at the school, a fact which undoubtedly soon led to the rapid development of theatre at St. Francis Xavier's College. Indeed, the opening of the Catholic Institute created a spirit of rivalry between the two schools which was to reach its height at St. Francis Xavier's College in the late 1850s.

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur arrived in Liverpool in March 1851 to take charge of the Poor School at St. Nicholas's, Copperas Hill. Within two weeks of their arrival they opened a small secondary school for nine girls at their convent in Islington Flags near St. Francis Xavier's. By 1856 their day school was established at Mount Pleasant. Initially it was to flourish more rapidly than the Jesuits' day school, having 137 girls by 1866, as opposed to 84 boys at St. Francis Xavier's in 1865.

More closely associated with the educational work of the Jesuits were the Sisters of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, then a relatively new Order, strongly Ignatian in inspiration. In Preston, as early as 1848, the Jesuit Fathers had asked these Sisters to take charge of the elementary schools there. When their request was renewed in 1853, a number of Sisters were sent and began to teach at St. Ignatius's, and at St. Wilfrid's and St. Walburge's schools in due course. Later in the century the Sisters were to open in Winckley Square, Preston, a secondary school, the female counterpart of the Preston Jesuit grammar school or collegium inchoatum founded in 1865. Though there is

little documentary evidence to substantiate the claim, it would appear that the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier's in the 1850s hoped that in the future the Sisters would work in parallel with them, providing secondary education for girls.

The Holy Child sisters arrived in Liverpool in March 1852 and began teaching at St. Anthony's Elementary Schools at the request of the Rector of St. Anthony's, Canon Newsham. At first the community took a house in Great Orford Street but by August 1852 they had removed to 115 Shaw Street, within St. Francis Xavier's parish and close to the College. There they opened a "Day School for Young Ladies". In addition, "Pupil-teachers and Schoolmistresses" could be "received into the house to be trained, at a low pension"(1). By March 1854 the Superior of the Holy Child community in Liverpool, Mother Emily Bowles, had purchased for £5,000 a large building known as Rupert House on the slopes of the hillside of Everton above St. Francis Xavier's. The house was intended as a new home for the school and embryonic training-college. The purchase money, however, had been borrowed from the Superior's brothers and the transaction had not been approved by the foundress of the Order, Mother Cornelia Connelly, who was at that time away on business in Rome. The foundation survived for a time and was advertised in the Catholic Directory of 1856, with the information that further particulars could be obtained from, amongst others, the "Clergy of St. Francis Xavier's". Soon, however, Rupert House ran deeply into debt. Mother

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(1) Advertisement in Catholic Directory, 1855, pp.172-173.

Emily gave way under the stress and within three years she had been released from her vows and had left the Society. After much anxiety and difficulty the Society of the Holy Child was obliged to remove the community from the town. All hopes of the sisters establishing a training college in Liverpool were now dashed; the project was to be entrusted to the Sisters of Notre Dame, who opened their College at Mount Pleasant in 1856 (1). Gone, too, was the work in the elementary schools and the hopes for a girls' secondary school which might have been the partner of St. Francis Xavier's College (2).

#### Internal problems at St. Francis Xavier's College

Within St. Francis Xavier's College itself there were many difficulties apart from the shortage of pupils. One major problem was the lack of consistency of direction. As Appendix VI(ii) indicates, during twelve of the first twenty-three years of the College's existence, the office of Prefect of Studies was vacant. Although during the periods of vacancy the College was officially under the supervision of the Superior or the Rector of the community,

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(1) In 1855 a training college for women was opened by the Holy Child sisters at St. Leonard's-on-Sea. By 1863 it had run into financial difficulties and was closed. In 1896 the Order opened a new training college at Cavendish Square, London.

(2) On 3 November, 1856 the community from Rupert House together with fourteen boarders from the school removed to Raikes Hall, near Blackpool. Soon after they removed again to Layton Hill, Blackpool where a convent school was established. I am grateful to Sister Winifred Wickens, S.H.C.J., for providing details concerning the Society's work in Liverpool from the Province archives at Mayfield, Sussex. This supplements details to be found in the anonymously written Life of Cornelia Connelly, 1809-1877, Foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus (Longmans, 1922), pp.215-220.

the lack of a full-time Prefect of Studies to give the school direction was undoubtedly a factor telling against its development; the doubling of pupil numbers from 61 to 120 in the period 1858-1862, already noted in Table I corresponds exactly with the incumbency of Mr. Bodoano as Prefect of Studies. There can be little doubt that parents of potential pupils would have been dissuaded from using the College at those times when it was lacking in firm management and clear direction. One Jesuit writer, remarking on the decline of student numbers at the College from 120 in 1862 to 84 in 1865 states that "the sudden fall-off in numbers is unaccountable" (1). One suspects, however, that it was rather the unaccountable vacating of the post of Prefect of Studies in the year 1862-1863 which probably induced parents to send their sons to other Catholic schools in Liverpool where there was more positive direction.

The lack of cohesion in the school at certain periods during the 1850s and 1860s was further exacerbated by the high turn-over of scholastics indicated in Appendix VI(iv). Between 1851 and 1865 no fewer than seventeen scholastics taught at the school, serving for two years each on average. Of these, thirteen had received their education at Stonyhurst and had entered the Society directly on leaving school. With the exception of Fr. Charles Collyns, an Oxford convert, who was briefly Prefect of Studies in 1853-1854, the other Prefects in this period, Richard Payne and John Baptist Bodoano, were also former pupils of Stonyhurst who had joined the Society at Hodder immediately after leaving school.

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(1) Letters and Notices, 31, p.236.

However good and competent these men were, both as Jesuits and as teachers, it cannot be denied that they came from a very limited world, a world encompassed literally by the bounds of the 100-acre Stonyhurst estate. Many of them had been pupils at Stonyhurst for seven or eight years; had been admitted as novices at Hodder at the age of eighteen; and had, in some cases, studied for the London B.A. degree within the same walls. Even as Prefect of Studies, men like Payne and Bodoano were typical of the scholastics whom they had to lead. On his appointment as Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's in 1856, Richard Payne had spent a total of fourteen of his twenty-nine years at Stonyhurst (1). John Bodoano, taking up his appointment at Liverpool at the age of twenty-seven in 1859, had recently completed thirteen continuous years of study at Stonyhurst (2).

In any school the combination of a high turn-over of staff, most of whom had been trained in the same severely circumscribed environment and who were inexperienced as schoolmasters, together with periodic vacancies in the leadership of the school would have spelt utter disaster. Difficult though circumstances undoubtedly were at St. Francis Xavier's, the situation cannot be described as having been disastrous.

The College was a new experiment in day school education. None of the Stonyhurst-trained scholastics had had any experience of such education; and those few who had not been educated at Stonyhurst were not yet in a

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(1) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.249.

(2) Ibid., f.297.



position within the Society to be able to assist in formulating a clear policy for Jesuit day school education in the English Province. Any experience which might have been gained by the small number of Jesuits who had taught at the ill-fated day schools which had operated in London in the 1820s and '30s was now largely lost, as the masters from those schools were too old by the 1850s to be able to assist at Liverpool.

The first ten years of the existence of the collegium inchoatum of St. Francis Xavier had seen a series of makeshift arrangements for the education of the very small number of boys attending. The formal establishment of the St. Francis Xavier's College in the autumn of 1851 initiated much deep thinking on future educational policy.

Ironically, the death on 8 May 1853 of Fr. General Roothaan, the man who had given so much impetus to the educational work of the restored Society, was soon to bring about a change in direction in the College. Shortly after the election of the Belgian Fr. Peter Beckx as General on 2 July 1853, the English Provincial, Fr. John Etheridge, who had been in office for only two and a half years, was appointed English Assistant in Rome (1). He was succeeded

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(1) Fr. Etheridge was the first person to take charge of the new English Assistancy, comprising England, Ireland, Maryland and Missouri, created by Fr. General Beckx in 1853. Fr. Thomas Glover, who had been in charge of English affairs as Deputy Assistant for Spain from 1829 had fled from Rome in February, 1849 as a result of the Revolution there. Within three months of his returning to England he died at the home of his friend, the naturalist Charles Waterton, on 31 May 1849 and was buried in the Waterton family vault in Sandal Church, Yorkshire. Between his leaving Rome and the creation of the English Assistancy in 1853, English Province affairs in Rome appear to have been dealt with by the new assistant for Spain, Fr. Ignatius Lerdo. See Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.15 and Goetstouwers, J.B., Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu (Louvain, 1950), pp. 635-636.

as Provincial by Fr. Joseph Johnson, whose place as Rector at St. Francis Xavier's was taken by Fr. Richard Sumner (1801-1877).

An alumnus of Stonyhurst, Sumner had been Socius, or Secretary to the Provincial, Fr. Randal Lythgoe, in the mid-1840s and Rector of Stonyhurst in 1847-1848. During his seven years at St. Francis Xavier's he was to introduce from Stonyhurst mysterious names bewildering to the uninitiated: Compositions and Concertatios, Romans and Carthaginians, Blandykes and Good-Days. In short, the Stonyhurst system of education was to be adopted and adapted to a day school situation.

The Stonyhurst system was a solution which was to be applied in the early years in new colleges opened by the English Jesuits across the world during the rest of the nineteenth century. In the words of one Jesuit historian: ...the great St. Omers machine was set in motion in Calcutta, Georgetown, Grahamstown and Malta, not to mention the Cowcaddens and Salisbury Street. (1)

#### The building of the new College 1856

Before all these changes could be brought about, it was clear that some permanent accommodation would have to be provided to house the scholars who, though small in number, were still crowded into the rooms of the Presbytery. The Jesuits in Liverpool hoped that a new purpose built school might attract a greater number of pupils (2). Just as a start was about to be made to provide new accommodation,

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(1) Basset, B., The English Jesuits (Burns & Oates, 1966), p. 403.  
 (2) The Annual Letter for 1855 states that the number of pupils was limited to 40 because of lack of space and lack of scholastics to teach; see ARSJ, 1501, f. 218.

the Rector, Fr. Sumner, fell seriously ill in 1854 and was obliged to step down for a while. His place was taken by Fr. Charles Henry Collyns, who had just completed a year as Prefect of Studies of the College.

Nominated Vice-Rector (1) of St. Francis Xavier's at the unusually early age of 34, Collyns was a recent Oxford convert. Born in Exeter in 1820, the son of the Reverend Charles Henry Collyns, D.D., curate of St. David's in that city, Charles Henry, Jnr., had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1841 and M.A. two years later (2). Shortly after leaving Oxford in 1845 (3), he had become a Catholic and had entered the Society of Jesus at Hodder on 12 November 1846 (4). After five years further study he had been ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1851 (5).

Finding himself in a new position of responsibility, Fr. Collyns threw all his energies into his work, no doubt heeding the advice of the Jesuit General in Rome that, being such a young man in a responsible position, he should "conduct himself modestly in the spirit of our Holy Founder, St. Ignatius" (6).

He quickly organized the construction of a suitable new school on the vacant plot of land on the south side of the Presbytery in Salisbury Street. The new building provided two classrooms on the ground floor, divided by

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(1) This appointment as Vice-Rector rather than Rector was presumably made as a temporary measure, until Fr. Sumner's health was restored.

(2) Foster, J., Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, (London, 1892), I, p.281.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.275.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Fr. General Beckx to Fr. Joseph Johnson, English Provincial, 16 September 1854, APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873, f.445.

a partition, a Chapel and Sacristy, an Academy Room with a movable stage for exhibitions on the first floor, a basement room for use by the boys in wet weather and a washing place (1). Two ground plans of the new College in 1860 can be found overleaf.

Scarcely had Fr. Collyns finished the work of building the new College when he ceased to be Vice-Rector in 1856, departing to Vals, in France, for his tertianship (2).

### The revival of studies at Stonyhurst

Ever since the arrival at Stonyhurst of the scholars from Liège in 1794, classical studies, especially Latin, had continued as strongly as ever there. A good deal of attention, however, had also been given to the teaching of English language and literature, natural philosophy and

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(1) A full architectural description of the building can be found in Appendix VIII.

(2) After his year in France, Collyns was sent to Malta, where he abruptly left the Society of Jesus without asking formal permission. His peremptory action caused consternation in Rome, where his case remained under review until 1859; see letter of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. J. Johnson, English Provincial, 8 January 1859, APA, Epist. Gen. 1853-1873, f. 519. Making his way back to England from Malta with some money he had secured privately, Collyns soon afterwards left the Catholic Church and reverted to Anglicanism; see Letters and Notices, 21, pp. 231-232. From 1861-1863 he was Second Master of King Edward VI School, Bath; Head Master of Park School, Bath, 1863-1867 and of Wirksworth Grammar School, 1867-1874. From 1880 until his death he was Secretary of the British Temperance League and was also Vice-President of the Vegetarian Society "and a frequent speaker at Manchester and elsewhere, his portly, genial presence being a powerful and convincing answer to the commonly-urged objection to vegetarianism, namely that its advocates were thin, cadaverous, moody, melancholy men"; see Winskill, P. T., The Temperance Movement and its workers (4 vols., London 1892), IV, pp. 31 and 36-39. Collyns died at 46 Grange Crescent, Sheffield, on 8 July 1885; see Boase, F., Modern English Biography (6 volumes, Truro, 1892-1921), IV, p. 720.

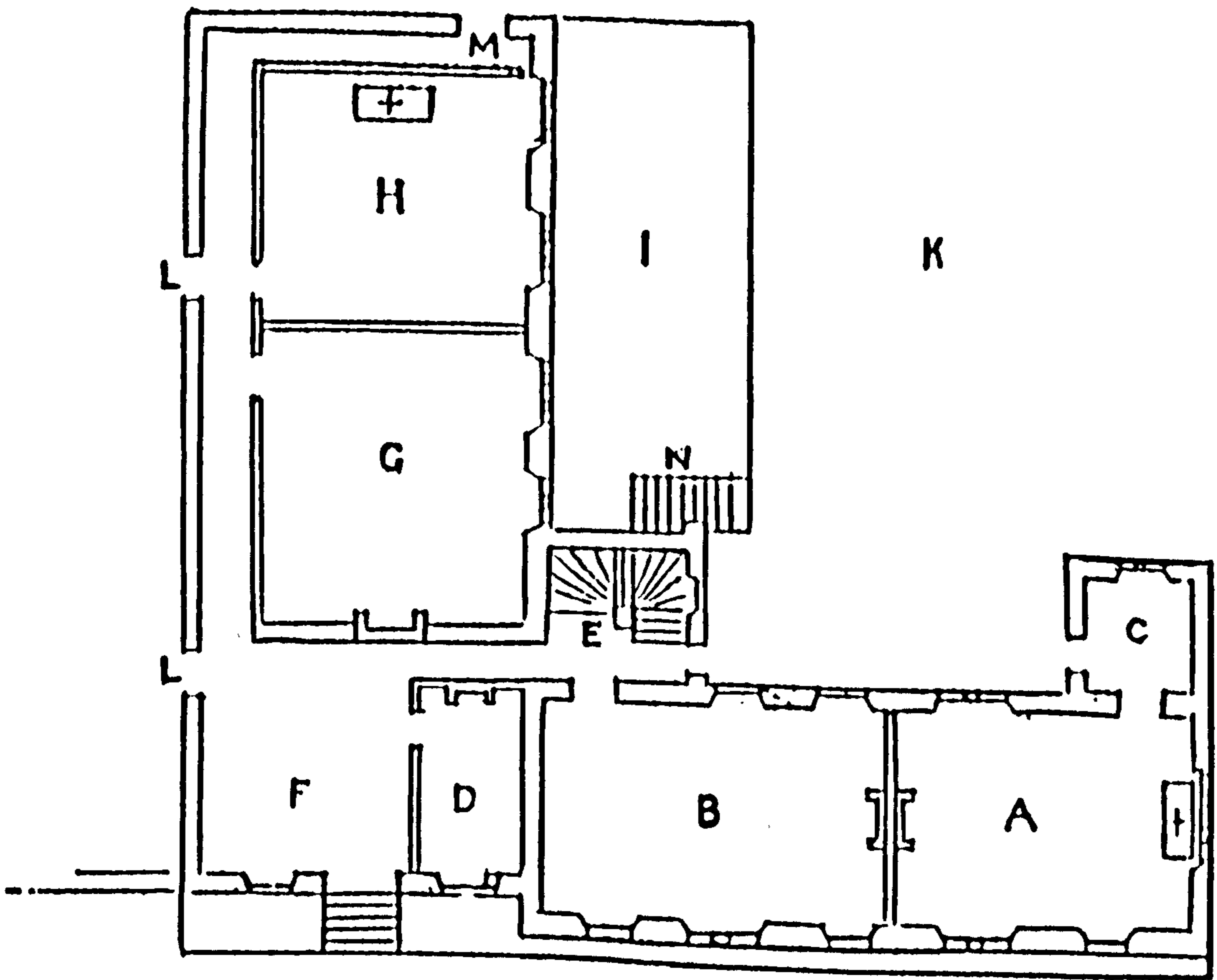
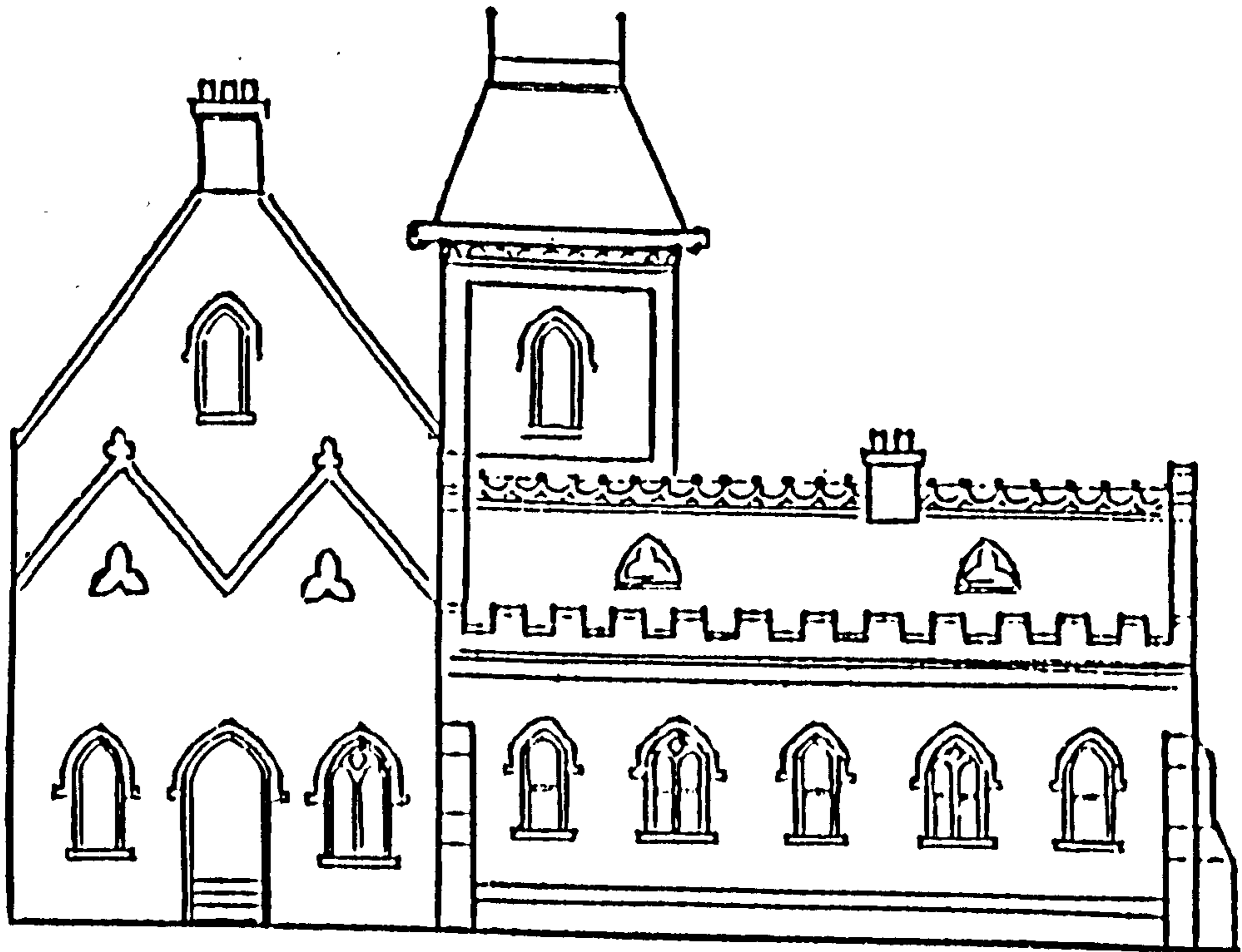
PLATE IV

GROUNDPLAN OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1860

From Letters and Notices, 31, pp. 234-235

KEY

- A Chapel (and subsequently school-room)
- B Schoolroom
- C Sacristy: Entrance Porch
- D Prefect General's Office
- E Staircase leading up to Academy Room
- F Entrance Hall
- G School-room
- H Study room with Brigade Altar.  
Over G and H - Academy Room
- I Courtyard
- K Playground
- L Entrance to Jesuit community house
- M Entrance to subsequent extension built in late  
1860s by Fr. George Porter
- N Staircase to basement



chemistry (1). After 1815, with the opening of new Catholic schools in England and Ireland, a decline had set in at Stonyhurst, the number of pupils there dropping from 226 in September 1813 to 120 in 1829 (2). This was a trend which was not reversed until 1852 when the figure of 150 boys was reached, rising to 200 again by November 1857 (3).

This numerical decline had been accompanied by a loss of momentum in the development of the curriculum, a situation exacerbated by a certain lack of cohesion, a consequence of twenty changes of Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst in as many years between 1827 and 1847 (4). In its isolated position, and devoid of external stimuli, life at the school had become increasingly domestic and easy-going, with a marked decline even in classical studies (5).

The revised Ratio Studiorum of 1832 had been intended by Fr. Roothaan only as a temporary guideline which would be modified in the light of experience to produce a more perfect text. Whilst re-emphasizing the enduring value of the Latin and Greek classics, it had welcomed the enrichment of the curriculum by mathematical and physical sciences and by the study of vernacular languages and literatures, and by "accessory subjects" such as history and geography.

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(1) Gerard, op.cit., pp.168-170.

(2) Stonyhurst in one sense contributed to its own depletion. In 1814 Fr. Peter Kenney, himself a Stonyhurst man, helped by others from the same source, established in Ireland a new College at Clongowes Wood. Up to 1814 a considerable proportion of Stonyhurst boys had been drawn from Ireland. See Gerard, op.cit., pp. 141-142.

(3) Gerard, op.cit., p.142.

(4) Ibid., pp.300-301.

(5) Ibid., p.175.

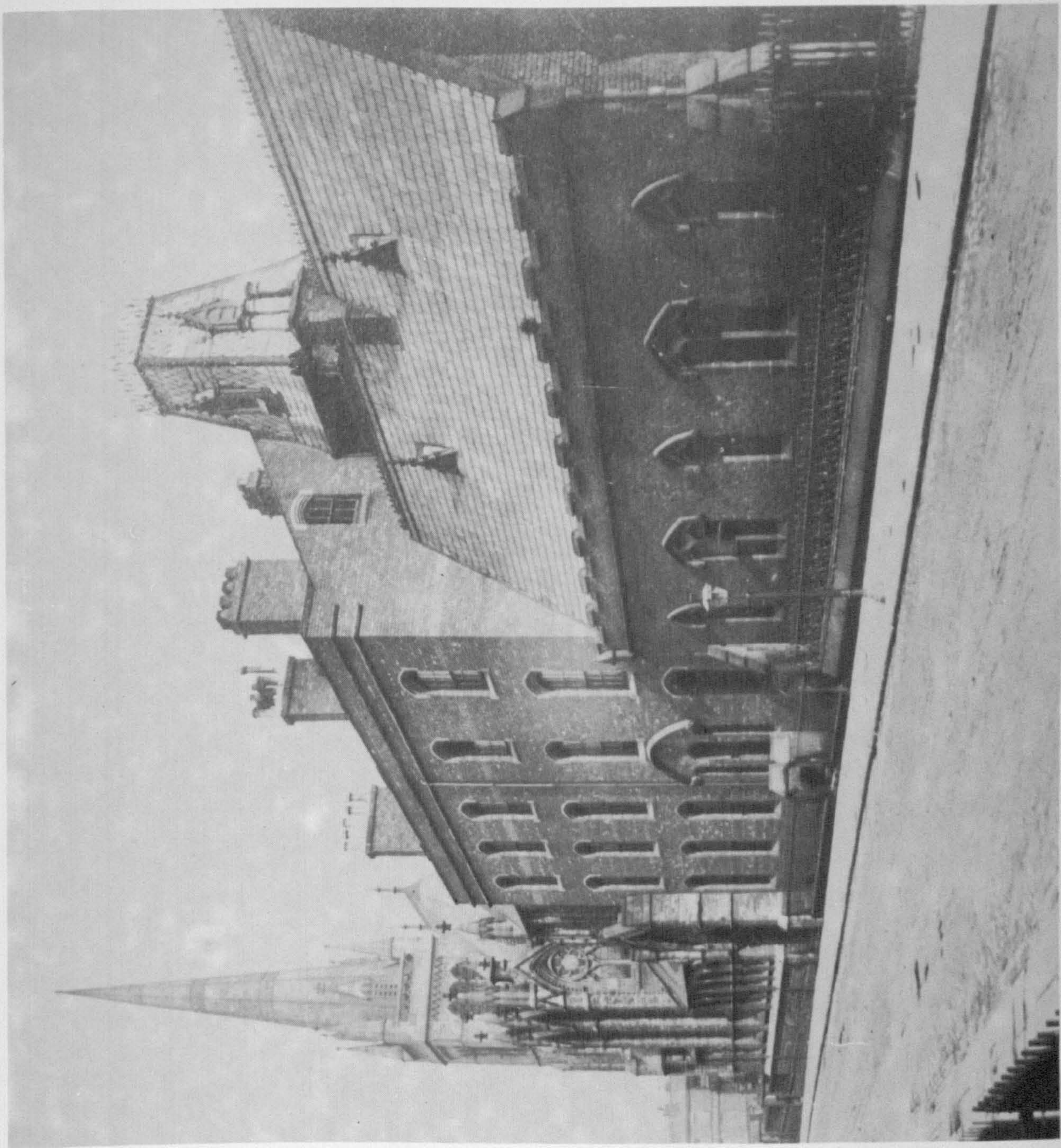
PLATE V

A VIEW OF SALISBURY STREET SHOWING  
THE COLLEGE BUILDING OF 1856

This is the only known close-up photograph of the 1856 building, demolished in 1908

From a photograph of c. 1900 in ARSJ, Fototeca,  
Domus Provinciae Angliae 1907





The affiliation of Stonyhurst to the University of London in 1840 had engendered an upsurge of enthusiasm for re-organizing its curriculum. This enthusiasm had been short-lived and after some six years, during which time separate professors of Latin, Greek, mathematics, English, history and French were appointed, the old plan of studies had been reverted to (1).

The turning point came in the academic year 1855-1856 on the appointment of Fr. Peter Gallwey as Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst. There, with the assistance of Fr. Edward Purbrick as Professor of Rhetoric and Messrs. Richard Payne and John Baptist Bodoano as Professors of Poetry and Grammar respectively (2), he greatly curtailed the amount of matter to be studied in each class so that work might be prepared more accurately. At the same time he revived the institution of the Extraordinary (3), which had fallen into disuse. He also introduced the division of classes into two opposite parties, Romans and Carthaginians, and the practice of holding Concertatios; both were encouraged in the 1832 Ratio as a good means of stirring up emulation amongst boys (4). Indeed, all these reforms, though not yet including the full development of "accessory studies", were fully in tune with the spirit and letter of the revised Ratio.

#### The revival of studies within the Society of Jesus

The reasons for Fr. Gallwey's sudden implementation

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(1) Ibid., pp. 176 and 302.

(2) Ibid., p.301.

(3) An extra course of study to be taken by more able pupils in addition to the "Ordinary" course common to all.

(4) Ratio, "Regulae Communes Professoribus Classium Inferiorum", 31.

of the recommendations of the revised Ratio can be explained by the currents of thought influencing many Jesuits engaged in educational work on the continent. In Italy in 1848, Fr. Enrico Vasco, a Jesuit with a wide experience both as a master and an administrator in various Italian colleges, produced a plan for the reorganization of the curriculum in Jesuit secondary schools. The General, Fr. Roothaan, fully supported his work and submitted it to experienced professors in a number of colleges.

Vasco was invited to draw up his proposals in greater detail. Before a distinguished gathering in Rome he delivered an address entitled "De ephebis recte instituendis" in which he outlined his plans for reorganization (1). The great majority of his listeners approved emendations to the Ratio but some were afraid that the introduction of too many subjects would destroy the solidity of training given by the traditional curriculum. Others, however, were convinced that the adoption of his plan was the way forward (2).

In 1851 Vasco's proposals for the reorganization of the Ratio were printed for private circulation in four volumes under the formidable title Il Ratio Studiorum adattato ai tempo presenti, ossia esposizione ragionata di alcune modificazioni che salva la sostanza del Ratio Studiorum (3). His proposed course consisted of four stages.

It began with a preliminary course in which two hours daily were to be devoted to the vernacular. This was to

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(1) McGucken, W.J., The Jesuits and Education (New York, 1932), p.132.

(2) Ibid.

(3) 4 volumes in 2, Rome, 1851.

serve as a preparation for the study of the classics, both ancient and modern. Besides the class in the vernacular, instruction was to be given in history, religion, and what the author termed "Erudizione Infantile", comprising arithmetic, zoology, botany, mineralogy, physical and political geography. The aim of this first stage of the curriculum was to give "un'idea generale del mondo".

The second stage of the course was to last for two, three or four years, according to the individual's capacity. Two hours each morning were to be given to languages - the vernacular, Latin and Greek. One hour was to be devoted to an outline course in history, including considerable geographic detail. In the afternoon, another hour and a half was to be spent on languages; one hour for "Erudizione Civile", that is, arithmetic, geography, and fundamental notions of botany and zoology; and once a week there was to be a class in oral and written expression.

The third stage, involving the study of "letteratura superiore" involved the study for two hours daily of classical eloquence, including composition in Greek and Latin. One hour was to be spent on "eloquenza nazionale", comprising a course in the art of oratorical composition. The classic literature of the country was to serve as a model in this. In addition, there was to be a course in the history of the vernacular literature. Instruction in history, mathematics, elementary physics and religion was also to be given. The fourth stage, a two-year course in philosophy and science need not concern us as it was studied above the secondary level (1).

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(1) Vasco, op.cit., passim., but especially IV, facing p.312.

Whilst keeping close to the classical emphasis of the revised Ratio, Vasco's plan of studies made large concessions to "modern" subjects. His work was highly praised by Fr. General Roothaan (1). Indeed, Fr. Roothaan was anxious to have the plan tried out in a Jesuit college in the Venice Province but the local Provincial was afraid that the responsibility for attempting such an undertaking was too great and declined to implement the experiment. All Vasco's efforts to persuade the Provincial were in vain and eventually he abandoned the plan apparently in total disgust (2).

How far Vasco's plans influenced Jesuit educational practice is very difficult to assess. Certainly his magnum opus was read by Jesuits throughout the world with interest (3). In France, the Paris province sent out a long questionnaire to all Jesuit colleges in 1855, enquiring in detail about the individual arrangements for the organization of the curriculum in each establishment (4). By September 1858 the three French Provinces of Toulouse, Lyons and Paris had set up a commission to study at length the running of the schools (5). In England, Fr. Peter Gallwey prepared a report on studies in the Jesuit colleges of the Province in 1857 (6). The Report deals with

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(1) McGucken, op.cit., p.133.

(2) Ibid., p.134.

(3) Ibid. A copy of Vasco's work, used in the English Province survives in the Province Archives. Fr. General Beckx invited observations on the Ratio from the English Province in 1854. See letter of Beckx, 2 September 1854, in APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873, ff.443-444.

(4) Padberg, J.W. Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuit Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880 (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), p.147.

(5) Ibid., p.148.

(6) Report on Studies in Jesuit Colleges, 7 September 1857, APA, CE/4.

Stonyhurst and Mount St. Mary's only and does not touch on curriculum matters in detail, apart from one plea for a shift in emphasis in the classical curriculum. A Board of Studies, comprising Fathers Peter Gallwey, George Kingdon, Albany Christie, George Tickell, Alfred Weld, George and Thomas Porter and James Clare resolved:

....that it would be expedient to call the attention of those who are revising the Ratio at Rome to a remark made by Dr. Newman that the classical studies of the Society are directed exclusively to the formation of style and that no provision is made of their contents. This latter method of study is the one more followed at the English Universities and if it could be combined to a certain extent with our system, at least during the Year of Rhetoric and Second Rhetoric, would remedy a deficiency observable in those who have aimed at nothing in their studies but the acquirement of style. (1)

The Report is, unfortunately, apparently the only educational document for the period dealing with the English Province to survive in the Province Archives. How far discussions on the curriculum were being pursued in the Province in the mid-1850s is difficult to say. At all events, it is clear from the Report that there was a full awareness of Jesuit educational trends in Europe and this would doubtless help to account for the increased interest in the Ratio at Stonyhurst at that time.

#### The Ratio: revised and revived at St. Francis Xavier's

The stage was now set for a revitalizing of studies at St. Francis Xavier's College. It is not without significance that Fr. Summer, after his return to Liverpool in 1856 in succession to Fr. Charles Collyns, procured as his first two Prefects of Studies, Messrs. Payne and Bodoano,

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(1) Ibid.

who had both served their "apprenticeship" under Fr. Gallwey's new regime at Stonyhurst.

Some detail of the Stonyhurst-style education dispensed at Salisbury Street in the period 1856-1858 was recorded in the Journal of Mr. Bodoano (1) who was appointed master of the First Class. During the Autumn Term of 1856 we find the following entries concerning Concertatios:

Thursday, Oct. 16th 1856 - 3rd Class had Concertatio during time of writing with 2nd Class in Latin Grammar: 3rd Class one and all victorious.

Wednesday, Nov. 26th - 1st Class had Concertatio pro Patria during dinner.

Monday, December 1st - 1st Class had Concertatio amongst themselves in the Refectory. (2)

The Concertatio was a contest in subject matter between two different classes or between two "sides" chosen from the same class. To render the rivalry more acute, the "sides" were named "Romans" and "Carthaginians" at a special ceremony, the Concertatio pro Patria (3), in the early part of the academic year. The contest would sometimes take place in one of the school rooms; or, later, publicly in

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(1) This Journal regrettably does not appear to have survived. A few extracts from it were published in The Xaverian, September 1892, pp. 133-135.

(2) The Xaverian, September 1892, p. 133.

(3) The winners of this first Concertatio were named 'Romans', the losers, 'Carthaginians'. This practice was later extended to the games field in some Jesuit colleges. At Beaumont, for example, where Stonyhurst football was played in the 1870s, boys were commonly released from classes to attend the all important "Match for the Name" at the beginning of a new season. The winners were called "The English", the losers, "The French"; see the anonymous History of St. Stanislaus's College, Beaumont (Old Windsor, 1911), p. 118. Regulations for the organization of Concertatios were laid out in detail in the Ratio, which recommended names such as Imperator, Praetor and Tribune for the three best pairs of boys in each "side". Such names, it was felt, lent a touch of erudition to the proceedings. Cf. Ratio, "Regulae Communes Professoris Classium Inferiorum", 35.

the Exhibition Room, when the first College building was completed; or, as happened more frequently, in the community refectory during the dinner of the Fathers and scholastics.

When held in the refectory, the contest would begin with the opposing sides marching up the middle of the room after Grace had been said and after bowing to the Rector, the chief or "Imperator" of the Carthaginians would read out in Latin a "challenge" to the Romans, whose leader in turn would declare his acceptance, again in Latin. The contest would then begin, with each rival asking his opponent questions in the different subjects selected and correcting him whenever possible. The contest would last throughout the half-hour allotted to the meal. At the end of the proceedings the master of the class concerned, having carefully noted the score, and having ensured that the contest had been waged fairly and squarely, would hand a sheet of paper to the Imperator of the victorious side.

He, in turn, would acclaim the victors in Latin. In the event of a tie, the master would declare the fact in the set phrase "Aequo Marte pugnatum est".

Mr. Bodoano's Journal also refers to frequent "Compositions" with "Greater Compositions" at the close of the four terms of the school year and "Minor Compositions" during the middle of the term. During these periods boys were required to "compose" in English, French, Latin or Greek. Two short extracts from the Journal illustrate the way in which matters were organized:

Monday, Oct. 13, 1856, Great Compositions  
10 - 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  a.m.; 2 - 4 p.m.



Monday, Nov. 17, 1856, Minor Compositions  
10 - 11½ a.m.; 2 - 3 p.m. (1)

Succeeding entries in the Journal testify to the great seriousness, pomp and solemnity surrounding the declaration of the "Order of Compositions". For example on Thursday, 26 February 1857 we read:

New compositions announced. 3rd class gave exhibition at 11 a.m., concluded by 12, then visit (to the Blessed Sacrament) and going home (2). Fr. Provincial, Rector and Socius. Fr. Provincial put on medals. Io Triumphe (3) sung with great effect when Imperators and Praetors were announced, except in 2nd Class, where Praetors not deemed worthy. (4)

This practice, which was eventually to die out at St. Francis Xavier's by the 1880s, was to survive in Jesuit day schools until the early years of the twentieth century, with the

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(1) The Xaverian, September 1892, p.135. It will be noticed that the Great Compositions on this occasion lasted four and a half hours in total. The revised Ratio prescribed a maximum of five or six hours for a Composition, which was not allowed to continue after sunset. Cf. Ratio, "Leges Praemiorum", 4.

(2) Thursdays was at that time a half-holiday. Such days were particularly recommended for the holding of a Concertatio. See Ratio, "Regulae Communes Professoris Classium Inferiorum", 17.

(3) A song composed by Charles Edward Cafferata, the organist and choirmaster of St. Francis Xavier's Church, expressly for use on such an occasion.

(4) The Xaverian, September 1892, p.135. The solemnity attached to such ceremonies had developed gradually. In the early days of the Walloon Jesuit College at St. Omer, where boys from the English Jesuit College attended lessons until 1612, the awarding of prizes was conducted very simply. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the ceremonial became more elaborate. The revised Ratio of 1832 positively encouraged the use of music, from an orchestra if possible, when results were announced. See Delamotte, G., and Loisel, J., Les Origines du Lycée de Saint-Omer: histoire de l'Ancien Collège (Calais, 1910), pp.83-84; Ratio, "Leges Praemiorum", 12.

exception that only the Imperators, or first two in each class (and not the Praetors or Tribunes - the third and fourth and fifth and sixth) were decorated with medals; and the musical honours were dispensed with in other Colleges (1). In the 1850s at Stonyhurst and Liverpool the Imperators, Praetors and Tribunes announced in the Order of Compositions together constituted the privileged "Six First". At Stonyhurst the "Six First" were traditionally allowed a "Good-Day", or break from study, as a reward for their efforts. A modified form of the Good-Day was introduced at St. Francis Xavier's in 1857, as we discover from Mr. Bodoano's Journal:

1857: Wed. Feb.4th; Those with medals freed from Evening Schools, and taken by Mr. Pearson to skate in Princes' Park - very good effect. (2)

In summer the boys could be taken further afield and the Good-Day lengthened:

1858: Thursday July 1st: Writing Expedition to Forty Hours at Gillmoss. (All Academicians and three times distinguished in arithmetic); most regular server and singer allowed to join - walked from here at 8.30 a.m. Fr.Morrow procured field for cricket - all returned in 'bus (hired for 10/-) from West Derby at 7.30 p.m. Mr. Payne stayed at home in the morning to teach the non-distinguished - brought some of them out after dinner. (3)

The ordering of medals as a reward for the "Six First" is also recorded in the Journal:

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(1) A photograph dated 1901 of "Masters and their Imperators" at Wimbledon College with the latter wearing their ribbons and medals, attests to the survival of the tradition in the English Jesuit day schools. Cf. Wimbledon College Archives, WC 49/1.

(2) The Xaverian, November 1892, p.171.

(3) Ibid., p.172. The "Forty Hours" devotion referred to (and sometimes known by its Italian name Quarant' Ore) takes place once annually in most Catholic parish churches. It involves the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament in the monstrance on the altar for a period of approximately forty hours, during which time the faithful can come to pray privately. The expedition to Gillmoss happened to fall during this period.

Monday, March 30th, 1857. Full complement of medals now arrived. For Imperators, crown and cross of Legion of Honour, price 3/6: for Praetors, medal of Our Blessed Lady's Confraternity of -----, (sic) price 2/2: for Tribunes, silver miraculous medal, small size, price 1/4. (1)

If special days were set aside for the boys of the College, the Jesuit Provincial was not forgotten either. The Journal records that special measures were taken in 1857 to celebrate "Provincial's Day" during Fr. Johnson's Visitation to the College and Parish:

Monday last was to have been Fr. Provincial's day - the 1st Class presented Latin, French and English address on occasion. Fr. Provincial returned an answer in Latin, and sent pictures to the writers of the addresses. (2)

Up to 1873 the custom at the College was to have two half-holidays in a week, namely Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. One Thursday of the month, however, was reserved

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(1) The Xaverian, September 1892, p.136. It is interesting to note the distribution of the Miraculous Medal to the boys at such an early date. The first medals were distributed in May 1832 on the authorization of the Archbishop of Paris, Monsignor Hyacinthe-Louise de Quelin, soon after the apparitions of Our Lady to St. Catherine Labouré (1806-1876) in her convent in the Rue du Bac in Paris in 1830.

(2) See Day Book of Fr.Wm. Corry, S.J., Lancashire Record Office, Preston, RCU1 21. A book was kept specially for the Provincial to note down his Memorial, or list of recommendations for the better running of the establishment he had visited. Though the Visitation Book for St. Francis Xavier's (APA, 6/4/3/4) begins in 1850 no significant entries bearing on educational matters at the College are to be found until the 1870s.

as a "Blandyke" (1) or "month-day" and was a whole holiday.

We read, for instance, in the Journal:

1857, Thursday, June 18th. Month Day. Quarant' Ore at Lydiate. The scholars have usually had an outing on St. Aloysius (if fine) and no month-day, but as this year St. Aloysius falls on Sunday, Fr. Sumner gave month-day and kindly treated lads to an outing to Lydiate, where they all assisted at Mass, many of them in cassocks and surplices. Mr. Payne had charge of them - agreed with the Railway Company for 6d. there and back - 2nd class carriages to themselves - sandwiches, kali, oranges, etc. - left Liverpool at 7-35 - returned at 4.40 (better at 8) - great fun - dinner and swings at the "Crow's Orchard", at the back of Fr. Speakman's house - cricket in front - fishing in the canal allowed to bigger lads - Fr. S. kindly gave us a bottle of wine and some tart - Mr. Lightbound's phaeton carried the goods. (2)

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(1) The name Blandyke is a corruption of the name Blandecques, a village situated about one hour's walk from St.Omer, on the river Aa in Flanders. There in 1626 the English Jesuit Community from St.Omer purchased a property where the boys of the College might, at least in summer, spend their monthly holiday or "month-day". These days came to be known as "Blandecques Days", or "Blandykes". When the College moved to Bruges and Liège, this feature of school life was jealously preserved. After the arrival of the English ex-Jesuits at Stonyhurst in 1794 the tradition continued and was continued in other colleges founded by the Society in England in the nineteenth century. See Gerard, op.cit., p.26 and Chadwick, H., St.Omers to Stonyhurst (Burns and Oates, 1962), p.116.

(2) The Xaverian, November 1892, p.170. The "Mr. Lightbound" referred to was Thomas Lightbound, brother-in-law of Fr. Randal Lythgoe. Lightbound had been a leading spirit in the Society of St.Francis Xavier in the early 1840s. Though in business as a miller in Liverpool, he resided at a house called Rose Hill at Lydiate. His home was much frequented by the clergy of St.Francis Xavier's College and Parish. Entries in the diaries of Jesuits stationed at Liverpool throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century record visits to the family at Lydiate. Often they would stay overnight at Rose Hill, returning by train the following morning, having said Mass in the family's private Oratory in the house. In the early 1880s, whilst a missionary at St.Francis Xavier's, Fr. Gerard Manley Hopkins was a regular visitor to Rose Hill, where several of his poems were written. Indeed, the title of his poem Felix Randal was inspired by the name of Thomas Lightbound's son, Randal (1844-1919), who himself had been named after his uncle, Fr. Randal Lythgoe. See article on Gerard Manley Hopkins by Fr. Alfred Thomas S.J., in Times Literary Supplement, 19 March 1971.

Sometimes the precious Blandyke was stopped, when the conduct of the boys had been unsatisfactory: and if it fell within a fortnight of the beginning of a new term (normally it was fixed for about the middle of the month) it would be postponed in order to avoid marring a fortnight of full schools when the boys were freshest and at their most receptive (1).

### The development of drama

From its earliest days the Society of Jesus in its educational work had recognized the first rate importance of a sound training in the art of public speaking. Dramatic entertainments, debating clubs and elocution classes were encouraged in Jesuit colleges across the world shortly after the death of St. Ignatius in 1556. Euripus was performed at Prague in 1560; Judith at Munich in 1565; Esther, in 1577. The first of these plays was acted in the public square before a crowd of more than 8000 people. For the performance of Esther, the Duke of Bavaria placed at the disposal of the Jesuits some 160 gold and silver vessels from his treasury.

In France, the drama was no less spectacular with Louis XIII and his Court attending a play at the great Collège La Flèche in 1614. Later, Louis XIV and his courtiers were to attend a spectacular production at the Collège Sainte Barbe.

A similar, strong tradition of drama had existed at the English College at St.Omer where successive English Jesuit professors had produced their own plays before

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(1) The Xaverian, November 1892, p.171.

distinguished audiences, both clerical and lay (1).

A small college with desperately limited facilities and resources in the 1850s could not hope to reach the heights of drama produced by the early Jesuit colleges on the continent. The highest standards were, nevertheless, expected by Fr. Sumner in Liverpool. He was determined that St. Francis Xavier's should inherit the St. Omers and Stonyhurst tradition for good drama.

He took immense pains in polishing and perfecting the performance of those who were to appear in plays or Exhibitions. Indeed, so particular was he that boys would come away, in tears from his room after rehearsing (2). Mr. (later Sir) Joseph Walton, Q.C., Chairman of the General Council of the Bar, who had been a pupil at the College from 1853, before continuing his studies at Stonyhurst, could state publicly in 1900 that he then felt particularly grateful for the teaching of Fr. Sumner, who had taught him first how to read and clearly enunciate during his time at Liverpool; and he could recall the care with which his tutor had taken to coach him in the part of a play which was to be performed on Exhibition Day (3).

For a time, in the early 1850s, performances continued to be staged in the Academy Room in the presbytery in Salisbury Street. This room had been the original school chapel when the move had taken place from St. Anne Street in 1846. After the opening of the Church of St. Francis Xavier in 1849 it had been converted into the first Academy Room. Measuring only 40ft. x 20ft., it could not, however,

(1) Delattre, P., (ed.) Les Etablissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles: répertoire topo-bibliographique (Enghien, 1949-1957), V, pp.902-903.

(2) The Xaverian, June 1893, p.281.

(3) Ibid., February 1900, p.29.

hold more than about 80 people. Space was so limited that boys performing at this time used to dress at home for the play and make their way to the College in costume, there being no Green Room (1).

By the mid-1850s the crush caused by attempting to stage plays in such narrow confines in the presbytery proved too much. Instead, for a few years, until the building of the new College in 1856, productions were staged in the roomy vaults of the new church (2). Unfortunately, no record survives to indicate the nature of the performances which were given there. A programme of 1855 for the farce In the Wrong Box does, however, give some idea of what was being produced about this time. It will be noticed that all the characters in the play programme reproduced overleaf are male. In accordance with a long-standing custom in Jesuit colleges, wives would often be changed into brothers and maiden aunts into irascible uncles - a custom continued well into the present century, in order to avoid the alternative, but later resorted to (often with comic effect!) of dressing boys in girls' or women's costume (3).

Once the new Academy Room became available after the completion of the new College in 1856, matters improved and a pattern of regular performances emerged with much larger audiences being able to attend. For some years Shakespeare held the stage, beginning with a production of Julius Caesar in July 1856 (4).

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(1) The Xaverian, June 1893, p.280.

(2) Ibid., p.281.

(3) Up to 1832 the Ratio had stipulated that comedies and tragedies performed in the colleges be few in number during the academic year; that they be based on Scripture; that they be in Latin and that no female or male in female attire be permitted. These rules were abolished in the revised Ratio of 1832. Cf. Ratio, "Regulae Rectoris", 13.

(4) St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine, VI, p.21.

PLATE VI

PROGRAMME OF THE PLAY 'IN THE WRONG BOX'  
PERFORMED AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1855

From The Xaverian, June 1893, p.280



IN THE WRONG BOX:      Liverpool, 1855.

A Farce in Two Acts.

Doctor Plympton (Master of a Finishing Academy) ...	Master F. Finney.	
Godfrey Fairfax .....	} his Pupils { .....	F. Mackarell.
George Wharton .....		H. Fairhurst.
Charles Fitzmartyn .....	W. Kaye.	
Cæsar (a Porter) ... ..	W. McElroy.	
Job Houseleck (a Labourer in the service of Dr. Plympton).....	F. Kenrick.	
Dick (Fitzmartyn's Groom) .....	R. Lightbound.	
Strawquill (Clerk of Waggon Office) .....	P. Hogan.	
Ikey (a Porter) .....	W. H. McLachlan.	
Captain of West Indianan .....	A. Tiernan.	
Frederick (Son of Dr. Plympton) .....	T. Tinson.	
Sammy Wiseacre (Servant of Dr. Plympton) .....	T. Hare.	

Porters, Sailors, &c.

This was followed in 1857 by Henry IV, Part 1, on Wednesday, 7 January, with 340 people present (1). "Literary Exhibitions" followed on 30 March, 7 July and 20 October; and Coriolanus was produced as the Christmas play on 22 December (2). In 1858 Cymbeline was acted, in 1859, Hamlet, while in January 1861, Henry IV, Part 2, was staged (3). Performances became so popular that measures had to be taken to control the situation. For the Midsummer Exhibition in 1858 only 180 tickets were printed "to prevent a crush" (4).

One name that occurs in all these performances is that of Joseph Walton, the future Judge. He began in 1856 by taking the parts of Young Cato and the Soothsayer in Julius Caesar, and appears in the succeeding plays as Gadshill in Henry IV, Part 1, Menenius Agrippa in Coriolanus, and Imogen in Cymbeline. In Hamlet he played the title-role, and in Henry IV, Part 2 he was Prince Hal. In the same year, 1861, at an Academic Exhibition at the College he is to be found declaiming extracts from the De Corona of Demosthenes in the original Greek and leading a debate on the "Cause of England's Greatness". In the same way the name of William Madden, a future King's Counsel, is found in Shakespearean roles at the College between 1863 and 1865 (5). With these men, as with many others, their early experience on the stage at school must have been of inestimable value in their later careers.

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(1) Day Book of Fr. Wm. Corry, S.J., Lancashire Record Office, Preston, RCUL 21. Fr. Corry's estimate of 340 is somewhat at variance with the 400 recorded as being in attendance by Mr. Bodoano in his Journal of the same date; cf. The Xaverian, November 1892, p.172.

(2) The Xaverian, April 1892, p.57.

(3) St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine, VI, p.20.

(4) The Xaverian, November 1892, p.172.

(5) St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine, VI, p.21.

Such performances proved to be rivals to the plays staged at the Catholic Institute in Liverpool. Even at this early stage in the College's life, interest was taken by the local press in the boys' performances. Soon after the opening of the new Academy Room, a journalist from the Liverpool Daily Post attended an Exhibition at "St. Francis Xavier's Collegiate Schools" and reported:

The annual Exhibition of the pupils of the schools of St. Francis Xavier's, Salisbury Street, took place last night. The Rev. R. Sumner, S.J., presided. There was a numerous and highly respectable attendance of parents and guardians and friends of the pupils present, and the whole proceedings were most interesting and effective in developing the progress of the pupils. The occasion was not an examination, but, as the programme indicated, an exhibition, and was calculated to show the progress of the pupils during the half-year that had just passed over, and the result was such as to satisfy the most exacting principal that the pupils were all that could be anticipated. Master J. Hare, a young gentleman of fourteen years, presided, and Masters Loudon and F. Davis were acting secretaries, so that the whole had the appearance of an organization as regarded the auditory, such as would be presented by an ordinary debating club.

It is clear that on this occasion a Concertatio was organized in public, for the reporter continues:

Before this audience were produced examinations in Bible History and Catechism, French, English, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry and Latin authors, in which each pupil did his best to "impound" his opponent, and succeeded but too often.

The reporter, never having before seen such a performance was duly impressed:

.....these results must always follow the admirable system practised at these schools, of permitting one youth to manifest his progress by his examination of his class-fellow. Several excellent choruses and solos appropriately adorned the more serious portion of the proceedings, which were also enlivened by recitations from Greek, Latin and French dramas, all of which were wound up by a debate upon the merits of the "Old School" versus "The New". This discussion was conducted with spirit, and if, as we must suppose, the composition was entirely that of the pupils, exhibited

considerable aptitude and accuracy of perception on the part of the young gentlemen. (1)

The Daily Post report helps to confirm the impression given by a new Prospectus, issued in 1857, and reproduced overleaf, that more accent was being given at St. Francis Xavier's College to "accessory studies".

Attention was not confined merely to current pupils: efforts were made in the late 1850s to sustain the interest of former pupils of St. Francis Xavier's, Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst in literary matters. We read in Mr. Bodoano's Journal that Old Boys of the three schools working in the Liverpool area were invited to meet together regularly:

Tuesday, March 7th, 1857: Literary Society for former alumni (sic) of Stonyhurst, Mount and Liverpool, begun by Mr. Payne; room and books open at 7 p.m. every Monday and Thursday. Tuesday, public meeting (obligatory) for debates, essay, etc. (2)

This is the only reference to an organization which seems to have been very short-lived.

### Developments in the English Province

Outside the College, the Society of Jesus was becoming more aware of the narrowness in the training and formation of the scholastics who were destined to spend at least part, and, in some cases, most of their lives as Jesuits teaching either at Stonyhurst or St. Francis Xavier's. Fr. Thomas Tracy Clarke (1802-1862), Novice Master at Hodder in the early 1850s, determined to move the Novitiate to a more distant locality, judging it unwise and inappropriate for Stonyhurst boys entering the Society to test their vocation in the environment of their old school, as he himself had had to do. In 1854, with the approval of the General in

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(1) Quoted in The Xaverian, April 1892, p.59.

(2) Ibid., September 1892, p.136.

PLATE VII

COLLEGE PROSPECTUS 1857

From APA, RX/2

A. M. D. C.

# St. Francis Xavier's Collegiate Schools,

LIVERPOOL.

The object of these Schools, conducted by members of the Society of Jesus, is to give a Religious, Literary, and Commercial Education.

The Course of Instruction is adapted for Ecclesiastical and Professional Studies or for Mercantile Pursuits, and is a good preparation for Government Examinations, as well as for the University of London.

During the time devoted to Greek by the Classical Students, the Commercial Classes are engaged in studying Modern Languages, Book-keeping and Geometry.

At the Annual Exhibition in Midsummer, Prizes are awarded for distinguished merit at three of the Quarterly Examinations, for excellence in Latin, French and English Composition, and for proficiency in studies pursued beyond the ordinary course.

The Scholars have the use of a Library and Reading Room.

The Terms include not only the ordinary branches of Education, but also French, Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Drawing.

## TERMS.

For one Pupil .....	£2 0s. a Quarter.
„ two Brothers .....	£3 10s. „

*Pensions to be paid in advance.*

School Books and Drawing Materials, but not Stationery, are extra charges.

Pupils who come from a distance, may have Dinner prepared at the College.

Spacious Class and Exhibition Rooms are provided for Study, and a large Play Ground and Play Room for Recreation.

Application for admission to be made to the President, the Rev. R. SUMNER, or to the Rev. R. PAYNE, Prefect of Studies, ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S, Salisbury Street, Liverpool.

Rome (1) a start was made in the search for a suitable property. A "large building in Everton", very probably Rupert House, near St. Francis Xavier's, was viewed by Brother Henry Foley, S.J. early in 1854 but was not purchased (2).

Eventually, a young solicitor acting on behalf of Fr. Clarke viewed a property called Beaumont Lodge at Old Windsor. Hearing that the property was suitable, Fr. Clarke proceeded from Stonyhurst to Windsor dressed as a farmer (3). Fr. Randal Lythgoe was also involved in the negotiations for the property. Dressed, as was the custom, in drab-colour clothes and a white choker (4), he is alleged to have enquired politely if the acquisition of the property would entitle him to a seat in the local parish church (5).

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(1) Fr. General Beckx to Fr. Joseph Johnson, English Provincial, 4 April 1854 in APA, Epist. Gen., 1853-1873, f.433.

(2) History of St. Stanislaus' College, Beaumont, p.13. Rupert House, Everton, it will be recalled, was to be purchased by Mother Emily Bowles, S.C.H.J, for her new training college in March, 1854.

(3) History of....Beaumont, p.13.

(4) Up to 1854, Jesuits in England wore such dress, three centuries of persecution having cautioned extreme prudence in this, as in other matters. In 1854 an order came from the English Provincial for Jesuit priests and scholastics to wear the Roman collar, according to the wish of the General in Rome and the recommendations of the Synod of Westminster. See letter of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. Joseph Johnson, S.J., English Provincial, 13 January 1854, in Ordinationes et Responsa Generalium, 1832-1868, APA, 19/3/14, f.25. As the decision had come so soon after the hysteria in England on the restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, Fr. Lythgoe felt it would be highly imprudent for Jesuits to don the Roman collar. So perturbed was he that, with the permission of Fr. Joseph Johnson, the Provincial, he went to consult Lord Aberdeen, who seems to have allayed his fears. See Letters and Notices, 33, p.374. Fr. Lythgoe was to die a few months later, in January, 1855.

(5) Letters and Notices, 33, p.374.

These ploys were resorted to in order to avoid the slightest suspicion that a Jesuit Novitiate might soon be set up within a stone's throw of the very walls of Windsor Castle. Beaumont Lodge, formerly the home of Warren Hastings, was acquired in August 1854, the purchase money being donated by Fr. Hon. Joseph Constable Maxwell, brother of the thirteenth Lord Herries of Everingham Park, Yorkshire (1).

In 1861 the Novitiate moved once again, to Bessborough Lodge, Roehampton, where it was to remain for a century, being renamed Manresa House. The property vacated at Old Windsor was immediately taken over as a new college of the Society of Jesus. The new school, Beaumont College, was seen as another necessity, long overdue:

.....the realization of a long felt desire on the part of those Catholics of England who wish to give their children the benefit of the education of the Society, without sending them so far to the North as to Stonyhurst. (2)

#### The effects of reform

The pattern of education revised at Stonyhurst by Fr. Peter Gallwey and introduced to Liverpool by Fr. Sumner was an important step forward (3). In the short term it gave the College badly needed stability and direction. Even if the scholastic masters were limited in experience, as well as being unfamiliar with schools other than Stonyhurst, and even if there was a large turnover of staff, the very fact that everybody was familiar with

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(1) History of.....Beaumont, p.12.

(2) Letters and Notices, 1, 18.

(3) The seriousness with which the close following of the Ratio was taken at Liverpool can be judged from the stress given to its implementation in the Annual Letter for 1856; see ARSJ, 1501, f.243. This strict observance is confirmed in a letter of Fr. Joseph Johnson, the English Provincial, to Fr. General Beckx, 20 April 1857, ARSJ, Anglia 1004, III, 22.



the system in operation was a great advantage. Without that common bond between the staff in the 1850s and early 1860s, it is highly probable that the College would have foundered badly, if not disappeared altogether. A disaster encountered by the Society of Jesus in Manchester in 1853-1854 on the failure of a small Secondary school which had been opened there by the Society showed how fragile the Jesuit day school system in England could be at that time.

In the event, the system operated at St. Francis Xavier's produced results, as is clear from two separate sources. It was reported in the Annual Letter to Fr. General Beckx in Rome in 1855 that as far as St. Francis Xavier's College was concerned good progress was being made in both the academic and spiritual life of the school (1). Augustus Dignam, a young scholastic from Stonyhurst, arriving in Liverpool to teach at the College in 1863 could also report to a friend:

I am master of the second school here. I have upwards of thirty very nice lads; they are all very docile and mostly very sharp. (2)

In the long term, Fr. Sumner's stepping in as Rector to control a precarious situation provided an important precedent which was to be imitated in the future. The Ratio required the involvement of the Rector in the day-to-day running of Jesuit colleges. For the first time in the restored English Province Fr. Sumner had shown the importance and necessity of the Rector being actively involved in the life of a day school. If any criticism is to be made of

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(1) Letters and Notices, 31, p.233, quoting ARSJ,1501, f.218.  
 (2) Quoted in Purbrick, E., and MacLeod, J.G., A Memoir of Fr. Dignam, S.J., with some of his Letters (Burns & Oates, 1906), p.27.

his management of the affairs of the College it would be to argue that his following of the Ratio was too narrow for the long-term good of the school. In a Victorian industrial and commercial climate in a major international port just a few years after the Great Exhibition of 1851, any non-utilitarian thrust in education was bound to be viewed by parents with suspicion and mistrust.

The 1832 revised Ratio had offered implicitly the opportunity for the Society of Jesus to widen its educational aims whilst respecting its traditional base, rooted in the teaching of Classics. The innovations at St. Francis Xavier's College in the mid-1850s still followed very closely the prescriptions of the pre-1832 Ratio rather than the wider interpretation proposed by Fr. Vasco. In industrial Liverpool such a curriculum could not hope to attract for very much longer the parents of potential pupils. It must be borne in mind, however, that Fr. Sumner was in office for four years only, until 1860, and was probably unable, in the time available, to develop studies at the College to the full.

His replacement as Rector in 1860 by Fr. Joseph Johnson, who had just retired as Provincial, at first seemed to augur well for the future. But the transfer of Fr. Johnson to Stonyhurst as Rector the following year, followed by the short rectorate of Fr. Francis Clough, from 1861 to 1864, coupled with the leaving vacant of the post of Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's during the academic year 1862-1863, undid the good work which had been achieved under Fr. Sumner.

When Fr. Richard Payne returned to Liverpool as Prefect of Studies in August 1863, fresh from his year's tertianship

in France (1), he found the College in a declined state. Pupil numbers were dropping rapidly and continued to drop during his period of office, falling from 120 in 1862 to 84 by the close of 1864 (2).

The situation in Liverpool must have been clear to the new Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld, soon after taking up office in September 1864. An alumnus of Stonyhurst, he had witnessed the success of the revitalizing of studies at Stonyhurst during the previous nine years under Fathers Peter Gallwey, George Porter and Edward Purbrick. If the situation was not clear to him, he certainly soon became fully aware of the problems at Liverpool when, in April 1865, he received a letter from the Jesuit General in Rome expressing his regret that St. Francis Xavier's College was not growing in numbers. Fr. General Beckx reported he had heard it said the cause of the problem was that scholastics being sent to Liverpool to teach were not being trained in the method of the Ratio Studiorum, and this was having an adverse effect (3). The General's letter must have prompted Weld to give serious thought to the future of the College. What was needed now was a strong Rector who could provide stability and consistency of policy, with a Prefect of Studies who could provide a

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(1) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.249.

(2) Cf. Table I, p.86.

(3) Beckx to Weld, 15 April 1865, APA, Epist.Gen.1853-1873. The poor preparation of scholastics being sent to Liverpool and the decline of the College was a source of concern to Fr. Beckx. As early as 1863 he was expressing alarm at the state of the College; see Beckx to Fr. T. Seed, Provincial, 3 December 1863, ARSJ, English Province Letterbook, 1850-1864, f.324. In 1866 he was still watching the situation closely; see Beckx to Weld, 17 March 1866, APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873.

broader interpretation of the revised Ratio. If two such men could be found, St. Francis Xavier's College would not merely be able to regain lost ground, but would also begin to prosper in its newly built accommodation. Within a matter of weeks two suitable men were to emerge.

CHAPTER FOURNEW DIRECTIONS 1865-1870

The year 1864 was a watershed in the history of the Society of Jesus. The fiftieth anniversary of the Restoration of the Society worldwide provided the English Jesuits with an opportunity to step back and assess progress. From a reading of Letters and Notices for that year, one senses a growing spirit of confidence, based on real achievement. An examination of the numerical strength of the Society in the English Province in 1865 reveals a six-fold increase in the period from the Restoration in 1803 as Table III overleaf indicates. Even during the short period of twenty-five years since the founding of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool in 1840, the English Province of the Society of Jesus had more than doubled in strength. This rapid growth was not simply an English phenomenon. The Society was growing in numbers throughout the English Assistancy and, indeed, worldwide despite the ravages caused by the American Civil War and by the dispersion of so many Jesuits as a result of revolutions across Europe, as Table IV indicates. Hopes for an improvement in the development of a college such as St. Francis Xavier's were anticipated with justifiable confidence.

Fr. George Porter appointed Rector 1864

When Fr. Alfred Weld, the Provincial, appointed Fr. George Porter, the future Archbishop of Bombay, as Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College on 29 December 1864 it was an important first step in providing the school with new

TABLE IIIGROWTH OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE S.J., 1803 - 1865:COMPOSITION OF THE PROVINCE BY YEAR (1)

YEAR	PRIESTS	SCHOLASTICS	BROTHERS	TOTAL
1803	33	11	2	46
1810	36	22	4	62
1815	40	37	4	81
1820	40	40	12	92
1825	50	38	8	96
1830	55	45	10	110
1835	59	43	10	112
1840	71	46	15	132
1845	85	67	23	175
1850	90	78	26	194
1855	113	92	30	235
1860	140	82	40	262
1865	142	97	47	286

(1) Statistics based on information from Catalogues of the English Province, S.J., in Letters and Notices, 18, pp.499-500.

GROWTH OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN THE ENGLISH

ASSISTANCY AND WORLDWIDE, 1838 - 1864 (1)

YEAR	ENGLISH PROVINCE	IRELAND	MARYLAND	MISSOURI	WHOLE SOCIETY
1838	128	61	106	57	3067
1840	132	-	-	-	3485
1841	140	63	109	93	3565
1842	151	-	-	-	3708
1844	164	-	-	-	4133
1847	-	-	-	-	4752
1852	207	-	-	-	4936
1853	217	-	-	-	5209
1854	226	-	-	-	5510
1855	235	-	-	-	5727
1856	237	99	205	186	5968
1857	243	105	215	186	6295
1858	252	-	-	-	6600
1859	257	113	232	196	6926
1860	262	117	245	199	7173
1861	265	126	246	201	7231
1862	275	132	253	201	7411
1863	275	139	250(2)	194(2)	7533
1864	280	142	-	-	7728

(1) Information based on details from Letters and Notices, 2, p.25; Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2, p.90.

Though the English Assistancy did not come into existence until 1853, figures for Ireland, Maryland and Missouri before this date have been included for comparison.

(2) This decline was caused by the disruptive influence of the American Civil War.

directions (1). Born in Exeter in 1825 of Scottish parents, George Porter had been sent to the preparatory school at Hodder at the age of 9, entering Stonyhurst College in September 1836. There he had made good academic progress, having been regularly amongst the "Six First". At the age of 16 he had entered the noviceship at Hodder and during his training had taught in the collegium inchoatum of St. Francis Xavier's for one year in 1847-1848 (2).

At the early age of 25, and not yet a priest, he had been appointed Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst, retaining that position for three years until 1853. Ordained priest in 1856, he spent the fourth year of his theological studies in Rome, and on his return to England was appointed Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst for a second time (3). There he continued to implement the new policies begun by Fr. Peter Gallwey.

A pupil of his at that time later recalled the impression he had given as Prefect of Studies:

He was very popular with the boys. And this, although he raised the standard of distinction at the examinations. Fr. Porter was a rather stiff examiner. There was no evading his questions....they were straight and searching, and he very soon found out how much you knew. He encouraged writing and reading among the boys of the Higher Line, and he would frequently start a subject in conversation just to see how much we had read. He was very fond of talking to us about the future, and of impressing upon us the advantage of Higher University studies....He was always putting a high standard of action and work before us, was very partial to the industrious, and he had scant sympathy with idlers. (4)

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(1) This appointment was initially as Vice-Rector of the College. Fr. Porter was appointed Rector proper on 21 April 1865; cf. Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.213. Porter's confirmation as Rector may well have been prompted by the General's anxiety about the future of the College expressed in his letter of 15 April 1865 to Fr. Alfred Weld; APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873.

(2) Province Register, APA, 14/6/2, f.213.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Letters and Notices, 20, p.122.



These qualities were to become evident soon after his arrival in Liverpool

In the autumn of 1859, George Porter left Stonyhurst to spend his year's tertianship at the Jesuit house at Liesse, near Laon in Northern France. On his return he spent four years as Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Beuno's (1). This was followed by a year of teaching logic and metaphysics at the seminary at Stonyhurst before his appointment as Rector at Liverpool, where he was to remain for five years. (2).

The true character of the man who was to lead St. Francis Xavier's College to greater success is perhaps best summed up by the observations of two Jesuit novices who came to know Fr. Porter at a later period of his life; three years after leaving Liverpool, he was to become Master of Novices at Roehampton. One novice there at that period later recalled:

He was pre-eminently a man with nothing small or womanish about him. He used to say, 'I am, by the grace of God, a Scotchman (sic)'. As Novice Master, he was strict, but just and reasonable. (3)

Another novice recalled:

His promptitude in making up his mind was proverbial... He was very fond of thoroughness, and used to hold up as an example for admiration if not imitation, the habit of one of Ours (4) whom he had known in Italy. This Father had made it a rule never to read a book without starting at the title-page and persevering to finish... He was never so racy in his exhortations as when inveighing against the 'creepiness of some novices'. It was the last vice with which he could be charged himself. He was nothing

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(1) St. Beuno's College was the Theologate of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, which had been founded near St. Asaph in North Wales by Fr. Randal Lythgoe in 1848. It was at St. Beuno's in 1875 that Gerard Manley Hopkins was to compose The Wreck of the Deutschland.

(2) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.213.

(3) Letters and Notices, 20, p.124.

(4) i.e., a Jesuit.

if not business-like and brisk and braced up. He could not bear to see a novice dawdling in devotion over the dusting of a pious picture. (1)

Such a "no-nonsense" approach was to be seen throughout his time as Rector at Liverpool, not least in the choice of Prefect of Studies for the College, made by the Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld, but doubtless heavily influenced by Fr. George Porter. The appointment of Fr. James Harris as Prefect of Studies in the autumn of 1865 was to prove a momentous and far-reaching decision, for the College now had at its helm a man who in every way matched the business-like manner of its Rector. By the time Fr. Harris was finally to step down from office in 1883, the College was to be a very different place, a school upon which he had left his mark so profoundly that traces of his influence can still be found there in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

#### Fr. James Harris's background

In comparison with the lives of his predecessors, most of whom had been educated entirely at Stonyhurst, the early life of Fr. James Harris provided an unusual background for a Prefect of Studies, one, however, which was to prove of value in his future work. Born in London on 25 August 1824, he came from a family of humble means and was brought up in the Church of England. His schooling was limited but he had endeavoured to pursue his education himself by studying Latin under Dr. Charles Wesley, an Anglican clergyman who took a kindly interest in his

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(1) Letters and Notices, 20, p.124.

PLATE VIII

Top left

RICHARD PAYNE, S.J., B.A. (1827-1905)  
Prefect of Studies 1856-1858 and 1863-1865

From a photograph of c. 1861, taken shortly after  
his ordination, APA, 31

Top right

JOHN BAPTIST BODOANO, S.J., B.A. (1832-1868)  
Assistant master at St. Francis Xavier's, 1856-1858  
Prefect of Studies, 1858-1862

From a photograph of c. 1865, taken shortly after  
his ordination, APA, 31

Bottom left

FR. JAMES HARRIS, S.J. (1824-1883)  
Prefect of Studies, 1865-1874  
Vice President, 1874-1883

From a photograph of c. 1870, APA, 31

Bottom right

FR. GEORGE PORTER, S.J. (1825-1889)  
Rector, 1865-1871

From a photograph of c. 1887, taken in India  
shortly after Fr. Porter's appointment as  
Archbishop of Bombay, APA, 31



progress (1).

On leaving school he found work as a clerk in a hosier's shop and in his free time soon became involved in the Anti-Corn Law movement. At the age of 17 he was not only admitted to one of the London Committees of the Anti-Corn Law League but chosen, among others, to speak at a large public meeting. So great was his success on this occasion that it is recounted that he was invited by his young friends to celebrate his triumph after the meeting (2). Arriving home, presumably in the early hours of the morning, he found his mother distraught, worrying where he had been. She exacted from him a promise that he would once and for all abandon all political ambitions -- a promise which he made and faithfully kept thereafter. (3).

During his time as a hosier's clerk, and still a very young man, he is also said to have been instrumental in "salvaging" a young gentleman, a customer at the shop, who was undergoing a personal crisis (4). The quiet efficiency of James Harris was to be seen again in the future on many occasions during his time at St. Francis Xavier's College.

Brought up in the Low Church tradition, Harris had

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(1) Letters and Notices, 17, p.131. Dr. Charles Wesley (1794-1859) was the grandson of Charles and great-nephew of John Wesley. From 1833 until 1848 he was curate of St. Paul's, Covent Garden and Chaplain at St. James's Palace. See Venn, J, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part II, 1752-1900, (Cambridge, 1920), VI, p.406.

(2) "Adolescentibus 17 anno natus miram eloquendi facundiam monstraverat": Province Register APA, 14/2/6, f.294; Letters and Notices, 17, p.131.

(3) Letters and Notices, 17, pp.131-132.

(4) Ibid.

been taught to be suspicious of the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church. His first interest in enquiring into Catholic beliefs apparently resulted from his borrowing of a manual of popular theology from a poor Irish youth who acted as a servant in his lodgings in London (1). Eventually Harris was received into the Catholic Church. Determining to become a priest, he broke off an engagement and soon afterwards, on the Feast of St. Ignatius, 31 July 1850, at the age of 26, was admitted to the Society of Jesus (2). He was sent to Tronchiennes in Belgium for his novitiate (3). He had had a minimal classical education as a boy and knew little or no French. Yet in being forced to use Latin in the confessional, in hearing and repeating instructions, and in certain fixed recreations each week, and by a half-hour's French class every day, at the end of two years he was able to speak both languages. His French, one imagines, became fluent; but it is suggested that his Latin was then, and remained thereafter, grammatically inaccurate (4).

After this he was sent in 1852 to pursue studies in philosophy at the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix in Namur. There he worked with energy and soon made good progress. In addition to his own studies, he was asked to teach an English class twice a week in the College to which the Jesuit Philosophate was then attached. At that time attendance at modern languages classes was optional and the boys in the school, which was international in

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(1) *Ibid.*, p.133.

(2) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.294.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Letters and Notices, 17, pp.134-135.

character, were known for their lack of discipline (1). It was at this point that his aptitude for controlling boys first showed itself. At first the class was unruly. But that did not last for long. By the end of the second lecture, as it was called, James Harris had reduced them to silent obedience and discipline. His success attracted the attention of the superiors of the college. At the end of his philosophy course, after negotiations had taken place between the English and Belgian Provincials, he was asked to remain as an assistant-surveillant in the college. He was to spend, in all, another four years there, an unusually long period for a scholastic (2).

At the end of his stay at Namur, Harris was sent to Louvain to study theology and again worked with great zeal. After a year there he returned to England to continue his theological training at St. Beuno's where he was ordained in 1862. There, on 29 July 1862, he defended his theology in public in the old scholastic tradition, the "Grand Act", as it is termed, being an honour rarely conferred at St. Beuno's. The text of the one hundred and two propositions he defended in Latin has been preserved (3). Given his deficiency in early classical training, his efforts were all the more remarkable. After a further two years studying Church History and Moral Theology, during which time he

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(1) The college took pupils from France, England, Ireland, Spain and Germany: see Centenaire du Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix, Namur: Fêtes Jubilaires, 1831-1931 (Namur, 1931), p.35.

(2) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.294.

(3) Theses ex Universa Theologia quas in Collegio Sancti Beunonis propugnavit P.Jacobus Harris S.J. Die 29 Julii 1862, in Letters and Notices, I, pp.61-78.

he was also Minister at St. Beuno's (1), he was appointed Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's College, taking up office there on 28 October 1865.

The College to which he came was very different from the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix. Though only eleven years older than St. Francis Xavier's College, the college at Namur, when Fr. Harris was surveillant there in 1855, had numbered 334 pupils, comprising 163 boarders and 171 day-boys (2). At Liverpool, on the day he took over as Prefect of Studies, there were but 83 boys.

During his first year of office Fr. Harris did not keep a diary; but with the beginning of the academic year 1866-1867 he began a Journal, continuing it without interruption until 26 June 1871 (3).

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(1) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.294; Catalogus Provinciae Angliae, S.J., 1864 (Roehampton, 1864) p.10.

(2) Kestens, F. Vie du Révérend Père De Decker de la Compagnie de Jésus (Louvain, 1876), p.86.

(3) Fr. Harris's Journal is referred to several times in The Xaverian for the year 1892. After 1892 there is no further mention of it in either The Xaverian or St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine. When this study was begun in the autumn of 1980 the Journal was not to be found in the English Province Archives. Further enquiry proved fruitless and the document was presumed to have been lost. In the late autumn of 1981 when the Society of Jesus was finally vacating St. Francis Xavier's Presbytery, Salisbury Street, Liverpool, which had been occupied by the Jesuit community continuously since 1846, the missing Journal was re-discovered, together with a number of College Notice Books and Sodality Journals, also thought to have perished. Fr. Harris's Journal is in two volumes. The first covers the period 1 August 1866 to 19 March 1868; the second covers the period 20 March 1868 to 26 June 1871, followed by an eleven year gap. The record is resumed once again for a short period from 27 November to 22 December 1882, by which time Fr. Harris was Prefect-General of the College. References to Fr. Harris's Journal and to the College Notice Books, will hereafter be given simply as Journal or Notice Book, followed by the relevant date of entry. All the records discovered at Salisbury Street in 1981 have now been deposited in the Archives of the English Province at 114, Mount Street, London, W1, where they have been listed as APA, 832.



It is likely that he did not keep a diary during his first year in Liverpool because it was originally planned that he should spend only one year at St. Francis Xavier's before being sent away for his tertianship. Such, at least, were the intentions of the Provincial, Fr. Weld.

The Rector's appeal to Rome April 1866

In the spring of 1866, however, aware of Harris's likely departure by the end of the summer and apparently unable to persuade Fr. Weld to allow Harris to remain at the College, the Rector, Fr. George Porter took the unusual step of making a direct appeal to Rome. Writing to the Jesuit General, Fr. Beckx, Porter argued that in the short space of six months Harris had raised the number of pupils in the College from 83 to 113. They were now making good progress, parents were happy with the attitude of the new Prefect of Studies and the College's name was improving in the town. If Harris could be spared having to depart for his tertianship, which his health would in any case not be sufficiently robust to withstand, Porter felt that the College would attract many Catholic boys then attending Protestant schools. In this way a College numbering some 500 pupils would become a real possibility (1). The Rector's request was agreed to by the General and Harris was to remain at the College for another seventeen years without ever completing his training as a Jesuit (2).

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(1) G. Porter to Beckx, 28 April 1866, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 6. Some months earlier, Porter had informed the General that he would not be happy until he saw 500 pupils in regular attendance at St. Francis Xavier's College; see Porter to Beckx, 9 October, 1865, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 5.  
 (2) Porter's letter to the General thanking him for agreeing to his request and dated 9 November 1866 can be found in ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 7.

The Journal begun by Fr. Harris once his position in Liverpool was assured is not a mere dry record of routine events. He takes his pen and paper into his confidence and records his inner impressions about the prospects for the College, his hopes and fears with regard to its progress, matters of discipline, representations made to him by parents about their sons and his representations to parents about boys who were causing him trouble or anxiety. Never once does one find a single direct reference to the Ratio Studiorum; but much of what he did and said was inspired by his own close study of the Ratio. Indeed the intertwining of the prescriptions of the Ratio and Fr. Harris's own idiosyncratic methods require careful and systematic analysis.

The growth of the College 1865-1879

The most striking aspect of the first volume of Fr. Harris's Journal covering the period 1866-1868 is his close surveillance of the daily growth in numbers of pupils at the College. A clear picture of his achievement in this area can be seen from a summary of the statistics available as set out in the following Table:

TABLE V

GROWTH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1865-1870 (1)

	January	July
1865	-	83
1866	94	109
1867	151	165
1868	175	243
1869	244	249
1870	267	260

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(1) Figures deduced from Fr. Harris's Journal, passim.

The growth of the College was watched with keen interest not only by Fr. Harris but by the Rector, Fr. George Porter, ever anxious to see a body of 500 pupils. On his orders, at appropriate moments in Fr. Harris's first five years in office as Prefect of Studies, significant improvement in the growth of student numbers at the College was to be celebrated by the whole Jesuit community of both College and Church. Such occasions were recorded carefully by the Minister of the day, Fr. Walter Clifford.

When, at the opening of the academic year 1866-1867, 108 scholars returned to the College after the summer vacation, the Minister was able to record in his terse style:

After dinner (of the Jesuit community), during which the postulant read, wine, spirits and dessert in the Library in celebration of triumphant numerical success of opening. (1)

By February 1867 there was further cause for special celebration:

Spirits after Dinner...in celebration of the number of scholars having reached 150. (2)

The scholars themselves were not to be ignored either:

College boys had extra recreation p.m. in celebration of their numbers having reached 150. (3)

A year later further victories had been achieved and the usual frugality of the community could be put aside for once:

Fr. Rector gave a banquet to the community in celebration of the 'accomplished fact' of the number of scholars having passed 200. Rich soup, collop and fried eggs, cutlets, four prairie fowl, sweet 'omelete' (sic), flat apple tart, rhubarb tart, special dessert, grapes etc. (4)

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(1) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 1 August 1866, APA, 6/4/3/6.

(2) Ibid., 22 February 1867.

(3) Ibid., 1 March 1867.

(4) Ibid., 24 February 1868.

Such pleasing events did not go unnoticed elsewhere in the English Province, especially in Glasgow, where the Prefect of Studies at St. Aloysius' College in 1867 hoped:

....that the day is not far distant when we may rival our present flourishing school in Liverpool. (1)

The good news also reached the Jesuit General, Fr. Beckx, who, on two occasions, in 1868 and 1870, was able to express to the English Provincial, Fr. Weld, his satisfaction with the successful and rapid growth of the St. Francis Xavier's College (2).

There were three main reasons for Harris's success. First, he was careful to ensure that the school was well publicised; next, he laid great emphasis on encouraging boys in their work, thus attracting more pupils by his reputation; and finally, and least importantly as events would have it, a Middle School was opened to provide a Commercial Education (3).

### Publicity

In the very first entry in his Journal for 1 August 1866, Fr. Harris notes that on 28 July of that year he had issued a new prospectus, similar to the old one but announcing that special arrangements would be made for boys under the age of eight with the addition to the College of a Preparatory Class. This he saw as an essential first step in trying to raise the standard of studies, which

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(1) Letters and Notices, 4, p.39.

(2) Beckx to Weld, 27 April 1868 and 31 May 1870, APA, Epist. Gen. 1853-1873.

(3) The 1857 Prospectus issued by Fr. Payne had offered a Commercial Education, but the course had apparently been abandoned in the confusion of the early 1860s. Now a new, totally separate school was being planned to offer to new pupils.

he had found to be in a lamentably low state during his first year in office:

Henceforth (there will be) 5 classes and it is to be hoped that by the exertions of the Professors that before the end of the said year those schools will deserve their title: viz. Higher, Middle and Lower Grammar, 1st and 2nd divisions and Preparatory. (1)

By training boys from the lowest level and working steadily upwards he hoped to raise standards. In an extra note he adds that he had advertised the College in the Liverpool Daily Post and the Liverpool Mercury during the summer recess. This he was to do each year, reaching a height of publicity in 1869 when he made thirty insertions in the Daily Post, ten in the Mercury, fourteen in the Daily Courier and four in the Catholic Northern Press (2). The following year, after a summer prize-giving ceremony attended by over one thousand people in St. George's Hall, Liverpool, he reduced the publicity accordingly to four

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(1) The nomenclature of classes in Jesuit colleges varies. The Ratio defines the classes as Rhetoric, Humanities, Higher, Middle and Lower Grammar. In certain schools, provision might be made for more elementary education for a class of "abecedarii"; see Ratio "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 8.12. Often the five higher classes are called Rhetoric, Poetry, Syntax, Grammar and Lower Grammar; and the lower classes, Rudiments, Figures and Elements. This system of nomenclature existed at the English College at Saint-Omer. It continued, with one or two interruptions in the mid-nineteenth century, at Stonyhurst and was used at St. Francis Xavier's College until 1876. After that date classes at Liverpool are always referred to by number, the First Class being the most senior. Such labelling was felt to be more suitable for a school in a large, industrial town. The traditional nomenclature is still (1984) used at Stonyhurst, Mount St. Mary's, and Wimbledon College.

(2) Journal, 2 August 1869. The previous summer advertisements had also appeared in the Liverpool Journal, Liverpool Leader and Liverpool Porcupine; see Journal, 3 August 1868.

insertions in each of the newspapers, except the Northern Press, which received only one. (1).

### The encouragement of studies

Within a month of taking up office, Fr. Harris established a system of weekly and monthly "notes" or marks (2). Weekly "notes" were read out every Saturday or Monday in the respective class-rooms by the Prefect of Studies, whilst the monthly "notes" were read out on the last Saturday of every month in the Academy Room in the presence of all the masters and pupils. The "notes" used were 1, 2 and 3, 1 being "excellent". Under Fr. Harris's system only the first two notes entitled a boy to the "month day", that is, the only full holiday in the month apart from Sundays. The scholar who obtained the weekly "note of honour" (3), namely the best marks in the class for conduct and application, was captain of his "school" or class for the following week. This duty brought with it certain dignities and offices considered important by the holder. These mainly were to take down the names of those who were absent from school and give the list to the Prefect of Studies; to keep order in class if the master were absent for a few minutes; and to act as "monitor" over his class on visits to St. Francis Xavier's Church, for which purpose he sat in the bench behind to

(1) Journal, 1 August 1870.

(2) The word "note" in French means "mark". It seems clear that Fr. Harris was here introducing the system which he had found in operation at Namur.

(3) Evidently a direct translation of the French "note d'honneur".

observe their behaviour (1).

The awarding of monthly points was complex. As Harris explained in his Notice Book:

- I. The points are the result of the weekly notes. The highest number which can be obtained is 100 both for conduct and application. Whoever obtains all his points will receive a pink and gold card, which is the card of honour for the month.
- II. Whoever obtains 95 to 99 points both for Conduct and Application, or 100 for C. and 90-95 for A., or 99-95 for C. and 100 for A., will receive a white and gold card, or the first note of the month.
- III. Whoever receives from 65-75 points, either for C. or for A., will receive a blue card, or the second note for the month.
- IV. Whoever receives from 40-45 points, either for C. or for A., will receive a plain white card, or the third note for the month.
- V. Whoever receives from 1-25 points will equally receive a plain white card, but the words "fourth note" will be stamped upon it. (2)

Only those boys who received the "Card of Honour" could be applauded by the assembled College, and the applause was to be given with the hands alone. There was to be no kicking and shouting and draconian measures were taken against boys who failed to meet Harris's standards. Boys were informed in advance:

When a scholar has upon any occasion or occasions during the month particularly disgraced himself, he will receive no card at all. His name will be read out, with the addition of the words 'not worthy', and the announcement will be followed by a short pause. (3)

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(1) This arrangement was prescribed in the Ratio, all the aforesaid duties, supervision in church excepted, being mentioned in detail. The Ratio envisaged such a boy taking charge of about ten boys; he was to be called the "Censor" or "Decurion". At St. Francis Xavier's these terms were not used, the boys being given charge of much larger groups, albeit for a week only. See Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 37.

(2) Notice Book, 30 November 1865, quoted in The Xaverian, February 1893, p.220. Unfortunately, this first Notice Book for 1865-1868 was not among those discovered at Salisbury Street in 1981.

(3) The Xaverian, February 1893, p.220, quoting Notice Book for 25 November 1865.

Needless to say, such humiliating treatment was nowhere envisaged in the Ratio Studiorum. It was, rather, an early symptom of the excess to which James Harris was to carry certain aspects of the educational practices of the Society of Jesus.

The award of the "First Note" was not to be made lightly and was subjected to rigorous scrutiny as time went on. At the opening of the Lent Term 1869 it was announced that:

No scholar will have the first note at the end of the week who is absent from the College one whole day whatever the reason. (1)

The following year Fr. Harris wrote in the Notice Book for the information of Staff only:

It is the wish of parents expressed many times that their children should be seen, known, talked to by me. I cannot run after the boys, but I will never allow the first note to be given to students whom I do not see pretty often or know tolerably well. (2)

The operation of the "monthly note" system was checked regularly with care and amendments made when it was felt necessary to do so. At the beginning of the academic year 1869-1870 such a change was deemed necessary:

This day a new system of Cards was inaugurated. Weekly points for various branches, maximum 200, to be divided (at present) at the proclamation by number of weeks. Cards to be delivered to the boys on Monday. After delivery I visit the classes and boys read out their points - i.e. total. As before

200 = card of honour  
190 = highly satisfactory  
150 = satisfactory  
125 = indifferent

under this number = bad

All who have less than 150 must bring back card next day signed by one of their parents. (3)

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(1) Notice Book, 5 January 1869.

(2) Ibid., 20 August 1870.

(3) Journal, 16 August 1869.



By the middle of the next term this new system of emphasising standards was found to be too cumbersome and further adjustment was necessary:

Change introduced as to number of points. Scholars get all they have obtained during the four weeks. No referring to standards as before. Scale: maximum 800 points, Card of Honour; 760 = 1st note; 600 = 2nd; under 600 = 3rd; under 401, last note, very bad. (1)

### The institution of public "Proclamation" 1868

In the early days of the existence of the system, the monthly notes had been read out on the last Saturday of the month to the entire College, masters and boys, assembled in the Academy Room. From February 1868 a new arrangement began whereby parents were invited to attend these occasions, which, for convenience were moved to an evening near the end of the month. The Ratio recommended as much solemnity as possible on the occasion of announcements of results of "Compositions", and at prize-givings, and suggested that as many people as possible should attend (2). Such an arrangement for the "Proclamation of Notes" (3), as Fr. Harris termed the ceremony, would both comply with the Ratio and at the same time give parents and others tangible proof of the growing

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(1) Journal, 16 August 1869.

(2) Ratio, "Leges Praemiorum", 11. It was for this reason that so much emphasis was placed on the need for correct applause and impeccable behaviour on such occasions.

(3) Again, a word-for-word translation of the French "Proclamation des Notes" or "Announcement of Marks". The expression has survived at St. Francis Xavier's College, where the annual prize-giving ceremony is called "Proclamation" to this day (1984). In other Jesuit Colleges such a ceremony is normally called an "Academy". The term "Proclamation" is peculiar to St. Francis Xavier's College.

success of the College, as well as securing it good publicity.

Writing in his Journal shortly after the first public Proclamation on the evening of Thursday, 27 February 1868, Fr. Harris noted:

It was an experiment and as far as can be judged has succeeded. The hour was half past seven. There were 180 persons present, not counting the boys; all the principal families were represented. There was no hitch throughout, and at the close all expressed themselves satisfied. Fr. Sidgreaves took the chair: and was supported by all the masters. Proceedings commenced with the reading of the Roll by Mr. McDonnell (1) - the boys answering to their names and I checking. My chair and table were on the platform. After a few minutes I read out the notes of conduct and application for the month. The boys who had the note of honour and the first places in excellence mounting the platform and standing behind me. The proclamation of places followed and the whole was over by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ . I passed over in silence the names of all boys who had not the second note. (2)

The following day Fr. Harris was able to record that from information received, the previous evening's work had been appreciated (3). The experiment had been successful and was allowed to continue on a regular basis.

In order to avoid such occasions becoming monotonous and without wishing to stage a full-scale ceremony on the lines of a Midsummer or Christmas Exhibition, the proceedings would sometimes begin with a "Little Exhibition", during which some entertainment would be given. The second public Proclamation a month later, in April 1868, was preceded by one such "Little Exhibition" comprising excerpts from King John and Racine, and translations of Nepos and Phaedrus, followed by recitations from Longfellow and Southey's Lord William (4). Once the

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(1) Alexander Macdonnell (sic) was a scholastic.

(2) Journal, 27 February 1868.

(3) Ibid., 28 February 1868.

(4) Ibid., 2 April 1868.

proceedings were over, Fr. Harris was to write:

Everyone appeared pleased and all was over by 8.50. God be praised, it was, I think, another successful night. (1)

Nor were the boys to be forgotten, receiving their due reward on the next day:

Gave the boys 1½ hours extra play for good conduct, etc. (2)

### Re-assessing progress

It would be easy for somebody reading Fr. Harris's Journals cursorily to imagine that the Prefect of Studies was obsessed with his own system of rewards and that he used it for his own personal satisfaction and glory, regardless of what was happening to the studies of the boys in the school. Nonetheless, it is clear that a finger was kept on the pulse of the College and Fr. Harris was ready to modify what he had already introduced if it would help the pupils' progress; that was his prime concern. Sadly, this was often achieved with a total lack of sensitivity to the individual. In November 1867, for example, one pupil was asked to leave the College after three years in attendance there, because of unsatisfactory progress (3). The boy's father complained to Fr. Harris that his son had learned little or no arithmetic whilst at the school. Fr. Harris noted in his Journal:

Allowances must be made for an aggrieved father. And at the same time it must be admitted that somehow or another Arithmetic does not seem to flourish here. (4)

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 3 April 1868.

(3) The Ratio stipulated that if a pupil was not making progress, and showed no sign of doing so, the matter should be referred to the Rector, and the parents asked to withdraw him. See Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 25.

(4) Journal, 29 November 1867.

Despite this admission of failure on the College's part, the boy was dismissed. Though, alas, unprepared to reconsider the boy's future, Harris was prepared to amend the teaching in the College. He noted in his Journal once again, a week later:

I gave notice that for the future in all classes save the first, Arithmetic would count for excellence: and that I myself would correct the Arithmetical themes or exercises. (1)

By the end of the same term, Fr. Harris realized that he would have to be very firm in attempting to raise standards.

After consulting Fr. George Porter, the Rector, he noted:

The Arithmetic Schools will be remodelled and there will be Monthly examinations. Boys will be sent up or down according to their merits in these examinations. There will be a special Monthly card for excellence in Arithmetic. (2)

This separate card continued to be issued for two and a half years until some improvement was seen. Then, after further consultation with the Rector, Fr. Harris amalgamated his two systems of reward by monthly card, raising the maximum number of marks per month from 200 to 300. Of the 300 marks available, 200 were now to be devoted to "ordinary schools", the remaining 100 to arithmetic. As the length of a calendar month could vary, there was an added complication to take into account:

To gain a card of honour in a month of 4 weeks, 1200 marks necessary; in 5 weeks, 1500. First Card: in 4 weeks, 1120-1199 points; in 5 weeks, 1400-1499. Second Card (Satisfactory): in 4 weeks, 1040-1119; in 5 weeks, 1300-1399. (3)

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(1) Ibid., 7 December 1867.

(2) Ibid., 31 December 1867.

(3) Ibid., 13 September 1870.

The opening of the Middle School 1867

At Namur, the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix had developed rapidly and in line with the spirit of the revised Ratio by offering a commercial as well as a classical course of study. Soon after his arrival in Liverpool, Fr. Harris began entertaining hopes of opening a similar course at St. Francis Xavier's. At the Summer Exhibition and Distribution of Prizes at the College on 21 June 1867, the Rector, Fr. George Porter, announced that he intended to extend the College by opening a Commercial School (1). Fr. Harris was ready to take action, but realized that support from the Rector alone was not sufficient and that the scheme would only be "all right if Fr. Provincial will give men" (2).

Negotiations with the Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld, must have continued for some time. Already in the two years he had been Prefect of Studies, Fr. Harris had managed to increase the number of Jesuit teaching staff from two to five. Now he was asking for more; and more, apparently, were not available. Consequently, discussions were begun with the De La Salle Brothers, or Brothers of the Christian Schools, as they are sometimes known, and an agreement was made that they would undertake the running of the proposed school.

The choice of the De La Salle Brothers and their agreement to run the Middle School seemed providential. The Order had been founded in France in 1684 by John Baptist De La Salle (1651-1719) to provide education for the sons

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(1) As early as 1865 Porter had begun planning the opening of a Commercial school; see G.Porter to Fr.General Beckx, 9 October 1865, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 5.  
 (2) Journal, 21 June 1867.

of the bourgeois engaged in commerce; it provided a more practical course of studies, which excluded the classics. It was designed to meet a definite and growing need, for the French bourgeoisie was then increasing in France, both numerically and in influence, and was soon to become the most important group in the nation. A boarding school founded in Rouen by the Order in the early eighteenth century became, in fact, the prototype of many other schools successfully established by the Brothers in the next hundred years.

The hope in Liverpool in 1867 was that the arrival of the Brothers in Salisbury Street would lead to their engaging fully in their specialized work of providing commercial education whilst leaving the Society of Jesus free to pursue a more traditional curriculum weighted in the direction of classics.

In his Journal, Fr. Harris notes the text of a Prospectus which he had published in the local press:

St. Francis Xavier's College, Salisbury Street,  
Rector Rev. George Porter, S.J.  
Prefect of Studies, Rev. James Harris, S.J.

On Monday 4th November a Middle School will be opened at No.4 Salisbury Street in connection with St. Francis Xavier's College. The Course of Education will be exclusively English.

The classes....will be taught by the Christian Brothers. Terms £1 per quarter payable in advance. No extras whatever. Quarter to date from day of entrance.

The Middle School will be entirely separated from the High School, both in play ground and class rooms.

Application for admission to be made to the undersigned at the office of the College, No. 6, Salisbury Street.

James Harris, S.J., Prefect of Studies. (1)

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(1) Ibid., 4 November 1867. A note in the same place mentions that the prospectus appeared as an advertisement in the Liverpool Daily Post on 23 October 1867.

The Middle School had an inauspicious opening from which it did not seem to recover for some years. Firstly, the house at 4 Salisbury Street, purchased by the Society of Jesus in September 1852 (1), had been let for some years to a certain Mr. Curran, a cab owner. He had presumably been given notice to vacate the house before the advertisement for the Middle School appeared in the press. He refused to move out of the house for another four months, seemingly wanting to allow his lease to run for its full term (2). In the event, the new school had to begin life in a makeshift fashion in a house at 13 Salisbury Street, opposite the main College building.

Some details of the arrangements for the new school were recorded by Fr. Harris:

Today the Middle School opened at No.13. Mr. Curran having resolutely refused to give up No.4 Salisbury Street. There is only one scholar at present and he is not to commence until tomorrow. The hours at this school are to be from 9-12 and from 1.30-3.30. The half-holidays are to be on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Boys who live within radius of one mile to come to Mass at 8.30 (3). All books to be bought by the Christian Brothers (or rather the Brothers of the Christian Schools, this being their proper title) at the Rector's expense. (4)

For a whole week the one boy who had arrived

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(1) St. Francis Xavier's Church and School Property Book, August, 1912, APA, 832.

(2) On 10 May 1861 the house had been leased for a period of seven years at £35 per annum; see APA, Liverpool Miscellanea, XF. Curran's cabs were kept in the stables in Carver Street, behind his house at 4 Salisbury Street; see Ryan, op.cit. p.141. Their removal to alternative premises may well have added to difficulties.

(3) The boys in the High School living within one mile of the College were also expected to attend daily Mass. The Ratio recommended that Masters should send or take their pupils to daily Mass as part of their training in piety. See Ratio, "Regulae Communes Professoribus Classium Inferiorum", 3.

(4) Journal, 4 November 1867.

on the second day of the Middle School's existence was the sole pupil. When two more boys eventually arrived, the Minister of the College noted in his diary:

Fr. Rector had promised a celebration when the numbers should be doubled. It thus being trebled, the Community had wine today. (1)

The new Middle School provided education at one pound per quarter whereas the High School fee was double that amount with an extra charge of five shillings for stationery and books. Initially, it seemed as though parents might begin using the new school for "cut-price" education. Within two days of the trebling of numbers, Fr. Harris wrote:

I notice....a tendency here and there to take boys from the College for the Middle School on account of the difference of school fees. I hear also that some children are to go to the said school who were to have come here. Whether the numbers in the Middle School and the quality of the boys in here will make up for the deficiency likely to be caused, time alone can show. (2)

In the event, the new Middle School was not to develop as rapidly as it might have done as Table VI indicates:

TABLE VI

GROWTH OF MIDDLE SCHOOL AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S

	<u>COLLEGE 1868 - 1870</u> (3)		
	1868	1869	1870
January	8	35	37
June	26	39	34

The reasons for the poor response were soon to become clear: the Brothers were not managing the school efficiently.

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(1) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 11 November 1867, APA, 6/4/3/6.

(2) Journal, 13 November 1867.

(3) Figures based on information in Journal, passim.



On the opening day of the first full term of the new school in January 1868 Fr. Harris had to record:

The Brothers had left everything in disorder: the classes were in so filthy a state that I did not dare admit the Scholars into the College until after Mass. (1)

As the term wore on it became clear that a tighter rein would have to be applied from the High School if disaster were to be avoided. Even though the school was meant to be in the hands of the De La Salle Brothers, Fr. Harris seems to have resolved that he would introduce his own system of Notes, to ensure that standards did not fall too low. Besides, the Brothers were so lax that boys were allowed to arrive late for school, giving a poor impression to the boys of the High School. Accordingly, after tolerating the situation for ten weeks, Fr. Harris stepped in:

Announced Notes for future in Middle School. Spoke in same school about cleanliness and coming in time. (2)

For all that, the individuality of the Brothers was not totally dominated by Jesuit educational methods.

Five days later the Rector of the College granted a holiday to boys of the Middle School only to mark the feast of St. Joseph, "the great feast of the Christian Brothers", as Fr. Harris termed it (3). A few days later on 23 March 1868 after affairs with Mr. Curran had been settled, the house at 4 Salisbury Street was at last ready for occupation

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(1) Journal, 2 January 1868.

(2) Ibid., 14 March 1868.

(3) Up to 1900 the De La Salle Brothers kept 19 March, the feast of St. Joseph, as a special day. In that year, their founder, John Baptist De La Salle was canonized and his feast-day, 15 May, became the principal feast of the Order. In 1950 St. John Baptist De La Salle was declared patron of all teachers.

by the Middle School (1). Here there was more room for the scholars and here, Fr. Harris hoped, the school would prosper in its own proper building. With the building at No.13 vacated, there was now room for the Preparatory School, or Seventh Class, to move into its own quarters. Within another four months, by July 1868, there were sixty-eight more pupils in the school than there had been at the start of the calendar year. Space was becoming more and more difficult to find and the cramped conditions seem to have had an ill effect on the Jesuit community. By the opening of the new academic year of 1869-1870 the classes were bursting at the seams, with the Academy Room now serving as a permanent classroom. At the beginning of the term Fr. Harris was to record:

Today, 'tandem aliquando', after an immense amount of bickering, quarrelling etc., among ourselves, the schools have been separated. (2)

To relieve congestion the Second and Seventh classes were removed to 13 Salisbury Street with the Middle School still enjoying independence at No.4.

Despite having its own accommodation, whilst the rest of the College was cramped into a small space, the Middle School showed no sign of improvement. At the beginning of 1869 Fr. Harris noted in his Journal the frustrating state of affairs:

The Middle School which was opened on 4th November 1867 has been more fluctuating than the College. The total number of boys who have entered at different times = 66. 31 have come and left. The highest number of boys present on one day was 39 on 29th September 1868 - since which it has continually fell (sic). This is to be

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(1) Journal, 23 March 1868.

(2) Ibid., 18 September 1868.

attributed to the unpleasant relations existing between us and the brothers which at any moment may produce a rupture which may do harm both to the Middle School and College, for there is danger of the brothers being removed immediately and our Superiours (sic) seem powerless at present to supply their place: at least no steps have been taken. I do not presume to criticize. I merely relate facts. (1)

The situation was not long in being resolved. Three weeks later the Journal records:

The Christian Brothers leave today. Fr. Mitchell and a layman take their places temporarily. (2)

The layman, a Mr. Skelly, a teacher of the Second Class of the Middle School, remained only a few weeks, being replaced by a Mr. Devlin in the same post in the middle of March 1869 (3).

The Brothers' untidiness and lack of punctuality were undoubtedly serious irritants to Fr. Harris. Yet the underlying problem was the inability of two religious Orders with different traditions, emphases and lifestyles to co-exist under a single roof without friction being generated. The Brothers' own account of their running of the Middle School reveals that they were not allowed sufficient autonomy to work in their own way (4).

With the departure of the Brothers came a number of other changes at the Middle School. Firstly, the weekly holiday arrangements were altered with the whole of Saturday made a holiday instead of two half-days on Wednesdays and Saturdays (5). Secondly, to ease the accommodation situation and prevent further bickering, the Middle School lost its

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(1) Ibid., 11 January 1869.

(2) Ibid., 1 February 1869. Fr. William Mitchell (1824-1897) was summoned from the Jesuit mission at Rhyl to act as a supply teacher for a very short time. See Letters and Notices, 24, pp.138-141.

(3) Journal, 1 February, 1869.

(4) The Brothers' account of this episode is reproduced in Appendix IX.

(5) Journal, 9 March 1869.

privileged position and was moved back to 13 Salisbury Street at the beginning of the academic year 1869-1870. This freed the Academy Room once again, but involved another reshuffling of classroom accommodation as indicated:

TABLE VII  
CLASSROOM ACCOMMODATION AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S

	<u>COLLEGE 1869 - 1870</u> (1)	
	August 1869	August 1870
1st Class	College	4 Salisbury Street
2nd "	13 Salisbury Street	4 " "
3rd "	College	4 " "
4th "	College	College
5th "	College	College
6th "	College (Academy Room)	College
7th "	13 Salisbury Street	College
Middle School	4 Salisbury Street	13 Salisbury Street

The Middle School experiment must have been a bitter disappointment to Harris, who had had such high hopes for its success. Total frustration, if not bitterness, can be detected in his Journal entries. On Christmas Eve, 1869 he writes:

The Middle School has dragged on its weary course. (2)

The term which had just passed since the reorganization of accommodation had evidently not gone well, for the Middle School especially.

There was some brighter hope early in the new year for the boys, if not for Fr. Harris himself, when a new

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(1) The Table is constructed from information in the Journal, 23 March, 1 April, 18 April 1868 and 2 August 1869.

(2) Journal, 24 December 1869.

Jesuit arrived to take over the running of the Middle School:

Fr. Boardman commenced his duties as Prefect of Studies at the Middle School, but as it seems that the whole material business of those schools will be in my hands, I shall not gain much. The boys will, in having someone to look after them more closely. (1)

Unfortunately, there are no further entries in the Journal after this date and it is difficult to assess what further progress, if any, was made. The Middle School was to remain at 13 Salisbury Street until 1877 and the opening of the new College building when High School and Middle schools were to come together under the one roof in spacious new accommodation (2).

Given the size of the growing town of Liverpool, the slow development of a Commercial School was disappointing, even allowing for the fact that it suffered from its own internal problems. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view the school out of perspective. When Fr. Harris had taken over the College in 1865 there had been but 83 pupils. Now, in 1870, there were 260, of whom more than 30 were in the Middle School. Through no fault of his own, one part of the College had not expanded as rapidly as it might.

Harris's overall achievement in developing St. Francis Xavier's College was now attracting increasing attention and interest in the English Province. By the end of his six-year term in office as Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld was giving serious thought to extending the Society's educational work to London by opening a day school. There he hoped the success of Liverpool might be repeated. Towards the close of 1869 he had a suitable site in mind in Westminster

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(1) Ibid., 3 January 1870.

(2) The Xaverian, February 1893, p.222.

and began sounding opinion among his fellow Jesuits. At £12000 the proposed site was considered by some to be much too expensive. Among the objectors both to the site and to the very opening of a day school in London was the Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, Fr. George Porter. His reasons are interesting for the light they throw on the situation in Liverpool:

I should not feel disposed to approve of giving £12000 for a site in London for a day school. London does not seem to me ready for a day school. Neither is our Province ready to take up a day school in London, with any fair prospect of holding our own amidst the lay teachers and the public schools. And lastly, £12000 is a vast sum for the site of a day school, which afterwards would cost another £12000 for buildings.

I will add a remark on the London day school which has long weighed on my mind. In Liverpool we have probably more Catholics than you have in all London, all living in an area not the fiftieth of the space on which London stands. You know our school: well, I would not give £5000, much less £24000 or £12000 to have a school such as we have here under the care of the Society in London. I think we can only figure to advantage in London in the higher studies. (1)

Precisely how the Society of Jesus was beginning to "figure to advantage" in secondary education in Liverpool, and how George Porter was involved with James Harris in bringing this about, is a subject worthy of detailed investigation.

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(1) G. Porter to A. Weld, 2 November 1869, APA, College of St. Ignatius, 1750-1874, ff.154-155.

CHAPTER FIVEESTABLISHING THE COLLEGE COMMUNITY 1865 - 1873Admission to the College

The regulations for the admission of pupils to Jesuit colleges laid down as forceful recommendations in the Ratio Studiorum of 1832 are both precise and detailed. The Prefect of Studies is advised to ensure as far as possible that no pupil be admitted without his parents or guardian having been seen. If this is not possible, the Prefect is to admit only those boys known to him personally, or about whom he can easily obtain references from people already known to him (1). Furthermore, he is to admit only those whom he knows to be well brought-up, well-mannered and of good character (2).

For such a system to operate well in an age when appointments could not be made as rapidly as today, the Prefect of Studies had to be available to see parents at times convenient to them. In order that all might be aware of his availability to parents, whether of existing or of prospective pupils, Fr. Harris had taken the simple but effective measure of ensuring that College notepaper bore the following information:

The Rev. Father Harris is at home  
 Mon., from 2 p.m. - 4 p.m.  
 Tues., Wed., Fri., 9 a.m. - 11 a.m., 2 p.m. - 4 p.m. (3)

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(1) Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 9.  
 (2) Ibid., loc.cit., 11.  
 (3) Printed letterhead, APA, RX/2.

From the Journal it is clear that the parents of the boys admitted to the College were seen by Fr. Harris prior to joining. Great store seems to have been set by him in maintaining personal contact with parents, whether in his office at the College or, as happened not infrequently, in their homes. Home visits were made particularly if a boy's progress was not satisfactory (1).

It will be recalled that in 1833 Fr. Roothaan in his decree Facultas Accipiendi Minervalia in Collegiis Americae, Angliae et Hiberniae had allowed Jesuit schools in the countries mentioned to charge fees, whereas the ideal of St. Ignatius and of the Ratio and the traditional practice of the Society of Jesus before the Suppression had been to offer education gratuitously. In colleges where fees had to be charged, the Ratio stated that no pupil was to be excluded because of low birth or poverty (2).

In the English Jesuit colleges of St. Omers, Bruges and Liège before 1773 a small number of pupils had been maintained free of charge on funds donated by benefactors in England (3). This tradition of free places was maintained at St. Francis Xavier's from the mid 1860s onwards. A small number of deserving boys of good character were now supported, largely from Jesuit funds, though there were occasional instances of private individuals helping boys in their education. In August 1866 a boy named Francis Chew was accepted at the College:

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(1) Fr. Harris's use of home visits in general is the subject of discussion in Chapter Eight.

(2) Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 9.

(3) See Holt, G., "Free Places at the English College of St. Omers and Bruges and at the Liège Academy", Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 52, (1983), pp.115-126.



.....the first of the four Fr. Provincial undertakes to pay pension for. (1)

On the same day the second of the boys, John Mealey, arrived at the College (2), followed two days later by the brother of Francis Chew. As the Minister of the College noted:

Joseph Chew, our late door-boy (was) received into the College on Fr. Provincial's fund. (3)

On one occasion a boy was accepted into the College through the charity of a benefactor:

Richard Dobbins entered the College as a scholar, a gentleman having undertaken to pay the pension and the mother engaging to keep him in food and clothing and lodging. (4)

Sometimes a remission of fees was negotiated, as in the case of Frank Quinn, who joined the Preparatory Class in 1868. The fee for tuition in that class was one pound per quarter, plus five shillings for stationery and books. The latter, however, was not charged "on account of the comparative poverty of the parents" (5). On other occasions the tuition fee was lowered:

Joined today Prep. School, Fitzmaurice, William. This little boy is brother to John, who is here by special arrangement at reduced pension. These boys are fine boys. The mother has very little to support her - the grandmother does what she can to help. I have taken William at ten shillings per quarter, stationery and books extra. (6)

Such instances seem to have been relatively few in the early years of Fr. Harris's incumbency as Prefect of Studies.

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(1) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 20 August 1866, APA, 6/4/3/6. Francis Chew (1858-1921) remained for eight years at St. Francis Xavier's College and subsequently joined the Society of Jesus. Much of his life was spent in parish work, but he suffered from constant ill-health. See Letters and Notices, 36, pp.268-273.

(2) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 20 August 1866, APA, 6/4/3/6.

(3) Ibid., 22 August 1866.

(4) Ibid., 1 April 1867.

(5) Journal, 4 April 1868.

(6) Ibid., 22 September 1868.

By 1871 the principle was to be accepted as a general rule in the College. The Rector, Fr. George Porter, had made a clear decision that

.....as a rule boys who are respectable but whose parents find difficulty in paying are not to be sent away, but are to be made to pay according to their parents' means. (1)

The extent of the assistance offered by the Society of Jesus in Liverpool in the early 1870s to boys from poor families can be seen from Table VIII overleaf. Out of a total school population of 240 boys in 1872-1873, 12 pupils were receiving free education and a further 17 benefiting from reduced fees. Excluding reductions for brothers, fees to a total of £176 were waived in that year. Two years later the Jesuit General received reports suggesting that some boys were being refused admission to St. Francis Xavier's College and St. Aloysius' College, Glasgow because of their parents' inability to meet school fees. He at once wrote to the English Provincial instructing him to ensure that such boys were not turned away (2).

The vast majority of boys admitted to the school in the period 1865-1871 were Catholic, yet Fr. Harris was prepared to accept boys of other faiths, provided that their parents were willing to comply fully with school regulations. That freedom of conscience in religious matters which had applied in the Jesuit colleges in London in the reign of James II no longer existed, as the following Journal entry implies:

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(1) Ibid., 21 February 1871.

(2) Beckx to Gallwey, 8 March 1874, APA, Epist. Gen. 1873-1884, f.11.

TABLE VIIIRATES OF TUITION FEES FOR THE HIGH SCHOOLAT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1872 - 1873 (1)

No. of boys	Amount paid p.a. (2)	Category	Total
103	£8.10.0	Full pension	875.10.0
48 (24 sets of 2 brothers)	7.10.0	Brothers' Rate (A)	360. 0.0
6 ( 2 " " 3 " )	7. 3.4	" " (B)	43. 0.0
8 ( 2 " " 4 " )	7. 0.0	" " (C)	56. 0.0
1	6.10.0	Reduced Pension	6.10.0
12	4.10.0	" "	54. 0.0
2	3. 0.0	" "	6. 0.0
2	2. 0.0	" "	4. 0.0
12	0. 0.0	Tuition gratis	0. 0.0
46 (Preparatory Class)	4.10.0	Full Pension	207. 0.0
<hr/>			
240			1612. 0.0 (3)
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(1) Figures taken from a manuscript estimate of income from tuition fees in the handwriting of Fr. Harris, APA, RX/2. The manuscript is undated, but the figure of 240 boys for the High School clearly points to the year 1872-1873.

(2) These figures do not include stationery fees, which, in all, would have produced about £60 if 240 boys each paid the obligatory five shillings per annum. From this, £50 had to be paid for a drawing master.

(3) This total does not include monies for tuition in the Middle School.

Joined High School, Evans, William Henry and Evans, Edwin Armisted. (1) These two boys are Protestants: father connected with Daily Post. He and Mrs. Evans have both consented that they (i.e. the boys) shall behave in all respects the same as the other scholars: attend the religious duties, learn Catechism, etc. (2)

It is interesting that the boys' parents should have so wished to send their sons to St. Francis Xavier's College, particularly at a time when there was ample provision for the education of the sons of the Anglican middle-classes of Liverpool in institutions such as the Collegiate School, a few hundred yards from the College, in Shaw Street: it perhaps give some indication of the reputation the College had gained in Liverpool in the three years Fr. Harris had been in office.

#### Removal of pupils

If compassion was shown to the sons of those who could ill afford the education being offered, little mercy was shown to parents who wasted the Prefect of Studies' time or to those parents who neglected their children or to those boys who decided to play truant. In such cases parents were either bluntly asked to remove their son, or else interviews were quickly brought to a close.

Procrastinating, dissembling purveyors of blarney were to be treated summarily, despite their disarming approach, as Fr. Harris records with a touch of wry humour:

Mrs. Joyce called to say that she thinks the distance too great for her son, Michael, and that therefore he is to come no more. She considers that 'no Angel in heaven could be more beautiful or virtuous than that boy'. Notwithstanding, I told her that she must pay up the Quarter,

(1) Throughout the Journal, Fr. Harris often refers to boys by writing their surname first and Christian name second. This is standard practice in the administration of schools in France and Belgium. Fr. Harris appears to have acquired the habit of this usage at Namur.

(2) Journal, 8 August 1868.

which seemed to change her ideas about distances... (1)

Fr. Harris noted the following day:

Master Joyce turned up as usual.

Parents who abused the system by sheer neglect of their son were not to be tolerated, as a typical entry in the Journal illustrates:

Sent note to Mrs. McCabe telling her that she had better withdraw her son, Charles Patrick, from the College. Not only does she pay no pension, but the boy is so neglected that he runs the streets, smokes, loiters about public houses, uses bad language, and is altogether a disgrace to the College. (2)

After the boy's father had been to the College for a "Candid review of the circumstances", it was agreed that it would be impossible for the boy to be kept at the school; whereupon he was removed (3).

Nevertheless, Fr. Harris could show mercy, even to the "sinner". One father received a letter from the Prefect of Studies giving notice that his son had to leave at the end of the quarter because of his coarse language and continual absences, for not being clean enough, and driving cabs through the streets (4). Two weeks elapsed. Then, as Fr. Harris recorded:

Mr. Kearnan called, begging I would keep David. I consented, on condition that the boy should forgo vulgar language, dress better, and not drive cabs. (5)

Sometimes mercy was shown only after a heated exchange between the Prefect of Studies and parents, as happened at the end of Fr. Harris's second year in office:

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(1) Journal, 8 August 1868.

(2) Ibid., 21 September 1868.

(3) Ibid., 22 September 1868.

(4) Ibid., 7 March 1868.

(5) Ibid., 23 March 1868.

Called upon Mrs. Tiernan today about Terence: after a long dispute I agreed to allow Terence to return at the re-opening upon his promise to be more tidy in his person, more particular in his language and more attentive to his studies. (1)

Early in the first term of his third year in office, Fr. Harris discovered that one boy had been playing truant, his younger brother "covering up" for him regularly, saying he was unwell. The brother was eventually given a printed note addressed to the parents. Later it was discovered that the younger boy had torn it up and for a whole week both boys had been playing truant. Fr. Harris had imagined that they were both ill, as he trusted the boys in question. After the truth had been discovered and the case examined, both boys were allowed back to school, but on condition that the elder should leave at the end of the quarter (2).

On occasion the Journal records that the supply of pupils to the College simply ceased because of poor economic conditions. Hard times also led to boys being withdrawn from the College by their parents. In the summer of 1868, after a particularly difficult period economically in Liverpool, Fr. Harris noted:

Trade has been very bad and we have lost many scholars for that reason. (3)

Numerous instances of boys being removed by their parents for other reasons are also meticulously recorded.

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(1) Ibid., 23 July 1867.

(2) Ibid., 28 August 1867.

(3) Ibid., 22 June 1868. Poor trade in Liverpool at this time would, therefore, explain the minimal increase in the number of boys at the College from 243 in July 1868 to 244 in January 1869; see Table V, p.140. In 1867 Fr. George Porter had described economic conditions in Liverpool then as the worst for forty years; see Porter to Fr. General Beckx, 27 January 1867, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV,8.

All such cases were examined by Fr. Harris as carefully as boys seeking admission. Even if a boy were to be removed for the worthiest of reasons, close watch would be kept. Early in the academic year 1866-1867, one boy's father asked to remove his son to boarding school, his health not being strong enough to allow him to attend the College in all weathers. Having examined the case in question, Fr. Harris wrote in a personal memorandum:

Considering the liberties Master Meyern has taken with his discipline, Fr. Prefect (1) wrote back to say that he quite concurred with Master Meyern's removal; and hoped that as in honour bound Mr. Meyern would take care that his son's ignorance should not be attributed to the College. This boy ought not to be received back if application to that effect should be made. (2)

A similar problem arose with the sons of Scott Nasmyth Stokes (1821-1891), the former secretary of the Catholic Poor School Committee and a member of Her Majesty's Inspectorate from 1853. From the Journal it appears that there was some tension between Mr. Stokes, Fr. Harris and Mrs. Stokes. Mr. Stokes had apparently been insinuating for some time that the Jesuits did not do enough in educating the boys of St. Francis Xavier's College, whilst his wife believed that the regime was too severe and that boys there were made to work too hard. Scott Nasmyth Stokes' duties as Her Majesty's Inspector took him regularly on long tours of inspection throughout the whole of Northern England and Scotland, during which time he was away from his family and home in Southport. Holiday times were, therefore, precious and the family appears to have spent much of August

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(1) Fr. Harris in his Journal often refers to himself in the third person.

(2) Journal, 2 October 1866.

and September on vacation in Ireland each year. Problems were caused by the term beginning at St. Francis Xavier's College on 1 August, or thereabouts, each year with Mr. Stokes taking his vacation when the majority of schools in the country were also on holiday.

In the spring of 1869 Mrs. Stokes wrote to Fr. Harris informing him that her sons, Leonard and Wilfrid, would probably be absent for several months during the autumn, as they had been the previous year. In addition, she mentioned that she did not expect to pay for them during such absence. Fr. Harris took a very different line, arguing that such practice was against the regulations of the College. He wrote to Mrs. Stokes, declining her terms and presuming that the boys would be permanently withdrawn by their parents.

When she wrote again to complain about this, Fr. Harris replied:

Our pension, although settled for convenience quarterly, is an annual one; and it is clearly stated in the Prospectus that no allowance will be made for absence. Nor has this regulation, since I have been here, ever been changed except in cases where Poverty and Misfortune altogether demanded it. (1)

He took the opportunity of writing to Mrs. Stokes to elaborate on his views further:

When Boys study with us only a portion of the year, they of course cannot get on. What is the result? After three or four years they, knowing nothing, are said to have been under our care during the whole of the time; and although some of the children about whom these difficulties have occurred have been the most respectable, I have preferred, however sorrowfully, to part with them. In all cases the annual pension has been charged....

In order not to sound too abrasive, his letter ends in

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(1) Journal, 11 March 1869.



a more moderate tone:

Your boys are fine boys. I should have been glad to have them a long time under my care: but I have a duty which is paramount, namely, to see that discipline be enforced and that the interests of the whole be fully considered. (1)

The elder of the two boys, Leonard, left the College in June 1869 (2). His brother Wilfrid left the College on 13 August 1869, Fr. Harris noting in his Journal:

Left: Wilfrid Stokes, gone to Ireland, always irregular.

Surprisingly, when the family returned from holiday, Fr. Harris noted:

Returned after long absence - Wilfrid Stokes. (3)

Evidently all that Fr. Harris had argued in his letter had been accepted by Mrs. Stokes, as a footnote to the above entry suggests:

Mrs. Stokes....holds us irresponsible of the effects of absence.

In the long term, Wilfrid Stokes's absence in Ireland did damage neither to him nor to the College. Fr. Harris had made his point forcibly and had been listened to, and Frederick Wilfrid Stokes was to go on to pursue a brilliant career as a civil engineer and inventor, being eventually knighted in 1917 (4).

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(1) Journal, 11 March 1869.

(2) Ibid., 21 June 1869.

(3) Ibid., 4 October 1869.

(4) Sir Frederick Wilfrid Scott Stokes (1860-1927) later attended St. Charles' College, Bayswater. He was involved in the installation of sluices on the Manchester Ship Canal, the Aswan Dam and the Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile. His most famous invention was the Stokes trench mortar gun, used throughout the First World War, particularly at the battle of Loos, 1915, and the attack on the Zeebrugge mole in 1918. See D.N.B., 1922-1930, p.813.

Rumours, allegations and clerical opposition 1867-1868

Even more injurious to the College than the bad image which might be given by a single boy who had been a poor attender was the spread of rumour. There was a danger that if it became too vicious it might lead to boys being withdrawn by their parents from the school. Certainly Fr. Harris had every reason to be worried about the problem. On Saturday 5 October 1867, the Catholic Northern Press printed a letter attacking the organization of St. Francis Xavier's College. The author of the letter, writing under the pseudonym "Paterfamilias", was responding to a sermon which had been given the previous Sunday by Bishop Goss of Liverpool, in the chapel of the Catholic Institute.

The Bishop had spoken out about Catholic parents who sent their children to Protestant schools. Someone professing to be Catholic had first replied to the Bishop in the Liverpool Daily Post arguing Catholic schools in Liverpool were so inferior that Catholic parents were obliged to have their children educated in Protestant schools. The cry had then been taken up by "Paterfamilias" in the Northern Press. He argued that on account of religion, Catholic parents were being obliged to put up with a second-rate system. The remedy was for Bishop Goss to apply standards and tests to schools such as St. Francis Xavier's College. There the Exhibitions were "puerile", and seeing that fees earned the College about £1000 per annum, good staff ought to be provided. Clergy in the town, both secular and regular, were talking freely to the laity about the shortcomings at both St. Francis Xavier's and at the Catholic Institute. If Liverpool College and the Mount Street

Institute could provide experienced and middle-aged gentlemen, the Catholic schools ought to be offering the services of similar staff (1).

Fr. Harris was not to be drawn into polemics of this nature in the press, especially if there was an inkling of truth in the accusation. As he noted in his Journal:

Much of this is exaggerated, the rest is only what I have said again and again - but Superiours (sic) have too much to do to lend an ear to me, and I am powerless to act. (2)

Such criticisms hurt Fr. Harris more deeply than he might admit. Despite working single-mindedly for the good of the College, as is evidenced by the entries in his Journal, he was being pilloried in certain quarters. With almost child-like naivety, as if to re-assure himself and summon up more energy to continue the fight, he noted in his Journal on the day following his record of the contretemps in the local press:

Today being a day of hail and rain, the attendance (171) proves that the majority of our Scholars like the College.(3)

For some months after the appearance of the letter from "Paterfamilias" there were difficulties to be encountered concerning the removal or possible removal of pupils from the College. By February 1868, the Prefect of Studies had to record further problems:

All kinds of rumour are being set afloat in the town about our being too full, which, though true of this or that class on account of the fearful slowness with which things are managed here, is not true of the College. These things,

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(1) Journal 7 October 1867.

(2) Ibid. Fr. Harris's difficulties in dealing with his Superiors is the subject of later discussions.

(3) Ibid., 8 October 1867. The figure of 171 boys seems to imply an almost full attendance. Cf. Table V, p.140.

however, tell and before long I shall have to chronicle the loss of more than one boy. (1)

Just over a month later a parent did come and see Fr. Harris about his son's lack of progress, attributing it to the fact that the schools were too full (2). In the event the boy's departure is not chronicled, and one assumes that the father was persuaded that the state of affairs in the College was not as grave as rumour suggested.

The allegation made by "Paterfamilias" that the clergy, secular and regular, in Liverpool were talking freely with the laity about the poor state of education at St. Francis Xavier's College and the Catholic Institute may have been a gross exaggeration, but there was a grain of truth in what was being said. The early 1840s had seen considerable opposition to the return of the Jesuits from certain quarters of the secular clergy in the town. The horrors following the famines in Ireland had done much to dampen down old animosities in the late 1840s and throughout the 1850s in the general effort to improve the situation of the Catholic population in Liverpool. Nevertheless, feelings died hard. Even in the late 1860s there were still a number of secular clergy ready to attack the work of the Society of Jesus in whatever way they could.

That Fr. Harris sensed this in 1868 is clear from his Journal. When in March of that year one of his pupils was removed from the College for "domestic reasons", he wrote:

....considering the great opposition against us in the town on the part of the Clergy, it is disheartening to lose boys on any account. (3)

A few days after the boy's departure there was more alarming

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(1) Ibid., 26 February 1868.

(2) Ibid., 31 March 1868.

(3) Ibid., 11 March 1868.

news:

(I) hear that some Priest is visiting the families of my Boys and endeavouring to persuade their parents to send them to the Institute. (1)

Matters were to come to a head rapidly. Soon after penning his note about the interference of the local priest, the parents of two boys at the College reported to Fr. Harris that Mr. Rae, a priest at St. Edward's in Everton, objected to the boys making their First Communion at St. Francis Xavier's Church (2).

For some years it had been the normal practice within the College to prepare boys for their First Communion together with their class-mates, regardless of which parish they belonged to in the town. From the very earliest days of the collegium inchoatum in the house at 36 Soho Street, the Society of Jesus claimed the right to take care of the spiritual direction of pupils in its charge. Even before the outbreak of the "faculties crisis" in 1842, it had been recognized that the then Superior, Fr. Francis Lythgoe, had the right of taking care of the spiritual needs of the pupils of the school. Now, this principle was suddenly being brought into question by a local priest.

After consulting the Rector, Fr. Harris wrote to one of the parents stating that the son had been very carefully prepared to make his First Communion and had been selected as worthy by two Jesuit Fathers, as well as by Fr. Harris himself. He continued:

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(1) Journal, 14 March 1868.

(2) Ibid., 17 March 1868. Though the title "Mr." was commonly given to Catholic priests in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the usage is unusual thereafter.

Fr. Porter also desires me to add that he can permit no one to interfere in the arrangements of the College or the direction of these matters. He hopes that you will reconsider your decision and permit Michael to join his fellow students in the happy work of Thursday next. (1)

Two days later, on the day of the College First Communion ceremony, Fr. Harris had to record:

Poor little Joyce and Cusker were put back at Mr. Rae's command. (2)

The situation was now intolerable. If action was not taken at once, a dangerous precedent, damaging to the future of the College, would be set. Fathers Porter and Harris took the only peaceful course available to them, avoiding stirring passions further but at the same time standing firm. The parents of both of the boys received a letter from Fr. Harris stating that the matter had had his serious and anxious consideration. Whilst considering the interests of the parents, the Rector had had to assert the rights of the Jesuit community at the College;

.....I am directed to inform you that at all times we shall respect the legitimate rights of parents. Our discipline is altogether framed to harmonize with those rights.....But when parents have not, nor can have, any solid objection to our proceedings we can neither allow these to be disarranged at the direction of a third Party, nor our scholars to be withdrawn from our spiritual direction, as has been the case in this instance. With great sorrow, therefore, I must ask you to remove your son from this College at the expiration of the current quarter. (3)

The parents of the boys reacted in concert, and two days later Fr. Harris was able to write:

(they have) surrendered unconditionally and own that we are entirely in the right. (4)

As a result of their parents' capitulation, the boys were not dismissed and duly made their First Communion in the

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(1) Ibid., 17 March 1868.  
 (2) Ibid., 19 March 1868.  
 (3) Ibid., 23 March 1868.  
 (4) Ibid., 25 March 1868.

normal manner at St. Francis Xavier's Church a few weeks later (1). After this incident, no further reference either to Mr. Rae or to the interference of any other secular clergy is recorded.

The stand made by the Rector and the Prefect of Studies was an important one. In Jesuit colleges throughout Europe in the nineteenth century the First Communion ceremony of pupils was given careful preparation for some weeks or even months beforehand, with special catechism classes. After the ceremony a breakfast was often arranged for the boys. Certainly, at St. Francis Xavier's, the Jesuit community went out of its way to provide a good breakfast on such occasion, vacating the Community Refectory themselves for their own breakfast to make room for the boys (2).

The attempt in Liverpool to stop boys making their First Communion outside their own parish was not an isolated local incident affecting the Jesuits. In the early 1870s a similar problem arose in some parts of France when, for a short time, there was talk of not allowing pupils at Jesuit

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(1) Ibid., 1 May 1868.

(2) See for example, Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, Sunday 20 January 1867, APA, 6/4/3/6. Breakfasts for College boys in the Community Refectory were not merely confined to First Communion ceremonies. In the late 1860s Fr. Harris organized "General Communions" periodically on Sundays. On these occasions the majority of the College would arrive at St. Francis Xavier's Church for the 8 a.m. Mass, which would normally be said by Fr. Harris at the Lady Altar in the church. After these Masses boys living "at a distance" would be entertained to breakfast in the Community Refectory. Besides their religious significance, First Communion and General Communion ceremonies were seen as helping to foster a feeling of esprit de corps within the College. Further details of such events can be found in Fr. Walter Clifford's Diary, 26 August 1866; and in Fr. Harris's Journal, 26 May 1867.

colleges to make their First Communion anywhere other than in their home parish church. At the Collège St. Ignace at Dijon, for example, the Jesuits arranged with the diocese that boarders and half-boarders could continue the practice of making their First Communion at the school. Immediately all the families of the day-boys enrolled their sons as half-boarders at the College (1).

Awkward incidents such as this did not make for cordial relations between secular parochial clergy and the Society of Jesus. In Liverpool it appears that such embarrassment had been avoided. By placing the onus entirely on the parents the Jesuits scored two successes at once. Not only had they tactfully avoided a head-on confrontation with local secular clergy but had, in the long term, strengthened further the school as a community (2).

#### Discipline, good conduct and good order

Fr. James Harris believed in obtaining good behaviour and good progress by encouraging boys positively, and did so from his first days in Liverpool with his "Note" system. He also believed that divergence from school regulations

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(1) Burnichon, J., La Compagnie de Jésus en France: Histoire d'un siècle, 1814-1914, (4 vols., Paris, 1914-1922), IV, p.468; Padberg, op.cit., p.243.

(2) The Jesuits in Liverpool anticipated the Church's ruling on the question of who should have the responsibility for preparing children for First Communion. The matter was later clarified by Canon Law. New legislation introduced in 1917 placed the onus entirely on the parents to decide the correct time for a child to make his or her First Communion. The priest's sole responsibility was to ensure that the child had reached the age of reason and had the correct disposition. See Codex Juris Canonici (Rome, 1918), p.245, Can. 854, paragraphs 4 and 5.



and general idleness ought to be punished. In this he was not out of step with the recommendation of the Ratio (1).

During his first two years in Liverpool Harris's attitude to discipline seems to have been coloured by his experience of encountering indiscipline at Namur. He began his term of office following the well-tryed principle that it is preferable to start strictly and gradually relax the disciplinary rein than to try and restore law and order after respect for authority has been lost. The evidence available from Fr. Harris seems to indicate that the rein he wished to apply was in fact applied by his staff far more tightly than he ever intended. Indeed, for a short time there existed a severity which proved impossible for him to ameliorate.

#### Corporal punishment

Within two months of beginning his Journal, Fr. Harris recorded that he had ordered twelve ferulas to be given to an eight-year-old for continual idleness (2). In a note to the master in charge of discipline, the Prefect of Studies had expressly said he was kindly to remember the boy was only small. The ferulas were received and the next day the boy's mother arrived at the College to report to Fr. Harris:

.... that seeing that her son could not sit down she had examined the part where the ferulas had been administered and found it black and much swollen. She did not object

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(1) The Ratio recognized that pupils needed to be chastised, if necessary by the use of corporal punishment, for lack of application or misbehaviour. Faults committed at home were not to be corrected in school by corporal punishment, except for the gravest of reasons; see Ratio, "Regulae Praefect Studiorum Inferiorum", 38.

(2) Journal, 19 September 1866.

to the penance but the vigour with which it had been administered. Although the number twelve was given more for appearance than anything else, it will be well for the future not to order more than six for such young children. The administrator should also give a fair portion to each side of the parte post; there will be less danger of discoloration. (1)

The next day the mother called again at the College, complaining a second time of the severity of the beating. Fr. Harris noted:

Exaggeration on her part but shows what care there should be on ours. (2)

Shortly after this incident Fr. Harris left the College to give a Retreat to the boys at Stonyhurst, followed by a month's retreat in Belgium. During his eight week absence, when the College was left without anyone to "supply his place" (3), the Journal appears to have been maintained by Fr. George Sidgreaves, master of the First Class. At the beginning of November, while Fr. Harris was in Belgium, another boy was ordered ferulas by one of the masters for idleness. These were administered by the same master as in the previous incident. The outcome was also the same, with the boy's mother discovering the injury which had been caused. Fr. Sidgreaves recorded:

These instances certainly show the necessity of caution in the manner of administering corporal punishment. It is fortunate for the reputation of the College that parents of the boys in both cases acted with moderation. It may not be amiss to state here, as a warning, that it is a very short time since one of the masters in the Haigh Street Poor Schools was summonsed and fined for a similar offence.(4)

These two incidents did not seem to stir up ill feelings with the boys in general. When Fr. Harris returned to the College from Belgium at the end of November 1866, he was

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(1) Ibid., 19 September 1866.

(2) Ibid., 20 September 1866.

(3) Ibid., 10 October 1866.

(4) Ibid., 7 November 1866.

delighted at the warm reception he was given, and "the extreme kindness shown him as well by Ours as by the children" (1). Noting the zealous work which had been done by masters and boys during his absence, he granted an hour's extra play to the boys and wrote in his Journal that the efforts of the whole College would "not be forgotten at the right time" (2).

His pleasure was to be marred during the next term when a master, evidently the actual administrator of punishments already referred to, kept a boy on his knees in the schoolroom as a penance. The boy fainted whilst in this position, and Fr. Harris feared greatly the possible consequences:

.....rightly or wrongly this (i.e. the fainting) will be attributed to the penance. It cannot be laid upon me as I do nothing but warn the Masters in general and Mr. Horn in particular against severe penances. At the same time it must be allowed that Masters have so few punishments at their command in an establishment such as this as to make it very hard for them to know what to do with idle and refractory children. (3)

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(1) Ibid., 30 November 1866.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., 17 January 1867. The master responsible for all these incidents, Ignatius Horn, was a scholastic of twenty-one at the time. He had recently arrived at the school, having been educated entirely at Stonyhurst, apart from a year at Roehampton in 1864-1865; he was to leave the Society in 1869. See Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.63. His conduct can probably be put down to sheer inexperience and lack of guidance rather than malice. The Ratio originally stipulated that a 'corrector' not of the Society be used in schools. Later, scholastics were permitted to administer corporal punishment if an external 'corrector' could not be found. The 1832 revision of the Ratio had removed all reference to scholastics and had merely recommended that any other convenient way be found of administering punishment. It seems clear that Fr. Harris had up to that time kept to the tradition of using the services of a scholastic for the task. See Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 38.

Such excessive punishment was totally contrary to all the recommendations of the Ratio and the normal practice of the College. Fortunately, the incident passed by without representation from the boy's parents (1).

At the end of the academic year 1866-1867 the Third Class fared very badly in examinations. No direct action was taken by Fr. Harris immediately, despite the fact that he was aware of the boys' having been idle. Early in the new academic year, however, Penance Studies were enforced rigorously (2). Despite all the warnings which had been given, one boy absented himself from the punishment. When the next day the boy brought a note of excuse from his mother, the Prefect of Studies extended the fullest authority at his command. Fr. Harris sent him home, informing his parents that he must either submit to punishment or be removed (3). The parents thereupon came to the College:

.....and after a short discussion, placed the child at my disposal. Upon further consideration on account of his weakness, I abstained from ordering him corporal chastisement - but he will be lectured on Saturday, get a bad mark and be kept in next Tuesday. (4)

If the Third Class of 1866-1867 had been a disappointment to the Prefect of Studies, their successors in the same class the following year were the cause of exasperation both to their Form Master and Fr. Harris,

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(1) Journal, 25 January 1867.

(2) Penance Studies at this time took place from 2-4 p.m. on Tuesday afternoons, when the College had a half-holiday, and also on Month Days. Boys were detained only after receiving the Third Note of application; see Journal, 31 December 1867.

(3) The Ratio recommended that boys refusing corporal punishment be obliged to take it, unless it caused scandal, whereupon they were to be dismissed, the Rector having been consulted; see Ratio, "Regulae Praefecti Studiorum Inferiorum", 39.

(4) Journal, 14 August 1867.

who used "warning, threats and entreaties" (1) to make them work harder. His efforts were in vain and by early November 1867 the situation became unacceptable:

.....yesterday and today several of them came without theme, and lessons unknown. Much as I dislike the use of the ferula, I felt that it was time to have recourse to it with this class. Twelve of the worst were singled out and chastised. (2)

On this occasion three boys received six strokes; one, nine; one, two; and seven, eighteen. Having been punished they were detained, addressed by Fr. Harris again, told he regretted being forced to order corporal punishment, and that they were wasting their own time and their parents' money. By the end of the dressing-down, "many looked penitent", according to Fr. Harris, apart from a nucleus of four boys who seemed hardened to chastisement (3).

Ruthless though Fr. Harris was in maintaining discipline, he was not blind to the possibility that a boy might score a low mark, even after trying his best. In such a case there was certainly no question of punishment being used as a hopeful corrective. One father, calling at the College in August 1867, complained about his son's low "notes", saying he was quite satisfied with the child and was sure he studied as hard as he could. He thought that if there were any fault, it must be rather that of the intellect than of the will. Fr. Harris's response was kindly and understanding:

I told him that I personally thought Hugh deficient in neither the intellect nor in good will....and promised to mention the matter to Mr. Gillett, the Master. (4)

The frequency of the use of corporal punishment in Fr. Harris's first two years in office, particularly in 1867 when the excesses already mentioned took place, did

(1) Ibid., 7 November 1867.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., 17 August 1867.

not escape the notice of Fr. George Porter, Rector of the College. Having observed the situation for the whole of 1867, he decided by the Christmas of that year to step in and shape future policy in the matter. On 31 December all the Jesuit teaching staff were summoned for a meeting with Fr. Harris and the Rector. Fr. Porter ordered that the use of the ferula was to be greatly moderated and for a month at least entirely suppressed. The aim was then to see if corporal punishment could be limited to one day in the month or abolished completely (1). Penance studies on Tuesday afternoon and on Blandykes or month-days were suspended and the detention class restricted to one hour from 12.30 to 1.30 on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, on which days there was a half-holiday.

The meeting was to prove a turning-point in the question of corporal punishment. From then onwards the accent was to be very much more on positive fostering of good conduct, which Fr. Harris had been encouraging since his arrival. The new approach was not to be immediately popular with every parent. Once the use of the ferula had been moderated, one parent began clamouring for more stringent discipline, at least for his own son. Fr. Harris noted early in 1868:

Mr. McCruish called and gave orders that his son should be regularly chastised when idle. (2)

Such cries seem to have been rare, no other instances being recorded. After the month's experiment in doing without corporal punishment, it was re-introduced but on a much lesser scale. On a few occasions in the early 1870s, during

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(1) Ibid., 31 December 1867.

(2) Ibid., 10 March 1868.

a period unfortunately not covered by Fr. Harris's Journal (1), there were apparently a small number of public "executions", as a pupil of that time was to recall in 1922:

There were two or three occasions - half comic and half pathetic - when it was considered necessary by the authorities to make an example of boys who had been specially naughty and who were to be formally and publicly sentenced and punished. I am afraid the lookers-on were, on the whole, rather excited and amused than awed by the spectacle of one or more of their number receiving the dreaded punishment of "twice nine". The occasion certainly turned to broad farce once, when a culprit - he was a very fat boy - elected to take his share of ferulas a parte post, as Fr. Harris put it, instead of on his hands. (2)

Under the new arrangements for punishments for a few years from 1868 onwards an annual "amnesty" was declared on 3 December, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, patronal feast of the College. In 1868, for example, it was announced that

all ferulas, bad notes or punishment whatsoever will be let off today in honour of St. Francis Xavier, provided that no new faults are committed today after this notice. (3)

### Virtuous conduct

The positive accent placed on good conduct, inspired by the Ratio but moulded to Fr. Harris's idiosyncratic ways, was to prove an important factor in the building up of the College as a community. After 1868 responsibility seems to have been given to the boys to maintain good order among themselves. Mention has already been made of the appointment as "censor" of boys who obtained the weekly "note of honour". From 1868 onwards these were joined by a small

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(1) The Journal entries cease on 26 June 1871; the incidents related probably took place in 1871-1872.

(2) Recollections of John Denvir in St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine, II, p.14.

(3) Notice Book, 3 December 1868.

band of "permanent" prefects. In the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth classes, two Captains of Discipline were appointed to help masters in the playground, the second acting only in the absence of the first. Their duties were to ensure that boys fell into line when the bell was rung, observed silence, and did not "push, play or trifle" (1). Indeed, masters were specifically warned to insist on silence, as the then Pope, Pius IX, had declared:

.....silence is to be observed particularly at the beginning and end of schools. (2)

Silence and its virtues was to be the subject of repeated reminders from Fr. Harris:

Every boy should look upon himself as a Soldier of God endeavouring to show his sovereign honour, even in a small matter such as this. The older boys especially, instead of turning brutally sulky when corrected for their faults, should be glad and grateful that we take the trouble to try to make them perfect. Obstinacy and sulks put one unpleasantly in mind of a grey-coloured animal with long ears, generally called - ASS. (3)

For good order and virtuous conduct to exist within the College, Harris saw the vital importance of harmony among the boys, especially boys of different nationalities. The massive influx of some 80,000 Irish who had settled in Liverpool in the 1840s was bound to create problems in the indigenous English community locally, whether Catholic or not. The potential danger of young people of different nationalities growing up in hostility and mistrust of each other was one to which Fr. Harris was fully alive. He saw himself in a particularly responsible position as the director of a growing school in an increasingly cosmopolitan

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(1) Ibid., 19 September 1868.

(2) Ibid., 8 May 1869.

(3) Ibid., 25 August 1870.



town. His concern that harmony should exist between English and Irish boys, in his own school at least, is clear. In 1869 he wrote:

Gave exhortation in Academy Room upon mutual charity, especially between English and Irish boys upon the feast of St. Patrick. (1)

As a result of his appeal he was able to record on the feast day itself that shamrock had been worn by most boys in the College:

Shamrock every where (sic) today. No hitch. Gave half-an-hour extra play in honour of St. Patrick. (2)

The theme of reconciliation among people of different nationalities was to be stressed further in public at the next Proclamation. Addressing the parents of the boys, he spoke of the English, Irish, French, German, Italian and Spanish blood to be found in the College and remarked that the behaviour of the boys together on the feast of St. Patrick had been particularly edifying. International understanding and co-operation had, he argued, to be viewed in a religious context, particularly in a Jesuit school:

.....as the Lord Jesus died for all men, so it is fitting that in the Colleges of the Society to which the Church has given his Adorable Name, nations and peoples should be represented. (3)

In a city which was to experience racial tension over one hundred and ten years after this address, Harris's words were years ahead of their time.

The conduct and welfare of St. Francis Xavier's boys outside the College premises, even on the weekly holiday and the month day, was a subject which concerned Harris greatly. In the early summer of 1872 he was to issue a

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(1) Ibid., 16 March 1869.  
 (2) Ibid., 17 March 1869.  
 (3) Ibid., 18 March 1869.

reminder to his pupils:

All the college boys know perfectly well that the Regulations do not permit them to smoke in the streets. They also know that they are not allowed to enter public houses or hotels without their parents' express permission. Both these violations of the rule took place last Month Day. The delinquents are to send their names to me immediately. (1)

A fortnight later, two days before the grand opening by Prince Arthur of a newly laid-out Sefton Park, Harris announced:

It is my earnest desire that none of the College students should go near Sefton Park or other places of public resort on holidays, unless in the company of their parents or other grown-up and responsible people. Boys slighting and disliking my wish must not be astonished if I withdraw my confidence from them. Boys found engaging others to go in opposition to my wish will be severely punished. (2)

One trifling incident recorded tersely in the Journal, concerning a minor accident to a small College boy on his way home from school, reveals Harris's dislike of "fuss", his concern that justice be done, and his sense of humour:

Great excitement at 4 p.m. John Joseph Fox of the Seventh Class fell down in the road. Pious woman declared she saw wheel of cab go over him. Cab stopped by stalwart policeman. Fox picked up by excited Irishman. Boys, girls and dirty people in crowds. Dr. McCaull summoned. Much legal business transacted with policeman. Ladies calling to know what they could do for the poor child. All help declined with thanks. Fox foxing in an interesting manner - duly stripped and examined - fact proved that no cab had run over him at all; which driver said from the beginning: took Fox home to save him a beating for making himself dirty. 'Much ado about Nothing', thanks to pious woman and excited Irishman. (3)

Despite all endeavours at attaining perfection of conduct, Fr. Harris was to be disappointed by the behaviour of a minority among the boys. The age-old problem of graffiti is mentioned only once in the Notice Book. It was not, evidently, a regular problem and was the subject

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(1) Ibid., 4 May 1872.

(2) Ibid., 18 May 1872.

(3) Ibid., 7 December 1868.

of a special announcement:

A most disgusting drawing has been made, and a most filthy word written in one of the Common-places. Fr. Harris cannot believe that any one of our boys can have degraded himself to such an extent. If, however, any scholar knows anything of the matter, he is requested to communicate with Fr. Harris without delay. The scholars must remember that they are strictly forbidden to write in the Common-places at all, or to make any marks in them. (1)

On one occasion in 1871, probably after a snowball fight against the boys of Liverpool College, the majority of the boys of St. Francis Xavier's seem to have disgraced themselves in Fr. Harris's estimation. A dramatic announcement to the boys ran as follows:

.....if any scholar can in the sight of God and in his very conscience truly, and sincerely, and honestly, declare that during the last six months, that is since the re-opening of Schools on August 1st, (1870) he has NOT (sic) broken the College regulations in the street, viz. that he has not been guilty of violent running, knocking at doors, ringing at bells and then running away, playing with, talking to, fighting with, quarreling (sic) with street boys, keeping low company, throwing stones, mud, snow-balls, tossing other boys' caps about the street, running against persons hustling them, romping with his school companions, running into shops, and if moreover the said boy CAN declare that his conduct has been quite decent, orderly and respectable - he is to send up his name to Fr. Harris at once in order that he may not be included in the general punishment of the College. (2)

From the entire College of some 250 boys, only 25 came forward; and of these, it later transpired, two were guilty of running and two of throwing snowballs (3).

The great emphasis in the above announcement on the importance of boys from the College not associating in any way with street boys was made not without good reason. The sheer number of destitute children on the streets of Liverpool in the late 1860s was the cause of great concern

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(1) Notice Book, 22 September 1869.

(2) Ibid., 25 January 1871.

(3) Ibid.

in the town, not least amongst the Catholic population. The question of how to deal with the problem of child destitution arose in 1868 at the instigation of the leading Catholics of the town, who never missed an opportunity of calling public attention to the evils resulting from such an appalling situation. Fr. James Nugent reported to the Liverpool magistrates in June 1868 that there were no fewer than 2000 children trading on the streets (1). What was most alarming was the massive increase in crime among these children, as indicated in Table IX :

TABLE IX

ARRESTS OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN LIVERPOOL 1860 - 1867 (2)

1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
768	823	1159	1303	1299	1225	1133	1500

A census was taken at midnight on 1 January 1869 of all children found on the streets of Liverpool either trading, by selling matches and smallwares, or wandering about without any control being exercised over them. It was discovered that 541 small boys and 172 little girls were either begging or offering small articles for sale at that late hour. Fr. Nugent could report that of 500 Catholic boys taken off the streets and entertained in his Boys' Refuge in Soho Street, Liverpool in that year, only 20 had been born in Ireland (3). An enormous demoralisation had set in amongst the children of the generation of Irish who had come to settle in Liverpool in the mid 1840s.

The dangers of possible contamination of College boys through association with such a multitude of street boys

(1) Burke, op.cit., p.182.

(2) Ibid., based on figures presented to the Liverpool magistrates, 24 June 1868.

(3) Burke, op.cit., p.183.

was a constant source of worry to Fr. Harris and his fellow Jesuits. Indeed, the whole thrust of the Jesuits' educational work in Liverpool and Glasgow was to raise the Catholic community out of the depths of despair. One unnamed Jesuit at St. Aloysius' College, Glasgow in 1863, speaking of the Society of Jesus' educational mission in that city, could state:

To form a ragged mass of 130,000 Catholics and breathe intelligence into them, to mould them into habits of virtue and religion, and make them a living power in the heart of this gloomy and desolate land, is surely no unworthy object of the highest ambition: it is one which we may well conceive would have been most warmly cherished by our holy Founder himself. (1)

These were also sentiments subscribed to wholeheartedly by the Jesuit members of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool.

The problems of child destitution in Liverpool began to be remedied only after the passing of the 1870 Education Act. Bishop Goss, in a pastoral letter read in all Liverpool churches on 11 September 1870, appealed to the Catholic community to raise funds for 8000 school places needed for the compulsory attendance of Catholic children (2). The effort to build new schools was to be a long one.

#### The virtues of regular attendance

If the College community was to be established securely and strengthened, care was needed in ensuring that pupils attended classes on a regular basis. Of the 203 boys attending St. Francis Xavier's College in April 1868 almost 120 lived within a mile's distance of Salisbury Street (3).

(1) Letters and Notices, I, p.241.

(2) Burke, op.cit., p.190. Provision already existed for 15,646 children in Catholic schools in Liverpool. There were, however, an estimated 23,754 Catholic children aged from 5 to 12 in the area between Little Crosby and Woolton, and Huyton and the River Mersey.

(3) Journal, 8 April 1868.

The immense amount of building which had taken place in the previous twenty years in the immediate vicinity of the College, together with the existence of a large parish church at St. Francis Xavier's, had attracted Catholic families to move into the area. The enormous increase in the concentration of people of all denominations within one mile radius of St. Francis Xavier's College between 1853 and 1872 is clearly demonstrated in the maps overleaf.

In such a closely knit College community of pupils there could be little excuse for non-attendance. The regularity of boys' attendance was watched very closely by Fr. Harris on a day-to-day basis from the beginning of his period in office, as the following entry in his Journal shows:

28th September 1868. Another terribly wet day. 16 scholars absent. 5 excused on account of illness. 11 only therefore can be said to be soft. It is worthy of note that some of the Eleven have stopped away at other times on the day following a Month Day.

If good attendance were to be maintained, Fr. Harris believed that the College authorities had just as much responsibility as the parents in creating the correct atmosphere for work. During term-time any distraction of any sort in the evening was seen as a potential cause of non-attendance of boys the following day. One day in February 1868 Fr. Harris lamented the fact that the attendance at the College was the lowest ever. This "unpleasant fact", as he termed it, was attributable to bad weather, sickness among the boys and

.....to permission extorted from me to allow the boys to be present at the acting of the 'Hidden Gem' at the Haigh Street Schools last night. (1)

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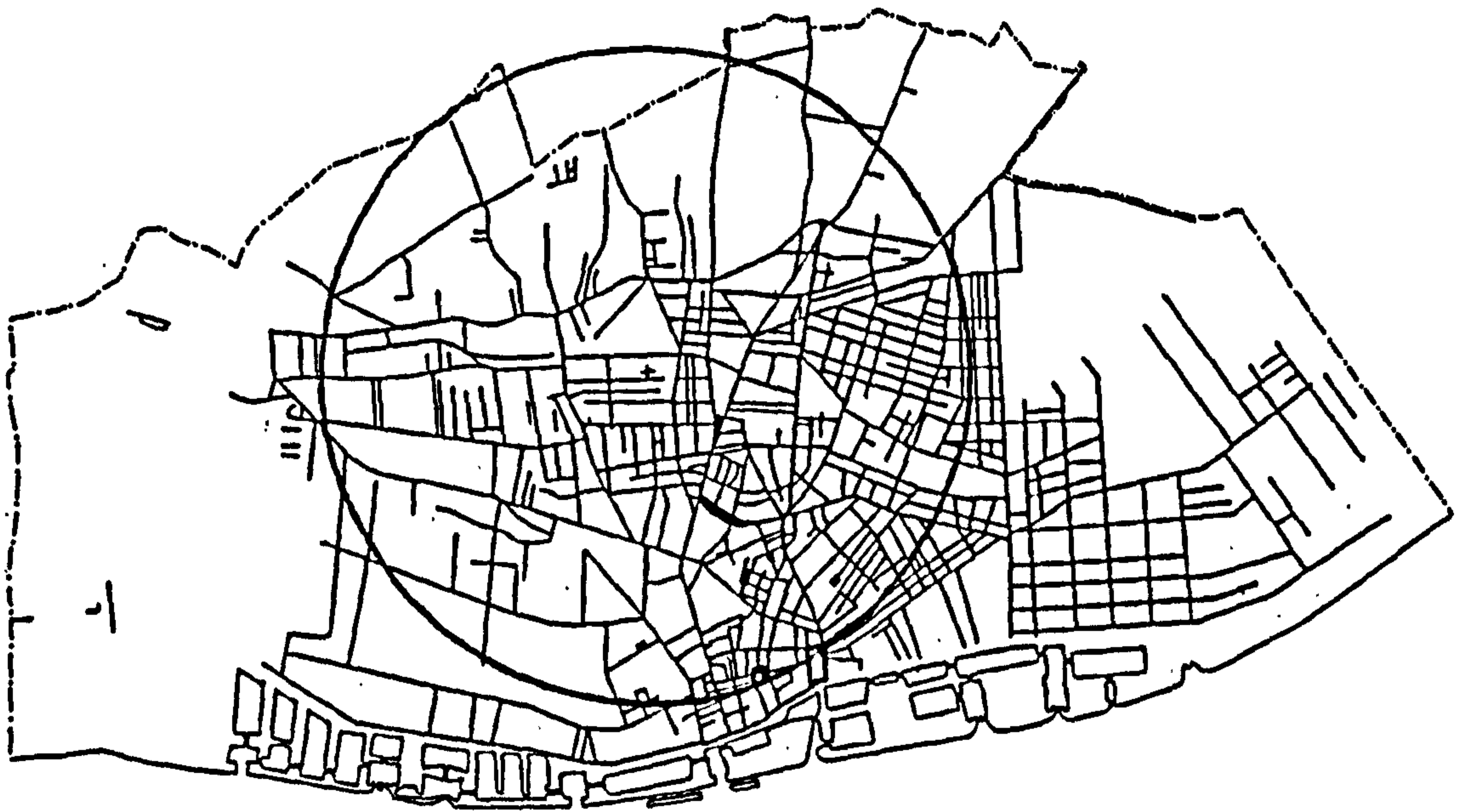
(1)Journal, 19 February 1868. The Hidden Gem was a play by Cardinal Wiseman.

PLATE IX

MAPS REFLECTING THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF STREETS AND  
THE RESULTANT GROWTH IN POPULATION IN A ONE MILE RADIUS  
OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S DURING THE PERIOD 1853-1872

Adapted from Lawton, R. and Pooley, C.G.,  
The Social Geography of Merseyside in the Nineteenth Century  
(Liverpool, Department of Geography, University of Liverpool,  
1976, Social Geography of Nineteenth Century Merseyside  
Project. Final Report).

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LIVERPOOL—streets in 1853 Directory

----- Liverpool Borough Boundary



LIVERPOOL—streets in 1872 Directory

----- Liverpool Borough Boundary



Though he admitted that the incident might not prove a "very great misfortune" for once, it did, in his estimation, call for strictness in the future. It also indicated

.....what we might expect if I allowed, as some of Ours would have me, the Scholars to go to the Penny Readings at the same place. (1)

A week later the attendance situation was still bad. Although much could be attributed to prevailing sickness (2) Fr. Harris pin-pointed another matter as an important contributory factor:

I attribute this (high rate of absence) to the multiplicity of holidays. There have been in my idea too many lately. If I had my way there should be no Month Day in January, or in the month in which the Shrovetide Holidays fall. (3)

This latter entry seems to imply that he had raised the matter with the Rector but had not succeeded in persuading him to alter the existing holidays.

Good attendance was seen as being vital from the very beginning of a school year if progress were to be made. For this reason particular note is given in the Journal to the physical appearance of the boys on their return from the summer vacation each year. The first of these entries is not untypical of those which were to be written without fail in the period 1866-1869:

The boys all looked well and happy and there were no repinings at returning to school. (4)

In 1869 there were signs of sadness detectable in the boys as they returned:

.....These are to be attributed this year to the fact that most of the students have been enjoying themselves very much in the country, which made this a black Monday as indeed they ingenuously confessed. (5)

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(1) Ibid.

(2) The boys at this time seem to have been suffering from an epidemic of measles; ringworm was also causing problems. See Journal, 29 February 1868.

(3) Ibid., 26 February 1868.

(4) Ibid., 1 August 1866.

(5) Ibid., 1 August 1869.

In Fr. Harris's view the situation in the previous year had been far from promising. During the early part of 1868 the Rector, Fr. George Porter, had had a new extension built to the presbytery in Salisbury Street to accommodate the growing number of Jesuit Fathers in the College and attached Church. The construction work, taking place so close to the College, inevitably caused disruption and disturbance; the building-site had encroached into the playground, a situation which Fr. Harris found alarming:

The boys looked exceedingly well, but I cannot say that they looked as happy as in former years. Towards the end of last year the state of the playground, the inconvenience arising from the new building etc. soured them and they have not got over it. The Second Class especially looked very idle and forlorn. The Master was unprepared to receive them and of course matters flagged..... From the look of things, from various hints about going to other schools, from certain grumblings I heard, etc., I must confess that I feel less hopeful (sic) than upon any other opening day.

We are experiencing, I am afraid, the inevitable result of that state of slipshod which I have often mourned over but am powerless to remedy. (1)

Fr. Harris, however, cannot be accused of being an inveterate grumbler. In a Journal entry made on the same day he admits:

During the Recess everything has been done by Superiors(sic) to ensure a successful re-opening: except that we shall have the old difficulties about Masters consequent upon the difference between the time of our Breaking-up and re-assembly and that of Stonyhurst (2)..... The playground has been thoroughly levelled and repaired, the whole College well washed. And if painting has not been done it is on account of the building going on all around. The boys will have to put up with some inconveniences on this score, which cannot be helped. (3)

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(1) Ibid., 3 August 1868.

(2) The problems of securing masters from Stonyhurst are the subject of further discussion later.

(3) Journal, 3 August 1868.

Religious training and practice 1866-1870

In the building up of the morale of the College community at St. Francis Xavier's in his first six years up to 1871, James Harris, as a Jesuit Prefect of Studies, could not envisage success in his venture without paying due attention to the religious training of his pupils.

His ideas on such training cannot be divorced from the moral example which he hoped would be imparted by the policies already described. It is clear that his vision of the way ahead for the religious well-being of St. Francis Xavier's College lay in two parallel directions. His aims were to give a sound general religious training to all his pupils, and at the same time to encourage the development of a "religious élite". The latter aim, as will be seen, led him paradoxically both to apparent disaster and considerable success.

In his Spiritual Exercises Ignatius Loyola, in a short passage entitled Principle and Foundation, expresses the whole purpose of man's life in a few lines:

Man was created to praise, do reverence to and serve God our Lord, and thereby to save his soul: and the other things on the face of the earth were created for man's sake, and to help him in the following-out of the end for which he was created. Hence, it follows that man should make use of creatures so far as they do help him towards his end, and should withdraw from them so far as they are a hindrance to him. (1)

The educational thinking of the Society of Jesus is permeated by Ignatius's words. The Ratio Studiorum opens by stating:

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(1) Rickaby, J., (ed.), The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola: Spanish and English, with a continuous commentary (Burns & Oates, 1915), p.18.

It is one of the most important duties of the Society to teach all the sciences, which according to our Institute may be taught, in such a manner as to lead men to the knowledge and love of our Creator and Redeemer Jesus Christ. (1)

Similar statements can be found in the Ratio - in the First Rules of the Rector, the Prefect of Studies and the masters of the various classes.

Whether dealing with an individual boy or a group of boys, Fr. Harris's Ignatian outlook was evident. An entry in the Journal for 1867 reveals his concern for the well-being of an invalid boy who was not likely to benefit greatly from the academic life of the College:

Joined today James Kevan. He has been afflicted seven years with a bad knee and even now can scarcely walk. He is 14 and knows little of anything. I took him for the sake of his religion. (2)

Boys entering any Jesuit college could expect religious training to be an integral part of school life. At St. Francis Xavier's College from the earliest days of the school in Soho Street in the 1840s, an annual Retreat lasting three or four days had been given to all the pupils near the beginning of the school year. Under Fr. Harris the annual Retreat was always given as soon as possible after the return of the boys from the summer vacation at the beginning of August. The aim of organizing it so early in the new academic year was presumably to ensure as far as possible that boys might be enabled to begin work in the new class in the correct frame of mind.

Normally a Jesuit from another college was invited to give the Retreat, which followed the pattern of St. Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises. Beginning with a

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(1) Ratio, "Regulae Provincialis", 1.

(2) Journal, 25 November 1867.

consideration of the purpose of creation and man's place within it, the Retreat went on to consider sin and judgment, death and hell, penitence and conversion. At certain times, with some more fiery Retreat directors, the talk on sin and its punishment must have borne some resemblance to the hell and damnation sermon in Joyce's Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. The Kingdom of God was discussed too, and pupils were urged to serve God generously. Then there was a meditation on the mysteries of Christ's life, his passion, death and resurrection, on God's love and on the happiness of the saved (1).

The Retreat was intended to encourage in the pupils a lasting devotion to Christ which could be expressed in service to the Church. To prepare themselves for this, pupils during and after Retreats were urged to examine their conscience daily, to go to Confession regularly for the forgiveness of their sins and to prepare themselves to receive the Eucharist.

At the beginning of August each year, as soon as the Retreat was over, pupils were expected to choose one of the available Jesuit Fathers as a confessor for that particular year. Boys wishing to have Fr. Harris as their confessor had to make prior application. An announcement made at the commencement of the academic year 1871-1872 is typical of the period:

I wish to form some idea of the number of students who intend to choose me as their Spiritual Director and attend my Confessional this year. Now as Confession is a most

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(1) Any complete edition of the Spiritual Exercises will give details of the format used in a Retreat. Individual retreat directors would, of course, adapt the structure to suit the needs of a particular group of retreatants.

important thing, no student should play with it, but elect such confessor as he thinks will do him most good, neither coming to me because he thinks that will please me (which is absurd) nor staying away because he is frightened of me (which is more absurd still). This understood, let the boys who wish to come to me give up their names at once and let the lists be sent to me at once. (1)

From 1867 onwards the religious atmosphere of the College was changed by the institution of General Communion ceremonies at regular intervals on Sundays throughout the school year. On these occasions College boys were expected to attend Sunday Mass as a group at St. Francis Xavier's Church and the situation was monitored very closely by Fr. Harris. On one Sunday at the end of May 1867 he noted in his Journal:

General Communion of the Scholars in the Church. 110 boys at the Mass, of whom 81 went to Communion. Some breakfasted in the Refectory afterwards. All passed off very satisfactorily and the attendance may be considered good, remembering the unsatisfactory state of the weather (2): nevertheless there were those absent who decidedly ought to have been there. Altogether we have to be pleased with the morning's work. (3)

The month of May is traditionally one in which the Church encourages special devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary. In May 1869 boys at St. Francis Xavier's were invited to join a "Holy League", instituted for that one month. The conditions for membership were edifying conduct, serious study for two hours every night, attendance at daily prayers in St. Francis Xavier's Church, and the daily recitation of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, a Pater and an Ave(4). Boys in the Preparatory Class and in the Middle School were not eligible for membership of the League. Nevertheless,

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(1) Notice Book, 11 August 1871.

(2) At the beginning of March 1867 there were 150 boys in the College; see Journal, 1 March 1867.

(3) Journal, 26 May 1867.

(4) Ibid., 30 April 1869.

within twenty-four hours of the announcement of the proposed establishment of the Holy League, 114 boys had applied to join "after proper exhortation and warning" (1).

The experiment was evidently judged a success and one day at the beginning of June the whole College assembled to witness the rewarding of those who had been faithful members of the League:

At 11.20 the Scholars.....were assembled in the Academy Room and the special Card of Honour was distributed to those who had been faithful to their promise made in the League of the Blessed Virgin as regards study during the month of May. (2)

A further reward was kept in store until the end of the proceedings:

These boys.....then went to the play-ground until 12.30, the others to their schools. (3)

In the following year the League was re-instituted during the month of May, this time with more precise conditions for membership:

.....total abstinence from dirty talk, abstinence from play and racing in the streets, two hours study every night. (4).

During their time at the College boys were taught the responsibilities they would have to face in supporting their pastors once they had reached adulthood. Accordingly, in 1868, Fr. Harris organized a collection for Peter's Pence, that is money sent to Rome to assist in the administration of the Church. In his Journal Fr. Harris noted early in May of that year:

Today took place the collection for our Holy Father the Pope. The sum collected amounted to £21.6.3d., a very satisfactory result considering the social position of the

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(1) Ibid., 1 May 1869.

(2) Ibid., 4 June 1869.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., 2 May 1870.

majority of the boys. The announcement of the collection was received with deafening cheers again and again repeated. (1)

The money was forwarded via the Jesuit General in Rome and in due course an acknowledgment signed by Pius IX was received by Fr. Harris (2).

In addition to stimulating a due regard for religious matters among the entire body of pupils at the College, Fr. Harris believed firmly in encouraging an élite group of students to involve themselves in extra activities and enterprises which might help to influence other boys and so to raise the whole religious tone of the school.

Such an approach was common in Jesuit colleges, particularly with regard to the fostering of sodalities. The Sodality was a special organization dedicated to deepening and broadening the religious spirit of a college. It was placed under the patronage of the Virgin Mary, and Marian devotion always occupied a large part in its life. Generally, within colleges run by the Society of Jesus, a sodality was founded within a few years of the opening of a new school.

### The founding of the College Sodality

The first attempts to found a Sodality at St. Francis Xavier's College pre-date Fr. Harris's arrival in Liverpool. The earliest Sodality Journal covering the period 1859-1893 fortunately survives (3). The volume opens with an inscription written in a fine hand:

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(1) Ibid., 11 May 1868; G.Porter to Beckx, 30 May 1868, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 9 and Beckx to Harris, 9 November 1868, ARSJ, English Province Letterbook 1864-1890, f.82.

(2) Journal, 26 December 1868.

(3) APA, 832. The Sodality Journal was amongst the volumes discovered at St.Francis Xavier's Presbytery, Liverpool, in 1981.



A.M.D.G. Digni habiti sunt qui in B.V.M. Sodalitatem admitterentur. L.D.S.

The first entry of names of Sodalists occurs on "Lady Day, 25th March 1859", when Richard Beesley is given as the chief or "Prefect" of the Sodality, with Joseph Walton, the future Judge, and William Collins as assistants. On this occasion in 1859 some thirty-eight boys joined the Sodality but during the whole period 1860-1865, when the College was numerically at a low ebb, only a further forty boys joined.

On 8 September 1866, less than a year after his arrival at St. Francis Xavier's, Fr. Harris noted in his Journal:  
Today the first steps were taken to restore the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, which once existed here, but which was allowed to fall to pieces.

The aims and objectives of the restored Sodality were clearly defined in the Sodality Journal:

1. The object and end of the Sodality is first, the special honouring of Our Lady under her title of Immaculate (1) and secondly, the advancement in virtue and piety of the students of St. Francis Xavier's College.
2. Those desirous of becoming members of the Sodality must prove themselves worthy of so glorious a privilege by constant observance of the rule and close application to their studies.
3. As a means of procuring admission into and perseverance in the Sodality they must observe the following:
  - i) Strict silence in class, and in all places where silence is enjoined.
  - ii) Prompt obedience to their professors; doing what they are commanded cheerfully and readily: submitting patiently to reproof.

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(1) The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary was the focus of particular attention in the Church after Pius IX's official statement in 1854 that "the Blessed Virgin was, in the first instant of her conception, through the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the human race, by a singular grace and privilege of God almighty, preserved immune from every stain of original sin".

iii) Any member who is unfortunate enough to obtain the Third Note shall be suspended from the Sodality, till by vigorous efforts he repair the scandal given by such disgrace. Any members who habitually obtain the above-mentioned note shall be expelled from the Sodality. (1)

Early in 1867 the members of the Sodality had to put the rules into effect and record with disappointment:

Two boys suspended from the Sodality, having been the first to be 'beaten', and two more for obtaining the Third Note. (2)

Four days later the Sodality Council met

.....and expressed their surprise at (one of the two boys) obtaining the Third Note. They complained of the severity of the Note, assuring the Director that he (the boy) was not to blame at all. Still nothing can be done for him. The note remains against him. This should be a good warning to Sodalists to keep themselves always under control, that no breath of suspicion may ever taint them. (3)

Shortly after this the Sodality suddenly ceased to operate and Fr. Harris, writing in the Sodality Journal for the first time under the date 6 February 1867 noted:

N.B. -- This Sodality was never definitely formed, the members never properly admitted. The attempt to carry it on at the time failed, and the whole thing was broken up. -- J.H. (4)

In the summer of 1869 another attempt was made by Fr. Harris to re-establish the Sodality:

.....members duly admitted by me, authority so to do having been granted to me by Fr. Rector, I being also named Director of such in the Catalogue of the Province.

Within a short time the attempt again failed:

.....this Sodality shared the fate of former ones, diploma having been found wanting. (6)

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(1) Sodality Journal, 8 September 1866.

(2) Ibid., 26 January 1867.

(3) Ibid., 30 January 1867.

(4) Though written under 6 February 1867, Fr. Harris's note was presumably entered a good while after this date.

(5) Sodality Journal, 4 June 1869.

(6) Ibid., 8 December 1869. Again this note would appear to have been added a good while after the date given.

The first sodality to come into existence anywhere in the world had been established in 1563 in Rome by Fr. John Leunis, S.J., for students attending the Roman College. In 1584 Pope Gregory XIII had canonically established this "Sodality of the Annunciation" as the chief Sodality or "Prima Primaria", and empowered it to affiliate other sodalities willing to adhere to the rules which were approved by the Holy See.

In 1860 a precise instruction from the Jesuit General, Fr. Beckx, to the English Jesuit Provincial had demanded that, in line with the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, proper faculties for, and aggregation of sodalities in Jesuit colleges in the English Province be arranged (1). For reasons which are far from clear, this matter had never been attended to at St. Francis Xavier's College and the various attempts, including the latest by Fr. Harris, came to nothing.

Having gained his Rector's authority for the establishment of a sodality and taken the trouble of having his own name entered in the annual Province Catalogue as the Director of the same, it seems surprising that a man as meticulous as James Harris should have overlooked so important a point as the validity of his own organization. There is little doubt that had he wanted to, he could have regularized the position without a great deal of difficulty. As it happened, his success in fostering the development of another religious confraternity in the College during the second half of 1869, the Society of the Sacred Heart,

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(1) See Ordinance of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. Thomas Seed, English Provincial, 22 February 1860, in Ordinationes et Responsa Generalium, 1832-1868, APA, 19/3/14, ff.44-46.

led to his concentrating all his energies in that direction. The idea of forming a sodality was to be postponed for another five years.

#### The Society of the Sacred Heart 1866-1870

Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus is dominated by the name of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque (1647-1690). Cured of paralysis, as she believed, by the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, she entered the Visitation convent at Paray-le-Monial in France in 1671. After a long period of severe austerities she testified that Christ had revealed to her His heart burning with love for man, and bade her establish the Holy Hour (1), communion on the First Friday of each month, and a new feast of the Sacred Heart to be observed on the Friday after the octave of the feast of Corpus Christi. Devotion to the Sacred Heart spread rapidly throughout Christendom. Margaret Mary Alacoque was assisted in her task of propagating the devotion by three Jesuits: her spiritual director, Claude de La Colombière, Jean Croiset, author of the first theological treatise on the devotion, and Joseph François de Gallifet, promoter of the cause in Rome.

The factors influencing Fr. Harris to encourage devotion to the Sacred Heart were four-fold. In the first place, in 1848 the then Jesuit General, Jan Philip Roothaan, had encouraged great devotion to the Sacred Heart in a circular letter to all members of the Society, De Cultu Sacratissimi

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(1) An hour of mental or vocal prayer spent in contemplation and veneration of Christ's sufferings, particularly those endured in Gethsemane.

Cordis Jesu (1). Next, in 1856, the feast of the Sacred Heart had been instituted throughout the universal Church by Pius IX. Thirdly, during his time in Namur, the young James Harris must have been greatly influenced by the Rector of the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix, Jean Decker. In his youth, in 1828, Fr. Decker had enrolled as a member of the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart at the church of Notre Dame d'Hanswyck in Malines. During his period in office as Rector at Namur from 1855-1860 he propagated the devotion amongst the boys of the College, and on one occasion publicly declared that the growing prosperity of the College there was attributable to the growth of this devotion amongst the boys (2). He reminded his listeners that Christ had promised to be in their midst if two or three gathered together in His name; and there was every reason to believe that He would bestow favours on the College in this way. Despite the apparent strength of the devotion at the College, no formal "Society of the Sacred Heart" appears to have been founded at Namur (3). Finally, the beatification of Margaret Mary Alacoque by Pius IX in 1864 gave further decided impetus to the spread of the devotion, especially in the Society of Jesus (4).

In September 1866 Fr. James Harris began initial

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(1) The letter is dated 8 June 1848, APA, BT/1.

(2) Kestens, op.cit., p.196.

(3) I am assured by the archivist of the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix that no reference to such a Society can be found in the College archives.

(4) Devotion to the Sacred Heart and the observance of the feast of Blessed Margaret Mary (canonised, 1920) was the subject of a special circular letter of 18 December 1864 from Fr. General Beckx to the whole Society of Jesus. As political storm clouds gathered over Italy in 1870, the General issued a second exhortation dated 28 August 1870 to the whole Society concerning the devotion. For both letters see APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873.

preparations for developing devotion to the Sacred Heart at St. Francis Xavier's College. His aim would appear to have been to allow the boys of the College to become accustomed to the idea of the devotion before establishing a formal Society. In his Journal for Wednesday 6 September 1866 Harris wrote:

Today the first foundation of a Boys' Society for the better adoration of the Sacred Heart of Jesus has been laid. The intentions of the Society are three, besides the general one of the Confraternity to which it hopes to be afterwards aggregated.

- I. Better knowledge and adoration of the Sacred Heart amongst the students.
- II. The consequent prosperity of the College.
- III. Actual and future well-being of the members.

The influence of Fr. Jean Decker's thinking is evident from that list. To achieve these aims three courses of action were recommended:

- I. Prayer at stated times in honour of the Sacred Heart.
- II. Propagation of the devotion.
- III. Frequent Confession and Communion.

Members of the new group had three clear duties to attend to:

- I. To be ready to obey the call of the Directors and Secretaries even at the sacrifice of amusement.
- II. To endeavour always to obtain the first note of conduct and application.
- III. To be kind and charitable to fellow students.

Fr. Harris became ex-officio Director of the organization and nominated his own Council. For two years devotion to the Sacred Heart was encouraged by the Prefect of Studies without a great deal of publicity. By September 1868 the time was judged right to foster devotion by creating a more formal organization. On Sunday 13 September 1868 a number of pupils assembled in the Third Class school-room

and Fr. Harris explained to them his intention in forming the new Society. Members were to endeavour to repair some of the injuries inflicted by men on the loving Heart of Christ, by themselves working in a spirit of self-sacrifice. In this spirit they were to give up a portion of their Sunday afternoon, except in cases of serious illness and during holidays, to attend the meetings of the Society, and by prayer, mutual exhortation and charitable manifestation of defects endeavour

.....to praise and glorify and console the Sacred Heart and aid in each other's improvement and advancement in grace before God and Men. (1)

After discussion it was agreed that a long period should elapse before any boy be admitted definitively into the Society and that any appointments made should be considered provisional. The aims and objectives of the new Society were much the same as those outlined in 1866 on the formation of the 'experimental' Society, with the addition of a new right and privilege of the Society as a body to examine the "notes" of any member. While agreeing not to be bound by notes awarded to boys, the Society decided that those obtaining fewer than 150 points should be liable for suspension if this was deemed necessary.

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(1) Journal of the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, 13 September 1868, APA, 832. A note in The Xaverian for March 1893, p.233, records that this first volume of the Society's transactions was assumed to have once existed, but had never been seen by the Jesuit Fathers stationed at that time at St. Francis Xavier's. The Journal remained "lost" until it was re-discovered in the Presbytery at Salisbury Street, Liverpool, in 1981. Further references to this volume, which covers the period 13 September 1868 to 22 October 1876, and a second volume (also discovered at Salisbury Street in 1981) covering the period 22 October 1876 to 27 September 1896 will hereinafter be noted under the abbreviation Brigade Journal, followed by the relevant date. The significance of the word "Brigade" is the subject of discussion later.

Associate membership was to be offered to boys, who had not made their First Communion, though associates could not vote on the business of the Society. In order to ensure that the highest standards were maintained, no member or associate was to be admitted into the Society until he had attended the Society's meetings for "a long time" and unless he had the vote of the Director and Vice-Director (both Jesuits), the President (a pupil) and the whole of the Council. All members, associates and approbationists, had to be prepared to accept criticism

.....and be content that their faults against discipline and good manners should be revealed and publicly criticised; nothing, however, being said which might cause scandal and disedification. (1)

Finally, at the inaugural meeting it was decided that when the Society was ready to be formed fully it should be

.....aggregated to the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart established in our church of St. Francis Xavier at Liverpool, in connection with the Archconfraternity at Rome. (2)

The new Society was entirely of Fr. Harris's own creation and had no parallel before or after in any other Jesuit college in the English Province.

In 1876 Harris was to record that he had instituted the Society "in obedience to what I thought to be the voice of God in 1868" (3). It had been created "for improvement in Religion, Virtue and Science" and was intended to be "a little band of boys pledged to help me in God's work" (4).

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(1) Brigade Journal, 13 September 1868.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., 16 January 1876.

(4) Ibid.



The "first sketch" of the Society of the Sacred Heart made at the inaugural meeting in September 1868 was intended to be "changed or developed as experience might prove necessary" (1). After two weekly meetings the members determined to "proceed more actively in definitively forming the Society" (2) and prepared to elect a President. Again the highest standards were looked for and agreed upon. No boy who had not studied at the College for at least three years was to be eligible for election as President. He was to be a scholar who habitually obtained the First Note and who had a certain influence with and a good reputation among the students in general (3). A Secretary was also required. He had to be a boy who could "write fairly" (4) and who could take notes of proceedings each Sunday and copy them clearly into the Society's Journal. In addition, Porters were needed to take the President's Chair and table to the place of the weekly meeting, ensure that benches in the meeting-place were clean, see that members sat in the places assigned to them and clear up everything at the end (5).

The Council of the Society, it was decided, should comprise three members nominated by the Director, Vice-Director and President respectively, and one member for each class in the College represented by six members in the Society (6). Council members were expected to forego recreation and attend Council meetings whenever required, vote first on prospective members of the Society, attend

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(1) Ibid., 13 September 1868.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid., 6 December 1868.

to and settle the Society's business and, in addition

.....be ready to give without fear, and without excuse and concealment a true and faithful account of the state of the College as far as they may be able. (1)

By the beginning of 1869 the Society's officers had all been elected and a number of members admitted. At the end of February that year it was judged expedient for the Director, Fr. Harris, and the Vice-Director to admit members of the Provisional Society as absolute members. Nevertheless, it was recorded that

.....the Director and Vice-Director felt that only a few members of the Provisional Society had proved themselves worthy of being full members of the Society now to be established. (2)

In the event only seventeen boys were elected to full membership. Of these, nine were already either Council members or Porters, leaving only eight ordinary members. Unfortunately, it is not recorded in the Journal how many boys were declared "approbationists", but eight boys who had not yet made their First Communion were declared Associates (3).

On mid-Lent Sunday in 1869 the seventeen members were duly admitted fully into the Society of the Sacred Heart by Fr. George Porter, the Rector of the College, at a Mass in St. Francis Xavier's Church. As President and Director of the parish Confraternity "established in connection with the Arch-Confraternity at Rome", Fr. Porter now gave the Society full validity. On the afternoon of the same day at the Society's weekly meeting the new members made their solemn promises (4). By May 1869 a further five boys were

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 28 February 1869.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., 7 March 1869.

considered eligible for membership and were duly admitted at a special Mass at 8.30 a.m. on a Sunday morning in St. Francis Xavier's Church (1).

One of the original aims of the Society at its tentative inception in 1866 had been to attend to "the actual and future needs of the members" (2). When, in the summer of 1869, the first President of the Society, James Davis, left the College, he was invited to continue membership of the Society "with (the) privilege of attending its meetings"(3). By this time the Society had settled down to a regular pattern and elections of officers took place twice yearly, in August and February(4) until 1872, when quarterly elections were introduced (5).

At the weekly Sunday meetings Fr. Harris as Director gave regular exhortations to the members. Sometimes these would remind members of

.....the necessity of admitting only those boys who will keep up the high character of the Society. (6)

By the end of 1869 Harris was able to record in the Society's

Journal:

The Society is blessed in many ways. Notes in class and places in Compositions excellent. (7)

A year later at the third Proclamation for the year 1870-1871, held privately at the College, the only four Cards of Honour awarded were taken by members of the Society

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(1) Ibid., 23 May 1869.

(2) Journal, 6 September 1866.

(3) Brigade Journal, 15 August 1869.

(4) Ibid., 6 February 1870.

(5) Ibid., 10 March 1872.

(6) Ibid., 15 August 1869 and 20 November 1870.

(7) Ibid., 5 December 1869.

of the Sacred Heart (1). Two months earlier, after similar academic successes, Fr. Harris had noted:

The triumph of the little Society is great. (2)

By the end of the calendar year 1870 the Society of the Sacred Heart was well rooted in the College. Though still a small organization its strength was soon to be tested and not found wanting in helping to smooth the troubled academic life of the College.

Fr. Harris, his staff and superiors 1866-1873

During his first five years as Prefect of Studies Fr. Harris was plagued with difficulties not of his own making. Initial problems were not with the Jesuit community but with a lay master called Walsh who had been employed at some stage before 1866 to teach boys of the Fifth Class (3).

The first indication that something was amiss came in mid-September 1866 when Fr. Harris recorded Walsh as being absent. Two months of problems were to follow. On the first occasion:

Great confusion was caused by the absence of Mr. Walsh. The Fifth class had to be packed into the Third class to the great inconvenience of Masters and Boys. (4)

The upheaval that this joining of classes caused can be appreciated from Table X overleaf:

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(1) Journal, 15 November 1870.

(2) Ibid., 13 September 1870.

(3) Mr. Walsh is the first lay master recorded at the College.

(4) Journal, 17 September 1866.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN THE CLASSES AT  
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 9 OCTOBER 1866 (1)

First	17
Second	30
Third	39
Fourth	31
Fifth	24
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Total	141
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On this occasion some sixty boys had to be "packed" into a single room. Normality was restored the next day when "Mr. Walsh returned to his duties".

The same thing was to happen again three weeks later:

The difficulties always occasioned by the absence of a Master were today augmented by another dereliction from duty on the part of Mr. Walsh, who did not appear at the College until 2 p.m. (2)

Large numbers of boys could not continue to be crowded into limited space for hours at a time. As a result of this:

Fr. Prefect was compelled to allow half an hour's extra play at eleven o'clock. It is to be feared that these miseries will react upon the College. (3)

Walsh's conduct was rapidly reducing the College to chaos. Two days later he was again absent:

.....and this time without sending any note. Fr. Prefect had to give the Fifth Class. Consequently, many things went wrong and there was confusion. (4)

Such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue.

The Rector of the College, Fr. George Porter, now had to

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(1) Ibid., 9 October 1866.

(2) Ibid., 3 October 1866.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., 5 October 1866.

step in and use his authority. When on the following day Walsh was again absent:

Fr. Rector went to see him. Interview not satisfactory, so he gave Mr. Walsh warning. (1)

For two weeks all went well, but the problem soon recurred:

Mr. Walsh absent all day; consequently, the Fifth Class were drafted into Mr. McDonnell's school to his great annoyance and the total ruin of all order. (2)

No further mention of Walsh is made until mid-November, when at last Fr. Harris could write:

Mr. Walsh, the secular master, receives his dismissal. (3)

The event was of sufficient significance for the Minister of the College also to note in his Diary:

Mr. Walsh's 'connection' with the College finally broken (4). The Fifth Class was now taken over by a young scholastic, Ignatius Horn, who had arrived from Stonyhurst the previous day (5). Sadly, Walsh's conduct seems to have soured the Jesuit community against the future employment of lay people at St. Francis Xavier's College. In his first report on progress at the College, Fr. Harris was to inform his fellow-Jesuits in the English Province:

There are now no secular masters. (6)

Nor were there to be any for another twenty-four years, until the arrival of a Mrs. Atherton in 1889 to conduct the Preparatory Class.

In his relations with the Jesuit staff, Fr. Harris met three problems. First, he had difficulty in obtaining staff, especially in his first few years; then, those staff,

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(1) Ibid., 6 October 1866.

(2) Ibid., 17 October 1866.

(3) Ibid., 15 November 1866.

(4) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 15 November 1866, APA, 6/4/3/6.

(5) Journal, 14 November 1866. Cf. p.181 of the present study.

(6) Letters and Notices, IV, p.36.

once secured, often arrived late in the new school year; and the quality of the men sent was not always of the highest order. These three problems in turn did not make for easy relations between Fr. Harris and his Superiors.

During his early years at Liverpool, Fr. Harris's problems concerning Jesuit staff do not seem to have been considered with the greatest urgency either by Fr. George Porter or by the Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld. Though there was satisfaction within the Province that St. Francis Xavier's College was rapidly developing numerically, actual support through a timely supply of manpower seems to have been lacking. On the opening day of the academic year 1867-1868, Fr. Harris recorded:

The classes are only temporarily formed. These are five in number: but we shall never get on without six. And it is to be hoped that Fr. Provincial will not refuse to send us another master. (1)

Such apparent neglect by his Superiors was a source of irritation to Fr. Harris, who felt his good work could easily be undone by inadequate forward planning. Besides a new master for the Sixth Class, a replacement teacher was needed to take the place of Mr. Everard, who was due to leave the College to commence his theological studies. Five days into the new term, Fr. Harris wrote:

Today I form the Schools as well as I can. We are labouring under the same difficulty as we were last year; namely, want of a sufficient number of Masters. Even though the Master could successfully teach such large schools, that would at least suppose the boys to be tolerably nearly of same force. It is not the case, and therefore so long as this system goes on we must work at a disadvantage - and although the numbers are going up slowly now, we must look for a reverse before long. (2)

Part of the problem in the supply of scholastics lay

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(1) Journal, 1 August 1867.

(2) Ibid., 5 August 1867.

at the main source, Stonyhurst. There the academic year did not finish until the end of July, whereas at Liverpool, where a four-term year operated, the school year began on 1 August or thereabouts. For some years it seems to have proved impossible to solve the problem. Scholastics needed some break after leaving one post and before taking up another, and often a Retreat had to be fitted in as well. No allowance for this seems to have been made either by the Provincial, or by the Rectors at Stonyhurst and Liverpool.

Fr. Harris's problems at the beginning of the school year 1867-1868 began to be resolved only at the end of the first month of the first term. By the end of the third week of term, Fr. Harris noted once again:

Our prospects this year are darkened by the non-arrival of the Masters. (1)

He had to wait nearly another week before he could record, in a feeling of total frustration with his superiors:

Mr. New, Master for the Fifth Class (2) arrived today. It appears that he has been waiting for orders, having finished his retreat some days. He would not have come now had I not written about it. One would suppose that if a man is put into retreat before the time in order that he may go to a certain place where his services are much wanted, it would not require fresh orders at the end of the said retreat. (3)

In the meantime Mr. Everard was still waiting to leave to continue his own studies, and having to teach a class which would soon have to be disrupted once again when his replacement arrived. The waiting dragged on for another two weeks before the Prefect of Studies could write:

Mr. Head, destined to succeed Mr. Everard, arrived today nearly six weeks after opening. (4)

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(1) Ibid., 24 August 1867.

(2) The Sixth Class was evidently given to one of the existing members of staff.

(3) Journal, 29 August 1867.

(4) Ibid., 10 September 1867.



However furious he may have felt at such a state of affairs, Fr. Harris could still write calmly and fairly:

Mr. Everard has given his last class today: he goes to St. Beuno's to his Theology. This is, of course, a blessing to him -- he has been true and faithful here and I am very sorry to lose him. (1)

The same sentiments could not be expressed by Fr. Harris about all his staff. Early in his period as Rector, Fr. George Porter appears to have asked Fr. Weld, the Provincial, to send him any "scholastici dyscoli" or "difficult" scholastics he might have in the Province, assuring him that under his own firm discipline (and presumably that of Fr. Harris) he could guarantee their prompt reform (2). In this he overestimated his capabilities, for the behaviour of some of the scholastics was to have an adverse effect on the College.

One of the scholastics, Alexander Macdonnell, proved a particularly difficult master. He had been born Alexander Vermeulen in Portsmouth in 1840, but while a boy at Stonyhurst had changed his name to Macdonnell, disliking his own foreign name. Having entered the Society on leaving Stonyhurst, he had pursued his Philosophy studies in the seminary there and had taught for two years at St. Aloysius' College, Glasgow, before arriving at St. Francis Xavier's in 1865, nine months after Fr. George Porter's appointment as Rector there (3).

In the first week of the academic year 1867-1868, at the time when Fr. Harris was already having grave problems

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(1) *Ibid.*, 11 September 1867.

(2) Letters and Notices, 21, p.237.

(3) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.208. The Register suggests that he may have taken his mother's maiden name.

owing to the non-arrival of scholastics, Mr. Macdonnell fell ill:

.....at which no-one can be surprised, considering his excitable temperament and that besides teaching his class he gave three hours forty minutes to the Guilds (1) last night. Meanwhile I have 52 boys left without a master. Fr. Hawett kind enough to supply. Great confusion in the Fourth Class - and no wonder. (2)

The following day Mr. Macdonnell was back at his post, which was as well:

.....for parents have already complained of yesterday's work. (3)

Six months later Macdonnell fell ill again, and a supply teacher had to be sent from Stonyhurst (4). No sooner had he recovered than he fell ill once more:

Mr. McDonnell (sic) ill again today; and likely to be knocked up for a few days. The repeated illnesses of this gentleman are very inconvenient, the more so as they are not brought on by any work or success in his school which might counterbalance the bad effects of these frequent breakdowns. (5)

During his absence Fr. Harris was obliged to take Mr. Macdonnell's class and found the standard of work lamentable. When the master had recovered, Fr. Harris found time to write:

Mr. McDonnell returned to his School today; at which the boys were not a little pleased, my strictness as regards themes and lessons not being to their liking. (6)

To his horror the Prefect of Studies had found homework unmarked together with all the problems such neglect can produce:

The experience I have gained...in these few days fully justifies the assertion I have so often made that the success of this College depends greatly upon the due examination

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(1) The "guilds" referred to were apparently various religious confraternities in St. Francis Xavier's parish.

(2) Journal, 7 August 1867.

(3) Ibid., 8 August 1867.

(4) Diary of Fr. Walter Clifford, 8 February 1868, APA, 6/4/3/6.

(5) Journal, 23 April 1868.

(6) Ibid., 29 April 1868.

and correction of night work by the Masters. When this is wanting, the work done at home is of so slovenly a character as to be the cause of great harm instead of Good. The children contract a habit of bad spelling, of bad writing, and bad grammar. This added to their natural inattention during Schools is the reason why so many of our boys make so little progress. It is neither the number of scholars nor the fault of the parents. These can only see that their children seem to work. The examination and correction is our affair, not theirs. (1)

After this incident nothing more is recorded of Mr. Macdonnell. He remained teaching at the College for another eighteen months before commencing his theological studies at St. Beuno's (2).

During the course of 1868 Fr. Harris remarked that in the College he found

a rather loose state of discipline in some of the Schools. (3)

By the beginning of the academic year 1869-1870 Fr. Harris felt the troubles of the past few years were probably behind him. Writing in his Journal on the re-opening day in August 1869 he noted:

From what I can see from the temper of Ours and the boys, I have much better hopes than I had this day last year. We have paid the penalty of disunion -- and I trust that something may be done to disarm opposition outside. If anything can stimulate us, surely the desire of upholding the Society's credit and of the welfare of the many excellent children who might be ours should do it. (4)

Trouble was only just below the surface. During the autumn term of 1869 a young scholastic, Henry Gillett, three times asked to be relieved of his class because of the indiscipline

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Macdonnell was ordained in 1873 and worked as a missionary in Preston and Glasgow. In 1880 he applied to the Jesuit General for permission to leave the Society. Recognizing him to be an exceedingly difficult man, the General dismissed him. See Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.208 and letter of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. E. Purbrick, English Provincial, 29 May 1880 in APA, Epist.Gen.1873-1884, f.223.

(3) Journal, 26 February 1868.

(4) Ibid., 1 August 1869.

he found in it. Eventually his request was acceded to (1) and the Third Class was taken over by another scholastic, Richard Edgecombe, who arrived at the College on 12 December 1869.

Matters did not improve under the new master, and Fr. Harris was totally unaware of the continuing problems as he was busily engaged in arithmetical examinations and in preparations for the Christmas Exhibition. Early in the New Year of 1870, Mr. Edgecombe one day left his classroom for a few moments and total uproar ensued:

.....conduct very different to what upon such occasions we have seen and admired for the last four years here. (2)

Once he became aware of the situation, Fr. Harris acted very swiftly:

At first the boys tergiversated, not to say lied: but since, they have made amends by a very ample avowal of their faults. (3)

What the Prefect of Studies said to the class is not recorded, but in Fr. Harris's words:

.....so to speak, 'They have tasted blood', and I do not know how easy or how soon it will be possible to get them back to their normal state. Notwithstanding my threats and exhortations, they are not yet in a manageable state. All open opposition to discipline has ceased, but talking, trying to do the Master at every possible conjuncture, note-sending, signs etc., are still the go. (4)

Fr. Harris seems to have appreciated the situation was not solely of the boys' own making and that the inexperience of two masters had been a considerable contributory factor.

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(1) Henry Gillett left St. Francis Xavier's College in December 1869 and was sent to work in Jamaica until 1873. After ordination in 1875 he worked on the Honduras Mission until 1896. When the latter Mission was transferred to the Missouri Province in that year, he was sent on the Zambesi Mission and died in Salisbury, Rhodesia, in 1911. See Province Register APA, 14/2/6, f.250.

(2) Journal, 7 January 1870.

(3) Ibid., 11 January 1870.

(4) Ibid.

Nevertheless, such misconduct, doubtless reminiscent of the disorders fifteen years earlier at the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix in Namur, had never before been seen in Fr. Harris's time in Liverpool. There seems little doubt that Mr. Edgecombe was warned of the peril. As Fr. Harris noted in his Journal:

One thing is certain; any weakness on our part will never do. One or two false steps upon the Master's part will be his ruin -- and any swerving from stern and uncompromising justice on mine will materially endanger my own authority.(1)

More than anyone, Fr. Harris with his Belgian experience realized the danger to the whole College if matters were not watched very closely:

The affair is comparatively a small one at present: it will be a bad one for the College if we are not careful. Thought and prayer must be resorted to. From all this we may see how necessary it is for the Masters to remain within the limits of their duty -- and not to make promises to the boys which they may find it difficult to perform: and how a fine school from too much temporizing and indulgence may gradually fall until it is on a fair way to complete demoralization.... As the College grows larger, such experiments become more dangerous. (2)

Further complaints about the conduct and application of the boys of the Third Class obliged Fr. Harris to ask the Rector for another change of master. This request was acceded to:

Mr. Edgecombe, being fresh at his matter and totally inexperienced in the government of a school, is necessarily placed in great difficulty. Fr. Rector has kindly granted my request, so that from Monday next Mr. de la Pasture will take the Third Class and Mr. Edgecombe the Eighth Class. (3)

After this adjustment no further reports of misconduct by the boys or problems experienced by the masters are recorded in the Journal. An anonymous Jesuit, writing in Letters and Notices in 1911, could state of this period at

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., 12 February 1870.

### St. Francis Xavier's College:

The presence of several Scholastics in the College, who had lost the spirit of their vocation, was well nigh disastrous, and but for the zeal and skilful management of Fr. Harris, the College might have drifted into something like ruin. Side by side, however, with this troublesome element, there were other Scholastics who were an honour to the College and whose example helped to uphold its reputation: to old Xaverians, the names of MM. Paul Rochford, Hugh Ryan and others, will recur as deserving to be recorded in letters of gold. (1)

How far this statement is true and accurate and to what extent there were difficulties apart from those already mentioned is impossible to say. What is certain is that a combination of inexperience and lack of discipline amongst some of the scholastics sent to the College in the first five years of Fr. George Porter's rectorate led to serious problems within the school. Another striking point is the number of these scholastics who left the Society of Jesus. In the period from the foundation of the College in 1842 until 1865, only one of the twenty-seven Jesuits who taught at St. Francis Xavier's left the Society (2). Of the twelve scholastics who came to teach at the College between 1865 and 1869, three had left the Society by 1873, another by 1875 and a fifth by 1880 (3). The matter was so serious that the Jesuit General wrote to the English Provincial three times in 1873 expressing his concern and recommending that separate Recreation rooms be provided at St. Francis Xavier's Presbytery for priests and scholastics. He stated that reports received from Liverpool gave him the strong

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(1) Letters and Notices, 31, p.238.

(2) See Appendix VI (iv).

(3) Ibid. The un-named writer in Letters and Notices claims that five scholastics at the College lost their vocation in 1870-1871, and a sixth at a later period. The numbers are accurate, but their departure from the Society was not as rapid as the writer claims; see Letters and Notices, 31, p.237.

impression that vocations had been wrecked because of undue friction in the community (1). It can be claimed that Fr. George Porter's experiment to reform the "scholastici dyscoli" of the Province was not successful and was conducted at the expense of the smooth running of the College.

Fr. George Porter was to leave Liverpool in September 1871 on his appointment as Minister of the Jesuit community at Farm Street, London (2). He was succeeded as Rector at St. Francis Xavier's by his brother, Fr. Thomas Porter (1828-1888), the future Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica (3). Fr. Thomas, like his brother, had been educated at Stonyhurst where he had graduated with a London B.A. His teaching experience at Stonyhurst and at a Jesuit college in Malta (1853-1857), followed by a variety of parish work in Liverpool, Preston, and Manchester, where he had just built the new church of the Holy Name, made him particularly well qualified to lead the College as Rector (4).

The arrival of the new Rector also saw the departure of Fr. Walter Clifford as Minister, and his replacement by Fr. Francis Clough who had been Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College from 1861-1864, and had just completed four years as Rector of Beaumont. Fr. Clough was renowned for his quiet manner of making people feel at ease (5), and it is not surprising to find that during his time at

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(1) Beckx to Fr. Robert Whitty, English Provincial, 5 March, 2 May and 17 May 1873, APA, Epist.Gen. 1853-1873.

(2) He was subsequently Novice Master at Roehampton (1873-1879) and twice summoned to Rome in the period 1877-1879 on the question of the relations between Bishops and the Regular clergy, prior to the promulgation of Romanos Pontifices in 1880. In 1887 he was appointed Archbishop of Bombay and died in India two years later. See Letters and Notices, 20, p.121.

(3) He was appointed Vicar Apostolic in 1877.

(4) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.262.

(5) Letters and Notices, 21, pp.133-136.

Liverpool:

.....by his kind and gentle ways he succeeded in making the College staff feel thoroughly happy. (1)

For a time the troubles of the late 1860s were soon smoothed over and the life of the College returned to greater stability.

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(1) Ibid., 31, p.239.



CHAPTER SIXCURRICULUM, CHANGE AND CRITICISM 1865-1873The daily "ordo"

The daily routine or "ordo" (1) of College life which had existed in the 1850s and early 1860s was maintained, with some modifications, after Fr. Harris's arrival in 1865. After Mass, celebrated for boys living within a one-mile radius of St. Francis Xavier's, the school day proper ran from 9 a.m. until 4 p.m. on Mondays to Saturdays, with pupils released from schools on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at 1 p.m. (2). The day began with an Assembly in the Academy Room and the reading of announcements to the boys from the Notice Book. From 9.10 a.m., classes started, their length varying according to the level of the "school" or class, as indicted in Table XIII, p.235. Fifteen minutes' break was allowed from 10.45-11.00 (3) and lunch break lasted from 1-2 p.m. From 1856 until the opening of the new College building in 1877, boys hardy enough to take lunch on the premises were obliged to use an underground room for their meal.

Some detail survives of how recreation time was employed. In 1867 masters on duty in the playground were instructed not to join the boys in play during ordinary recreations.

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(1) The word "ordo" is much used in logbooks of Jesuit Prefects of Studies. If the day's routine had been conducted without special departure from routine, the entry for that particular day would be prefaced in the log with the words "Ordo de more", or simply "de more".

(2) From February, 1873 the two half-days were replaced by a full weekly holiday on Thursdays.

(3) Journal, 27 August 1869.

They were to be careful to keep a close eye on their charges:

The Scholars are not to be allowed to loiter about the playground, nor to stand in little groups talking. They must be playing at some game. In those games in which touching is requisite, the boys are to be satisfied with touching. They are not to catch their fellow-scholars roughly by their arms, tear their clothes, etc. (1)

Such close surveillance was not peculiar to St. Francis Xavier's College but was common in the continental Jesuit colleges of the period. The aim was to make boys join in games co-operatively and, as a result, to avoid the possibility of "particular friendships" developing between boys who were left unsupervised, loitering in the playground. By fostering competition in games during recreation time it was hoped to form manly temperaments among the pupils.

Each afternoon from 2 p.m. there were normally three lessons, the last ending at 4 p.m. Boys were expected to arrive for all classes equipped with the correct books. They were not, however, to bring anything other than what was prescribed, as Fr. Harris made clear in an announcement to the entire College in 1867:

No book whatever except the ordinary School book is to be brought into the College without my express permission: all others will be confiscated. (2)

In the strictness of all these regulations concerning books, conduct in the playground and surveillance at night studies, Fr. Harris had stamped upon the College a peculiarly continental character. At Namur, as indeed in many colleges and schools on the continent, surveillance was (and to a large measure still is) given great emphasis. It is certainly interesting to compare the regime in existence at St. Francis Xavier's College in the late 1860s with that

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(1) Ibid., 31 December 1867.

(2) Notice Book, 5 November 1868.

in force at the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix. An examination of a prospectus for that college published in English in The Tablet in 1847, together with the Rules for Day Boys of 1867, both reproduced in Appendix X, shows that the similarities were many.

#### The development of the curriculum 1868-1870

From Fr. Harris's arrival in Liverpool in October 1865 until December 1867 little or no improvement in the curriculum seems to have taken place. It will be recalled that at the end of 1867 Fr. George Porter decided to intervene to regulate the excessive use of corporal punishment. The opportunity was also taken to summon all the masters so as to request a thorough examination of all the studies at the College. As a result of the Rector's insistence a detailed plan of studies or syllabus for the following term was drawn up by Fr. Harris. It would appear to be the earliest surviving syllabus drawn up for the College.

Shortly after beginning his Journal in 1866, Harris had written that thereafter there would be five classes in the College. He hoped

.....that by the exertions of the Professors that before the end of the said year those schools will deserve their title: Higher, Middle and Lower Grammar 1st and 2nd divisions, and Preparatory. (1)

A comparison of the syllabus for the Lent term 1868, overleaf, with the outline of studies suggested in the revised Ratio Studiorum of 1832 indicates that studies at St. Francis Xavier's in that year were probably at least two

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(1) Journal, 1 August 1866.

years below the recommended standard. According to the prescriptions of the Ratio, boys in the Middle Class of Grammar (that is, the Third Class at Liverpool) ought to have been studying Cicero's letters Ad Familiares, the easiest poems of Ovid in Greek, Aesop's fables, the Tabula of Cebes and an expurgated selection of the Dialogues from Lucian (1). Even allowing that it is only the programme of studies for a single term, the 1868 syllabus suggests that the level of studies was still inferior.

TABLE XI

GENERAL SYLLABUS FOR THE LENT TERM 1868 (2)

First Class: Ad lib. Rev. Fr. Sidgreaves.

Second Class:

Ovid: beginning at 4th fable) 230 lines in all  
 Caesar: Book III Ch. 8 ) divided ad lib. Mag.  
 Greek grammar: comparison of adjectives & contracted verbs.  
 Xenophon: Anabasis 76 lines.  
 Eton Grammar: beginning with 230 lines.  
 Geography: Principal rivers, towns, mountains in Europe.  
 History: questions.

Third Class:

Nepos: Milliades, ab initio, 112 lines.  
 Latin grammar: from Rule 61 to Rule 99.  
 French: about 38 verbs.  
 Spelling: para.7, Expos. equio: words Angle p.30  
 -- line p.32.  
 Geography: France and Capitals of the World.  
 History: Questions.  
 Greek: Three Declensions. For honours, extra Greek.

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(1) Ratio, "Regulae Professoris Mediae Classis Grammaticae", 1.  
 (2) Facsimile of Journal entry 31 December 1867. The syllabus applied only to the High School and not to the Middle School.

Fourth Class:

Phaedrus fabula: 76 lines easier fables.  
 Latin grammar: Syntax ab init. 114 lines.  
 Spelling: para. 7, as in 3rd Class.  
 English grammar: formation of plural nouns & irregular verbs, in all 64.  
 French: alm (?) para.20 = 230 lines. 6 per day.  
 Rest as before,

Fifth Class:

Latin grammar: begin with Pronouns then proceed to tenses of verbs, in all 84.  
 English grammar: Syntax with exercises. 14 rules.  
 Spelling: p.18. = 38 paragraphs.  
 Catechism: every day.  
 Geography: Capitals, chief rivers of Europe.  
 History: As in other classes.

Sixth Class (Preparatory School):

Spelling: begin p.25. 38 columns.  
 Grammar: p.39. Conjugate 112 verbs.  
 Catechism: p.29. About 12 lines a day = 456.  
 Tables:

1 line a day from Reading book to be thoroughly parsed.

In all classes certain times should be taken for declamation and general questions.

In the Michaelmas term of 1867, it will be recalled, the complaints of the father of one of the boys had led Fr. Harris to take positive action to improve the situation: a special monthly card for arithmetic had been incorporated into the 'Note' system and Harris had personally undertaken the correction of arithmetical themes (1). Fr. George Porter's reforms at the end of 1867 demanded a thorough revision of the arithmetic syllabus and the drawing up of

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(1) Journal, 7 December 1867 and 31 December 1867.

a new general syllabus for the entire College. The arithmetic syllabus, like the General syllabus, appears to have been discussed and worked out at, or immediately after, the meeting with the Rector. Certainly, it was compiled with despatch, as Fr. Harris was able to enter in his Journal on the same day the details outlined in the following manner:

TABLE XII

'ARITHMETIC' SYLLABUS FOR THE LENT TERM 1868 (1)

First Class	As usual - these boys being selected.
Second Class	Fractions. Proportion (Compound). Unitary system (4 & 5 factors). Principal Commercial rules. Interest, Notions of Geometry and Algebra.
Third Class	Unitary system. Compound Proportion. Fractions vulgar & decimal. Mental arithmetic.
Fourth Class	Unitary system (easy). Simple proportion. Reduction. Notions of fractions.
Fifth Class	Addition of money to end of Division of Money with Reduction.
Sixth Class	Numeration and four fundamental rules.

As soon as the new term began, and before the new syllabus was introduced, a special examination was given in arithmetic in all the classes, except the First. The results were so disastrous that Fr. Harris was obliged to apportion blame where he felt it belonged:

This speaks badly for the Masters. I am sure that they do not prepare their schools with sufficient care. I find, however, that my repeated representations only do myself harm; ergo silence. (2)

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(1) Ibid., 31 December 1867.

(2) Ibid., 7 January 1868.

Fr. Harris's fears were eventually to be allayed. After two and a half years of effort from the masters, the standard of arithmetic had been raised sufficiently for the special monthly card system for that subject to be absorbed into the general 'Note' and card system (1).

The new general syllabus had the clear advantage of laying down precisely what ought to be studied in a given class in the Prefect of Studies' opinion rather than in the individual master's view. Whilst strengthening the Prefect's position in the College, it also gave him added responsibility and assumed that he was familiar with what ought to be taught. It did, at least, remove some of the problems which had arisen in the past when masters had been able to introduce new books to their classes without consulting Fr. Harris, sometimes with alarming results. In 1867, for example, Fr. Harris noted that Mr. Alexander Macdonnell had introduced the Eton Latin Grammar into the Third Class, apparently against the wish of the Prefect of Studies (2). Within a matter of days Macdonnell ran into difficulties with a parent, and Fr. Harris had to intervene to save the situation:

Mrs. Clements wrote complaining that her poor child Henry cannot learn the Eton Latin Grammar. Mr. McDonnell (sic) had given it to him against my wish; I have taken it away again. (3)

Parental criticism of and influence on the curriculum at St. Francis Xavier's College grew in the late 1860s. At first Fr. Harris tried to rebuff criticisms, pointing to the alternative which was available at St. Francis

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(1) Ibid., 13 September 1870.

(2) Ibid., 5 January 1867.

(3) Ibid., 9 January 1867.

Xavier's if parents did not agree with what was being offered in the main part of the College. Speaking at a Proclamation ceremony in March 1869 Harris defended the study of Classics as being an integral part of a liberal education. He went on to inform parents:

.....(if) neither the boy's talents, nor his parents' circumstances, nor the time he is to remain at school give any hope of classical study doing him the least good, let me ask you not to forget that our Middle School has been established with the view of giving a thorough English Education. (1)

By the end of the same calendar year he was unable to stem the rising tide of parental criticism of the College's emphasis on Classics in the High School. On Christmas Eve 1869 he had to confess in his Journal:

At least twenty-nine families have complained lately of what they deem an excess of Classical study and it may be that they withdraw their children. On the other hand, Fr. Rector has kindly looked into matters and re-arranged the course - so that a new impetus may be given and the falling-off averted. (2)

Fr. George Porter's second intervention in two years into the arrangement of the College curriculum was bringing Fr. Harris's true abilities as a Director or Prefect of Studies increasingly into question. The Ratio urged that the Rector of a college should take a close interest in the curriculum being offered, but Fr. Harris's confession in his Journal gives the impression that he was beginning to rely increasingly on the guidance of the Rector, certainly as far as organization of the Classics syllabus was concerned. His personal lack of real grounding in the subject as a boy in London was now setting him increasingly at a disadvantage in the face of mounting criticism.

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(1) Notice Book, 18 March 1869.

(2) Journal, 24 December 1869.



On 2 January 1870 the entire College staff was again summoned for what Fr. Harris termed a 'consultation' with the Rector. As a result of this important meeting, some of Fr. Harris's powers and duties as Prefect of Studies were transferred by order of the Rector to Mr. John Ryan, a scholastic, and master of the First Class, or "Head Master" as he was called (1). Without actually spelling out matters, Fr. George Porter was, in fact, nominating Mr. Ryan as the effective Prefect of Studies and leaving Fr. Harris to see the day-to-day administration of the College. This was the beginning of a slow five-year transitional period at the end of which Fr. Harris was to emerge as Administrator or "Prefect-General" of the College rather than Prefect of Studies.

Various matters were settled at the consultation. It was first decided that all afternoon schools in all classes should thereafter be devoted principally to English. This shift in emphasis was to apply most especially to the four lower classes. Next, a new timetable was to be drawn up by the Head Master and was to be sanctioned by Fr. Harris and approved by the Rector. It was to cover all subjects and was to be inviolable. During its construction Mr. Ryan was to keep Fr. Harris fully informed of every change which he proposed. In addition, more English and less Latin and French were to be given in the lower classes. Finally, the boys were to be made to learn their material thoroughly by constant repetition (2). According to Fr. Harris:

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(1) Ibid., 2 January 1870.

(2) Ibid.

Many other practical hints were given in this useful consultation, the effects of which will be seen later, I am sure, in the success of the College. (1)

The general syllabus of 1868 had been drawn up rapidly as a result of Fr. Porter's intervention in College affairs. With equal rapidity Mr. Ryan drew up the new timetable, which Fr. Harris described at once as "an admirable Ordo" (2). This timetable, unfortunately, does not survive but the timetable for the Michaelmas term, 1870, reproduced in Table XIII overleaf, drawn up six months after the consultation, very probably by Ryan, indicates clearly the development which had taken place in the curriculum.

If the programme of studies drawn up at St. Francis Xavier's in 1868 did not meet the standards recommended by the Ratio Studiorum, the new timetable for Michaelmas term, 1870 did correspond remarkably closely to the guidelines offered in the revised Ratio of 1832. The directives in the Ratio for the timetable of the "Highest Class of Grammar", called "Syntax" at Liverpool, or the "Second Class", are, in summary form, as follows:

- a) the first two hours of the morning to be devoted to the study of Greek or Latin;
- b) the next half-hour to be given to the vernacular language and "accessory subjects", such as History and Geography;
- c) the first hour of afternoon schools to be devoted to the study of a Latin author, or grammar, or a theme, and correction of work;
- d) the last half-hour to be devoted either to a Concertatio or to the vernacular language and "accessory subjects";

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

TABLE XIII

TIMETABLE FOR THE MICHAELMAS TERM 1870 (1)

1st Class Poetry	2nd Class Syntax	3rd Class Grammar	4th Class Rudiments	5th Class Figures	6th Class Elements I	7th Class Elements II	8th Class Preparatory
	9.15 Lat.A	9.10 Gk.Gr.	9.10 Gk.Gr.	9.10 Gk.Gr.	9.10 Lat.Gr.	9.10 Catechism	
	10.15 Gk.	9.30 Gk.A.	9.45 Caesar	9.30 Lat.Gr.	10. Fr.Gr.	9.45 Eng.Gr. Spelling	
	11. Arith.	10. Caesar	10.15 French	10.15 Fr.Gr.	11. A + W	I 10.15 Reading	
	12. Writing	11. A + W	11. A + W	11. A + W		B 11. A + W	
ad lib.	2. Themes	2. Themes	2. Themes	2. Themes	2. Eng.by heart.Dict. from Spelling book	I 2. Spelling	
Mag.	2.45 French	2.45 French	2.30 Spelling	2.25 Spelling		D 2.30 Tables	
	3.15 Reading	3.15 Hist.	3. Hist.	2.55 Reading	2.30 Spelling	3. Reading	
	Hist.Geog.	Speaking	3.30 Geog.	3.20 Geog.	3. Reading+Hist.	3.30 Dict.	
	Speaking, in turn.	Geog. in turn.			3.30 Geog.		

Notes: Friday - Compositions

In Grammar: Friday, 2 p.m. - Themes  
2.30 - Compositions  
3.00 - Geography

Saturday - Bell rings at 3.15 for Christian Doctrine.

(1) Extracted from Journal, 1 August 1870. At the beginning of the academic year 1869-1870 two new classes, the Seventh and Eighth, were instituted, owing to the increase in the number of pupils. See Journal, 29 October 1869.

e) The last half-hour on Saturdays to be devoted to the explanation of the catechism. (1)

A comparison of these recommendations with the timetable for the Michaelmas term, 1870 for the Second Class at St. Francis Xavier's College reveals a very close adherence to the Ratio. A similar analysis of the timetables for the classes of Grammar and Rudiments, the Third and Fourth Classes at Liverpool, reveals a similar pattern (2). There can be no doubt that the revised Ratio of 1832 was the chief source of inspiration in the compilation of the timetable at the College.

The new timetable with its increased emphasis on the study of English was totally in line with the spirit of the Ratio of 1832. Its implementation was a victory for the parents of the boys. Having seen the results of their pressure on Fr. Harris to change the syllabus, they continued to push further. Complaints poured in to the College for nine months after the introduction of the new timetable. The objection was not that the changes were too drastic, but that they were not drastic enough. By mid-September 1870 Fr. Harris was forced to take stock of the situation and draw up a catalogue raisonné of complaints or, as he termed it, "an abstract of many complaints of parents other than 'grumblers' ". The catalogue is long, but worthy of being quoted in full, giving as it does a rare insight into the views of parents on the running of the College:

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(1) Ratio, "Regulae Professoris Supremae Classis Grammaticae", 2. The Ratio envisaged two and a half hours classes in the afternoon, the second hour being devoted to the study of a Latin or Greek author on alternate days, and the dictation of a theme. This recommendation had to be dropped at St. Francis Xavier's as the afternoon lasted only from two till four o'clock.

(2) See Ratio, "Regulae Professoris Mediae Classis Grammaticae", 2 and "Regulae Professoris Infimae Classis Grammaticae", 2.

Ever since the beginning of the year I have been worried to death by very many parents who complain:

1. that their children are obliged to learn Greek;
2. that too much Latin is crammed into them;
3. that the Latin is so rewarded and the Masters so earnest about it that the children are enticed or compelled to forego almost all other study at night;
4. that themes are written so scandalously as to become a positive obstacle to progress in writing;
5. that the said parents do not wish so much classical study, and that not understanding those studies they can in no way enter into the spirit of their children's studies;
6. that the boys themselves will not keep to the work, but prefer to read story-books, whereas parents think that if boys had more English and less Latin, that they would take more interest in the proper work of the College;
7. that some of the boys' fathers simply tell them to put the College books aside and to do arithmetic or something else useful - and to content themselves with the general routine of the College as a means at any rate of moral training;
8. that willing as said parents are to trust entirely the College authorities, still it is hard upon them, as they can only afford to keep their boys at the College for three or four years at the most, to be compelled to see their boys frittering away this time at an excess of work not wanted, whilst the real vital stuff, the means of bread and cheese hereafter seem neglected or at least are not pushed on as much as they might be;
9. that they had more (they, the parents) confidence when Fr. Harris examined and personally attended to the English Branches himself;
10. that the Middle School is too low for their boys and not taught by Jesuit Masters, whereas they wish their children to be taught by Jesuit Masters;
11. that this state of things keeps them, the parents uncomfortable and hinders many of their friends from sending their boys to us;
12. that it is very sad that the Catholic Institute should be in such a condition as almost to necessitate parents to send their children to us, and that if the clergy would open a school where discipline and piety would on the one hand be looked after as well as we look after it, and on the other the system of education be somewhat more according to Liverpool men's ideas, that school would rapidly fill. (1)

Fr. Harris now found himself in an impossible situation.

Mr. John Ryan's new position as de facto Prefect of

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(1) Journal, 16 September 1870.

Studies (1) made it difficult for Harris to initiate action to remedy parental grievances concerning the curriculum. Having only just curtailed Harris's powers, the Rector of the College would be loath to restore to him, however temporarily, powers to deal with such a crisis. Faced with this predicament, Fr. Harris saw two ways ahead open to him; work and prayer. In his Journal he noted that in the future he would have stronger recourse to both as "the two sovereign means of success"(2).

At that time Fr. George Porter was away from Liverpool on business. In his absence Fr. Harris determined to open a class of Night Studies, over which he intended to preside. By this new venture he hoped to remedy some of the ills afflicting the College and by placing the enterprise under Divine protection he hoped to lead the school from crisis to victory.

#### The Night Studies Class or "The Brigade" 1870-1873

The means of helping to bring about this success was the well tried method of emulation encouraged in the Ratio Studiorum but now applied in a novel way in a day school situation with the institution of a Night Studies class. Confiding his plans to his Journal, Fr. Harris wrote:

I can only accommodate about 40 boys. But I can pick out some who seem to study the least, mix them up with the better students and so form them to work. I can see at least they write their themes neatly and with cleanliness; that they do not neglect their Arithmetic and are careful of Spelling. The success of these boys may create emulation in the others,

(1) Ibid. The term "Prefect of Studies" is used by Fr. Harris himself, without any hint of sarcasm, privately in the Journal. It was not a term which was to be used in public of Mr. Ryan, who was simply known as the Head Master.  
 (2) Journal, 16 September 1870.

and so act upon the whole College. I have put the whole matter under the protection of the Sacred Heart and called the Night Students "the Brigade". That this exertion upon my part may do some good I hope; that it will remove the grievance, I dare not hope - for that lies in the system, at any rate as administered. I do believe that only a small modification is required; but it must be made by those in whom the parents have confidence, and must be made in such a manner as to convince them that the vital interests of their children are not damaged. (1)

Fr. Harris now seemed to be suggesting that despite his reduced authority he was one of the few people who could bring about some sort of change in the system. He still had considerable credibility with parents and it was now his duty to remedy a situation not entirely of his own making. For five years he had regularly bemoaned the fact that some masters did not prepare their lessons correctly, especially in arithmetic, did not correct themes, and did not insist on good handwriting.

Without revealing any of the internal problems of the College, Fr. Harris asked all his pupils to make a solemn Novena (2) to the Sacred Heart, "for success" (3). For whom the success was intended was not revealed either (4). In addition, he wrote to the children of various convents, to ask for their prayers (5). On his return to Liverpool, Fr. George Porter allowed the Night Studies class to continue, not as a right, but as a privilege (6).

The Night Studies class assembled for the first time on 16 September 1870, meeting in the Eighth Class school room

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(1) Ibid.

(2) A devotion involving a prayer said on nine consecutive days, asking for some special blessing.

(3) Journal, 21 September 1870.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. These convents would no doubt have included the two convent schools conducted by the Faithful Companions of Jesus at Great George's Square, Liverpool, and Tranmere Hall, Holt Hill, Birkenhead. At both of these schools Fr. Harris regularly gave Retreats.

(6) Journal, 1 October 1870.

for two hours from 6.15-8.15 p.m. The boys selected all came from within a one-mile radius of the College (1). For a whole term the group worked hard.

It will be recalled that in the middle of the Michaelmas term, 1870 the boys of the Society of the Sacred Heart had been particularly successful in their studies, the only four cards of honour awarded at the November Proclamation in 1870 being carried off by them (2). The careful, patient nurturing of the spiritual life of the members of the Society over the previous two years since the formal foundation of the group in 1868 was now beginning to bear fruit in academic progress. Confronted with a difficult situation in the College, Fr. Harris now called upon the Society for help in his latest venture. It was hoped that with solid support from the Society the new Brigade would flourish. Accordingly, at the Society's meeting on 20 November 1870, urgent action was taken. It was agreed that from that day forward

.....the President (of the Society of the Sacred Heart) shall be considered ex-officio a member of the Brigade, upon his promising to work two hours every night, Sundays and holidays excepted, and to be present at Holy Mass every day. (3)

It was further agreed

.....that this Society take under its special care the Brigade. (4)

As if to put the Society boys to the test in some small matter to gauge the state of their discipline, Fr. Harris, with the approval of the members of the Society, ordered at the same meeting that in future all the Society's officers

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(1) Ibid., 16 September 1870.

(2) Ibid., 15 November 1870.

(3) Brigade Journal, 20 November 1870.

(4) Ibid.



should wear their medals on Sundays. When, on the following Sunday, none of the officials arrived for the weekly meeting wearing their medals, it was proposed, seconded and carried that

if they so offended again they should be deprived of office and that the Society should proceed to new elections: and this not of course on account of the magnitude of the offence, but as an example of severity in order to put an end to the forgetfulness and thoughtlessness which mars our best efforts. (1)

As events turned out, Fr. Harris was not to be let down either by the members of the Society of the Sacred Heart or of the new Brigade. By Christmas 1870, the new "Brigade" boys, comprising members of the Society of the Sacred Heart and others, had worked so well that a high percentage of the Cards of Excellence awarded at the end of the term were carried off by them. Fr. Harris was now under fire from certain quarters but justified what had been achieved by the boys of the Society of the Sacred Heart:

.....even if it be true as some say that the pious boys work best, and that consequently the Society boys should succeed, it is not less true that hardly any of these boys showed signs of decided piety and strong work until they joined that Society. To the Adorable Heart of our Lord therefore all the glory and all the praise! (2)

Nor could real success of the Night Study boys as a whole, whether they belonged also to the Society of the Sacred Heart or not, be denied. They had acted as leaven in the College in the gloomy, lengthening days of the approaching winter:

To the satisfactory result obtained, the Night Study boys have powerfully contributed. They have come through all weathers. On the 20th October, the first day of the long list of absents, every one of these boys was present during the day and at night. (3)

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(1) Ibid., 27 November 1870.

(2) Journal, 20 December 1870.

(3) Ibid.

Some of the boys of the new Brigade in the first year of its existence cannot be said to have been angelic. While Fr. Harris was on the College premises there was never the slightest problem. But when in April 1871 he left the College for a short time to make a Retreat, he discovered on the day of his return that a few of the Brigade boys had arrived late for school that very morning and had behaved badly to one of the scholastics, Mr. Thomas Knowles. Such conduct was totally unacceptable from boys who were meant to lead the school by their example. It was announced to the College as a whole that the boys concerned had

.....the choice of leaving the Brigade at once or getting 18 ferulas. Boys who prefer the ferulas to come to Mr. New at once for their tickets. (1)

There is evidence that a number of the boys in the Night Study class were becoming more than a little conceited. Some masters complained of their misbehaviour in class and Fr. Harris noted that some did not pay attention to his orders. A few had been suspended from the Society of the Sacred Heart and a few others had formed "particular friendships". Some had been misbehaving when in line in the playground, others in the study-place itself, and there had been disorderly conduct from a few of them during Fr. Harris's absence at Stonyhurst (2). Accordingly, it was announced in mid-October 1871 that Night Studies as they had existed up to that time were to be abolished (3). The Brigade was to be re-formed and boys were to make personal application to Fr. Harris for membership between 2-3 p.m.

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(1) Notice Book, 26 April 1871.

(2) Ibid., 17 October 1871.

(3) Ibid.

on the day of the announcement (1). It had further been resolved by Fr. Harris:

That all boys who desire to be admitted be asked the following questions:

- a) whether content that their faults committed in the study-place be revealed by whoever notices them, such revelation being either private or public;
- b) whether they are resolved to study seriously;
- c) whether they give their most solemn promise to behave well in the said study-place and not to be guilty of violations of silence in the smallest degree; or of the slightest levity; or of noisy conduct with hands, feet, books, paper etc.; or of giving the slightest disedification in Class; or of forming over-particular attachments to other boys; or of loitering on the way home. And whether they promise to accept readily and without murmuring any punishment inflicted upon them for the commission of any of the above faults;
- d) whether delinquents, if called upon, are ready to ask pardon for their failings in the middle of the study-place. (2)

By the end of the afternoon following the announcement, thirty-two boys had applied to join the Brigade (3). The reformed Night Study class grew rapidly, and within less than two months the dividing wall between the classrooms had to be demolished to accommodate the group, which had now grown to fifty-four members (4).

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., 9 November 1871. The original Night Study place was the room marked "H" on the groundplan of the College, to be found on the plan between pages 104 and 105. The new enlarged room was created by the demolition of the wall between rooms "H" and "G", thus making one large room below the Academy Room. See also The Xaverian, July 1893, pp. 299-300.

The Brigade of the Sacred Heart 1871

Though resulting in academic successes, the initial inter-mingling of members of the Society of the Sacred Heart and non-Society boys in the Night Study class had proved unsettling for both groups. The re-organization of Night Studies in November 1871 was taken as an opportunity to amalgamate the two groups and weld them into a single body aiming for the highest standards both in spiritual and academic life. Of the fifty-four members of the original "Brigade", thirty-six were members of the Society of the Sacred Heart. The latter were seen as boys of special note:

.....they put up with many mortifications and hardships, and impose upon themselves many acts of self-denial utterly unknown to the other 18 members. (1)

The existing distinction was considered unfair by Fr. Harris who proposed radical reform to remedy the situation:

As the word 'Brigade' indicates a military Body and as this Brigade does profess to fight against the world, the flesh, and the Devil under the guidance of the Great General, Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and as all military companys (sic) are under absolute obedience to their General or his Lieutenant, and have no what is called representative system, so it seems good that this Brigade should have no such representative system in the nomination of officers, but that such nomination should be left to Our Lord through the Priest, who as Director takes his place for the time being. (2)

With this announcement came the end of an element of democracy and self-government which Harris had intended from the beginning.

Following Fr. Harris's declaration a number of motions were put forward and carried unanimously. It was first decided that the existing Society of the Sacred Heart should be renamed the "Brigade of the Sacred Heart of Jesus", and

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(1) Brigade Journal, 19 November 1871.

(2) Ibid.

that no scholar could be a member of the Brigade unless he attended the Brigade study-place and performed all the duties incumbent on the Brigade (1). Under the new organization boys who had not yet made their First Communion would be eligible for membership, but had to promise that once they had made their First Communion they would enter the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart. Finally, the hierarchy of officials as had existed in the Society of the Sacred Heart was to be re-created in the new Brigade of the Sacred Heart.

The rigid discipline of the old Society was to be maintained. Within a week of the foundation of the Brigade four members had lost their marks for good conduct

.....through impudent and babyish levity in their schools. The Director orders these boys to beg pardon on their knees. (2)

Whereas the promises made by members of the old Society had been straightforward, the new Brigade promises were much more military in tone. Every Brigade boy had to vow

.....to be true and constant at the Brigade meetings whether on Sundays or weekdays and not to ask to stay away from them under any pretence whatsoever, ill-health alone excepted. (3)

He was to be particularly watchful

.....to fight against temptations, especially in matters connected with holy purity; never to speak immodest words, and to endeavour to imitate angelic purity. And that this may be the more easily accomplished, further promise most seriously to read no bad or indifferent books; and to avoid any or all companions who may be loose upon such points. (4)

In applying his mind to the cultivation of the virtues of self-sacrifice and obedience he was to be

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 26 November 1871.

(3) Ibid., 2 January 1873.

(4) Ibid.

.....military, prompt, unstinting, obeying not only the command but the known wish of the Director. (1)

In the schoolroom he was to have one aim only:

.....to apply his mind to the best of his power to study and to strive hard to obtain the mark 'e' for conduct and application each week. (2)

As far as attending the Brigade study-place was concerned, he was to ensure that he was

.....punctual at the meetings and not to loiter on the way home at night, and even not to speak to any one on the way home, unless to near relations or his fellow scholars. (3)

Finally, he had to promise that he would

.....reveal to the Director any violation of these rules which he might notice; and that he would be content that his own defalcations be revealed by others; and that he and all might be ready at the voice of the Director to mutually aid (sic) each other in the public manifestation of defects (4): more serious matters however being reserved for the Director's private ear. (5)

Such extreme discipline, more to be expected, perhaps, in a Jesuit novitiate than in a college for lay students, was Harris's own creation. It formed no part of the official educational code of the Society of Jesus. As time went on it was to increase in severity.

From the time of the amalgamation of the Society of the Sacred Heart and the Night Study Brigade, in 1871, a number of "postulants" were allowed to attend Night Studies. Periodic reminders were given to these boys about what was expected of them. In 1873, for example, it was made clear that

(the) Rules of Night Study boys are nothing less than the duties implied in the promises of the Brigade boys. Only Night Study boys are not bound under promises. (6)

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Defects were to be made manifest publicly from time to time at the Sunday meetings of the Brigade.

(5) Brigade Journal, 2 January 1873.

(6) Ibid.

On the same occasion it was also made clear that

Night Study boys.....for the future will not be allowed to attend the meeting (of the Brigade) on the day upon which there shall be 'Manifestation of defects'. (1)

In 1870-1871 discipline had deteriorated as a result of the mingling of members of the Society of the Sacred Heart and non-members in the Night Study Place. It was determined in 1873, therefore, that Brigade boys should, as far as possible, separate from the non-Brigade boys both in the study-place and in church, so that a repetition of bad behaviour might be avoided (2).

In order to lessen the possibility of a clash between the two groups, Brigade members were given extra responsibilities following "a hint dropped by Fr. Rector" to Fr. Harris (3). If Fr. Harris had to absent himself from the study-place, it was decided that there should be no prefect on duty. The onus was placed on the Brigade to maintain law and order among themselves and the postulants:

The Brigade boys shall remember that they are specially bound by their promises, and that the postulants or mere Night Study boys shall be under the surveillance of the Brigade. (4)

The military self-discipline that Fr. Harris hoped to inculcate in the Brigade and Night Study boys was encouraged still further by a series of instructions issued at this time:

1) At the sound of the Bell for the end of Recreation all Brigade boys active or honorary shall place themselves in three separate lines parallel with the house No.4 (Salisbury Street), Poetry in the first line, Grammar in the second and Rudiments and any others in the third and, at the word 'Brigade', these shall file off, Poetry first, Grammar second and all others third, with military step.

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 12 January 1873.

(3) Ibid.; Fr. Thomas Porter was Rector at this time.

(4) Brigade Journal, 12 January 1873.

2) Let every Brigade boy who sees another Brigade boy doing wrong, charitably but firmly admonish him, and if he will not listen, let the admonisher acquaint the Director of the fact.

3) Every Brigade boy must clearly understand that his conduct when away from the College will be enquired into and judged by the Brigade. It is further declared that the few boys who are honorary members shall make and be bound to all the Brigade promises except those of studying at the College.

4) It is moreover declared that boys who have left the College and who were, while at the College, Brigade boys may continue to attend the Brigade Meeting upon the Sundays, subject to the following conditions, viz. that they shall renew their promises as regards Sunday meetings, purity, duties of State, honour of the Sacred Heart. (1)

### The activities of the Brigade

By 1873 the Brigade had developed its own elaborate ritual for admission of new members, comprising a preliminary exhortation from the Director and a set formula of words for the making of the First Promises. Every six months, at Christmas and after the short vacation at Midsummer, promises had to be renewed "to avoid....being forgotten"(2). Prior to renewing his promises, each member of the Brigade had to go to Confession on the day before, and receive Holy Communion on the day arranged for the renewal ceremony. Members were asked the same question individually by the Director:

N.N., do you freely, seriously and with intention to keep them, bind yourself to these promises for the next half scholastic year? (3)

The Renovant, holding a lighted taper in his left hand, and with his right hand raised, was to reply, "I do", to which the Director responded with the words "God give you grace" (4).

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 2 January 1873.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.



Boys in the Brigade were reminded constantly about the power of prayer and given reports by the Director, Fr. Harris, of the results of their prayers. Some examples of the intentions referred to in the Brigade Journal will give an idea of the scope of the cases prayed for: "refractory boys" (1); "for a person who fears to become a victim of insanity" (2); "for the conversion of a Lady to the Catholic faith" (3); "Our Novena, Our friends, Old Students, Refractory boys, the Holy League" (4); "Conversion of a gentleman and others from drink" (5); "two intentions particularly recommended by poor people, especially for a girl in danger of losing her situation, which is of great importance to her" (6); "that God may please to protect this College and not permit the ill-will or bad conduct of some to bring harm upon it" (7).

Besides the routine weekly prayers of the Brigade, special services were held on each Sunday in May and June to honour the Blessed Virgin and the Sacred Heart respectively (8). During services in June prayers were offered for the progress of the College. In 1873, for example, Brigade boys were asked to pray for three special intentions:

- a) that our Exhibition may succeed;
- b) that our College may be numerous next year with good boys;

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(1) Ibid., 7 January 1873.  
 (2) Ibid., 3 March 1872.  
 (3) Ibid.  
 (4) Ibid.  
 (5) Ibid., 14 April 1872.  
 (6) 22 September 1872.  
 (7) Ibid., 29 September 1872.  
 (8) Ibid., 4 May 1873.

c) that the Sacred Heart may be glorified in the College, especially by a large and fervent Brigade. (1)

Outside the strict confines of Brigade meetings, Brigade boys were also called upon to offer their services as altar servers in St. Francis Xavier's Church. Again they were subject to the strictest rules, with severe penalties if they failed to keep high standards. Any server failing to turn up for duty after his name had been put on the rota of altar servers (cases of illness excepted) was liable to suspension from the Brigade for one month. A similar penalty was imposed on any server "caught talking unnecessarily in the Sacristy" (2). Any boy who did not have "e" for application, and "a" for conduct was not allowed to serve Mass (3); and all servers had to bring their own white gloves and slippers if they were to be allowed into the sanctuary of the church (4).

#### The effects of the Brigade on the College

By the autumn of 1873, four and a half years after the founding of the Society of the Sacred Heart and two years after its amalgamation with the Night Study class, Fr. Harris could assess the progress of his organization. In September 1873 after the Monthly Proclamation, he was to analyse the success of the group in academic terms within the school. In the Brigade Journal he noted:

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(1) Ibid., 1 June 1873.  
 (2) Ibid., 2 January 1873.  
 (3) Ibid.  
 (4) Ibid.

The Brigade and Night Study boys together = 68. The non-Brigade and non-Night Study boys, deducting the Preparatory School and the 68 = 129. The number of testimonials granted today = 100, of which 59 fell to the Brigade and Night Study boys and 41 to the others. Brigade and Night Study boys 87%, non-Night Study boys 31%. Praise to the Sacred Heart for ever! (1)

A little over a month earlier he had drawn up an analytical table of the progress of the forty-seven Brigade boys who had left the College since the foundation of the Society of the Sacred Heart on 28 February 1869. The results were again noted carefully:

The table shows 31 of the Old Boys doing well, and 16 of whom we have no information. The result is that 66% of the Brigade boys who have left the College are doing well in my sense, i.e. as Christian boys: but as I have every reason to suppose that 8 at least of those concerning whom I have no information are doing well, the result will be 83% doing well and only 17% miserable or doubtful. (2)

Harris's highly unorthodox methods in promoting the development of the Brigade resulted not in resentment among the pupils but, contrary to what might be expected, in a marked increase in the number of boys wishing to study for the priesthood. In 1873 four College boys and members of the Brigade, Joseph F. Dobson, Richard Dobbin, John Prescott and John L. Dobson entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Roehampton (3). A document, apparently submitted to the new Jesuit Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey, by Fr. Harris in 1873, lists the destination of boys continuing their general education after leaving St. Francis Xavier's College during the period 1866-1873. Summarised in Table XIV, overleaf, the list suggests that a steady flow of boys into the ecclesiastical colleges was beginning, though how many of the boys going on to Ampleforth and Ushaw went as

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(1) Brigade Journal, 10 October 1873.

(2) Ibid., 31 August 1873.

(3) Ibid., 7 September 1873.

ordinands is far from clear.

The attitude of the parents of Brigade and non-Brigade boys to the activities of the Brigade is, unfortunately, nowhere recorded. The organization could certainly not be ignored and it is to be assumed that the success achieved in the academic sphere as a result of the discipline imposed on Brigade boys was largely welcomed by parents. Judging from occasional references to gifts presented to the Brigade by parents, the organization was well thought of.

TABLE XIV

DESTINATION OF PUPILS CONTINUING THEIR GENERAL EDUCATION

AFTER LEAVING ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1866-1873 (1)

Ampleforth	13
Ushaw	11
Stonyhurst	8
St. Edward's Liverpool	8
Mount St. Mary's	5
Liverpool Institute (C. of E.)	5
Roehampton (Jesuit Novitiate)	4
Castle Rock	4
Sedgley Park, Wolverhampton	3
Douai	2
Northern Institute, Liverpool (C of E.)	2 (2)
Ratcliffe	1
Catholic Institute, Liverpool	1
St. Beuno's	1
English College, Valladolid	1
Oblates of Mary	1
Ecclesiastical College, unknown	1
Other, destination unknown	21
TOTAL	92

(1) Compiled from a manuscript in Fr. Harris's hand, APA, RX/2.

(2) In a footnote, Fr. Harris remarks that the number of boys who had actually gone to the Northern Institute was "probably many more".

In 1873 Mr. and Mrs. John Rockliff, of the Liverpool family of printers, presented a "beautiful altar cloth (to be followed by two more)" to Fr. Harris to be used by the Brigade (1). Nevertheless, in some quarters not only the Brigade but many other aspects of Fr. Harris's educational and religious philosophy were being called into question.

The "Head-Mastership" of Mr. John Walford S.J. 1872-1873

Easter 1872 saw the arrival at St. Francis Xavier's College of a new Jesuit scholastic, Mr. John Walford, who had come to take over from Mr. John Ryan as Head Master, or, in effect, Prefect of Studies (2). Though he was to remain only one year at the school, he was responsible for setting in motion a series of events which was to put the College on a new path.

John Thomas Walford had already had a distinguished career before entering the Society of Jesus in 1867. Born at Hatfield Peverel, near Chelmsford, Essex, in 1834, he was the fifth of six sons of the Reverend William Walford. The family had strong clerical connections. John Walford's four uncles on his mother's side were all Church of England clergymen and his mother was a great friend of Edward Pusey (3). After attending a number of preparatory schools young Walford was admitted to Eton in 1845, being one of the first pupils there to be elected on merit (4). His academic progress was remarkable, and during the course of his studies he was "sent up" no fewer than nineteen times (5).

(1) Ibid., 1 June 1873.

(2) Letters and Notices, 22, p.511.

(3) Ibid., p.503.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Being "sent up" meant that one's Latin verses were read out publicly before the whole school by the Head Master.

On leaving Eton at the age of eighteen, he was a Newcastle Medallist and proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, where he continued to study Classics. On graduating in 1858 he was appointed a Fellow of King's and for a short time was assistant master at Harrow in 1859-1860. By 1861 he had been offered a similar post at Eton, which he accepted (1). At about this time he resolved to remain unmarried. As his friend Kegan Paul was to write after his death:

.....he felt very strongly that a good Schoolmaster, whether clerical or lay, could do his duty better without tie of wife or family, that in fact such a one must live for his boys alone, who must always be in his thoughts. (2)

During the early 1860s at Eton, Walford felt increasingly strongly that insufficient emphasis was being placed on the need for Confession and frequent Communion in the Church of England. Growing in his doubts, he offered his resignation, explaining to the Head Master, Dr. Balston, that he felt that he might eventually have to join the Roman Catholic Church. The resignation was refused and Walford was requested to resign only when he felt absolutely certain about his position (3). Balston asked him to promise not to become a Catholic for one year after leaving Eton, if and when he felt obliged to resign. This Walford agreed to with the proviso that his intention would be carried out at once if he were in danger of death (4).

When, in 1865, he did in fact feel obliged to resign, he spent a year in seclusion. He was received into the

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(1) Venn, op.cit., VI, p.313.

(2) Letters and Notices, 22, p.506.

(3) Ibid., p.507.

(4) Ibid., p.508.

Roman Catholic Church in a religious house in Ireland in March 1866 (1). Very soon after his conversion he was offered a post as assistant master at the Oratory School at Edgbaston by John Henry Newman. This he accepted eagerly. Though at ease at Edgbaston, he felt no inclination to join the Oratorian Congregation and, after discussing the matter with Newman, the latter is said to have declared, "I think St. Ignatius wants you" (2). John Walford was eventually admitted to the Society of Jesus at Roehampton in 1867 and after two years was sent to Stonyhurst to study Philosophy and to St. Beuno's for Theology (3). Immediately after this, in 1872, he was sent to St. Francis Xavier's College to teach Classics.

The clearest record of his work in Liverpool is contained in an obituary written by an un-named Jesuit who was his colleague at that time at St. Francis Xavier's. Speaking of the days immediately after his arrival at Salisbury Street, the obituarist wrote:

Hitherto Classics had been studied in a sleepy sort of way at St. Francis Xavier's.....with no good result, except in the case of one or two boys who were exceptionally brilliant. (4)

Having "persuaded" Fr. Harris that things needed to change, Walford set to work, beginning by asking all the masters to lay aside all authors for a while and to give undivided attention to grammar work. He is claimed to have said frequently: "Insist on the grammars being thoroughly known; everything depends on that" (5). Each master was then given an outline of the matter he was to teach, and of the chief

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(1) Ibid., Venn, op.cit., VI, p.313; Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.364.

(2) Letters and Notices, 22, p.509.

(3) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.364.

(4) Letters and Notices, 22, p.509.

(5) Ibid.

things to insist on, and was at the same time provided with Collis's Latin Praxis, and Greek Praxis, the Praxis Primaria, and a bundle of Oxford Responsion papers (1). As the un-named Jesuit recalled:

It was clear that everything had to be done at once, and I remember the excitement throughout the College when it was known that all the classes had been put back to Latin and Greek declensions again, and the confusion felt by certain masters, who found themselves almost as backward as their boys in grammatical knowledge. Every one, however, set to work in earnest and systematically on the methods prescribed, and boys were soon seen to relish what before had been to them a dry insipid study. (2)

When examination time came round, Walford apparently showed himself unmerciful, with very few boys being pronounced "distinguished". After a further term of hard work at the grammars, examination results improved and the situation eased:

Satisfied after several months that the boys possessed more than a mere smattering of grammatical knowledge, he allowed us to resume author work, without however, interrupting the daily grammar practice. The good results of the previous training became apparent now in the ease and accuracy which the boys showed in their Latin translation and parsing. His own boys were soon judged sufficiently ripe to attempt the easier tragedies of Euripides, selections from the comedies of Aristophanes, and Horace's odes; but though Mr. Walford was confident he would clear their Latin themes of all solecisms, he never succeeded in this, and left the College disappointed in the Summer of 1873. (3)

Towards the end of Mr. Walford's short stay at St. Francis Xavier's College, on 17 July 1873, Fr. Peter Gallwey, who had taught at the collegium inchoatum at St. Anne's Street in the mid-1840s, was appointed English Provincial of the Society of Jesus. Being himself a former schoolmaster and former Prefect of Studies of Stonyhurst, he was to take a close interest in the educational work

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., p.512.

(3) Ibid.



of the Province during his term in office as Provincial. Within a matter of weeks of taking up his new post, he seems to have learned of Walford's work at Liverpool and called for a full report on the situation. The result was a long letter to him from John Walford, written "in obedience to (Fr. Gallwey's) express order" (1).

Walford's letter opens with a "willing testimony" to Fr. Harris's abilities to govern and manage the College and its pupils:

He seems to have complete mastery over them, and to combine with the power of making himself thoroughly feared by the scholars, the faculty of making himself at the same time liked by them. (2)

Acknowledging Fr. Harris's achievements in fostering piety and morality in the College, Walford had grave reservations about the means employed:

I cannot help regarding his whole system as better adapted to train candidates for the Novitiate than to be, what it seems to me a lay general school should be, a preparation for life in any career, in the world as well as in Religion. (3)

Walford found Fr. Harris's interest in encouraging vocations unhealthy and too forceful:

He is constantly dwelling directly, as well as indirectly, on vocations to the Society (4), in a way in which - though of course I may be mistaken - seems to me contrary to the usual spirit and practice of our Fathers. We hear scarce anything of those who leave the school to go into the world, while the boys are being continually interested in the career of the two late novices at Manresa. To use a somewhat strong expression, it seems almost like touting for Novices. (5)

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(1) The letter from John Walford to Fr. Peter Gallwey, dated "St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, Sept. 23rd 1873" survives in APA, RW/2.

(2) J. Walford to Fr. P. Gallwey, 23 Sept. 1873, APA, RW/2, f.1.

(3) Ibid.

(4) That is, the Society of Jesus.

(5) Walford to Gallwey, 23 Sept. 1873, APA, RW/2, f.2.

Mention has already been made of the manner in which Fr. Harris encouraged his Brigade boys to inform him honestly of the true state of the College. To Walford, brought up in the English Public School tradition, such behaviour was anathema. As he stated bluntly to the Provincial:

I never was in such a tell-tale place before in my life. I have no objection to Fr. Harris knowing anything I do or say in school; but I would rather he asked me, instead of either asking the boys, or encouraging them to tell him, every little thing I do or say in school, as of course boys are naturally prone to exaggeration and inaccuracy. I think it was by way of resenting this system that some former masters played tricks with their schools and played off the boys against Fr. Harris. I have heard them speak most bitterly of it. (1)

Far from admiring the work of the Night Study boys, Mr. Walford found the atmosphere created by Fr. Harris far too pressurized:

The discipline in the study-place seems to me overdone, and to resemble that of a room in the Novitiate. There is such a strain kept on the boys not to look up, not even to shuffle their feet, or to let their pens or books or coughs be heard, that I think their attention is more confined to not transgressing in these respects than to getting up their work. Results show that this is the case. (2)

Nor was Walford impressed by the realities, as he found them, of the affairs in the Brigade, and in Fr. Harris's attitude to his own élite group:

He insisted on having a weekly report of each member of my school, and then used to be angry and abuse me, if the marks were not only not good, but first rate. Of course, my class being the first, the boys in it were the leading members of the Brigade, and he was disappointed if he could not hold them up as models to the rest. Had he blamed me for not making them better, it would have been another matter; but that was not the case. He maintained, though he never inspected their work, or heard their lessons, that they did their best, because he saw them pore over their books at night-studies, as if that were a guarantee for real study, and because, forsooth, when they spoke to him in confidence, they assured him that such was the case. Of course they would say so, and yet these were some of the idlest, most careless boys in the class I ever came

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., f.3.

across, who yet made the most solemn promises of hard work to the Sacred Heart in public -- And all this while, not only did he never ask me about them, but, when I tried to convince him, he would not listen to a word, but would get into a passion, accuse me of hostility to his Brigade, and even of speaking to my boys against the Devotion to the Sacred Heart. (1)

Walford's bitterest words were reserved for what he considered Harris's total lack of tact and discretion in his personal contacts with him, especially in front of the boys:

In his weekly visit to my school, and his address to my boys, he was continually speaking at me, and frequently informed them before my face that there were differences between us. And then I was accused of letting the boys know this. Indeed for a considerable time it seemed more as if I were the scholar, and the boys the censors of my conduct. Of course the boys were too sharp not to see their advantage, and the result was fatal to their progress. (2)

Matters do not seem to have been any easier in his treatment of Walford as "Head Master" with authority over the other Jesuit staff:

Though I was his Head Master, and therefore placed at certain times in a position over the other masters, instead of upholding me he would talk to them against me at Recreation and on other occasions; and I was again accused of caballing against him, because I took opportunities of putting the other side of the case before them. I think that, when I have spoken to them against him, it has nearly always been to say that he would not listen to me, that he was deceived by the boys and that, if he knew the real state of the case, I was sure he would take the same view of it as myself. (3)

Walford's attempts to conduct certain examinations in a more formal written manner, rather than in the casual oral manner which had previously been customary, met first with Harris's approval. Soon afterwards, however, his anger was aroused:

Then, because he suddenly heard from one of the masters to whom I had, without knowing I was doing what he would disapprove, shown the marks of his class, that there were

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., f.4.

(3) Ibid.,

only two or three distinguished in it, he turned round on me in a passion, said the Examination was unfair, without even looking at a paper, and so encouraged the Master in question in his indignation with me, refusing to listen to even a word of explanation. In fact, he treated me like a dog. No man in the world would dream of submission to such treatment for a day. He excuses himself, indeed, sometimes on the score of the peremptory manner he has necessarily contracted from his long work with boys. Peremptory, however, is by no means the word to characterise his conduct. I don't think he is quite aware himself of the lengths to which he goes, but forgets what he says and does on such occasions. Besides, I have worked under a variety of superiors in different schools, none of whom ever acted and spoke to me as he has done. (1)

Turning to the organization of the curriculum in the College, Walford had a large number of complaints about the low standard of classical education:

I must say candidly that I never came across anything more utterly unsatisfactory than the state of the Latin and Greek which I found on my arrival here. There was an entire want of a solid foundation, an appalling ignorance of the Grammars, a slovenliness and inaccuracy in all the work, a ludicrously absurd standard of work, and an almost total absence of all acquaintance with Ancient History and Geography. The maximum for a lesson in the Greek author in my class was 3 lines, and I think about 12 in the Latin, and that the boys were unable to make out. The Latin Prose simply bristled with the grossest solecisms, which for want of Fr. Harris's support I have as yet been unable to expel even in my own class. I fear that it was my speaking about this that first offended Fr. Harris. He would have it I was judging by a University or Eton standard, whereas I have been a master in a middle class school, as well as Eton, and had plenty of idle and backward boys to teach elsewhere. Then he said the boys here were so young.

I reply, they are not younger than boys of the same age elsewhere, whose proficiency can be tested by the University Local Examinations, which are intended for middle class schools; and not one of our boys could dare go in for them, though for one of them candidates must be under 16. Then he urged that they were mostly Irishmen, and to this I reply that Irish boys are usually more lively than English, even if not so plodding and careful, and are capable of being trained to accuracy and pains. Then he urged their domestic disadvantage. Of course at home they do labour under difficulties, but not at school, or night studies, and in the course of the years those disadvantages may be counteracted by care at school. Once more, they leave so young. But that is no reason for their not doing well as long as they stay. It is an argument against their going very high in their classics, it is none against the solidity

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(1) Ibid., f. 5.

and accuracy of their training as far as they do go. I have all along been maintaining that we ought to aim at a thorough grounding, and elementary course in the Classics. I have no wish myself for a specious and showy programme. Besides, all the boys but one in my class at the beginning of this year were over 15 -- most over 16 -- some over 17 -- so that they at least ought to have known more. Lastly, the Parents don't care for the Greek and Latin. Yes, but the Society, for whom some are destined, does: besides, I had no wish to increase the time devoted to Classics. All I bargain for is that, if it is decided that the time is to be given to them, it should be spent to some purpose. (1)

Walford was not content simply to present a catalogue of errors allegedly perpetrated by Fr. James Harris. With his criticisms came an eight-part analysis of the cause of the problems. The list which he presented to the Provincial throws much light on difficulties within the College, and is worth quoting in full:

I There is practically no one to look after the classical studies. Fr. Harris bears indeed the title of Prefect of Studies, but he does not know Greek, and he does not pretend to much Latin Scholarship. So, he leaves that department to his Head Master and seems to take interest in what he is not personally engaged in. But it is impossible for the Head Master to supply his place efficiently, unless he be a priest, or considerably older in the Society than the other masters. Still more if his reports are not heartily accepted, but regarded with suspicion, and commented on unfavourably before the other members. Besides, the Head Master has no power of enforcing his views about work, as a Prefect of Studies has, on either the boys or masters. He can only set the matter and examine the classes.

II It seems to me that the majority of our masters have no idea of the proper standard of accuracy and proficiency for boys in Latin and Greek: and that, till the standard which now obtains at our schools is changed, they will never gain it. That it is below the mark will, I think, readily be allowed, not only by those who have had a practical experience of that which obtains elsewhere, but also by many educated by the Society.

III The whole system of Fr. Harris seems to me to tend to this result. He seems only to care for keeping up the numbers, pleasing the parents, and getting the boys under his own direction in spiritual matters, and general conduct. Indeed, he has expostulated with me for being dissatisfied with the present, or late, miserable state of things as regards the Latin and Greek. 'Why do you bother yourself

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(1) Ibid., ff. 6-7.

so about the matter?' he said to me. 'The boys are satisfied with things as they are: the parents are satisfied: the Rector is satisfied; and I am sure I am satisfied.' And in order to keep the parents in good humour, he wants me to cook my reports and marks, and set my name to an excellent certificate for boys whom I consider indolent and careless. I have never had so humiliating a request made to me by any other superior of a school, under whom I have worked before. Of course it stands to reason that, if boys get the best marks for inferior work, they will be satisfied, and not make further efforts: indeed, as I have found to be the case, they will be brought up in ignorance of the fact that they are below the mark, and will even theoretically adopt a false standard of excellence. Nor is this all, for on one occasion he actually gave me as a reason for raising the marks of a certain boy, who had done badly during the week, that, as he was the son of more influential parents than most of the scholars, who were contemplating his removal to Stonyhurst, it was important to retain him at the school, and therefore it was most imprudent to tell the truth about him for fear of their being dissatisfied with the College - which they have every reason to be, considering how long he has been at it, and how ridiculously little he has learnt. I could not help blushing to think what would be said if that were known outside. I heard one boy since remark, 'I wish my name were his. I should then get a prize without any trouble on the score of my name'. Indeed it seems the plan to keep up the reputation of the school by outward show and appearances, rather than by the excellence of the education.

IV. The masters are ill supplied with books, which is the more disastrous, as of course the Scholars from their comparative poverty are still worse off. I think it would be of the greatest advantage if there were a reference library at least for the First, if not for the first two classes, well supplied with dictionaries, books of reference, and modern literature, which they might be allowed to consult during their free time. This would be specially advantageous on wet days, which are not of infrequent occurrence here, and on which the whole school almost is crowded into an underground playroom. I myself offered to give readings in English Poetry to the upper boys between 1 and 2, as I found them so utterly deficient in all literary attainment and ambition, but the offer was declined without even a word of thanks by Fr. Harris. In the same way I only succeeded in arousing his ill-will by offering for a time to take my boys of an evening in a class room out of the Study-Place, as is done in our other Colleges, in order to teach them how to prepare their lessons, as I found them going entirely on the wrong tack, and I have learnt by experience that training tells more on a boy's progress than the mere hearing the lessons badly prepared in class, and the instruction given there. He made out that I wanted to break up his study-place and Brigade, neither of which I know by experience would be the case.

V I can't help thinking that one great source of the miserable carelessness and inaccuracy of our boys is the size of the lower classes. The younger a boy is, the more individual attention he seems to want. When boys have been once well grounded, it is easy enough to teach them in larger numbers. Fr. McQueen used to say that the little boys would be taught better and quicker, if it could be possible to have some trained Government Pupil-teachers, or young masters to assist in the subdivision of the work.

VI Another cause - perhaps an unavoidable one - is the constant change of masters and system, especially as the changes here have to be made towards the end of the first quarter.

VII I also found it to be the practice, not only to have absurdly short matter for each term, as I have already stated, but also to stop work a fortnight before each Examination for repetition of the matter. This, of course, led to boys taking little or no trouble the first time of going over the lessons, and trusting only or mainly to those repetitions. Then, again, the final Examination was put a month before the end of the year, after which, of course, little or no serious work was done. This arrangement was made with a view to leaving plenty of time for getting up the speeches for St. George's Hall, which serve as a good advertisement, do some good to those who have to appear, but are no reflex of the real teaching of the school. At Eton and Harrow, etc., such exhibitions are got up out of school hours, and the Examination is deferred (sic) to the last week of the Term. This year I only devoted a fortnight to the business, and could have done with less, and the speeches were far better than I ever heard elsewhere, though of course they were not perfect. Then again the old plan of Examinations involved a fortnight's absence each term from his class on the part of the Head Master: so that the first class lost about three months regular work each year. I at once proposed to have the Examinations on paper, instead of viva voce, by which arrangement they would only occupy two consecutive days each term for the whole school, and I believe would be more effectual. Fr. Harris assented at first to this arrangement, but, as I have related above, because the result was an exposure in black and white of the inefficiency of the school, or, as he thought, unfair to the boys - though it is the invariable method at all the best schools - it was afterwards cancelled for a compromise.

VIII I ought to have added to VI. the inexperience of the masters, who must previously at least have been content to accept anything from their boys. Certainly, I never saw work so slovenly presented to masters elsewhere, and it was a long while before I could partially eradicate the habit from my own class - and I cannot explain this phenomenon on any other hypothesis. (1)

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(1) Ibid., ff.7-13.

Having completed his analysis of problems concerning the "moral training and studies of the place", there remained three further miscellaneous points which Walford considered it his duty to bring to the attention of the Provincial. The first concerned Fr. Harris's attitude towards Confession for the pupils of the College. Walford reported to Fr. Gallwey:

I am by no means the only master who feels that Fr. Harris does not act according to the spirit of the 20th rule of Priests (1), in case boys leave his Confessional for others. Certainly, there was one boy in my class whom I have heard him constantly reproach with having done so. Of course, from time to time he gives out that the boys are as free as the air to go to whomsoever they please, but I should be very sorry to be the boy who took him at his word. If he were a leading boy, or one in whom he took an interest, he would not hear the last of it, I suspect, for some time, nor should we. Besides, I have heard him tell the boys that, of course, from his position as Prefect he could help them better than the other Fathers. (2)

Walford found Harris exceedingly indiscreet not only in talking about him to boys behind his back, but also in talking to them about their own Jesuit masters:

Nor am I the only master who feels that he is too familiar with the boys, telling them what are generally considered family secrets of the Society, the facts of his little differences with the masters, of his getting rebuffs from his superiors, of his giving penances to a Father when Minister at St. Beuno's, etc., etc. I cannot help thinking that this leads to a very forward spirit I have noticed in the boys here, a criticism of their masters, and the work given to them to do, and much less docility and humility in that line than exists even among Protestant boys. It has given me great trouble, and hindered progress very considerably in my own class. (3)

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(1) "Si quis uni confiteri solitus, ab eodem alium confessarium adeundi facultatem petierit, vel ea non petita adient, id sibi gratum esse confessarius benigne ostendat". "If anyone normally confessing to one particular priest should ask the approval of the same to approach another confessor, or if he should approach one without asking, the original confessor should indicate his approval with good grace." "Regulae Sacerdotum", 20, Institutum Societatis Jesu (3 vols., Rome, 1869-1886), II, p.14.

(2) Walford to Gallwey, 23 September 1873, APA, RX/2, f.13.

(3) Ibid., f.14.



The final point made by Walford concerned a curious and surprising inconsistency in the character of a man whose life seemed so dedicated to the moral improvement of his charges:

Nor again am I the only master who has felt it a great humiliation to listen to his speeches to the boys in consequence of the gross and coarse language and jokes he from time to time gives vent to, when speaking to them in public. This, however, does not occur often now, in consequence of a complaint to Fr. Rector. (1)

Notwithstanding all the problems which he had brought before the Provincial's attention, Walford stated he could see no reason why "if things were set straight, this should not be a most successful college" (2). Despite his optimism, he informed Fr. Gallwey in a postscript to his long letter that he dreaded the effect of what he had said, if and when Fr. Harris learned of all his complaints, even though they had been listed on the Provincial's orders (3).

As events turned out, John Walford's fears were to be proved groundless. Even though he was soon to develop a reputation as a harsh critic of Jesuit educational methods (4), he was on this occasion listened to. Shortly after receiving Walford's letter, Fr. Peter Gallwey began making further enquiries about Harris's abilities as a Prefect of Studies. He evidently asked the advice of Fr. George Porter, the former Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, who had been instrumental in securing Harris's services

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., f.15.

(3) Ibid., f.16.

(4) Walford's criticisms of educational developments in the English Province in the late 1870s, particularly the introduction of the London Matriculation Examination in the Jesuit colleges, were such that even the General found him a difficult character. See letter of Fr. General Beckx to Fr. E. Purbrick, English Provincial, 19 May 1880 in APA, Epist. Gen. 1873-1884, f.221.

at Liverpool in 1865. Gallwey's letter of enquiry to Fr. George Porter, who had recently been appointed Rector and Master of Novices at Manresa House, Roehampton (1), does not appear to survive. Fr. Porter's reply does, and corroborates all John Walford's allegations. Evidently commenting on direct references to Walford's complaints to the Provincial, Fr. Porter wrote:

On our College of Liverpool, years ago I came to the same conclusion respecting Fr. Harris. He not only does not know the classics himself, as they should be taught in the Higher Schools, but he has no idea of the quantity that should be learnt in the year, nor of the different steps which divide the lower schools. This was my main reason for insisting on a head master, or examiner, or assistant Prefect of Studies, who should supply Fr. Harris's deficiency and put some method into the studies. Besides, I soon saw that Fr. Harris's examinations were not to be relied on. The worst part of the evil was Fr. Harris's utter inability to recognize his deficiency. I have told him of it more plainly than I have written it and he has said quite simply that he could not see his deficiency or acknowledge it. I have always said, another man is necessary to carry the studies to the level of a college. (2)

How much Fr. Harris's shortcomings are attributable to a genuine weakness in his character, how much to obstinacy, and how much to the debilitating effects of diabetes, from which he was suffering increasingly (3), it is impossible to say. Now it was clear that the existing regime could not be allowed to last much longer. In eight years James Harris had done a great deal in strengthening the College and setting it on a sound financial footing, as the figures in Table XV, overleaf, indicate. What was

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(1) Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.213. Fr. George Porter was appointed Rector at Roehampton in August 1873, shortly after the appointment of Fr. Peter Gallwey as Provincial on 17 August 1873.

(2) G. Porter to P. Gallwey, 12 December 1873, APA, RX/2.

(3) Fr. Harris's private Journal and the Brigade Journal both attest to his deteriorating health from about 1870 onwards.

TABLE XVGROSS INCOME OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1856-1872 (1)

	£	s.	d.
1856	296	5	11
1857	385	16	11
1858	532	14	8
1859	634	8	6
1860	778	17	10
1861	1018	10	6
1862	921	12	2
1863	871	15	3
1864	712	2	9
1865	672	18	5
ARRIVAL OF FR. JAMES HARRIS			
1866	1040	8	1
1867	1296	19	4
1868	1479	16	6
1869	1548	16	11
1870	1718	18	5
1871	1658	4	4
1872	1762	18	4

(1) Compiled from an account sheet in Fr. Harris's handwriting, APA, RW/2. The figures given are for the College only and do not include the Middle School pension money for the years 1867-1872.

needed next was a man who could build on his achievements and strengthen the academic life of the school. Fr. Gallwey lost no time in looking round the Province for a suitable man for the job. The solution to the Liverpool problem was not an easy one and was to involve a period of upheaval before the College was set on a new course which led to greater prosperity and success.

CHAPTER SEVENBUILDING ANEW 1874-1879

The year 1874 was to prove a time of trial for Fr. Peter Gallwey as Provincial. The entire future of the educational work of the Society of Jesus in forming day schools in the industrial cities of Britain was suddenly brought into question by an unexpected turn of events. During this period of turmoil the pressing problems concerning the administration of St. Francis Xavier's College must have appeared relatively minor.

The Manchester college crisis 1874-1875

It will be recalled that in the 1850s the Jesuits had opened a school in Manchester. The experiment had not met with success and after a short time the Society had returned the school to the Bishop of Salford. By 1873 the continuing successful development of St. Francis Xavier's College, despite internal problems, encouraged Fr. Gallwey to reconsider opening a new Jesuit college in Manchester. The first move was made at the Fourth Provincial Synod of Westminster, held at St. Edmund's College, Ware, in 1873. There Gallwey, recently appointed as Provincial, approached Herbert Vaughan, who had been nominated Bishop of Salford in the previous year, asking permission for the Society of Jesus to open a college in connection with their new church in Manchester. Vaughan immediately replied that such a move was impossible, not least because he himself had plans to open a secondary school concentrating on

commercial education (1). Gallwey seemed at first to accept the situation and the Bishop dismissed the matter from his mind.

The Bishop's objections to the opening of a Jesuit college in Manchester were twofold. In the first place, in wishing to promote commercial education, he doubted both the willingness and the ability of the Society of Jesus in the English Province to meet the need in his diocese. Secondly he feared that if boys were brought up in a Jesuit college, those with vocations to the priesthood would possibly be attracted to the Society of Jesus rather than to their local diocese. In the same way, boys educated by the secular clergy would be more likely to apply to become priests of their own diocese, rather than members of a religious order. Already there was one large Jesuit college, Stonyhurst, in the Salford diocese, as well as a growing college in the neighbouring diocese of Liverpool. If the Jesuits were allowed to expand their educational work unchecked in Manchester, the future supply of secular priests would become increasingly limited. Such were Vaughan's opinions.

Fr. Peter Gallwey was determined to overcome these difficulties. During the summer of 1874 he again broached the subject by writing to Bishop Vaughan. The existence and success of St. Francis Xavier's College in Liverpool, far from being a threat to the future of the secular clergy in the North of England, was seen by Gallwey as contributing to the supply of diocesan priests. He hoped a new Jesuit college in Manchester would function in a similar manner.

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(1) St. Bede's College, founded in 1876.

He explained his case in detail to Vaughan, drawing on his own experience as a former teacher in Liverpool:

I think if you will trust us, I can guarantee that neither you nor the Diocese will have reason to repent. If you will permit us to have a Grammar School or College in Manchester, I think you will have more vocations for the secular priesthood and foreign missions than you will get by other means and at a much less cost to the Diocese. As a proof, I was teaching in our Liverpool school thirty years ago when it began. In my time (three years) we never had more than thirty boys, yet out of that lot ten, if I mistake not, became priests, six seculars and four religious.... They would be educated up to the end of their classic course, without costing the Diocese anything, or at most, a trifling sum. The foreign missions would also gain. (1)

The complexities of the subsequent power struggle between Fr. Gallwey and the Bishop of Salford, symbolic of the growing tension between the Society of Jesus and the Catholic Hierarchy in England, have already been documented elsewhere (2) and lie beyond the scope of the present study. It is sufficient to note that Fr. Gallwey eventually opened a school in Manchester early in 1875, without Vaughan's approval. He claimed that Pius VII, in the Bull restoring the Society of Jesus in 1814, had revived a privilege, originally accorded by Paul III, allowing colleges to be founded without reference to the local bishop. The crisis which ensued was in many respects reminiscent of the struggle which had attended the foundation of St. Francis Xavier's College in Liverpool in 1842. Vaughan, like Bishop George Brown before him, resolved to resign as a bishop rather than yield on the matter, and proceeded to Rome, determined to remain there until the case was decided by Propaganda (3).

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(1) P.Gallwey to H.Vaughan, 7 August 1874, in The Jesuit claim to found a College of the Society in Manchester..., p.18, AVCA, Lib.1761. In 1866 Vaughan had founded St. Joseph's College, Mill Hill, for the training of priests for the foreign missions.

(2) See Snead-Cox, J.G., The Life of Cardinal Vaughan, (2 volumes, Burns & Oates, 1910), I, pp.270-304.

(3) Ibid., I, p.291.

After six weeks of negotiations involving the Pope, Propaganda and the Jesuit General, the latter eventually ordered the closing of the Manchester college (1). This decision was a particular blow to Gallwey. At virtually the same time, but for different reasons, Manning, recently nominated Cardinal, reaffirmed his long-standing prohibition of a Jesuit college in the Archdiocese of Westminster (2).

Vaughan at once returned from Rome to his diocese. Both he and the Jesuits knew that the real issue had not been dealt with. The struggle which was to determine the permanent relations between the Bishops and the Religious Orders had still to come, sooner or later. For the moment Vaughan was free to open his own commercial school in Manchester. Following the advice of Pius IX, he sought immediate reconciliation with the Society of Jesus. On his return he made his retreat at Stonyhurst and asked the Jesuit Fathers to conduct the annual retreat for the clergy of the Salford diocese (3).

#### The Liverpool problem resolved 1874

As early as January 1874, well before the explosion of the Manchester crisis, the conduct of the new Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey, had become a cause of concern to some of his fellow Jesuits. Fr. John Etheridge, a former Provincial and the first English Assistant to the Jesuit General, was at this time working as a member of the parish

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(1) Circular letter of Fr. General Beckx, announcing the closure of the Manchester college, 27 May 1875, APA, BT/1.

(2) Purcell, E.S., Life of Cardinal Manning (2 volumes, Macmillan, 1896), II, pp.760-770. Manning's prohibition of a Jesuit college in London facilitated his promotion of the educational work of the Oblates of St.Charles at St.Charles' College, Kensington, founded in 1863.

(3) Snead-Cox, op.cit., I, p.304.



staff at St. Francis Xavier's. He had been there since his retirement from office in Rome, owing to ill-health, in 1857. During his twenty-five years in Liverpool he was to write regularly to the Jesuit General reporting on matters in the English Province. In a letter in January 1874 he urged the General, Fr. Beckx, to request Fr. Gallwey to act more moderately. He felt the Provincial was trying to do too many things at once (1). Gallwey's hastiness led him into an embarrassing situation in Manchester, but his boundless energies were not to be curbed by anyone and were to be used to good effect in the educational work of the Province.

Anxious to see for himself the progress of work at Liverpool, Gallwey made an official visitation to St. Francis Xavier's College in 1874. Having inspected all aspects of the school he made a number of recommendations concerning the curriculum. These were in line with the reforms he had introduced as Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst in the 1850s:

The Prefect of Studies is to hold meetings with the Masters every Sunday to confer on the Ratio Studiorum and their method of teaching, and also in order to require specimens of their composition and scholarship. (2)

In addition the Prefect of Studies was to consider:

.....how the drawing lesson may be rendered more effective. (3)

Turning to the material needs of the College, the Provincial found a poor state of affairs:

Schoolwork has been much impeded by the want of larger classrooms, proper school books and blackboards, sometimes even by the want of ink. (4)

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(1) Etheridge to Fr. General Beckx, 23 January 1874, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, 11.

(2) Visitation Book of St. Francis Xavier's College, 1850-1961, (hereafter Visitation Book) APA, 6/4/3/4, Memorial of Visitation, 1874.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

Once he had become aware of these difficulties and of the urgency of resolving problems being caused by the inability of James Harris to act competently as a Prefect of Studies, Gallwey wrote to the General. He asked permission for a division of the duties in directing the College. A proposal was made to appoint a new Prefect of Studies, while retaining Harris as Prefect-General or "Vice-President" (1) to deal with all non-academic matters in the College. This met with the approval of the General, who viewed the new arrangement as being in the pupils' interests (2). The man appointed to the new post, Fr. William Loughnan, was evidently intended only as a "caretaker" Prefect of Studies and he remained in office for one year only, from August 1874 until July 1875. Though he had had previous administrative experience as Prefect of Studies at Beaumont in 1868-1869, he was evidently better suited to higher education and left to become Professor of Rhetoric at Manresa House, Roehampton, in 1875.

Fr. John Gerard appointed Prefect of Studies 1875

Loughnan's replacement as Prefect of Studies at Liverpool, Fr. John Gerard, a young Scottish Jesuit, was to prove an inspired appointment on the part of Fr. Gallwey.

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(1) The title "Vice-President" was given to Fr. Harris as Prefect-General in 1875 and retained by his successors in the post until 1938 when the dual functions of Prefect General and Prefect of Studies were absorbed into the post of Headmaster. Unique to St. Francis Xavier's College, the title was doubtless chosen as a tactful way of recognizing Fr. Harris's efficiency as an administrator, second only to the Rector or "President", while at the same time relieving him of his duties as Prefect of Studies.  
 (2) Fr. General Beckx to Gallwey, 24 July 1874, APA, Epist. Gen. 1873-1884, f.26.

John Gerard was the eldest son of Colonel Archibald Gerard of Rochsoles, near Airdrie, Lanarkshire. The family was originally Scottish Episcopalian. John Gerard's parents were influenced by the Tractarian movement and his mother joined the Catholic Church in 1848. His father followed a little later and the seven children of the family were brought up as Catholics (1).

John Gerard and his brother Montague were both educated at Stonyhurst. After six years there, John left in 1856 and entered the Society of Jesus at Beaumont at the early age of sixteen, bequeathing his inheritance of Rochsoles to his brother, later General Sir Montague Gerard. His progress as a Jesuit was remarkable. By the age of 19 he had graduated with a London B.A. After teaching at Beaumont in its earliest days, and later at Stonyhurst, he studied theology at St. Beuno's. Ordained in 1873, he completed his tertianship at Tronchiennes in Belgium in the summer of 1875 and was then appointed Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's College. He was just 35 years of age. Twenty years younger than his Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey, John Gerard was a man of similar energy and brilliance of intellect. In the future he was to follow in the footsteps of Gallwey as a Provincial, a keen educationist, and as a prolific writer. From 1893 until 1897 he was Editor of The Month and by the time of his death in 1912 he had produced no fewer than two hundred and seventy-nine books and articles (2). He was to need all the energy he possessed

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(1) Letters and Notices, 32, p.58 and D.N.B., Supplement 1901-1911, p.99.

(2) Sutcliffe, E.F., Bibliography of the English Province - 1773-1953 (Roehampton, 1957), pp.65-70. For a short, recent account of Gerard's life and work, particularly at Stonyhurst, see 'Fr. John Gerard and The Stonyhurst Magazine' in The Stonyhurst Magazine, Vol.42 (Summer 1981), pp.11-15.

to face the great volume of work awaiting him at St. Francis Xavier's College.

The building of a new College 1875-1877

The most urgent task facing John Gerard at the start of the academic year 1875-1876 was organizing the building of a new College. Though less than twenty years old, the building erected by Fr. Charles Collyns in Salisbury Street in 1856 had long been too small to house the ever-growing College, which numbered 270 pupils by 1875 (1).

As early as 1867 the Jesuit General, aware of the rapid growth of the College under Fr. Harris's direction, had asked the English Provincial, Fr. Alfred Weld, if the school might not prosper more quickly by being moved to a different part of Liverpool, as some Jesuits in the English Province were suggesting (2). Weld had replied that the College would be best left in Salisbury Street. There it was in a convenient central position in the town. Furthermore, another site could not be found without great trouble and expense and a new building elsewhere would have the disadvantage of breaking up the existing large Jesuit community (3). Weld had also reported that the Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, Fr. George Porter, wanted to build a new Community House on the site of the existing house and College, adapt the existing Poor Schools in Haigh Street to College use, and then build new Poor Schools. Porter's plans would have cost £16,000 or more. While his idea was

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(1) Annual Letter, 1875, ARSJ, Anglia 1501.

(2) Fr. General Beckx to Weld, 7 June 1867, APA, Epist. Gen. 1853-1873.

(3) Weld to Beckx, 15 July 1867, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, II, 21.

very appealing, in Weld's estimation the price could not be justified. He felt it would be more advisable to retain the existing Community House and extend it to provide additional accommodation for the Parish and College staff (1). After further consultation with his advisers, Weld informed the General in October 1867 that it had been decided to build the first part of a proposed new college in Salisbury Street for not more than £3000 (2). By the end of May 1868 work had begun on extending the Community House and Fr. Porter reported to the General that he was hoping that work on the new College would begin any day (3). A year later Porter again wrote to the General informing him that building operations on the first stage of the new College had been further delayed by a strike which was likely to be protracted. The situation was particularly regrettable because there were now three different teaching areas in use, causing great inconvenience to boys and masters (4).

By 1870 George Porter had apparently revised his plans and commissioned a design for a new college to cost an estimated £9700, considerably more than the £3000 intended to be spent two years earlier (5). On 2 February 1870 he noted in his diary that he had received "plans for College in colours". Again, on 16 May 1870, he referred to having

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Weld to Beckx, 22 October 1867, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, II, 23.

(3) G. Porter to Beckx, 30 May 1868, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 9.

(4) G. Porter to Beckx, 23 June 1869, ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 10.

(5) The estimate provided for the construction of a hall and schoolrooms for £7000. Information from a memorandum at the back of Fr. G. Porter's Diary for 1870, APA, 51/3/7.

a "plan of College" ready (1).

At the College Proclamation held at St. George's Hall on 21 June 1870, Porter revealed his plans publicly to parents and pupils:

You will be pleased to know that in a very short time - I hope I may say almost in a few days - we shall begin the foundations of a large college, and I hope it will not be unworthy of the Catholic body in Liverpool. The bad times tell upon us as well as upon the rest of the world, and we must be content to build a college in parts and by instalments. The first instalment I hope you will see completed before 31st of December next. (2)

Not a single brick of George Porter's proposed College buildings of 1870 was ever laid. Nor does any record appear to survive to indicate why construction work did not begin as promised. A clue to the puzzle very probably lies in the fact that in May 1870 plans were announced in The Catholic Times for the building of a new hall for the Catholics of Liverpool. Within a month correspondence on the matter had begun in the newspaper and the foundation of a joint-stock company was proposed. Capital of £8000 was to be raised in £1 shares and the aim was to build "a handsome structure worthy of the Liverpool Catholic community" (3). The idea was short-lived and the project quickly abandoned.

This development doubtless influenced the Society of Jesus to reconsider its plans for the new St. Francis Xavier's College. Five years were to pass without any further schemes being put forward for a new school. Finally, in 1875, the Rector, Fr. Thomas Porter, set aside his

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(1) Diary of Fr. G. Porter, 1870, APA, 51/3/7. The name of the architect is nowhere recorded.

(2) Proclamation Speech from The Catholic Times, 25 June 1870, p.2. The full report of the summer Proclamation 1870 from The Catholic Times is reproduced in Appendix XI.

(3) The Catholic Times, 7 May 1870, pp.4-5; and 4 June 1870, p.5.

brother's plans for a college "in parts and by instalments" and asked Fr. Richard Vaughan S.J., to draw up a bold new plan for a single building to be built in Salisbury Street. Vaughan, an uncle of the Bishop of Salford, had already executed a number of designs for buildings in the English Province, including the observatory at Stonyhurst. Now he produced drawings for a substantial classroom block capable of accommodating five hundred pupils. Behind this he planned an immense hall with seating space for two thousand people. Evidently the object was to provide a building which might also serve as a convenient meeting place for Liverpool Catholics (1).

The idea of building a new college did not receive unanimous support from the Jesuits in Liverpool. Fr. Francis Clough, the Minister of the Community, was strongly opposed to any building. His main worry was that new buildings would increase substantially the considerable existing debts which the Society had incurred in Liverpool. Writing to the Provincial in March 1875 he stated his case clearly:

The late George IV is said to have expended much money in costly buildings, but left the task of paying for them. So any Rector or Superior may incur debts which all the frugality and care of his successors cannot liquidate for years after. (2)

His arguments cannot have carried weight. Very soon afterwards Vaughan's plans were accepted. The contract was put out to tender and an estimate from Albert Kimberley, Builder and Contractor, of Banbury, Oxfordshire for £6927 "for the proposed new College to be built at Liverpool according to your drawings" was accepted in July 1875 (3). Virtually immediately preparations were made to clear the

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(1) Ryan, op.cit., p.47, and Letters and Notices, 31, p.299.

(2) Clough to Gallwey, 9 March 1875, APA, RX/2.

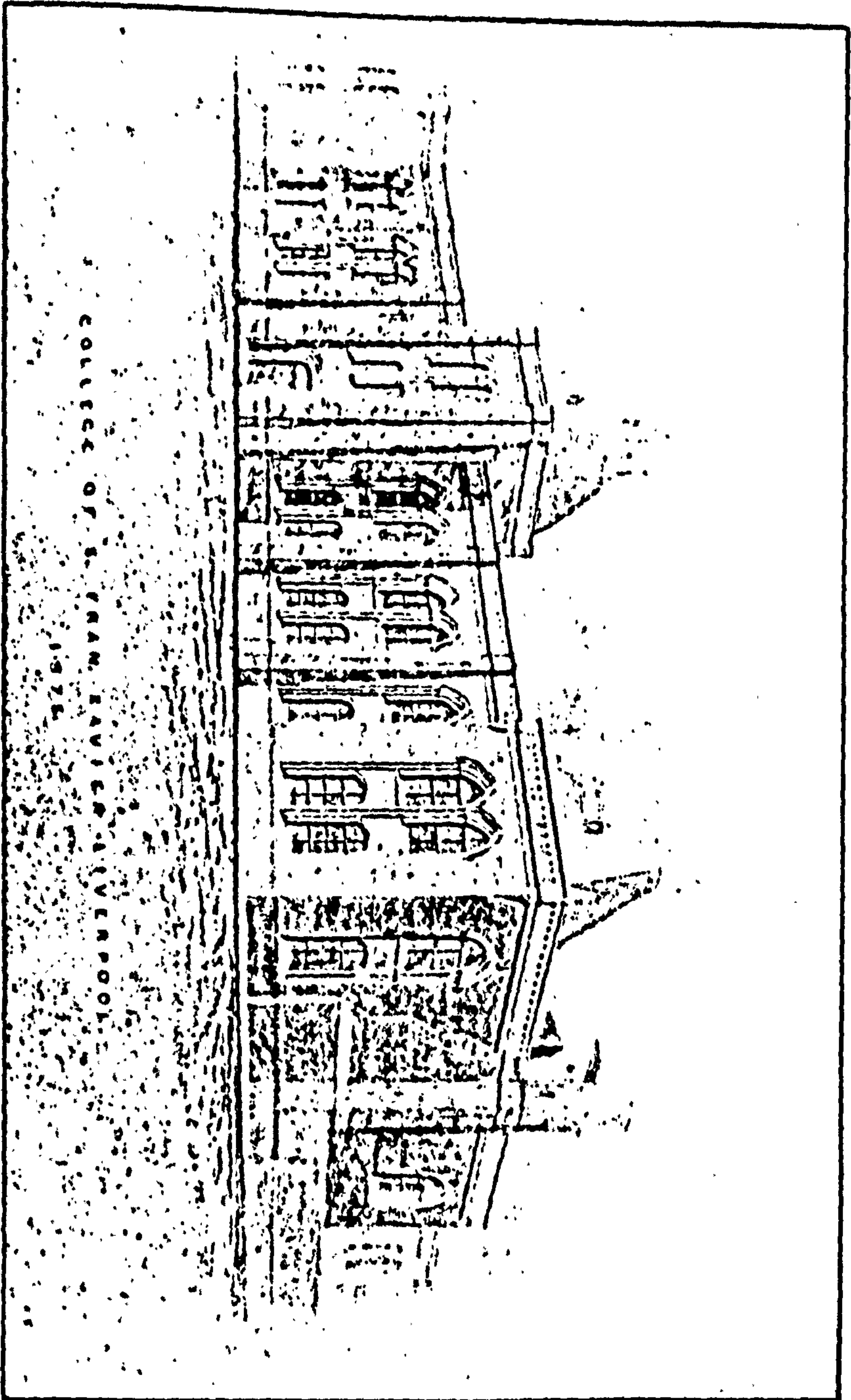
(3) APA, 6/4/3/1, A.IV.6. The tender is dated 2 July 1875.

PLATE X

UNEXECUTED DESIGN FOR THE NEW COLLEGE  
OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, LIVERPOOL  
BY FR. RICHARD VAUGHAN, S.J., 1875

From a photograph of the original  
architect's drawing, APA, 31





site. Almost the entire area of the College playground, alongside the 1856 building, was to be covered by the new school. To achieve this, the house at 4 Salisbury Street, used for many years as additional classroom accommodation, had to be demolished.

The demolition work began on 3 August 1875 (1). This meant that space for four of the higher classes and a room for drawing had to be found. The Jesuits gave the use of one of their parlours in the Community House and even their recreation room was used on occasion. The basement of the 1856 buildings was partitioned to make schoolrooms and the new Prefect of Studies, Fr. Gerard, set up his office in a cellar (2). The Academy Room on the first floor of the College was converted into two classrooms and the annexe at 13 Salisbury Street was crowded with boys from ground-floor to garret (3). Such cramped conditions were doubtless seen initially as exciting by the pupils. The demolition team working on 4 Salisbury Street removed most of the house and left a three storey gable wall standing. When all was ready a long rope was attached near the top and the boys of the College were invited to complete the work of demolition (4). Within a matter of weeks signs of progress on the foundations of the new College were visible. By the beginning of October 1875 pupils were being warned to keep away from the building site by Fr. Harris. From an entry in the College Notice Book, it appears some pupils were making a nuisance of themselves. It was announced

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(1) St. Francis Xavier's College Beadle's Logbook (hereafter Beadle's Logbook) 3 August 1875, APA, 832.

(2) Letters and Notices, 31, p.300.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

that:

Boys playing near the trenches which have water in them, or covering themselves with mud are to be punished with ferulas. (1)

On the same day the College Beadle noted progress and the difficulties being caused by building operations:

The foundations of the New College begin to appear on a level with the ground, the number of men at work being about thirty. Rain. Great inconvenience from want of sufficient space as playground. Boys of 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th classes recreate as usual in the vacant space of the playground; those of 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th in the inner court under the Church Windows. Fr. Provincial comes p.m. (2)

The visit of the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey, noted by the Beadle was to prove significant. Even as the foundations of the new College were being built, doubts were being raised about the suitability of Fr. Vaughan's design. Precisely who began questioning the plans is not clear, but discussion evidently soon took place at a high level within the Province. It was felt that Vaughan's proposed buildings were simply not worthy of the Society of Jesus (3). In a short time plans were afoot to pass the work to another architect. The Beadle noted without comment the arrival and departure of a visitor to the College early in September 1875. On 8 September he recorded:

Mr. Claton (sic) comes. (4)

and the next day

Mr. Claton leaves. (5)

The purpose of the man's visit was soon to be revealed.

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(1) Notice book 1 October 1875.

(2) Beadle's Logbook, 1 October 1875.

(3) Annual Letter, 1875, ARSJ, Anglia 1501.

(4) Beadle's Logbook, 8 September 1875.

(5) Ibid., 9 September 1875.

A change of plan 1875

The "Mr. Claton" referred to by the Beadle was Henry Clutton (1819-1893) then one of the most prominent Catholic architects in the country. He was shortly to be asked to undertake the task of redesigning St. Francis Xavier's College. How and why he was chosen to do this requires explanation.

Brought up as an Anglican, Clutton was a pupil of Edward Blore and travelled extensively in Europe to study architecture in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy. He had gained a considerable reputation as an architect before being received into the Catholic Church by Manning at Farm Street in 1857 (1). Much of his earliest work had been for the National Society, a body founded in 1809 for the promotion of the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church. Clutton's commissions had included extensions to the South Wales Training School at Carmarthen (1846-1848); the redesigning and rebuilding of Whitelands College, Chelsea (1850-1851); additions to St. Mark's College, Chelsea and, in 1853, plans for the ill-fated Westminster Training Institute, which was never built. He was also responsible for a new building at Queen Mary School, Basingstoke (2). In the 1850s Clutton worked in partnership with William Burges for a time and together they won the competition for Lille Cathedral in 1856, but their design was not used. On becoming a Catholic in 1857, Clutton resigned as architect to the National Society.

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(1) See Hunting, P.S., "The life and work of Henry Clutton, 1819-1893", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bedford College, University of London, 1979, p.74.

(2) Ibid., pp.134-141.

In the summer of 1858 he was introduced to George Dudley Ryder, son of the Bishop of Lichfield and grandson of the 1st Lord Harrowby. The meeting was to be a turning point in Clutton's career and led ultimately to an important series of commissions for the Catholic Church. George Ryder (1810-1880) had been educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where John Henry Newman had been his tutor. Ryder took Orders in the Church of England, and married Sophia, daughter of the Reverend John Sargent of Lavington. Sophia's sister Caroline married Henry Edward Manning, the future Cardinal, then a curate at Lavington. George Ryder took a living at Easton, near Winchester, where he remained with his wife from 1836 until 1845. In that year he left England on account of his wife's health and travelled to Italy. In Rome in 1846 Ryder and his wife, sister and three eldest children became Catholics. On the family's return to England their cousin Ambrose Lisle Philipps put at their disposal a house near his own in Leicestershire. During the next few years, Newman, now a Catholic, acted as Ryder's spiritual director (1). The Ryders' daughter, Caroline Alice, was named after her aunt, Caroline Manning, though in deference to Henry Manning's grief after his wife's death in 1837, she was later called by her second name (2).

Soon after meeting the Ryder family in 1858, Henry Clutton and Alice Ryder were engaged. They married in 1860. Now Clutton had close family links with leading Catholics, clerical and lay. But even before becoming a Catholic he had been "accepted". In January 1857 his plans for a new

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(1) Dessain, C.S., (ed.), Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, XI, p.355.

(2) Hunting, op.cit., p.80.

church at Bayswater were approved by Cardinal Wiseman. During the next twenty-one years Clutton was to receive twenty-seven commissions for Catholic buildings. Of these six were from Newman and the Oratorians, including the designing of the Oratory School in Birmingham in 1861, seven from Manning and the Oblates of St. Charles and eight from the Society of Jesus (1).

Henry Clutton's first commission for the Jesuits was to design the Chapel of the Sacred Heart at Farm Street Church in 1858-1860. His work there was considered a success. Another major commission followed in 1872-1873 when he was asked to design the new Jesuit church in Bournemouth. The appointment of Fr. Peter Gallwey as Provincial of the Society of Jesus in 1873 strengthened Clutton's position still further. Clutton's wife had been educated at the Sacred Heart Convent, Roehampton and had there met Fr. Gallwey who gave regular retreats to the School. After leaving Roehampton in 1857, she and a group of school-friends remained in contact with Fr. Gallwey, returning each year to the Sacred Heart Convent for a ten-days' retreat given by him (2). This link, combined with Clutton's existing reputation as an architect, and his prominence as architect of the proposed new Westminster Cathedral, led to a commission from Gallwey for a new Presbytery for the Church of the Holy Name in Manchester in 1874-1875 (3).

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(1) Ibid., p.78.

(2) Chronicle of the Convents of the Sacred Heart, Roehampton, Brighton, etc., Vol.V. p.72. I am indebted to Dr. Penelope S. Hunting for bringing this reference to my attention.

(3) Hunting, op.cit., p.351.

It seems clear that Henry Clutton's visit to Liverpool early in September 1875 was made at the request of Fr. Gallwey, who was having serious doubts about the worthiness of Fr. Richard Vaughan's design for the new St. Francis Xavier's College. Within eight weeks of the architect's visit to Salisbury Street, and with the foundations of the building near completion, Fr. Vaughan received orders to allow Clutton to draw up a new elevation for the College buildings. The existing groundplan was to be retained (1). The day after receiving instructions, Fr. Vaughan went to visit Clutton in London and noted the outcome of the meeting in his diary:

He undertakes professionally to furnish elevation for Liverpool - at once. Wrote to Kimberley to stop work on fan vaults, stone sills and moulded bricks. Wrote to Provincial giving account of what done in these matters. (2)

Events now moved with great speed. Clutton's elevation for the College was ready in less than ten days, approved almost immediately by the Provincial and his consultors and passed a week later by the Rector of the College, Fr. Thomas Porter, and his consultors (3). On Monday 29 November 1875 building work began again. In the short space of two weeks the design of the College had changed dramatically. Instead of the plain structure envisaged by Fr. Vaughan (4) a much more elaborate building in red brick and terra-cotta incorporating many features of Belgian and Northern French hôtels de ville was now under construction. The new plan involved a small amount of demolition of recently-built brick piers. Vaughan's

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(1) Diary and Architectural Notebook of Fr. R. Vaughan (hereafter Vaughan Notebook), 10 November 1875, APA, 30/6/6/1.

(2) Ibid., 11 November 1875.

(3) Ibid., 20, 25, and 26 November 1875.

(4) See Plate X, between pp. 279-280.

PLATE XI

GROUNDPLAN OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE  
c. 1865 WITH SUPERIMPOSED PLAN OF FR. RICHARD  
VAUGHAN'S PROPOSED COLLEGE ADDITION OF 1875

From a plan drawn, signed and dated September 1875 by  
Fr. Richard Vaughan and submitted to the Jesuit General,  
in ARSJ, Anglia 1005, XIV, 12



FRANCIS XAVIERS  
LIVERPOOL.

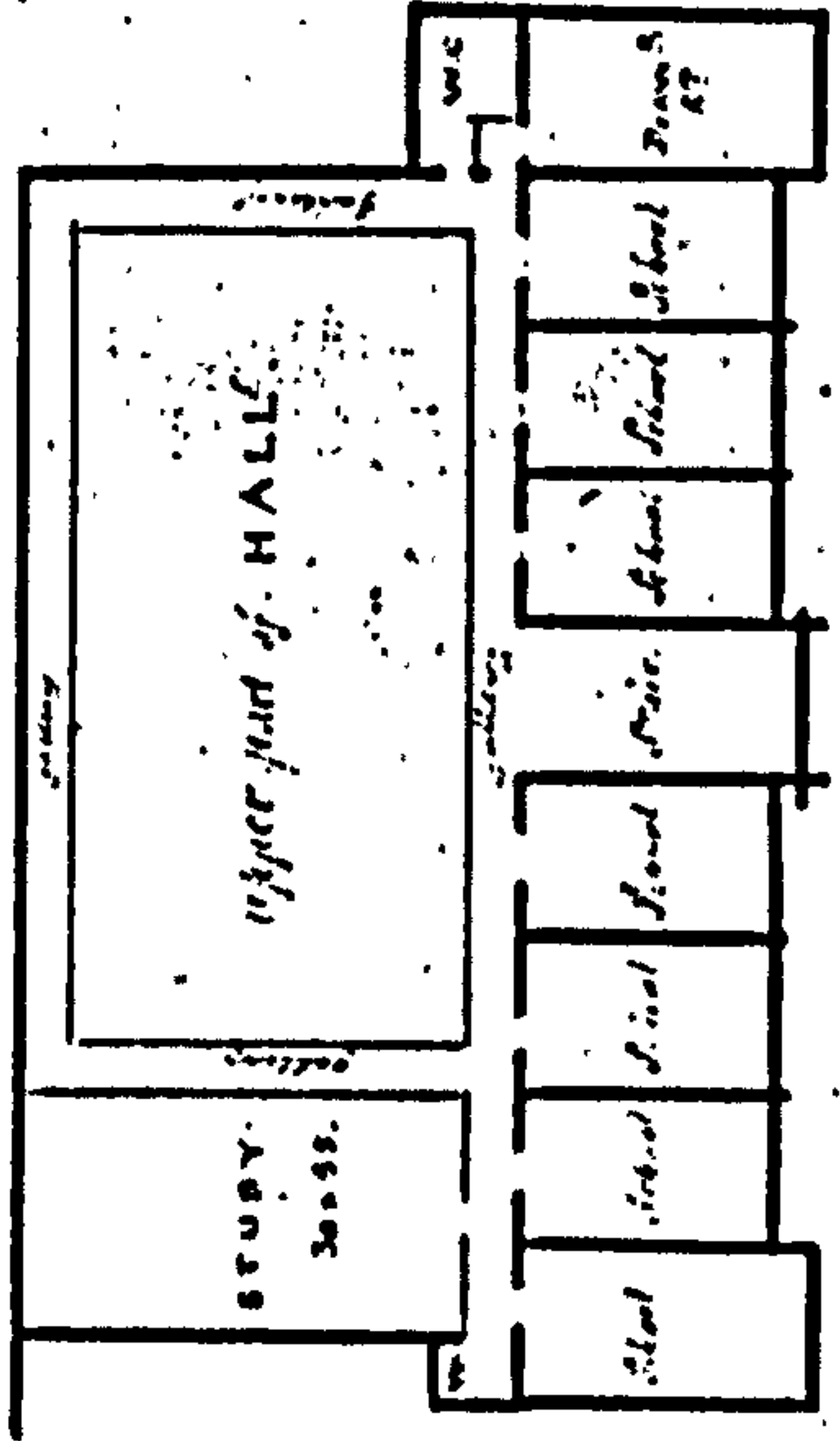
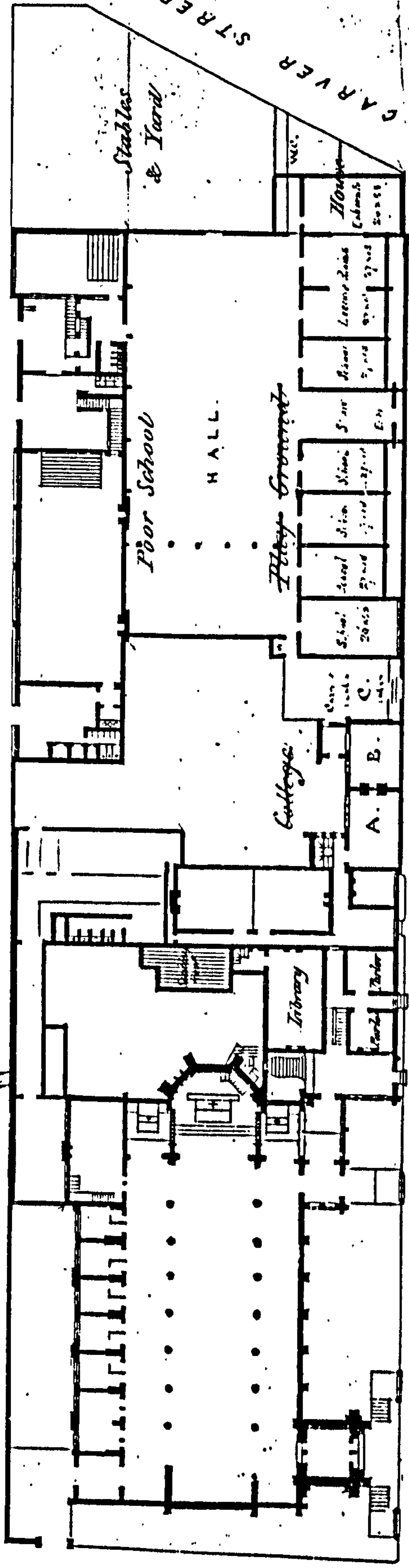
PLAYGROUND 135' x 117' S

H A I G H S T R E E T

C A R V E R S T R E E T

S A L I S B U R Y S T R E E T

C H U R C H S T R E E T



FIRST FLOOR PLAN.  
Redrawn and Sept. 1875. R.M.

Scale 60 feet to an Inch



- F. O'G. PATER'S BUILDINGS.
- ▨ NEW COLLEGE BUILDINGS.
- OPEN GROUND.

A.B.C. LOW BUILDINGS  
H. G. M.

Angl. 5 - XIV, 1875

enormous hall, however, was to be retained. The new building excited considerable interest and was illustrated in The Building News in May 1876 (1).

Construction work was hampered by bad weather, shortage of terra-cotta materials and a major accident in the summer of 1876 when three workmen were seriously injured (2). The rising costs incurred by delays evidently led to economies being made. Clutton's original design incorporated a clock tower surmounted by a flèche in the centre of the roof. This was not included when the roof was built. It was not until the summer of 1877 that the building was completed.

All was ready for the opening of the academic year 1877-1878. The Beadle was to record the event in his logbook:

Opening of Schools in the New College. Boys meet in the Hall, Rector present and delivers a speech. About 221 boys of High School present; in all about 260. Middle School take possession of the top schoolrooms. (3)

The Beadle's record is a bald and charitable account of what really happened. From an unknown Jesuit who witnessed the opening of the hall we have the following short account, written many years after the event:

In 1877 the College was finished and the Rector, Fr. Thomas Porter with Fr. Harris and the Masters, met the boys for the first time in the large hall. The echo in the hall was so great that scarcely a word of what was intended to be pleasant and encouraging was heard. The students, however, seemed to know by a sort of boyish instinct what was meant, and applauded vigorously, rightly guessing that they were to have extra play. (4)

Poor acoustics were to earn the hall the nickname "Vaughan's Folly", after the original architect of the building (5).

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(1) See Plate XII overleaf.

(2) Beadle's Logbook, 20 June 1876.

(3) Ibid., 8 August 1877.

(4) Letters and Notices, 31, p.301.

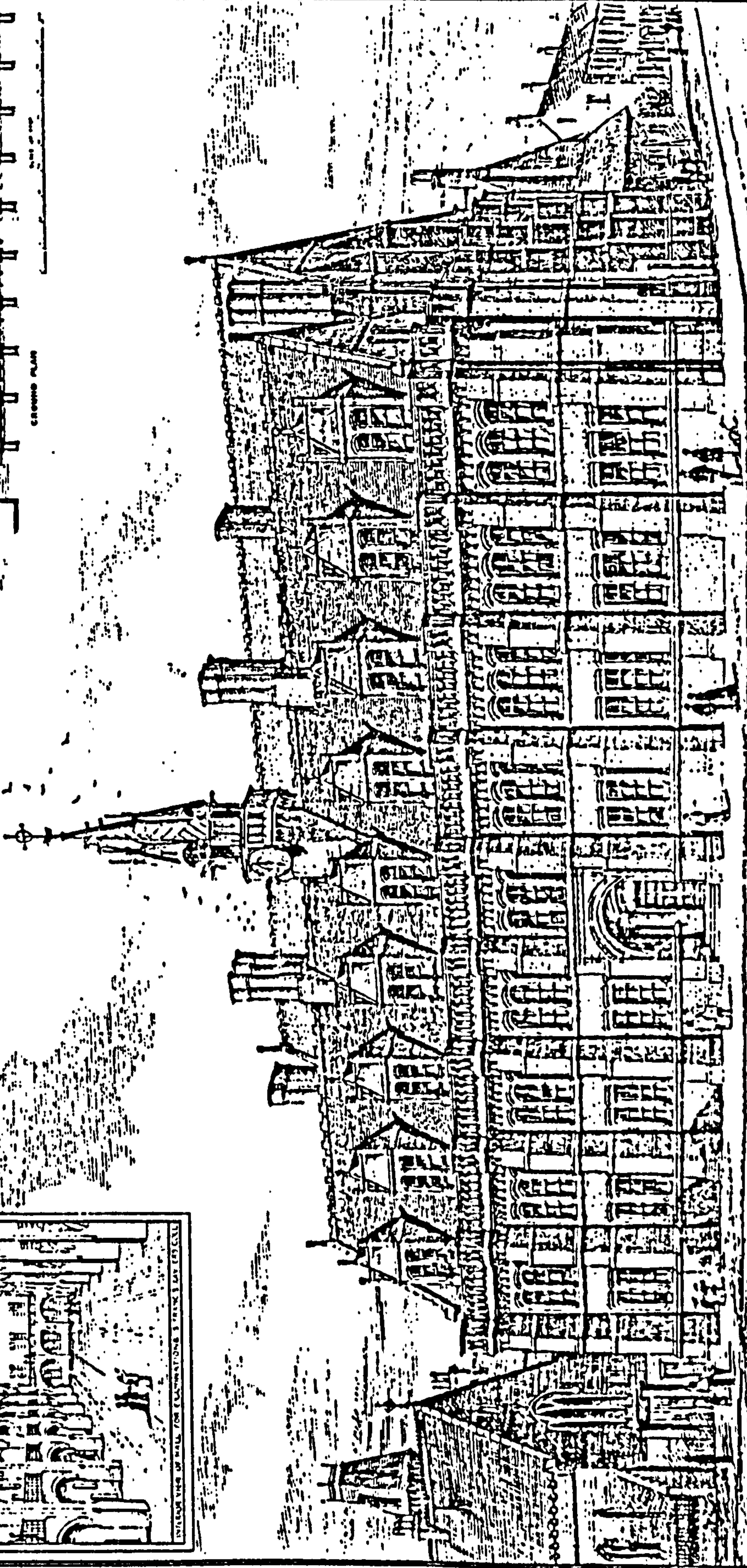
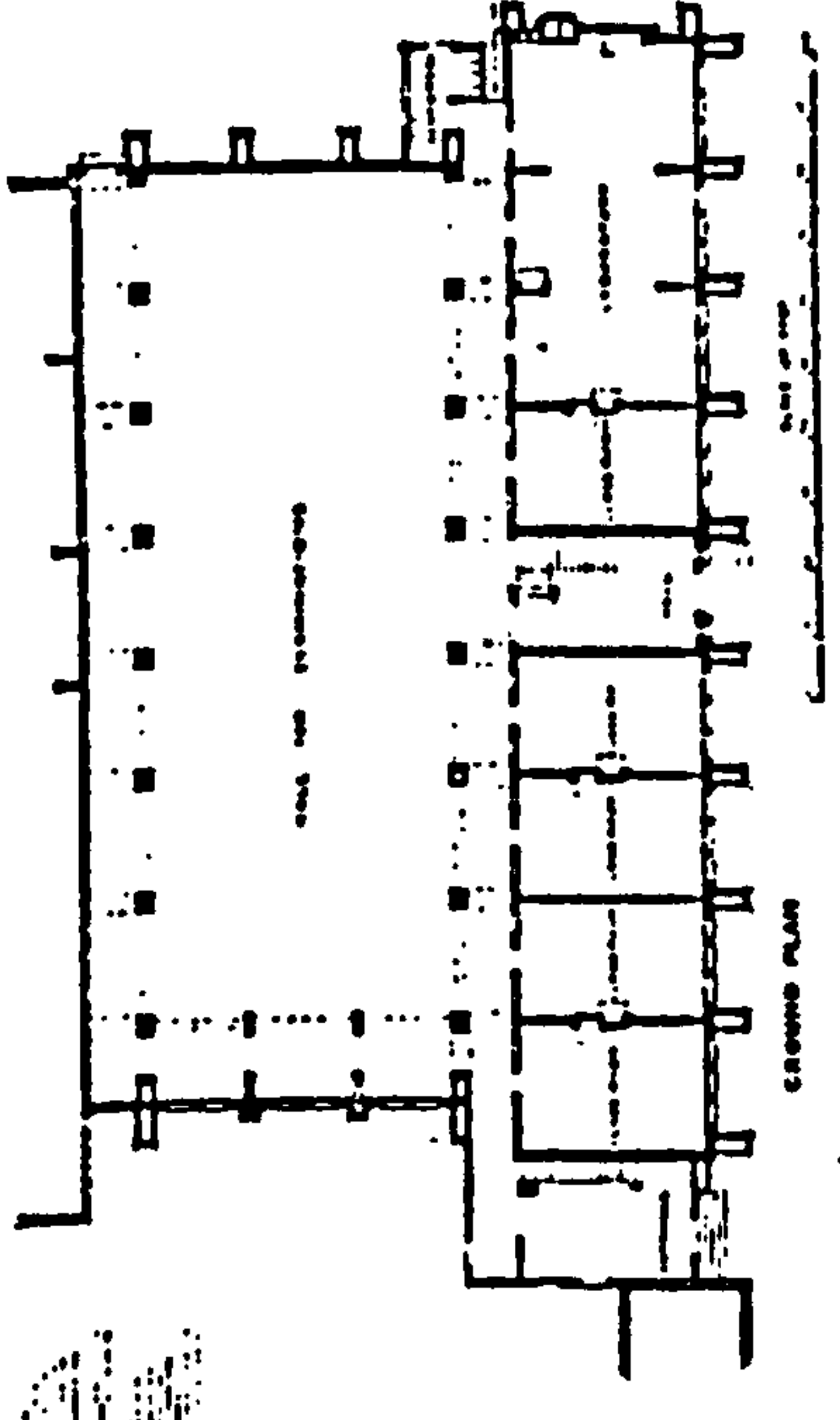
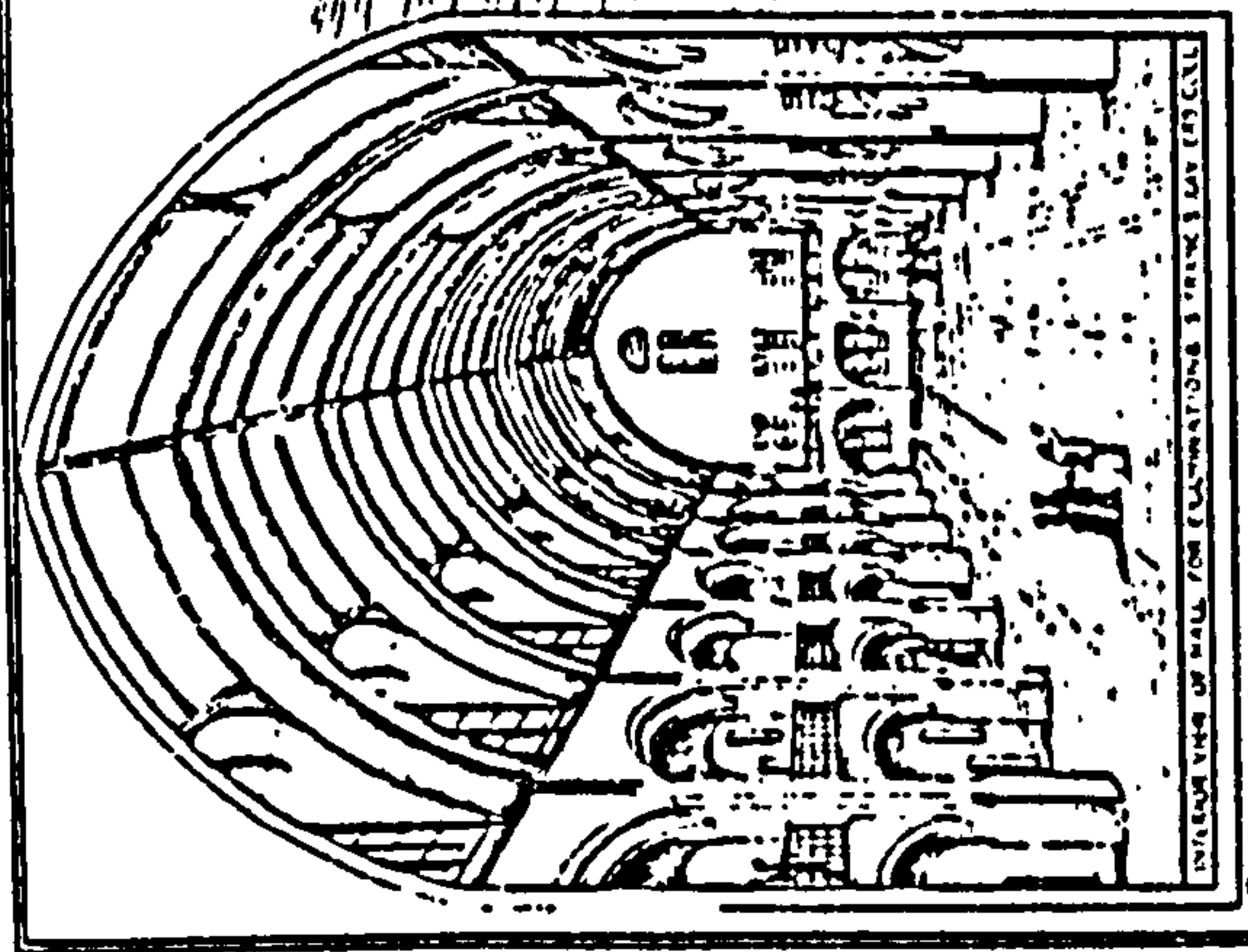
(5) Ryan, op.cit., p.48.

PLATE XII

HENRY CLUTTON'S DESIGN FOR ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE,  
LIVERPOOL, 1875

From The Building News and Engineering Journal,  
19 May 1876, pp. 494-495

Clutton's design was executed as shown in the illustration overleaf, but without the clock tower and flèche



S. FRANCIS · XAVIERS · COLLEGE · LIVERPOOL.

H. CLUTTON ARCHITECT

Within a week of the opening of the new college, two hundred and ninety-eight boys were on the rolls (1) and for the first time in many years there was ample space for everybody. The new building occupied the site of the original playground, and a new playground had been laid out on land adjoining Shaw Street. This was linked to the new college building by a tunnel under Haigh Street, built specially for the purpose. Though it had its drawbacks, the vast hall was a blessing in the damp Liverpool climate. In wet weather it served as an ambulatory for the pupils. Whereas the new classrooms of the College were heated by means of conventional coal fires which took time to make their effect, the hall was a comfortable place. As the Rector was proud to report:

...the hall of the New College is heated with warm water by means of Metcalf's vertical tubular boiler and piping through the hall - all the other rooms are heated with fireplaces. (2)

Later, in the absence of a gymnasium, the new hall was to be used for drill.

The total cost of the new buildings was £20,556, (3) far in excess of the £3000 proposed by Fr. George Porter ten years earlier. In 1875 the Minister of the College, Fr. Francis Clough, had opposed Vaughan's modest plans for a building costing about £7000. His feelings about the cost of the new Clutton building are not recorded! To meet the cost of the new building the Rector of the College had to borrow heavily, as the summary table overleaf indicates:

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(1) Beadle's Log, 13 August 1877.

(2) T. Porter to Fr. T. Sidgreaves, 10 May 1877, APA, RW/3.

(3) St. Francis Xavier's Property Book, APA, 832.

TABLE XVIFINANCING OF NEW BUILDINGS AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE1876-1877 (1)

Raised from securities given by Fr. Gallwey	1,898.18.4
Donation from Jesuit District Fund	2,000. 0.0
Loan from English Province Fund to pay builder and architect	16,596. 3.3
Loan of legacy given to the Society by a Miss Tasker	<u>966.14.2</u>
	<u>£21,461.15.9</u>

Soon after undertaking the work at Liverpool, Clutton received three other major commissions from the Society of Jesus. The first, in 1876, was for a large new church dedicated to St. Michael at Ditton, near Liverpool, attached to the house of the German Jesuits recently expelled from their country as a result of the Kulturkampf agitation under Bismarck. The second involved additions to Farm Street Church in 1876-1877. Finally, in 1877, Clutton was asked to design a large new college at Mount St. Mary's. When the Society of Jesus found the latter plans too expensive, perhaps in view of the recent financial commitments in Liverpool, the scheme was abandoned (2). Despite the heavy cost and the disappointment of the poor acoustics in the hall, for which Henry Clutton could not be held responsible, his work at St. Francis Xavier's was judged a success. His buildings were to be the home of the College for the next eighty-four years.

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(1) Table based on a document in APA, RX/2.

(2) For a full account of this episode, see Hunting, op.cit., p.83.

The beginnings of the Inter-Collegiate Competition 1875-1877

Fr. Peter Gallwey as Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst in the late 1850s succeeded, it will be recalled, in reviving studies in the spirit of the Ratio. Reintroduction of features such as the Concertatio at Stonyhurst had quickly resulted in reform at Liverpool under Fathers Bodoano and Payne. Now as Provincial, nearly twenty years later, Gallwey was equally determined to ensure that the spirit of the Ratio was maintained. Concertatios were still held regularly at St. Francis Xavier's (1), and at other Jesuit colleges in the Province. Gallwey felt that what was now needed was a bolstering of the existing spirit within the colleges by means of an annual competition.

The first steps towards such an arrangement were taken in 1875. Setting aside a sum of money from Province funds for the purchase of prizes, Gallwey invited two colleges, St. Francis Xavier's and Mount St. Mary's, to participate in the new competition. Prizes were available in a variety of subjects, including public speaking. Of the eleven prizes offered in 1875, six were won by boys from Liverpool (2).

Gallwey's scheme won support in some Jesuit quarters and criticism in others. News of the competition swiftly reached the ears of the General. Shortly after the first contest was over, Gallwey received a letter from Fr. General Beckx lending his support to the idea of stimulating emulation among pupils in colleges throughout the Province. He gave a warning, however, of a fear expressed to him

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(1) See Beadle's Logbook, 28 May 1875 and 23 October 1876.

(2) Catholic Times, 25 June 1875, p.2.

in correspondence by certain English Jesuits that the competition might also excite envy between the colleges (1).

Such criticism was not to deter Fr. Gallwey. In 1876 the competition was organized again. This time the Rectors of Stonyhurst, Mount St. Mary's and St. Francis Xavier's were invited to allow their pupils to take part. There was to be no obligation on any college to participate if the Rector did not choose to do so. Gallwey issued a clear set of instructions detailing the rules of entry and all the categories of prizes available for pupils of different age-groups (2). Cash prizes totalling £95 were made available. In addition £8 was set aside for buying books to be chosen by prizewinners and another twelve book prizes were also promised.

The written part of the examination took place early in May in the various colleges and papers were assessed ....by three Examiners of the Society unconnected with any of the competing Colleges. (3)

The Elocution competition was to be held at Stonyhurst one day in either May or June. The results of all the competitions were to be announced on that occasion. The Beadle of St. Francis Xavier's College was to record early in June 1876:

Mr. Foley takes the Competitors for the Competition to Stonyhurst. (4)

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(1) Beckx to Gallwey, 1 September 1875, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1884, f.55.

(2) The rules for the 1876-1877 Competitions are reproduced in Appendix XII.

(3) See Appendix XII. An extract from the written paper for 1876, the earliest to survive, is reproduced in the same Appendix.

(4) Beadle's Logbook, 6 June 1876.



There they stayed for two days (1).

In the written part of the 1877 competition, St. Francis Xavier's College entered only the English Essay section (2). On this occasion the boys' efforts were concentrated on the Senior and Junior prizes for public speaking. By early May two boys had been selected to represent the College in the Senior section. Steps were taken to ensure their performance was polished before they left for Stonyhurst. As the Beadle noted:

The two boys going in for the Senior Speaking Prize in the Competition delivered their pieces in the Refectory during dinner. (3)

The three candidates for the Junior section were similarly prepared (4). All this careful preparation proved worthwhile. The Prefect of Studies, Fr. Gerard, accompanied by Gerald Tarleton, a scholastic, and the five College boys, departed for Stonyhurst. There the First Prizes in both sections were won by boys from St. Francis Xavier's with the Second Prize and extra prizes also going to the College in the Junior section (5). On the return of the victors to Liverpool everybody was given an hour's extra recreation as a reward (6).

Gallwey's intentions in initiating the Competition

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(1) Ibid., 8 June 1876. The "Mr. Foley" referred to was James Foley, a young scholastic and old boy both of St. Francis Xavier's, where he had spent five years, and Stonyhurst, where he had spent two. With such a background he was particularly suited to calming the nerves of Liverpool boys probably venturing into an imposing public school for the first time in their lives. Throughout his time at Liverpool, both as a scholastic and later as a priest, Foley was highly successful in preparing boys for the Inter-Collegiate Competition. See The Xaverian, August 1900, p.123.

(2) Letters and Notices, 11, p.341.

(3) Beadle's Logbook, 11 May 1877.

(4) Ibid., 15 May 1877.

(5) Ibid., 22, 23, and 24 May 1877. See also Appendix XII.

(6) Ibid., 24 May 1877.

were beginning to bear fruit and boys of St. Francis Xavier's College were being given an opportunity for the first time to look out beyond their own walls and mix with pupils from other schools. Amongst the colleges of the English Province a spirit of competition had been awakened. It was to be fostered and was to endure for another sixty years down to the outbreak of the Second World War.

#### Broadening the curriculum and raising standards 1875

The progress of St. Francis Xavier's College, the largest Jesuit day school in Britain, situated in the very heart of an increasingly important centre of commerce, was watched carefully by the Jesuit General, Fr. Beckx, particularly during the 1870s. The enormous growth of the Society of Jesus worldwide during his generalate, and increasing calls on his time, did not prevent Beckx from taking action whenever and wherever he judged it necessary. Through his advisers, from official annual reports sent to him and from direct correspondence from individual Jesuits in England he was able to assess the needs of particular communities. Liverpool was no exception. Early in 1875 the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey, received from the General a letter concerning the curriculum at St. Francis Xavier's. Aware of the desire of many parents of College boys to encourage their sons to take up a commercial career, Beckx urged Gallwey to ensure that more time was given at Liverpool to modern languages, arithmetic and chemistry (1).

Fr. Gallwey was swift to act. Though no record survives

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(1) Beckx to Gallwey, 10 April 1875, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1874, f.46.

to indicate what steps, if any, were taken to allot more time to the first two areas of the curriculum mentioned, arrangements were made to introduce the teaching of chemistry, which hitherto had not been available. By November 1875 a new "Science Class" had been begun by John Sergeant, a scholastic who had already been teaching for two years at the College (1). His work as a teacher of science could only be a temporary measure as he was soon to leave Liverpool to continue his training as a Jesuit. Looking to the future, Gerard and Gallwey made two important decisions.

First of all, while construction work on the new College was still in progress, it was decided to incorporate into the plan a teaching area for science. Advice was taken on the matter. Fr. Ferdinand Hermès, a young German Jesuit based at Ditton, near Liverpool, was invited by the Prefect of Studies, Fr. Gerard, to come and discuss arrangements for the planning of a new laboratory with Fr. Richard Vaughan (2). Hermès, who had recently graduated at the University of Bonn (3), probably in science, was doubtless able to give valuable and up to date advice.

Next, not having a qualified Jesuit scientist available for permanent teaching work at Liverpool, Fr. Gallwey summoned the architect Fr. Richard Vaughan from his parish duties at Farm Street. He asked him to go and teach chemistry at St. Francis Xavier's from the beginning of the New Year, 1877. At the same time he also requested him to superintend the building of the new College there,

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(1) Beadle's Log, 10 November 1875.

(2) Ibid., 3 March 1876.

(3) See Catalogus Provinciae Germaniae Societatis Jesu, 1872 (Ratisbon, 1872) p.6.

to Henry Clutton's design. Furthermore, Vaughan was asked by Gallwey to begin a period of formal training in chemistry to qualify him for his future work in Liverpool (1).

These requests must have been a trial for Vaughan. On the one hand, having had his own design for St. Francis Xavier's rejected, he was being asked to supervise the work of another architect whose plans he privately considered extravagant (2). On the other, he was being asked to change direction and prepare himself at the age of fifty for a new career as a teacher of chemistry. Without complaining, and in the spirit of Ignatius Loyola, who himself had had to begin fresh study in his middle years, Richard Vaughan undertook the task.

Gallwey's intention was that Vaughan should teach chemistry at St. Francis Xavier's in term time. His vacations were to be devoted to study under Professor F.S.Barff, who held the Chair of Chemistry at Manning's new Catholic University College at Kensington (3). Vaughan was accepted as a student by Barff without difficulty. The Professor refused, however, to accept a fee from him, directly or indirectly. Having paid his annual laboratory fee of £25, Vaughan was surprised to have his money returned to him two days later by the Rector of the Kensington

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(1) Vaughan Notebook, 17 December 1876.

(2) "My plan (for St. Francis Xavier's College) including Hall, occupying exactly the same area would have cost £13000. Clutton's (will) cost nominally £26000, but they say much more." Vaughan Notebook, 15 January 1877.

(3) Barff, who had formerly been an Anglican curate in Hull, had taught at Beaumont after joining the Roman Catholic Church. For an account of his work at Kensington, see McClelland, V.A., Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (London, Oxford University Press, 1962), pp.115-116 and the same author's English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), p.303.

PLATE XIII

Top left

FR. RICHARD VAUGHAN, S.J. (1826-1899) Architect  
Responsible for the first, rejected design of 1875 for  
St. Francis Xavier's College.  
Professor of Chemistry at St. Francis Xavier's, 1876-1892

From a photograph of c. 1890, APA, 31

Top right

FR. JOHN GERARD, S.J. (1840-1912)  
Prefect of Studies 1875-1879

From a photograph of c. 1875, APA, 31

Bottom left

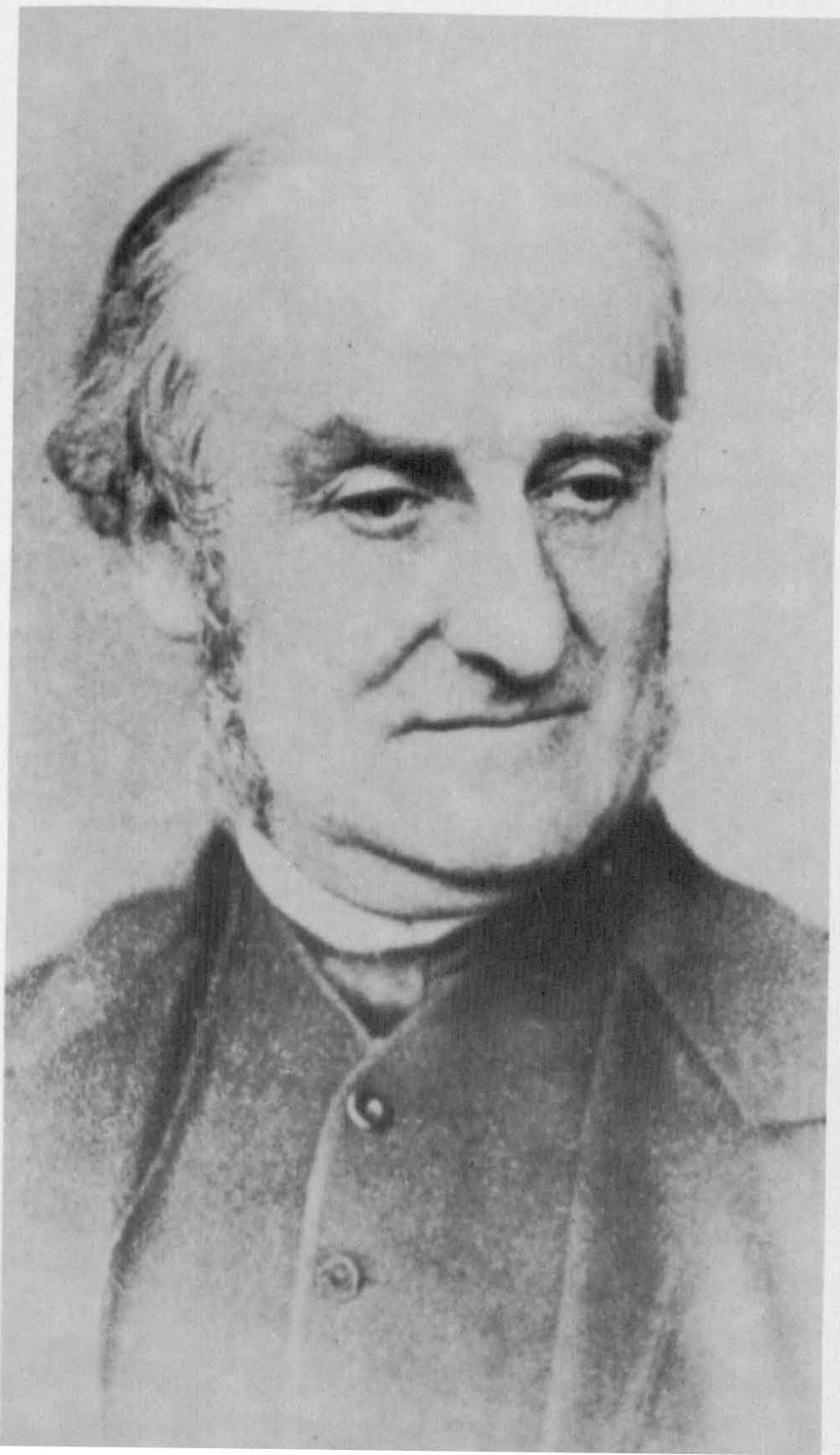
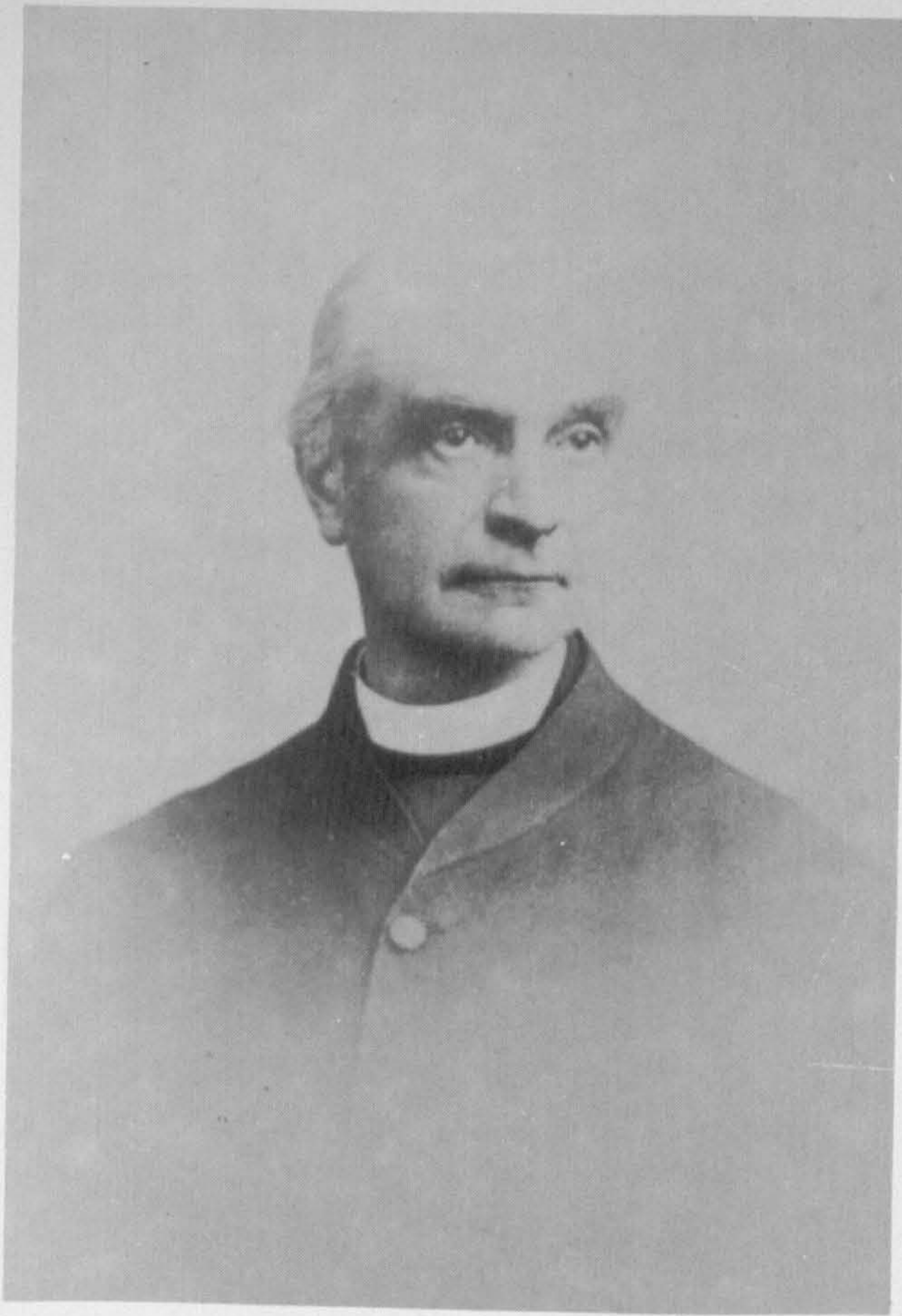
HENRY CLUTTON (1819-1893) Architect  
Responsible for the design of 1876 executed for St. Francis  
Xavier's College

From a photograph of c. 1880 reproduced by courtesy of  
Mrs. K. Pirenne of Oxford, grand-daughter of Henry Clutton,  
through Dr. Penelope Hunting

Bottom right

THOMAS LIGHTBOUND (1811-1895)  
Married Catherine Lythgoe (1812-1875), sister of Fr. Randal  
Lythgoe, S.J., at Winwick Parish Church, Lancashire,  
27 April 1835.  
Founder member of the Society of St. Francis Xavier, 1840  
First President of the Xaverian Association, 1884

From a photograph of c. 1880 reproduced by courtesy of  
Mr. Bernard Lightbound of Wokingham, great-great-grandson  
of Thomas Lightbound



College, Monsignor Thomas Capel. Politely but firmly Capel informed Vaughan that Cardinal Manning objected to his enrolling as a student (1). Instead he had to make arrangements to study privately with Barff and Professor Graham at University College, London, where he worked continuously from June to August 1877 (2).

The arrival of Fr. Richard Vaughan as Professor of Chemistry at St. Francis Xavier's in January 1877 was an important development not only in the curriculum of the College in particular, but also in the educational policy of the Province in general. At Stonyhurst there had been a long and important tradition of scientific teaching. By 1808 a mathematical apparatus room had been built, a chemical laboratory was being planned and a Professor of Chemistry was appointed in 1812 (3). Despite these early beginnings and the subsequent introduction of natural philosophy and zoology, scientific education at Stonyhurst was restricted to the class of Rhetoric and other more senior

(1) Vaughan Notebook, 17, 20 and 22 December 1876. The truth was, no doubt, that Manning did not want any Jesuit involvement in his new college at any level. In 1873 the Society of Jesus had been excluded from staffing the Kensington venture after a serious difference of opinion with Manning. The exclusion of Vaughan would not have been made for any personal reasons, but rather to avoid the presence of one whom Manning considered a potential spy in the camp. For a discussion of relations between Manning and the Jesuits see McClelland, V.A., Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (London, Oxford University Press, 1962), pp.112-114.

(2) Vaughan Notebook, 22 December 1876 and general summary for 1877.

(3) For an account of early 19th century scientific education at Stonyhurst see Holt, G., "The March of Science", in The Stonyhurst Magazine, (October 1958), pp.211-217. I am indebted to Fr. Geoffrey Holt, S.J., for bringing his article to my attention. For further details of early scientific education at Stonyhurst see Larkin, M., "Science at Stonyhurst: the first hundred years" in The Stonyhurst Magazine, Vol.42 (1981-1982), pp.26-32 and 116-123.

students (1). In Rhetoric, science was taught to all pupils, regardless of whether they intended to take the London Matriculation Examination or not. This situation remained unchanged in 1876. Fr. General Beckx's move to encourage the provision of a course in chemistry for every boy at St. Francis Xavier's was, therefore, significant.

At first a makeshift chemical laboratory was fitted up by Fr. Vaughan in the cellars under the kitchen of the community house in Salisbury Street. This continued in use until the completion of the new laboratory in 1877 (2). By September of that year a "night chemistry class for young men" who had not had the opportunity of studying the subject at school was begun by Fr. Vaughan (3).

Even before Vaughan's arrival in Liverpool the idea of such an evening class in chemistry had been put forward. The suggestion probably came from Fr. Gerard, who was himself keenly interested in the subject. The original intention had been to admit some of the older boys at the College to the evening classes. By this arrangement, it was presumably hoped that a full sized group would be formed. Such a scheme also had the advantage of releasing a master during the day to teach chemistry to the lower classes in the College.

Fr. Harris was violently opposed to such a plan. So strong were his feelings that he wrote to the Provincial

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(1) See Fr.G.Kingdon's submission to the Taunton Commission on studies at Stonyhurst, given on 14 December 1865, in Schools Enquiry Commission, Vol.V, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners, Part II (London, 1868), pp.326-327.

(2) The Prefect of Studies, Fr. Gerard, is also said to have taught physics in his temporary subterranean room while building work was in progress, but with very poor apparatus and few instruments. See Letters and Notices, 31, p.301.

(3) Vaughan Notebook, 5 September 1877.



to register his protest:

I have heard it whispered that in the new College there will be night classes of drawing and chemistry for young men at work during the day, and that a nucleus might be formed by sending in our bigger boys to study these branches with them. Well, I who am now commencing my twelfth year's labour in this place, who love it well and, I think, know it thoroughly, beg and implore that such a course may not even be thought of seriously. It would be

1. the destruction of the Brigade -- and none know what the Brigade has done for this College -- and in saying this I am guilty of no self-love;

2. the ruin of the boys' Studies (i.e. Night Studies), and the superficial knowledge they would get in such night schools could never repay for the loss of the only serious study they can obtain;

3. I would not answer for the morality of the place for one day if our scholars were allowed to turn out at night with a lot of young men, even though some had been students here formerly.

I say nothing about the opposition of parents, the difficulties of getting the boys to come regularly, etc. In a word the revolutionizing of the whole place. I merely speak of the matter "in globo" now so that your Reverence may know my great and fervent wish concerning it. (1)

Though he no longer had any direct control of the studies in the College, Harris's wishes were respected and the boys' chemistry lessons were kept totally separate from the night classes for young men.

In one sense there was a "revolutionizing of the whole place" with the introduction of an independent series of evening lectures on scientific topics, given in the College hall throughout the late 1870s. These talks, delivered for the most part by the Prefect of Studies, Fr. John Gerard, were open to College boys and masters and interested members of the public. In practice the latter probably belonged principally to St. Francis Xavier's parish. For adults there was a small entrance fee, but College boys were

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(1) Harris to Gallwey, 14 August 1876, APA, RW/3.

admitted free of charge. Lectures began in 1876-1877, with subjects such as "On Beer"(1) and "The History of an Apple" (2), followed in 1878 by a second series of "Popular Scientific Lectures" opening with a talk by Fr. Gerard on "African Geography" (3). Early in 1879 a talk on "Sonorous Energy" by Fr. Sebastian Sircom, Professor of Experimental Physics at Stonyhurst, marked the beginning of a third year of lectures. From the College Beadle we learn that the first of the 1879 talks by Fr. Sircom

....was very good indeed, but the attendance would have been quite as bad as usual but that the boys were admitted free. This raised the audience to about 200. (4)

Limited though these evening lectures may have been, both in scope and in regularity of attendance by College boys, they did mark an important departure in policy. Science was now being taken seriously. The stability provided by Fr. Richard Vaughan in serving as Professor of Chemistry at the College for over fifteen years, from 1877 until his retirement in 1892, was to give added impetus to science education in the College.

#### London Matriculation and Oxford Locals 1876-1877

On his visitations to St. Francis Xavier's College in 1875 and 1876 the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey, recorded two important memoranda in the Visitation Book. In 1875 he wrote:

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(1) Beadle's Log, 30 November 1876.

(2) Ibid., 31 January 1877.

(3) Beadle's Log, 5 December 1878. In 1876 the English Jesuits opened a new college in Grahamstown in the Cape Colony and in 1878 began the Zambesi Mission. Fr. Gerard's geographical talk on Africa was, therefore, of great topical interest.

(4) Ibid., 29 January 1879.

Fr. Provincial begs of Fr. Rector to make all necessary arrangements without delay to enable such scholars as are capable of it to matriculate in the London University. (1).

Besides the general purpose of raising standards among the greatest possible number of boys, there was another special motive behind the request, as he was to indicate:

It is desirable that all who enter the Novitiate (of the Society of Jesus) should matriculate before entering. (2)

The following year the instruction for the Prefect of Studies was clear and to the point that "all pains must be taken to bring all the classes to the standard of Stonyhurst" (3).

Much was being asked of Fr. Gerard. In 1877 the College Rector, Fr. Thomas Porter, was posted to Jamaica (4). His temporary replacement, Fr. James Maguire, was to prove a poor administrator in his two years as Vice-Rector. Increasing responsibility for improving standards in the College consequently now fell on the shoulders of Fr. Gerard and Fr. Harris.

The Provincial's request of 1875 regarding the introduction of the London Matriculation Examination was not ignored. Within a matter of a few months the first pupil from the College, John Robert Prescott, was entered as a candidate and passed with Honours (5). The following year another pupil, Edward Carroll, achieved a similar success (6). By 1877 candidates from the three English Jesuit boarding schools and the Jesuit Novitiate at Roehampton were being entered for the examination. The

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(1) Visitation Book, APA, 6/4/3/4, Memorial of Visitation, 1875.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1876.

(4) Fr. Thomas Porter set sail for Jamaica in August 1877 and was nominated Vicar Apostolic of the island on 6 September following; Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.262.

(5) The Xaverian, January 1902, p.18.

(6) Ibid.

small Jesuit grammar school at Preston, still struggling as a collegium inchoatum, was not yet ready to present candidates for the London examination. St. Francis Xavier's College as a Jesuit day school therefore stood alone. The College's results in 1877 appear extremely modest when compared with the achievements of the boarding schools, as Table XVII shows:

TABLE XVII

LONDON MATRICULATION EXAMINATION SUCCESSES IN THE  
COLLEGES OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE, SJ, 1877 (1)

	Candidates Entered	Passes
Stonyhurst	6	6
Mount St. Mary's	4	4
Beaumont	6	5
Manresa, Roehampton	3	2
St. Francis Xavier's	6	2
Totals	25	19

It must be remembered, however, that the other colleges listed had been entering pupils for the examination for some years.

The experiment was evidently considered worthwhile and was extended. By the beginning of the academic year 1878-1879 students in the night class at the College were being prepared for the London examination by Fr. John Sergeant who hurried from St. Beuno's to Liverpool to begin teaching his new course in chemistry the day after his

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(1) From information in the Diary of Fr. George Porter, Rector of Manresa House, Roehampton, 7 July 1877, APA, 51/3/7.

ordination (1). His efforts and those of the other masters were not in vain. The following summer the Beadle was able to record celebrations in the Jesuit community:

Punch in honour of the Matriculators, all six of whom - one from the night class and the others from the College proper - had passed, one being in Honours, three in the First Class and two in the Second. (2)

The introduction of the London Matriculation Examination in 1875 led two years later to pupils being entered for the Oxford Local Examination. Fr. Gerard may have been influenced by what was beginning to happen at the Society's school in Preston. In 1876 the Liverpool examination centre for the "Oxford Locals" was being used by boys from the Preston school (3). St. Francis Xavier's followed suit in 1877 and further successes could soon be noted:

News of Oxford Locals - all three passed, Walshe 48th in the First Class, 5th of the Liverpool centre, the other two in the Second Class, 990 in all passed. (4)

Again, as with the early successes of the London Matriculation candidates, these small triumphs were duly celebrated with wine for the Jesuit Community and an hour's extra play for all the boys (5).

A few years later, in 1881, one College boy, James McIlvenna, gained the first place in the Liverpool centre in the Oxford Locals, thereby also winning the £5 prize offered annually by Lord Derby for the best result among the Liverpool candidates (6). In the following year the same boy won the fifth place in Honours in the entire London

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(1) Beadle's Log, 23 September 1878.

(2) Ibid., 4 August 1879.

(3) In 1876 the Beadle recorded the arrival in Liverpool from Preston of a group of boys accompanied by Fr. Henry Martin, the part-time director of the school there. See Beadle's Log, 29 May 1876.

(4) Ibid., 27 August 1877.

(5) Ibid., 28 and 29 August 1877.

(6) The Xaverian, May 1893, p.264, and January 1902, p.19.

Matriculation examination, took the premier place from among all the Catholic schools in the country, won a prize from the University of London and took the £25 prize in the Inter-collegiate Competition among the Jesuit colleges of the English Province (1). James McIlvenna's triumphs of 1881-1882 can be seen as the symbolic starting point of a new tradition of academic distinctions which was to endure unbroken at St. Francis Xavier's College until the outbreak of the Second World War.

#### Non-academic pupils

A college such as St. Francis Xavier's, accepting pupils of all abilities, while encouraging those boys who could perform well in examinations, had to beware of neglecting pupils of lesser academic attainments. Both Fr. Gerard and Fr. Harris were conscious of this danger and had to ensure that the Middle School continued to offer the type of curriculum best suited to the boys. After 1875 this was vital if the school was to survive in the face of competition from the new Catholic Institute in Liverpool, as Harris informed the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey:

We have about 244 in the High School and 70 in the Middle School. I should like to see still more urgent efforts made in the English Branches in the High School. When I say English Branches, I mean Reading, Spelling and Geography. I am... maturing a plan... for the improvement of our Middle School which ought to be a feeder for the College.

I have perfect confidence in Fr. Gerard, but I feel, and I think he feels also, that there are numbers of boys whose mental qualifications will never enable them to master the first elements of Classics and whose time would be much better employed in the constant study of the three "R's", with a little French and nothing else.

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(1) Ibid., May 1893, p.264.

Up to the present time about five of our scholars have left to join the newly-opened Catholic Institute. A few others may be leaving for the same purpose... Reports say there are about 25 scholars of whom two only learn Latin. The advertisement calls the Institute "A Catholic High Commercial School". Hence my anxiety about the English Branches. (1)

Harris and Gerard need not have worried. Though by 1876 Harris had long ceased to keep a Journal and a regular written record of the numerical growth of the College, entries in the Beadle's Log give a clear picture of this development in the period 1877-1878.

The details are summarized as follows:

TABLE XVIII

GROWTH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1877-1878

Date	High School	Middle School	Night Class	Total
13 August 1877	246	52	-	298
7 September 1878	269	91	20 "and a few in Fr. Vaughan's evening chemistry class."	"over 380"

By the beginning of 1879 the Beadle was proud to record:

The Census of the High School today reached 273, the highest number ever attained. The same figure was once before reached, but that was by a sudden accidental rise, not by a steady increase as now; and, moreover, at that time we had no Middle School, and no Catholic Institute existed.(2)

Celebrating success 1877-1879

Academic successes and growing numbers were not celebrated merely by allowing extra recreation for the boys

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(1) Harris to Gallwey, 30 January 1876, APA, RX/2.

(2) Beadle's Log, 28 January 1879.

in the College playground and by wine or punch for the Jesuit community behind closed doors in their refectory. Regular Proclamation ceremonies at Midsummer and at Christmas continued to keep parents well informed of progress. Reports of these events in the local press in Liverpool and in the national Catholic press drew the name of St. Francis Xavier's College increasingly into the limelight.

Up to 1877 Proclamations were held in St. George's Hall, or, on occasion, in the Philharmonic Hall. From 1877 onwards the enormous new College hall, capable of seating 2000 people comfortably, became the scene of these important prize-giving ceremonies. The presence on the platform at Proclamations of distinguished guest speakers did much to enhance the reputation of the College in Liverpool. At the Midsummer Proclamation in 1878, Lord Thomas O'Hagan, the former Lord Chancellor of Ireland and future Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland, distributed the prizes. He was followed six months later by the future Viceroy of India, the Marquess of Ripon, a recent convert to Catholicism.

Visiting the College on 21 June 1878, Lord O'Hagan delivered an important address on "Catholic Education". Given just one week before the passage through the House of Lords of the Irish Intermediate Education Bill, a question in which he took an active interest, O'Hagan's speech was timely. In it he stated that he found it difficult to see how a college such as St. Francis Xavier's could be all that it ought to be if it had no endowments. These could only be provided through the benevolence of private individuals who knew their duty and were prepared to do it. He concluded his speech by strongly recommending the College



to the Catholics of Liverpool (1). O'Hagan's speech did not meet with any immediate financial response but his words did not fall on deaf ears. Within six years his challenge was to be taken up in Liverpool in aid of the College.

### Programmes and prizes

Even if the College could not boast of comfortable endowments, every effort was made by Fr. John Gerard to ensure that Proclamations were conducted in a fitting manner as recommended in the Ratio Studiorum. Though no financial records have been preserved to show how much money was spent on prize-giving ceremonies, evidence which does survive in the form of Proclamation programmes and actual book prizes indicates that money was not spared after the opening of the new College in 1877. From that year onwards elegantly printed programmes listing prizewinners and academic successes were distributed to those attending Proclamation. Often comprising more than twenty pages these booklets equal, if not surpass in quality, similar brochures produced at this time in the most prestigious Jesuit colleges in France (2).

Book prizes were equally lavish. In 1877, for example, one of the pupils, Wilfrid Cafferata, son of the former

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(1) The Tablet, 29 June 1878, pp.820-821. A report of the speech is reproduced in Appendix XIV.

(2) Cf. Sengler, A., Souvenirs d'Académie, Séances littéraires et dramatiques données dans les collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en France de 1815 à 1878 (Lille and Paris, 1879). In this monumental work Sengler reproduces all the prize-giving and play programmes of all the Jesuit colleges in France between 1815 and 1878. A few specimen pages of the programme for St. Francis Xavier's College Summer Proclamation 1877 are included in Appendix XIII.

organist of St. Francis Xavier's Church, won both the prize for excellence in the First Form, Division A, and the Second Prize in the Inter-Collegiate Competition for Latin Composition held "amongst 39 competitors from the Class of Elements of Stonyhurst College, Mount St. Mary's College and St. Francis Xavier's" (1). For the Form prize he received a handsomely bound copy of Louis Figuier's Mammalia - popularly described by typical species, with numerous anecdotes (F. Warne, 1870). His Inter-Collegiate prize, comprising "books to the value of £1", was a thirteen-volume boxed set of The Handy-Volume Shakspeare, bearing the College crest in gilt on the lid. In subsequent years Wilfrid Cafferata was to receive similar prizes: at Midsummer, 1879, a finely-bound copy of Mrs. Brassey's A Voyage in the "Sunbeam" (Longman Green, 1879) and a year later Stories from Homer by the Rev. Alfred J. Church (Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1878). Wilfrid Cafferata was to leave the College in 1882 and continue his education at Stonyhurst, where he won further book prizes. A comparison of his Liverpool and Stonyhurst prizes reveals no difference in quality (2). As far as Proclamation ceremonies and prizes are concerned it can be claimed that Fr. John Gerard as Prefect of Studies took "all pains" to bring both "to the standard of Stonyhurst".

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(1) Proclamation Programme, 25 June 1877, p.25. A complete set of Proclamation Programmes for the period 1877-1896 is preserved at St. Francis Xavier's College, Woolton. It is the only complete set in existence.

(2) I am indebted to Veronica Robertson and Jane Cafferata for allowing me to examine their grandfather's carefully preserved book prizes.

Fr. John Gerard's achievement 1875-1879

By the summer of 1879 John Gerard could view the College with some satisfaction. In the short space of four years there had been, to borrow Fr. Harris's phrase, a "revolutionising of the whole place". The College had at last gained spacious and dignified buildings. Having become involved in competition with other schools for the first time, it was now beginning to look out to a wider world. A new spirit of confidence and hope for the future had been awakened as a result of four years of radical change.

On his arrival in Liverpool in 1875 John Gerard had received a heavy charge from his superiors. By 1879 they judged his work at St. Francis Xavier's successfully accomplished. At the end of the academic year 1878-1879 the Provincial, Fr. James Jones, asked Fr. Gerard to move to Stonyhurst as Prefect of Studies. With his record of success in Liverpool, he cannot have been surprised at the request. For the Jesuit community at St. Francis Xavier's it evidently came as a shock and certainly as a great blow. The news was recorded with sadness by the Beadle:

.....it became known that Fr. Gerard was to go to Stonyhurst. The greatest regret is felt by all. Nobody has ever done so much for the progress of the College as Fr. Gerard. (1)

Such feelings were not confined to the Jesuits in Liverpool. As the news of Gerard's departure spread, the Beadle noted "boys, parents and everybody expressing sorrow for (his) loss" (2). The esteem in which Fr. John Gerard was held as Prefect of Studies by his Liverpool pupils is demonstrated in the following short account of his

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(1) Beadle's Log, 21 August 1879.

(2) Ibid., 22 August 1879.

leave-taking:

At twelve o'clock the boys assembled in the hall and presented Fr. Gerard with a parting address, a Breviary and Horae Diurnae, and some five pounds over in money. The whole affair went off very well. (1)

John Gerard was to be followed as Prefect of Studies at Liverpool by a newly ordained Jesuit, Fr. Peter Chandlery, who remained only two years before leaving for his Tertianship. He, in turn, was succeeded by Fr. Robert Cardwell, Prefect of Studies from 1881-1885. Cardwell was unable to make a great impression on the College owing to ill-health which eventually compelled him to resign from office. The departure of Fr. Gerard as Prefect of Studies in 1879 was accompanied by a change of Rector. Fr. James Maguire, whose inaction at St. Francis Xavier's had displeased the Jesuit General (2), was replaced by Fr. James Clare, Rector until 1884 (3). To these changes should be added no fewer than thirty changes of assistant master between 1874 and 1882 (4). The one constant in this period was Fr. James Harris. In his functions as Vice-President he provided continuity and helped in sustaining the College community.

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(1) Ibid., 8 September 1879.

(2) For Fr. Maguire's neglect see Beckx to Jones, 6 April 1878, APA, Epist. Gen. 1873-1884, ff. 150-151.

(3) Fr. James Clare was appointed Rector on the Feast of St. Ignatius, 1879. See Beadle's Log, 31 July 1879.

(4) See Appendix VI.

CHAPTER EIGHTSUSTAINING THE COLLEGE COMMUNITY 1874-1883The Jesuit teaching community

From the time of his arrival in Liverpool as Prefect of Studies in 1865 until his transfer to the post of Vice-President in 1874, many of Fr. Harris's instructions to his staff were communicated in writing in the daily Notice Book. On matters of policy there was usually little or no prior discussion.

With the arrival of Fr. John Gerard in 1875 these autocratic tendencies had been checked. Three days before the beginning of the academic year 1876-1877, for example, the College masters met and the programme for the coming year was explained to them by the Prefect of Studies (1). Fr. Harris evidently had to change his approach. Instead of issuing his instructions for the year in writing, he too met the masters the day before schools re-opened (2).

Some of the College's problems in the 1860s and early 1870s can be traced back to the lack of guidance on the part of Fr. Harris as a Prefect of Studies. Under Fr. John Gerard and his successors it seems clear that more guidance was available to scholastics. After his visitation to the College in 1880 the Provincial, Fr. Edward Purbrick, tried to ensure that this process continued and issued the following instruction:

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(1) Beadle's Log, 4 August 1876.

(2) Ibid., 6 August 1876.

From the beginning of the next Scholastic year, Sunday meetings of the Prefect of Studies and Masters are to be held regularly. The Prefect of Studies will judge how to turn them to account for improvement of the Masters in scholarship. (1)

Unfortunately neither Fr. Gerard nor Fr. Harris kept a log book during the years 1875-1879. It is consequently difficult to assess how differently masters during this period were treated than under the single rule of Fr. Harris up to 1874. The Beadle's Log gives some indication that by 1879 masters had a greater say in decision making in the College. Whereas Fr. Harris had previously taken personal control of the allotting of prizes and rewards for pupils, the masters now met with the Rector, Fr. Gerard and Fr. Harris to vote and decide which boys were to be rewarded for good conduct (2). Such an arrangement, apart from allowing the teaching staff some opportunity of working as a team, was much more just to the boys. They were now less likely either to profit or to suffer from any personal prejudice which might have existed on the part of Fr. Harris.

It would be wrong to imagine that the change in administration of the College brought about a sudden slackening of the rules for the Jesuit teaching community. On the contrary, discipline was in many ways tightened. A few weeks after Fr. Gerard's arrival in Liverpool and possibly at his instigation, masters at the College were informed by the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey, that they were not to be out of the community house after dark (3). This instruction probably affected Fr. Harris more than anybody else.

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(1) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1880.

(2) Beadle's Log, 15 and 16 June 1879.

(3) Ibid., 7 October 1875.

For many years previously it had been his custom to visit parents of boys in their homes after about 8.15 p.m., when night studies finished. Such visits normally lasted an hour or two, after which he would return home. Harris promptly wrote to the Provincial stating that he had previously had the Rector's permission to go out at night. He requested that he be allowed to continue the custom:

I can certainly say that I have sometimes effected a good deal of good by these visits; but I do not put this forth as a plea. These short visits do me a great deal of good, relieve my head and give me a good night's rest. And as diabetes has its seat in the brain, occupation which excludes much worry is favourable. (1)

Though the Provincial's reply to this letter does not appear to survive, it is to be assumed that Harris was allowed to continue his visits, if only to alleviate his deteriorating diabetic condition.

In the Society of Jesus it has long been the custom for a member of a community to read aloud to his brethren at meal times. In the nineteenth century the Menology (2) or a spiritual work was usually chosen. In 1876 at St. Francis Xavier's we learn that on two successive days "... (the) rules (were) read during dinner by the masters, each reading a portion" (3). Precisely which rules were read is not made clear. However, by 1879 there had been a complete change of scholastics and the process was begun again. On this occasion the Beadle evidently did not at first understand what was being read to the community:

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(1) Harris to Gallwey, 11 November 1875, APA, RX/2.

(2) The Menology is a printed collection of short biographies of Jesuits prominent in the history of the English Province.

(3) Beadle's Log, 29 and 30 November 1876.

The rules of the College (?) (sic) were read for the first time within the memory of any but the oldest inhabitant. As nobody had ever seen or heard of these rules before it may be well to say that the bulk of them were from the Ratio, and the rest were quite trifling and evidently quite modern. (1)

The entire Jesuit community, Rector and Prefect of Studies included, would have done well to listen attentively to the readings and ponder on them. By 1881 Fr. General Beckx was complaining to the English Provincial, Fr. Purbrick, that he had heard it said that the greatest possible licence was being taken by Rectors and Prefects of Studies in the colleges of the Province. The Society in England was alleged to be moving too far away from the Ratio Studiorum, and this, in the General's opinion, was having a detrimental effect on both studies and teaching methods. He called for a tightening up in the observance of the spirit of the Ratio and requested that young Jesuits be trained according to the Society's Institute (2).

Complaints from the colleges of the English Province continued to reach the General for a few months after he had made his initial complaint to Fr. Purbrick. In March 1882 he wrote again to Purbrick saying that reports indicated that Jesuit masters were being sent into the colleges to teach totally unprepared, without having begun their philosophy studies. This, combined with a great number of changes of staff, was alleged to be having a detrimental effect on the colleges (3).

The root of the problem lay not so much in the day schools - St. Francis Xavier's College and the small collegia

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(1) Ibid., 16 August 1879.

(2) Beckx to Purbrick, 4 November 1881, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1884, f.301.

(3) Ibid., 27 March 1882, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1884, f.311.



inchoata in Glasgow and Preston - but in the boarding schools of the Province - Stonyhurst, Mount St. Mary's and Beaumont. The latter colleges simply devoured all available Jesuits.

There masters or "prefects" had to remain on duty all day and all night, every day and every night. Pupils were not supervised as a single group. Instead they were separated according to age, maturity and class year. Each division had its own prefects, so doubling or tripling the number of men needed for a similar number of boys in a day school. Generally the prefects were younger Jesuits still in training.

A period of time spent in the colleges was normal for Jesuits after their novitiate and philosophy studies, and before the beginning of theology studies. The purpose of this period was as clear then as it is today, to spend time in which "the practice of virtue is acquired, habits are formed, talents are revealed, and the master makes progress in his studies" (1).

Even though the number of young men entering the Society of Jesus in the English Province was steadily increasing, so too was the Society's involvement in educational and missionary work. New schools had been opened in rapid succession - in Grahamstown (1876), Malta (1877) and in Georgetown, British Guiana (1880). There were new commitments across the globe, with missionaries needed in Bombay, Calcutta, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, Malta, Mangalore and in the Zambesi Mission (2).

With so many calls on his men, the Provincial was in a

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(1) Societatis Jesu Constitutiones et Epitome Instituti (Rome, 1949), part 4, Sect.3, Chap.1, no.295.

(2) See Catalogus Provinciae Angliae, S.J., 1881 (Roehampton, 1881) for details of the far-flung work of the English Province.

difficult position. Often the needs of the colleges were given priority and scholastics were, in fact, sometimes sent to the colleges before beginning their philosophy studies. In turn this not infrequently necessitated regular changes of personnel in the colleges and in the missions. In 1878, for example, a young Canadian, Matthew O'Rourke, joined the Canadian Mission of the Society of Jesus. He was at once sent as a novice to Amiens, found himself as a first year student of Rhetoric at Roehampton a year later and was then sent without further training to St. Francis Xavier's College to teach for two years. It is perhaps not surprising to find that he left the Society after this, in 1883 (1).

In such a difficult situation it was almost inevitable that other problems should arise. Superiors began complaining increasingly to the General that too many changes were damaging colleges (2) and, as happened in Liverpool in 1883, that the younger scholastics arriving in the colleges seemed to have a very poor understanding of the virtue of obedience as traditionally practised in the Society (3).

"Hints offered to young masters" 1882

With so much movement of young Jesuits throughout the Province, it soon became clear that firmer guidelines would be needed if increasing difficulties were to be avoided in the colleges. A clearly defined code of good practice

(1) Catalogi Provinciae Angliae, 1880-1884.

(2) Beckx to Purbrick, 27 March 1882, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1884, f.311.

(3) Beckx to Purbrick, 5 March 1883, APA, Epist.Gen. 1873-1884, f.342.

for young Jesuits preparing themselves to teach in the colleges was thought desirable. The English Province was very late in organizing the production of such a code. On the continent, particularly in the colleges of the Society in France, a wealth of different guidelines for young Jesuits had long been available. As early as 1834 Fr. Achille Guidée, professor at the Jesuit College of Saint-Acheul in Amiens, and later first Rector of the Collège La Providence in the same town, had produced a Manuel des Jeunes Professeurs (1). This, and a later edition published in Paris in 1842, made available once more treatises on education read widely in France before the Suppression of the Society. It included works by a number of early Jesuit writers: Francisco Sacchini (1570-1625), Antoine le Gaudier (1572-1622), Joseph de Jouvancy (1632-1719) and Claude Judde (1661-1735). The 1842 edition of the manual included the full text of Fr. General Roothaan's revised Ratio Studiorum pro scholis inferioribus Societatis Jesu of ten years earlier, and a concise up to date essay, evidently by Guidée himself, entitled Observations relatives à la bonne tenue d'un pensionnat (2).

This latter work and a similar Italian manual entitled Avvisi per i novelli Maestri di scuola (3) were used in the English Province to form the basis of a new compendium entitled Hints offered to Young Masters in the English Province, S.J., by one who knows the difficulties of their position. This anonymous pamphlet was evidently compiled

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(1) Published in Avignon, 1834.

(2) Guidée, op.cit. (Paris, 1842), pp.3-20.

(3) A manuscript copy of this work is to be found in APA, AF/1. The authorship of the text has not been established.

principally by Fr. Sylvester Hunter, at that time Prefect of Studies and Librarian at the Province Novitiate at Roehampton (1). It comprised over one hundred hints in the form of single paragraphs of varying length, covering a wide range of practical matters essential to any young teacher about to enter the classroom for the first time. A few examples of paragraph headings will give an outline of the spectrum covered: "Mannerisms", "Be slow in forming judgments", "Favouritism", "Pause before penancing", "Fits of Restlessness", "Be Prepared" and "What if unprepared?" ! The booklet was, in effect, a distillation of the essentials of those treatises dating from before the Suppression which Guidée had included in his Manuel des Professeurs. The helpful, straightforward and commonsense approach of the pamphlet made it immediately popular with young scholastics looking for guidance. Its appeal made necessary a revision in 1886 and further reprints in 1893, 1898, 1912 and 1928. After the Second World War it fell into disuse for a time, but was revived and revised, and reissued as recently as 1960 (2).

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(1) Letters and Notices, 25, p.349. Hunter became a Catholic in 1867 and enjoyed a successful career as a lawyer before entering the Society in 1861 at the age of thirty-two.

(2) The 1960 edition was issued in a cyclostyled typescript format. The value of the booklet for future generations was recognized soon after the 1898 reprinting. In 1900 the entire text of 1898 was published in Letters and Notices "in order that, though already printed and given out to our young masters, the knowledge of (its) existence may be more widely spread, and also that (it) may be more permanently preserved...against all danger of ultimate disappearance". See Letters and Notices, 25, pp.349-367.

Scholastics outside the classroom

The lives of scholastics at St. Francis Xavier's were not so bound up by rules to such an extent that no relaxation was permitted. On the occasion of Fr. Purbrick's visitation in 1880 already referred to, we find that a special allowance was given to the masters. As the Beadle noted, "Masters got 2/6 as hogg" (1). From 1876, on the weekly recreation day, masters were expected to take a break from the College and go for a long walk, "in accordance with Fr. Rector's wish" (2). At Christmas that year they were given a complete break and sent for the holiday to St. Beuno's (3). On their return, and in subsequent years, they were invited on the feast of the Epiphany to a Twelfth Night party at the home of the Rockliff family in Shaw Street, a short distance from the community house (4). In milder weather there were trips into the countryside lasting the full day. In 1877 we read:

The Masters with Fathers Maguire and Gerard went out for the day to Clitheroe, Whitewell, etc., started 6 a.m., returned 10.30 p.m. (5)

Scholastics were not obliged to stay together as a group on recreation days. On Easter Monday, 1879, for example:

Mr. King went to see friends at Lancaster and Mr. Baldwin at Wigan. The rest of the scholastics had leave to divide between Rhyl and Holywell; but the money running short, some went to Chester and some to Manchester. Money was provided to get lunch in the middle of the day and a hot supper with punch was given in the evening. (6)

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(1) Beadle's Log, 13 May 1880. "Hog" or "Hogg" is a term used in the English Province to denote an allowance of money. The etymology of the word is uncertain.

(2) Beadle's Log, 6 December 1876.

(3) Ibid., 23 December 1876.

(4) Ibid., 6 January 1877 and 6 January 1878.

(5) Ibid., 4 October 1877.

(6) Ibid., 14 April 1879.

In the coldest weather there was skating to be looked forward to on Sefton Meadows, in the countryside ten miles north of Liverpool (1), or at Birkenhead Park (2). For the more culturally minded there were other opportunities for recreation in Liverpool itself, as in 1877 when "Messrs. Burns and Brady (went) to Hallé's Concert at the Philharmonic (Hall)" (3).

On a more serious note, in their dealings with people outside the College community, both scholastics and priests had to take care not to involve themselves in politics and to avoid causing any antagonism, accidentally or otherwise, with the secular clergy. As the time approached for the long awaited declaration of Leo XIII, Romanos Pontifices, concerning relations between the secular clergy and religious orders, the Jesuit community in Liverpool received strict instructions from Fr. Purbrick:

A letter was read at Dinner from Fr. Provincial concerning how we ought to comport ourselves towards the Bishops and secular clergy in these days of difficulties, also putting us on our guard with regard to politics. (4)

Coming as it did just four days after the publication of a decree ordering the dissolution within three months of the Society of Jesus in France, Fr. Purbrick's letter was a reminder to the English Jesuits of their relative freedom, compared with their brethren on the continent.

#### Daily life for the pupils

The transfer of Fr. Harris from the post of Prefect of Studies to the position of Vice-President of the College

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(1) Ibid., 12 December 1877.  
 (2) Ibid., 14 December 1877.  
 (3) Ibid., 11 December 1877.  
 (4) Beadle's Log, 2 April 1880.

in 1874 made little or no difference to the discipline expected from the pupils. All that Harris had striven for since his arrival in Liverpool in 1865 was still, in theory, incumbent. The long list of rules read out to boys at the opening of the academic year 1879-1880 (1) indicates that there was little change, if any, in policy.

In practice, a growing weariness on the part of Fr. Harris, brought about by the sheer strain of being so long in the same post and by his deteriorating health, can be detected in the College Notice Book. Faced with disciplinary problems with some boys, Harris increasingly took the textbook remedy, rather than trying any more human or humane approach. For a short time at the beginning of the academic year 1878-1879, entries in the Notice Book sound frighteningly mechanical and cold. One, addressed to the masters, ran:

As the boys have already been reminded, the 40th Rule of the Prefect General will be put into execution - viz. those boys who seem incorrigible either as regards conduct or application will be sent away from the College. Notice is now given that the 39th of the same Rule will be put into force - viz. that boys will be sent away who are frequently absent from schools. (2)

Another announcement, made to the boys less than a fortnight later, was probably the most merciless to come from Harris's pen in all his time in Liverpool:

Any boy found talking or playing on the penance walk is liable to 12 ferulas.

Any boy found standing still or loitering upon the penance walk is liable to 6 ferulas.

Any boy not going on the penance walk when told is liable to 9 ferulas and has to complete the penance. (3)

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(1) Notice Book, August 1879 (no date entered).

(2) Ibid., 9 September 1878.

(3) Ibid., 23 September 1878.

This extreme severity was fortunately evident for a limited period only in the autumn of 1878. Thereafter Harris returned to his more usual moralistic style when faced with difficult boys. Early in 1879, for instance, he announced:

It is with great sorrow that I and the Masters find so many boys untruthful. The habit of lying is the cause of nearly all the misery in the world. Sin began with a lie. (1)

Foreseeing, no doubt, his own impending death, his thoughts turned increasingly to the ultimate aim of all his efforts at the College. To all the boys he stated in 1880 what he saw as the purpose of the educational work of the Jesuits:

Our object is to make boys good and, if God so will, successful then...to help them to get to God when they die. This is the intention of all the rules. (2)

At Easter that year he appealed to all the pupils to be "less giddy" and to work for a greater "esprit de famille as in the old days" (3).

Exhausted as he undoubtedly was by the early 1880s, some sparks of Harris's old fieriness still remained and his warnings about good behaviour were not idle threats. College boys who had not known him in his most active days in the early 1870s must have been startled when action was taken by Harris in 1880 to deal with one particularly difficult boy. As the Beadle recorded:

Master George Hughes of Bootle was publicly expelled from the College this morning by the Rector on account of disobedience. (4)

Such a spectacle had evidently not been seen at the College for many years.

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(1) Ibid., 13 January 1879.

(2) Ibid., 15 March 1880.

(3) Ibid., 5 April 1880.

(4) Beadle's Log, 17 April 1880.



The more positive traditions of celebrating special occasions and rewarding good work at the appropriate time were maintained throughout this period. Extra play "for the distinguished" (1), a half-holiday for "those boys who had read in the Refectory for two weeks in the year with approval" (2), a special entertainment with comedians held in the College hall to mark the feast of St. Aloysius (3) and an hour's extra play to mark the feast of St. George (4) helped to keep alive that flexibility which has long been a welcome feature of Jesuit education.

#### Fr. Edward Purbrick's support of the College

The early 1880s saw two important initiatives taken by the Provincial, Fr. Edward Purbrick, to improve the standing of the College. Both involved the use of money which had been bequeathed to the Society of Jesus for educational purposes.

#### The College Library 1882

It will be recalled that in the mid-1870s Mr. John Walford had complained bitterly about the absence of a library in the College. Such a complaint was fully justified. The Seventh General Congregation of the Society of Jesus as early as 1616 had decreed that no Jesuit college should be without a library. It was expected that such should be allowed for as a part of the general necessities of any any foundation (5). In 1857 the College prospectus issued

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(1) Ibid., 6 May 1879.

(2) Ibid., 18 June 1879.

(3) Beadle's Log, 21 June 1879.

(4) Ibid., 23 April 1880.

(5) Cf. Institutum Societatis Jesu (Rome, 1869-1891), II, Caput XVI, "De acceptandis collegiis", 6, p.235.

by Fathers Sumner and Payne had referred to the availability of a library and reading room in the College, but by the early 1870s, with enormous pressure on classroom accommodation, these rooms had evidently disappeared.

By the early 1880s a small collection of books was apparently still in existence, but it was probably woefully inadequate for the size of the College (1). In 1882 Fr. Purbrick stepped in, determined to improve matters for the future. He noted in the Visitation Book:

The Middlehurst legacy of £500... should, with the exception of £100 to be repaid to the house and applied towards reduction of the College building debt, be devoted entirely to the Boys' Libraries - that is, to their Reference and circulating Libraries. At least £300 should be invested permanently and the interest applied to their maintenance and increase. (2)

Purbrick was interested not merely in providing funds for the Library, but also in ensuring that it was run correctly:

The Librarian should be under the control of one of the Fathers, by preference the Prefect of Studies, so that no book may be placed in the Library without his sanction, and he is to be careful not to admit objectionable books, such as sensational novels or story books to which parents may reasonably object. I instance Miss Braddon's novels and Mayne Reid's story books. (3)

His concern about the Library book stock can be accounted for. In 1881 he had received a letter from Fr. General Beckx complaining that he had heard reports about novels being read freely at Stonyhurst. He was urged to take great care to ensure that unsuitable books were not available in the colleges of the Province (4).

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(1) Between 1857 and 1882, apart from Walford's complaint about the lack of a library in 1873, there is no other reference to the maintenance or development of a College Library anywhere in the archives.

(2) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1882.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Beckx to Purbrick, 4 November 1881, APA, Epist. Gen. 1873-1884, f.301.

During his long, unprecedented period of eight years in office as Provincial, Edward Purbrick was to return to the subject of the College Library at St. Francis Xavier's. It is clear that in doing so he was under pressure from the Jesuit General, Fr. Anderledy, who, having received reports in 1888 about the contents of the College Library at Liverpool had decided that

libri qui exponuntur in bibliotheca alumnorum non sunt satis purgati. (1)

Accordingly, Purbrick took action and on his visitation to Liverpool recorded:

Too many novels are placed in the boys' Library and insufficient care is taken of revision. The responsibility in this matter lies wholly with the Prefect of Studies, who must not simply delegate selection to a Master. Some standard works such as Sir Walter Scott's, Dickens', some of Thackeray's, Trollope's and Cooper's are admissible; but Charlotte Bronte's, Haggard's, Besant's, Farrer's and Miss Austen's are not suitable for boys. (2)

In his daily work as Provincial, Purbrick was involved in the enormous enterprise of sending out to Africa from the English Province men who would help to open up that continent. How, one wonders today, even with pressure from the General, could he possibly have taken exception to the inclusion in the College Library at Liverpool of an African adventure novel such as Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines of 1885?

#### The founding of a scholarship 1883

If Edward Purbrick's decisions over books can be questioned, his wisdom in investing money for educational

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(1) Anderledy to Purbrick, 12 April 1888, ARSJ, General's Letterbook to English Province, f.592.

(2) Visitation book, Memorial of Visitation, 1888.

purposes is beyond criticism. In 1883 a sum of £2000 was bequeathed to the Society of Jesus (1). Purbrick decided to use the money to found a scholarship reserved to boys at St. Francis Xavier's Elementary School. A small number of boys from the higher classes of the Elementary School could thenceforth, "on account of good conduct and ability" (2) be allowed to transfer to the College without having to pay any fees. There were no special conditions attached. Purbrick simply specified that

.....such boys (are) to be educated at St. Francis Xavier's College either with a view to going on afterwards for the Church, as Priests, secular or regular, or with a view to any lay career, as they may freely choose. (3)

Sadly no records survive either to show precisely how many boys were able to benefit each year from the new scholarship or for how long a period the fund remained in existence. Nor is the scholarship referred to in print in The Xaverian or even in the Jesuits' own private Province house-journal, Letters and Notices, "printed for circulation among Ours only". The work of helping boys from the Elementary School was evidently done discreetly and in silence.

#### The religious life of the College 1874-1883

It will be recalled that in 1859 an attempt to found a College Sodality had failed after a short time. A second attempt by Fr. Harris in the late 1860s had met with similar results and he had concentrated instead on developing his own creation, the Brigade of the Sacred Heart. In 1874,

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(1) The donor's name, if at all recorded, has not been discovered.

(2) Copy of letter from Purbrick to the Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College, 19 March 1883 in Visitation Book, APA, 6/4/3/4.

(3) Ibid.

with the Brigade firmly established, Harris again tried to found a Sodality. This time he met with success and was able to write with confidence:

After many failures the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin is established in this College under the title of Sodality "Virginis Immaculatae" and 8th December (1) named for the titular feast. The necessary diploma has been obtained aggregating it to the Primary Sodality at Rome. As President or Moderator of the nascent Sodality I named this day the officials and Sodalists. (2)

The new Sodality comprised a "Prefect" and two assistants, a council of six members and a body of sodalists. Once the organization had been set up, elections were arranged every six months. Each sodalist would receive two sheets of paper. On one he would nominate both a Prefect of the Sodality and a team of assistants, and on the other his own choice of members for the council (3). A ballot then took place.

With the Sodality at last established, the regulations were clearly spelt out. Each sodalist was expected to say three Paters and three Aves every morning, hear Mass daily, go to Confession once a fortnight and receive Holy Communion at least once a month. In addition he was to attend the recital of the Litany of the Saints on Saturdays, and say three Paters, three Aves and Psalm 130, De Profundis, nightly (4).

The foundation of the Sodality was an important step. Whereas the Brigade was Harris's personal creation and was not to survive for long after his death, sodalities had long been a traditional feature of Jesuit education and

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(1) Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

(2) Sodality Journal, 23 August 1874.

(3) Ibid., 21 February 1875.

(4) Ibid., 23 August 1875.

were to remain so in the future. In the Society's colleges on the continent at this time sodalities were undergoing a great revival, particularly in France. In 1875 Fr. Charles Franchet issued a manual on how a college sodality should be run (1) and his lead was taken up ten years later in the English Province by Fr. Michael Gavin, president of the sodality at Farm Street Church, London (2).

The founding of the Sodality at St. Francis Xavier's College did not escape the attention of Fr. General Beckx, who wrote in 1875 to the English Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey, to express his pleasure at the news (3). He was evidently not aware, however, of the limited scope of the Liverpool Sodality. In Jesuit colleges on the continent in the nineteenth century, sodalities often had their own annual Retreat. They actively promoted and gave financial support to the foreign missions and visited and helped the poor, the sick and the imprisoned. During Fr. Harris's time in Liverpool, none of these activities was undertaken by the College Sodality. Membership was relatively small and the whole work of the organization in the College at this time seems to have been inward looking. In 1876, for example, boys were urged to pray for God's blessing on the College, the Sodality and the College boys that they might be pure of heart, hard working and obedient. Prayers were also urged for boys of the College who were sick, or who had died. Valuable though these prayers may have been, they were only part of the total work which a sodality was

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(1) Franchet, C., Directoire des congrégations dans les collèges (Lyon, 1875).

(2) Gavin, M., (ed.), Manual for the use of the Sodalities of Our Lady affiliated to the Prima Primaria (Roehampton, 1885).

(3) Beckx to Gallwey, 10 April 1875, APA, Epist. Gen. 1873 - 1884, f.45.

supposed to undertake.

One important effect which the small Sodality did have on the whole College was the increased importance given after 1875 to the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the titular feast of the Sodality. In addition to a Mass, the feast was marked in the College by a service of Benediction and the Consecration of Studies to the Blessed Virgin. This involved the recital by the pupils of a prayer in which they placed all their studies and efforts as scholars under the protection of the Virgin Mary. In this the College followed a new trend. The prayer of consecration had been recited annually at Stonyhurst since 1860. Following a special request from the Rector of the Jesuit college at Beaumont, near Windsor, the prayer was given special approval by Leo XIII in November 1882 and thereafter its use spread throughout the colleges of the English Province (1).

Apart from bringing about the introduction of this ceremony, the new Sodality had a limited effect on the life of the College up to the time of Fr. Harris's death in 1883. During this period its activities were not allowed to overshadow the work of the Brigade, which from 1874 underwent some modification.

#### The Brigade 1874-1883

From 1871 to 1874 Fr. Harris had maintained rigid control over his Brigade, making all appointments within

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(1) Letters and Notices, 17, pp.69-70. Later, in some of the English Jesuit colleges, the Consecration of Studies was made at the Mass marking the Ascensio Scholarum or "moving up of the classes" at the beginning of the academic year. This practice still survives today (1984) at Wimbledon College.

the organization. Early in 1874 he began to slacken his tight grip and allowed a return to the element of democracy and self government which had existed up to 1871 in the old Society of the Sacred Heart. Boys belonging to the Brigade were now asked to elect a President - an office which Harris considered "the highest honour in the College" (1).

The re-introduction of democracy did not mean that discipline became lax. A year later, informing the Brigade that "every human institution is liable to decay" (2), Harris promptly set about a strict tightening of the Brigade rules. Soon afterwards he suspended a boy from the organization "for levity, forgetting and playing in the streets" (3).

In 1873 Mr. John Walford had alleged in his long letter of complaint to the Provincial, Fr. Gallwey, that Fr. Harris was guilty of "touting for Novices" for the Society of Jesus. That his allegation is not entirely false is borne out by entries in the Brigade Journal. From 1873 onwards prayers for vocations to the priesthood were recited by the boys of the Brigade (4). At the end of the annual College Retreat in 1874, Harris asked the thirty-four members of his Brigade "to what they thought they were called" (5). Twenty-one members answered "for the Society (of Jesus) as far as they could tell"; two "for other Religious Orders"; two "for the secular priesthood"; three "for the world";

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(1) Brigade Journal, 1 February 1874.

(2) Ibid., 14 February 1875.

(3) Ibid., 17 April 1875.

(4) Ibid., 21 September 1873.

(5) Ibid., 16 August 1874.



and six were "too young to choose" (1).

Such "touting", to use Walford's expression, was utterly contrary to all the rules of the Society of Jesus, and yet it took place, unchecked by Harris's superiors, who cannot have been unaware of what was happening. One might have expected that such behaviour on the part of Harris would have produced a reaction in the boys concerned resulting in their shunning the thought of becoming priests. This was not the case. Of the twenty-one boys who indicated that they would eventually like to become Jesuits (2), no fewer than thirteen actually did, and remained so for the rest of their lives (3). The Brigade was, in effect, a training ground for a considerable number of a future generation of English Jesuits.

These men were not to face that "self-extinction and complete holocaust of all plans, purposes, ideals and potentialities" which one ex-Jesuit writing in the 1920s claimed to be the ultimate fate of Jesuits, particularly those educated as boys in Jesuit colleges (4). By 1920 former members of the Brigade during Fr. Harris's time in Liverpool held some of the highest posts in the English Province; Fr. John Wright, President of the Brigade in 1877, was Provincial; Fr. Frederick King, his Socius; Fr. Alexander Keogh, Rector of St. Beuno's, and thus responsible for the management of the Theologate of the Province; Fr. Henry

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Their names were duly recorded in the Brigade Journal.

(3) This can be substantiated by a comparison of the names in the Brigade Journal for 16 August 1874 with the obituary list of members of the English Province in the Index to Letters and Notices, 67, pp.33-40.

(4) Boyd-Barret, E., The Jesuit Enigma (Jonathan Cape, 1927), p.295.

Davis was a distinguished Professor of Moral Theology at the same college; and Fr. William Davis, Prefect of Studies at St. Michael's College, Leeds. Working together with other former pupils of St. Francis Xavier's a few years their junior - men such as Fr. Henry Keane, Prefect of Studies at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Fr. Joseph D'Arcy, Prefect General of St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill, and Fr. John Manning, Prefect of Studies at Wimbledon College - they led the English Province during a period of expansion and success, particularly in the educational field, in the inter-war years (1).

During Harris's final years in Liverpool there was considerable elaboration of the ritual of the Brigade, with a special sash issued for the renewal of promises (2), the reading out of names of officials (3) and the issuing of "victory cards" in recognition of the good conduct of members (4). Despite these accretions, the Brigade after 1874 remained essentially democratic with the election of officials entrusted to the members (5). At the request of the Rector of the College, Fr. James Clare, the Brigade became less military in tone after 1881, changing its name to "The Confraternity of the Sacred Heart" (6). These alterations made little difference to Harris's overall plan in fostering an organization which he had moulded in his own way and with which he was evidently eventually satisfied.

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(1) See Catalogus Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu, 1920 (Roehampton, 1920), passim.

(2) Brigade Journal, 26 September 1875. The sash was worn over the shoulder "as a sign of fellowship and brotherhood"; see Brigade Journal, 9 January 1876.

(3) Ibid., 9 January 1876.

(4) Ibid., 6 December 1874.

(5) Ibid., 24 August 1879.

(6) Ibid., 6 February 1881.

Just three months before his death he was able to inform the Brigade or "Confraternity" as it now was:

It is a subject of intense satisfaction to me to be able to say, that as far as the schools are concerned, the conduct and application of the whole Brigade has been nearly all that I can desire. (1)

Under the ever watchful eye of Fr. Harris, the Brigade was subject to correction to prevent the slightest divergence from his own wishes. As an essay in pupil democracy, it cannot begin to be compared to the truly democratic School Parliament and Court of Justice directed by Fr. William Joseph Petre at his school at Woburn Park, Surrey in the late 1870s (2). As a religious confraternity the Brigade was unique. Being Harris's own creation it did not outlive him for long and after his death was never run by his successors with the intensity and fervour he had shown. Abused though it undoubtedly was, particularly as a breeding ground for Jesuit vocations, there were pupils prepared to defend it. Shortly after Harris's death one layman, referring to the Brigade of which he had been a member, was to testify publicly in a Catholic journal:

Hundreds there are, like myself, who feel that the seeds of whatever good have borne fruit within, were planted by Fr. Harris (3).

How accurate this statement is, and how widely shared a view it really was, it is now impossible to assess.

The diabetic condition from which Harris had for so long been suffering worsened rapidly during the autumn of

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(1) Ibid., 2 September 1883.

(2) For an account of Petre's school and its parliament see McClelland, V.A., "The Liberal training of England's Catholic Youth: William Joseph Petre (1847-93) and educational reform" in Victorian Studies, XV, 3 (March 1972), pp.257-277.

(3) Quoted in Letters and Notices, 17, p.145.

1883. Leaving the College for a short break to visit his brother in London, Harris died in Kentish Town on 4 December of that year. Appropriately, shortly before his death, the then Rector of Farm Street, Fr. George Porter, visited his bedside (1). Eighteen years earlier Porter had been instrumental in appointing Harris to his post in Liverpool where he had subsequently retained him after a special appeal to the Jesuit General. Later he had had profound misgivings concerning Harris's abilities as a Prefect of Studies. Whatever Fr. Porter's thoughts may have been at his deathbed, Harris's personal contribution to the development of St. Francis Xavier's College could not be denied. At Stonyhurst the total number of pupils in the Lower School, including the preparatory department at Hodder, had grown imperceptibly from 210 in 1866 to 237 in 1882 (2). On his arrival in Liverpool in 1865 Harris had taken charge of a College of 83 boys. Five months after his death a special holiday was given at St. Francis Xavier's to celebrate the fact that there were now 400 boys in attendance (3).

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(1) Letters and Notices, 17, p.147.

(2) Litterae Annuae Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu, 1866, p.1; 1882, p.8.

(3) The Xaverian, June 1884, p.10.

CHAPTER NINECHANGING HORIZONS 1883-1896Instability 1883-1888

For almost five years after the death of Fr. Harris the College suffered a period of confusion during which there were annual changes in the administration. At this time a new post of assistant to the Vice-President was created. It was filled by a different person each year, normally by a senior scholastic. In the period 1886-1888 matters were further complicated by the temporary appointment of Fr. Gerald Tarleton in the dual role of Prefect of Studies and Vice-President. The many changes in the leadership of the College at this time can be traced from Table XIX overleaf. Not until 1888 was some measure of stability restored when a new leader emerged following the appointment of Fr. Terence Donnelly as Prefect of Studies. This post he was to hold for ten years. From 1884 until 1888 the College was held together by the presence of the Rector, Fr. Thomas Murphy, and by the good will of the many friends of the College anxious to do honour to the memory of Fr. James Harris.

The Harris Memorial Committee April 1884

In April 1884 a group of Catholic laymen, comprising both former pupils and parents of College boys, met to "set on foot a suitable memorial to the late Rev. James Harris, S.J.". On this occasion the chair was taken by Hugh Cullen, a prominent Liverpool merchant whose sons had

TABLE XIXTHE LEADERSHIP OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE 1884-1897

	Vice-President		Assistant to the Vice-President		Prefect of Studies	
1884	Fr. William	Burns	Fr. Frederick	Jerrard	Fr. Robert	Cardwell
1885	Fr. George	Huggins	Fr. Cassian	Gillett	"	"
1886	Fr. Gerald	Tarleton	Mr. Francis	Dobson	Fr. Gerald	Tarleton
1887	"	"	Fr. John	Redman	"	"
1888	Fr. Arthur	Yates	Mr. John	Graham	"	"
1889	Fr. Richard	Sykes	Mr. John	Edge	Fr. Terence	Donnelly
1890	Fr. Arthur	Yates	Mr. James	Corrigan	"	"
1891	Fr. Richard	Sykes	Mr. Aloysius	Guibara	"	"
1892	"	"	"	"	"	"
1893	Fr. John	Benson	Mr. Wilfrid	Hare	"	"
1894	Fr. William	Kenny	Mr. Joseph	Bamber	"	"
1895	"	"	"	"	"	"
1896	"	"	Mr. Thomas	Gardner	"	"
1897	Fr. Frederick	Parry	Mr. Robert	Quick	"	"

been educated by Fr. Harris at the College. With the Rector of St. Francis Xavier's in attendance Cullen addressed the meeting, declaring that the time had now come

..... when the Catholics of Liverpool, looking to the good work accomplished by many of their fellow citizens, by means of the burses offered by the Liverpool Council of Education, should make an effort in the same direction on behalf of their own great Catholic College. (1)

He went on to suggest that efforts should be made to raise £1000 to endow five scholarships to perpetuate the name of Fr. Harris: these could be used to enable boys to complete their studies, so counteracting the tendency then prevalent among many parents in Liverpool, irrespective of religious allegiance, of removing children prematurely from school. In aiming to promote not the interest of the Society of Jesus, but that of the Catholic community of Liverpool, he hoped his suggestions would receive wide support (2).

Cullen's proposals were accepted unanimously and a "Harris Memorial Committee" was set up to organize a subscription list. By the time the list was closed on 31 March 1885 only a third of the £1000 hoped for by Hugh Cullen had been raised (3). In the meantime alterations to the College hall had influenced the Committee to reconsider its plans for the use of the money.

From its opening in 1877 the College hall had proved a great disappointment. In the first place the acoustics of the buildings were impossible. In an attempt to improve matters for small gatherings a great sail cloth used to

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(1) The Xaverian, May 1884, pp. 8-9. St. Francis Xavier's College did not at this time receive "burses" from any outside body, public or private.

(2) The Xaverian, May 1884, p.9.

(3) Ibid., April 1885, p.45.

be lowered like a stage curtain from the roof, where it usually hung. Secondly, when the hall was full, those sitting at the rear could not see the stage. In 1884 measures were taken to remedy these problems. Designs were drawn up by Fr. Richard Vaughan. Tiered seating was introduced and a new gallery built to seat 400 people. To enhance the newly arranged hall the Harris Memorial Committee decided to purchase a two-manual pipe organ which was installed on an elevated gallery on the left hand side of the stage (1).

The purchase and installation of the new organ cost the Committee just over £300 and when other expenses had been taken into consideration only £8 remained, enough to provide one scholarship for one boy for a year (2). The hopes raised among the friends of the College by Hugh Cullen had not, however, been dashed. In organizing the installation of an organ which would be of great benefit to the College, the Committee had secured an agreement from the Society of Jesus. An annual scholarship of £8.15s. called the "Harris Memorial Scholarship" and guaranteed from Jesuit funds was to be awarded for a minimum of thirty years - "this period to be afterwards extended should the organ still be in a serviceable condition" (3).

The activities of the Harris Memorial Committee brought new life into the College. In July 1884 the Mayor of Liverpool, Thomas Holder, visited the College to distribute prizes at the Midsummer Proclamation (4). On taking his

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(1) Ibid., November 1884, p.7.

(2) Ibid., December 1884, p.8.

(3) Ibid., November 1884, p.7 and March 1891, p.232.

(4) A report of his speech on Catholic education is reproduced in Appendix XV.



leave at the end of the evening he presented the Rector, Fr. Murphy, with £10 "for any purpose connected with the College". With talk of scholarships so much in the air the Rector decided to use the money to offer two "Holder" scholarships of £5 to the best boys of the third form of the ensuing year returning to the College to prepare for the Oxford Local Examination of 1886 (1). With this and other small prizes (2) the challenge concerning the foundation of scholarships, first put forward by Lord O'Hagan at a Proclamation ceremony six years earlier, was beginning to be met.

The Xaverian Association November 1884

In 1874 another challenge of a different nature had been made by the then Provincial, Fr. Peter Gallwey. Noting during the course of his visitation of St. Francis Xavier's that pupils leaving the College seldom revisited it, he had suggested that means ought to be taken to reunite them occasionally (3). His challenge was never taken up by

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(1) The Xaverian, August 1884, p.8. The Mayor's generous gift was renewed the following year, prompting the Rector of the College to declare publicly at Proclamation that this was "an example of Protestant generosity well worthy of imitation by Catholics"; see The Xaverian, August 1885, p.90.

(2) In 1887 an old boy of the College, Francis Lythgoe Lightbound (1845-1918) established the "Lythgoe-Lightbound Prize" of two guineas to run for three years. The prize was to be awarded for any subject, at the Rector's discretion. The donor gave the prize "as some slight return, or at least as an expression of the obligations I am under to the Society for their care of me in my early training"; it was to bear the name of his parents, Thomas Lightbound and Catherine Lythgoe, sister of the founder of the College, Fr. Randal Lythgoe. See The Xaverian, March 1887, pp. 176-177. In 1888 another old boy established a "perpetual" £2 "Broadbent Prize" for religious knowledge; see The Xaverian, July 1888, p.81.

(3) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1874.

the Jesuit community in Liverpool, despite the fact that by 1879 the Society of Jesus was lending support to the newly founded Stonyhurst Association, which had the reuniting of former pupils as its principal aim.

If the very fact of the existence of the Stonyhurst Association was not enough to encourage former pupils of St. Francis Xavier's to found a similar body, the holding of the Stonyhurst Association Dinner in the College hall in Salisbury Street in July 1884 (1) provided the stimulus. With a loose association of past pupils and friends already in existence as a result of the activities of the Harris Memorial Committee, preparations were begun in the autumn of 1884 for "a work that has been too long neglected - the formation of an Association of Old Xaverians" (2). As "all the leading Colleges of England" had "long since rejoiced in such an association, of which the advantages are so clear to all" (3), the business of forming an Association was carried out with despatch.

On 11 November 1884 a meeting of former College pupils was held at the Law Association Rooms in Cook Street, Liverpool, to discuss the formation of a new Association. The Rector of the College gave his full support to the idea of forming such a body. From the beginning the promoters of the proposed Association were determined that it should be made thoroughly representative, and that "the terms of membership should not be such as to preclude the possibility of anybody joining who wished to do so" (4).

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(1) The Xaverian, August 1884, p.11.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., December 1884, p.13.

When the first meeting of the new St. Francis Xavier's Association took place at Salisbury Street, on 27 November 1884, a set of rules based on those of the Stonyhurst Association was adopted. Rule 3 was particularly significant. It ran: "All former Students and Parents and Guardians of Students of St. Francis Xavier's (College) shall be eligible as Members" (1). The St. Francis Xavier's Association was far ahead of its time in its wish to involve the whole College "family" in the life of a day school. Significantly, as if to emphasize the point, the Association elected as its first President not an Old Boy of the College, but one who from the earliest days of the foundation of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in 1840 had striven to promote the educational work of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool. The election at the age of seventy-three of Thomas Lightbound, brother-in-law of the late founder of the College, Fr. Randal Lythgoe, provided a patriarchal link between the collegium inchoatum of the 1840s and the present.

The fortunes of the St. Francis Xavier's Association (2) and of its various offshoots - the Debating Society, the Old Xaverian Football, Cricket and Cycle Clubs, and the Old Xaverian Athletic Association - strongly supported though they were by the Society of Jesus throughout the 1890s and later - were essentially in the hands of laymen and so lie outside the scope of the present study. It is sufficient to note that the main body of the St. Francis Xavier's Association grew rapidly from

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(1) Ibid.

(2) The Association later changed its name to "The Old Xaverians' Association".

90 members in 1885 (1) to nearly 200 members in 1898 (2). Though it did not wish to consider itself as a "mere prize-giving machine" (3), the Association was instrumental in allocating money annually from its own funds to provide scholarships and prizes for boys at the College. In the late 1880s and early 1890s sums in excess of £20 were made available annually to the Rector for such awards (4). This help did much to enhance the Jesuits' own contributions to prize money for the boys, promoted the ideal of hard work and strengthened the family atmosphere of the College.

"Helping the boys to help themselves"

In attempting to increase the number of scholarships at the College, the St. Francis Xavier's Association carefully watched developments in other Liverpool schools. In 1885 pupils at the Liverpool High School for Girls organized a concert to raise money to provide scholarships for their own number. The Committee of the new Association at St. Francis Xavier's was attracted by the idea and urged the College authorities to foster a new spirit of self-help among the pupils (5).

The Committee's suggestion fell at an auspicious moment. For twenty years the tradition of drama so carefully nurtured by Fr. Richard Sumner at the College in the 1850s had been allowed to die by Fr. Harris. This was not due to any personal whim on his part, but rather to

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(1) The Xaverian, June 1885, p.66.

(2) Ibid., November 1898, p.167.

(3) Ibid., April 1898, p.52.

(4) See, for example, The Xaverian, January 1889, p.154 and March 1896, p.43.

(5) The Xaverian, June 1885, p.66.

the practice he had found in the colleges of the Society on the continent. Whereas Jesuit theatre before the Suppression had developed to a high degree throughout Europe and had been a formative influence on secular drama, by the mid nineteenth century it had fallen into disfavour. On a visitation to the French college in exile at Brugelette in Belgium in 1840, one Provincial had noted in his Memorial:

It is regrettable that theatre has been introduced. Try at least to cut down on it for some time if it cannot be suppressed entirely. (1)

By the 1870s Fr. General Beckx was complaining that in some French Jesuit colleges plays were being performed whose themes were chosen not from sacred antiquity but "from modern, not to say unseemly shallowness" (2). Such narrowness of outlook was not evident in Beckx's successor, Fr. General Anderledy (3).

Even before the call in 1885 for boys at St. Francis Xavier's to present their own theatrical performances to raise money for scholarships, drama had been re-introduced at the College. A successful production of Cardinal Wiseman's play The Hidden Gem had originally prompted the idea of following the example of the Liverpool High School for Girls. Within six months of the Committee's suggestion being made, a repeat performance of the play was given by the boys of the Fourth Form. The venture received the

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(1) Quoted in Padberg, op.cit., p.74.

(2) Ibid., p.240.

(3) Beckx remained as General of the Society until his death at the age of 93 in 1887. Owing to his failing health and advanced years he was succeeded by Fr. Anton Anderledy, who was appointed Vicar General of the Society of Jesus with right of succession in 1883.

full support of the Jesuit community and was the subject of a special announcement:

The College authorities and the parents of the boys are equally interested in promoting the success of this undertaking. For even those boys who do not themselves gain Scholarships are helped in their work by the presence in the higher classes of a large number of boys who are doing well. Scholarships help to keep such boys at school, and to encourage them in their work. We count, therefore, with confidence, on the assistance of the parents and friends of our boys. With their co-operation we may promise ourselves success; and it does not seem unreasonable to hope that success in this venture may be the beginning of a good work by which the boys of St. Francis Xavier's College may profit for many years to come. (1)

This clear call from the Jesuits for parental support was a significant step forward. Some of that spirit of co-operation between the Society of Jesus and the laity which had been the hallmark of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in the 1840s had been lost sight of in the early days of the collegium inchoatum. Now it was re-introduced fully into the life of the College.

The immense success of the repeat performance of The Hidden Gem brought in "amply sufficient" money to provide for the scholarships desired (2). More importantly, the Jesuit community was most impressed by "the earnest, manly way in which the boys themselves took the matter up" (3). As the editor of The Xaverian reported:

The actors were determined to succeed, and they succeeded; and those of the class who were not actors pushed the undertaking in a public-spirited business-like way. (4)

Success bred success. Discovering that they were able to help themselves, the pupils in subsequent years carried on the pioneering work of the Fourth Form of the classical course of 1885. A musical production entitled

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(1) The Xaverian, November 1885, p.125.

(2) Ibid., December 1885, p.141.

(3) Ibid., p.142.

(4) Ibid.

Guy Mannering was mounted as the Shrovetide play in 1888 by the boys of the Third and Fourth Forms in aid of the scholarship fund (1). The following year a performance of The Pirates of Penzance was given "by permission of Mr. D'Oyly Carte" for the same purpose (2), so establishing a new tradition which was to be continued throughout the 1890s.

The pupils' discovery of their acting abilities engendered a healthy development of drama at the College. Productions of the Savoy Operas, or at least adaptations of them, became regular events. The arrival at the College in 1888 of a young scholastic, Richard Ratcliffe, who was also a talented amateur composer, did much to promote the performance of musicals. A production of his musical farce The Naughty Nephews, written specially for the entertainment of the College boys on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, 3 December 1888, met with great success (3). As a result of this the members of the cast were invited to repeat the performance at Mount St. Mary's College, where they spent four days during the Christmas holidays of 1888-1889 (4).

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(1) It has long been the practice in Jesuit colleges to produce a play at Shrovetide. The play-bill for the 1888 performance of Guy Mannering reproduced overleaf is to be found inside the 1888 volume of The Xaverian preserved at the Jesuit Library at Les Fontaines, Chantilly, France.

(2) Ibid., February 1889, p.177, and April 1889, p.204.

(3) The libretto of Richard Ratcliffe's The Naughty Nephews, a score of his musical The Baby Elephant, both written for the boys of St. Francis Xavier's College, and a score of The Prince and the Page by his brother Francis Ratcliffe, S.J., were discovered at Salisbury Street in 1981. They are now to be found in APA, XLVII/1-3.

(4) The Xaverian, February 1889, p.176. In 1886 after a successful adaptation of Patience the boys were invited to repeat their performance at Stonyhurst, as the pupils at both Stonyhurst and Mount St. Mary's were not allowed home for Christmas.

PLATE XIV

PLAYBILL FOR THE SHROVETIDE PLAY 1888

From the Jesuit Library, Les Fontaines,  
Chantilly



ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S,  
SALISBURY STREET.

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ON SHROVE-TUESDAY,  
FEBRUARY 14TH, 1888,

**Guy Hamming,**

OR

**The Gipsy's Prophecy,**

A MUSICAL PLAY IN 3 ACTS,  
WILL BE PERFORMED IN

**THE COLLEGE HALL,**

**SALISBURY STREET,**

BY THE

*BOYS of the 4th & 3rd CLASSICAL FORMS.*

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Doors Open at 7, Performance to begin at 7-30 p.m.

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**First Seats, 2s. Gallery, 1s. Back Seats, 6d.**

Tickets may be had from Messrs. ROCKLIFF, Castle Street; MR. MILBOURNE, St. Anne Street; MR. DENSON, Salisbury Street; and at the College, Salisbury Street.

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Printed at the Boys' Refuge, 62, St. Anne Street, Liverpool.

Extracts from plays began to be incorporated into Proclamation ceremonies from the late 1880s, so restoring the practice which had obtained at Exhibitions given at the College in the 1850s. The interest of parents and friends anxious to see the boys acting, and the exhortations of the Jesuit community to the former to support the College, led to a rapid growth in the numbers attending Proclamation. Despite the existence of a vast hall in the College, the pressure on space was enormous on such occasions. In 1885 the Vice-President had to announce:

All boys are requested to explain to their parents that it is quite impossible for us to issue half, or nearly half of the tickets applied for, for the Proclamation. Several thousands of tickets, admitting two each, have been applied for. (1)

For a school of 400 boys to be able to boast an attendance of 3000 people in the College hall at a Proclamation ceremony, as happened in 1888, was no small achievement (2).

When, a year earlier, the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Ripon, had been invited to distribute the prizes at Proclamation, people anxious for a glimpse of the former Viceroy of India had lined the streets of Liverpool. One journalist witnessing the scene was prompted to write:

At least times are changed when a Roman Catholic Marquis on his way to preside at a Jesuit College Prize Distribution is feted en route by the leading citizens of a great English town. (3)

The strength of support given by parents and friends of the College at Proclamation ceremonies was to surprise and delight the newly elected Jesuit General, Fr. Luis Martin, on his impromptu visit to Liverpool in 1892. Invited to distribute certificates to the College boys

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(1) Notice Book, 18 December 1885.

(2) The Xaverian, January 1889, p.156.

(3) Quoted in Letters and Notices, 19. p.414.

at their Christmas Proclamation, the General "examined the vast audience with the closest attention and seemed keenly to appreciate the high position of (the) College in the city" (1). Similar feelings were to be expressed the following year by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Stuart Knill, on his visit to the College to distribute prizes (2). The growing spirit of confidence alive in the College was also beginning to express itself in a more concrete manner.

### The Sodality Chapel 1887

In the continental colleges of the Society of Jesus in the nineteenth century the existence of a sodality was taken with great seriousness. Frequently a special sodality chapel was established in addition to the college chapel in each of the institutions. Very often such chapels were built despite existing large debts (3).

St. Francis Xavier's College was no exception to this general rule. In 1882, with large debts still attached to both the College and the church, the first steps were taken towards establishing a new chapel for the College Sodality and the four congregations of the Sodality existing in the parish of St. Francis Xavier (4). The building

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(1) The Xaverian, February 1893, p.211.

(2) Ibid., August 1893, p.315.

(3) See Padberg, op.cit., p.244.

(4) These were the "Children of Mary", or Women's Sodality; the Men's Sodality and the boys' and girls' guilds, made up largely of pupils from St. Francis Xavier's elementary schools. By 1894 there were 1257 members of the Sodality, comprising 98 College boys, 254 boys and 256 girls from the elementary schools and two groups of 300 men and 349 women sodalists from the parish; see letter of English Provincial, Fr. Clayton, to Fr. General Martin, ARSJ, Anglia 1006, II, 76.

of such a chapel could not take place without the consent of the local bishop and the agreement of the Jesuit General, but these formalities did not pose any problem in the case of the College in Liverpool. In 1882 the Prefect of Propaganda in Rome informed Fr. General Beckx that the Bishop of Liverpool had given his support to the idea of building such a chapel (1).

At first the idea of the Rector, Fr. Thomas Murphy, was to build a free standing chapel close to the church of St. Francis Xavier (2). Further reflection on the subject led to another idea. There were now 11,000 Catholics living within the parish boundaries, making it the largest parish in the English Province. The cathedral-like church, conceived with great foresight by Fr. Randal Lythgoe in the 1840s at a time when there were few residents in the district, was now inadequate for the number of people attending services. It was therefore felt more appropriate to breach the east wall of the church and there add a large chapel eighty feet in length, so providing additional seating. An architect, Edmund Kirby, was appointed in August 1884, the foundation stone was laid in June 1885 and the new chapel opened in March 1887.

#### Neglect and decline 1887

With this development one might have expected to see a sudden growth in the activities of the College Sodality. Quite the opposite happened. In October 1887 the Jesuit

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(1) Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni to Beckx, 14 August 1882, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V,1.  
 (2) Ryan, op.cit., p.50.

General wrote to the English Provincial, Fr. Edward Purbrick, complaining that he had received reports that discipline, studies and the Sodality in the College were in a state of decline. This he considered attributable in part to the neglect of Fr. Gerald Tarleton, now holding the joint position of Prefect of Studies and Prefect General (1). On his visitation to the College in 1885 Purbrick had noted a decline in the discipline of the boys "as regards ranks, silence, wandering about, etc." (2) and two years later he noted in his Memorial:

The declension of discipline in the College noted in the Memorial of 1885 seems to have continued and, as was natural, to have increased...The importance of this matter must be urged upon the Prefects until there is amendment. (3)

Although he found discipline in the College "wonderfully improved" on his visitation in 1888, there was abundant evidence of the lack of care taken by the Prefect of Studies. Purbrick had to note with regret:

The College throughout is in a lamentably neglected state. Windows, walls, desks and benches need systematic cleaning or renewal. A large pane of glass in the Prefect of Studies' room is so broken as to make the room very cold. Such repairs, as they affect health, should be made as soon as possible after the damage is done... The present state of things must tell against the reputation and interests of the College. (4)

In a modern building just over ten years old there could be little excuse for such widespread neglect. For this Fr. Tarleton shared some of the blame. The rest of the blame was attached by the Jesuit General to the neglect of the Rector, Fr. Thomas Murphy. Writing to Purbrick in 1888 Fr. General Anderledy stated that he had the

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(1) Anderledy to Purbrick, 2 October 1887, APA, Epist.Gen. 1884-1892, f.113.

(2) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1885.

(3) Ibid., 1887.

(4) Ibid., 1888.

impression that Fr. Murphy was so much taken up with pastoral work in the parish that he had no time for anything else. Consequently difficulties were growing. In particular, as far as the College was concerned, the General did not feel parents' wishes concerning the curriculum were being taken sufficiently into account (1).

Fr. Murphy was to defend himself in a letter to the General, complaining that the disruption caused by five changes of Prefect General or Vice-President in four years had had a disastrous effect on the College (2). As maintenance of the College buildings was principally the responsibility of the Vice-President, one can sympathise with Fr. Murphy who had to accept the constant changes in the office of Vice-President if that was the Provincial's wish.

Confronted with criticism both from the General and from the Rector in Liverpool via the General, Purbrick had to take action. Shortly before stepping down from office as Provincial in mid-August 1888, Purbrick decided to replace Fr. Tarleton as Prefect of Studies in Liverpool (3). Looking round the Province for a suitable replacement, he called on the services of a young man who already knew the College well, Fr. Terence Donnelly.

#### Fr. Terence Donnelly Prefect of Studies 1888-1898

On his appointment to the post of Prefect of Studies at the College in September 1888, Terence Donnelly was

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(1) Anderledy to Purbrick, 14 April 1888, APA, Epist.Gen. 1884-1892, f.126.

(2) Murphy to Anderledy, 30 July 1888, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V, 2.

(3) Tarleton was sent in the summer of 1888 to take charge of the small collegium inchoatum of St. Aloysius in Glasgow.

thirty-seven years old and had just completed his tertianship at Roehampton. Educated at Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst, he had entered the Society at Roehampton in 1870 and had subsequently come to know St. Francis Xavier's College intimately. A period of two years teaching as a scholastic under Fr. Harris in 1873-1875 had been followed by philosophy studies at Stonyhurst. After this Donnelly had returned to Liverpool to spend another three years teaching the highest forms at the College, preparing them for the London Matriculation and Oxford Local examinations. Leaving Liverpool in 1881 he had begun his theological studies at St. Beuno's and after ordination in 1884 had been sent to teach the fifth year class at the small Jesuit day school in Glasgow. During his time there he had made a name for himself by inaugurating in St. Aloysius' parish an athletic association from which was later to spring the world famous Celtic Football Club (1). In his ten years in Liverpool he was also to make a lasting impression on the College.

The challenge facing Donnelly on his appointment to St. Francis Xavier's in 1888 was enormous. Gone now were the days when, as in Fr. Harris's time, the College was an easy manageable unit with the majority of boys living within a mile of Salisbury Street. During the late 1870s and early 1880s the effects of the gradual shift of the population from the area close to the College to the new suburbs burgeoning around the city were beginning to be

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(1) See Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.405 and The Xaverian, August 1898, p.116.

(2) Historical notes relating to St. Francis Xavier's College, APA, 6/4/2/1, Supplement C.

(3) The Xaverian, October 1884, p.6.

felt. By 1883 a few boys were travelling to school by bicycle (1) and the following year the College authorities succeeded in negotiating with the Liverpool Tramway Company for a reduction in fares for pupils (2). This step was evidently taken to counteract the increasing problem of lateness among boys travelling considerable distances across the city. Pleased with the new reduction in tram fares the College chronicler noted:

It is hoped that this will induce many who live at a distance to avail themselves of the Tramcars, and thus be enabled to reach the College at an earlier hour in the morning (3).

Unfortunately no College Register survives giving details of boys' addresses. From The Xaverian it is clear that by 1889 "a considerable number of boys" were living at "a good distance from the College" with "more than thirty coming from the other side of the Mersey" (4). In order to try and alleviate the problems of those attempting in vain to reach the College on time in the morning, Fr. Donnelly in September 1889 put back the school day by half an hour. The Mass before morning schools now began at 9 o'clock and thereafter lessons continued until 1 o'clock. In the afternoon classes resumed at 2.15 and

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(1) Historical notes relating to St. Francis Xavier's College, APA, 6/4/2/1, Supplement C.

(2) The Xaverian, October 1884, p.6.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., March 1890, p.42.



continued until 4.15 (1).

### School attendance

The attendance of boys at the College was watched very carefully, particularly at the opening of a new academic year or a new term. In 1891 boys and parents were warned that

.....except in cases of sickness, students who do not return on the Re-Opening Day will have Fifty Marks subtracted from their Term's total for every day of their absence. (2)

Parents of boys absent from school automatically received a circular from the College authorities on the day following the beginning of the absence. Such a system maintained a close check on potential truants. When in 1888, the Postmaster in Liverpool began to charge these daily circulars at the normal letter rate the Jesuits protested. The matter was taken up by the Secretary of the Post Office in London, who over-ruled the Liverpool Post Office,

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(1) Ibid., October 1889, p.307. As early as January 1889 the Rector of the College, Fr. Thomas Murphy, had informed the General of the growing desertion of the city for the suburbs; see Murphy to Anderledy, 28 January 1889, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V,3. In 1893 he reported to the new General, Fr. Martin, that the civil authorities in the city were alarmed at the 25% fall in the population of the Parish of Liverpool in the period between the censuses of 1881 and 1891; this had been caused by people fleeing "the smoke and noise of the town" for the peace of the suburbs. The combined problems of parents not wishing their sons to travel long distances to school and their desire to find them jobs in business at too young an age were having a damaging effect on the College; see Murphy to Fr. General Martin, 18 August 1893, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V,8. The seriousness with which the problem was viewed by the College can be measured from two similar reports sent to the General in 1894; see R. Sykes to Fr. General Martin, (n.d.) January 1894 and 31 July 1894, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V, 9 and 10. In 1895 the Rector announced the opening of a boarding house at the College for boys living at a long distance. The response was evidently poor and the plan was soon dropped; see The Xaverian, July 1895, p.298.

(2) The Xaverian, January 1892, p.6.

allowing the absentee notes to pass as circulars, as had been the custom at the College since the 1850s (1).

### The school leaving age

Another major problem facing the College, in common with other Liverpool secondary schools at this time, was that of pupils being taken away from their studies before any real benefit could be gained. Shortly after Fr.Harris's death in 1883 there had been 400 pupils in the College. The decline which set in shortly afterwards soon became alarming. It was a trend which was to require a great deal of work to combat, as Table XX overleaf indicates.

In 1891 Donnelly informed parents that in the decade 1881-1891, a total of 1145 boys had been admitted to the College, giving an average annual intake of 114.5 boys. The problem was "not so much in getting boys as in keeping them" (2) and to reinforce his point he quoted from the Liverpool College Magazine a speech delivered some months earlier by the Principal, Mr. Rendall, deprecating the very common practice in Liverpool of removing pupils from school when too young (3). Two years later Donnelly again gave parents the results of his calculations.

Analysing one group of more than 100 pupils who had left the College at the end of the academic year 1891-1892, he calculated the average leaving age as 14.3 years and noted that it was "hardly necessary to point out that this is a very early age for a youth at College to finish his education" (4).

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(1) Ibid., March 1888, p.32.

(2) Ibid., June 1891, p.279.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid., July 1893, p.295.

TABLE XXGROWTH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE(CLASSICAL AND COMMERCIAL DEPARTMENTS) 1886-1894 (1)

Number present on Opening Day		Number on 20 September	Highest number in Academic Year
30 Aug	1886 254	316	336
30 Aug	1887 241	274	309
3 Sept	1888 247	277	304
2 Sept	1889 237	276	303
25 Aug	1890 238	280	310
24 Aug	1891 231	277	292
29 Aug	1892 216	271	286
28 Aug	1893 226	270	324
27 Aug	1894 281	321	337

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(1) Table based on information in The Xaverian, October 1894, p.150 and August 1895, p.314.

The immense problem of keeping pupils at secondary schools in Liverpool for an adequate length of time was one which was to worry educationists for the next decade. Michael Sadler, Professor of the History and Administration of Education at the Victoria University of Manchester, surveying the work of the boys' secondary schools of the city at the turn of the century, found that

.....at present, the educational system of Liverpool sags in the middle, like a tent without a centre-pole. It needs a firm centre-piece. The work of the secondary schools is dislocated by the belated entries and premature leavings of boys who ought to be receiving a sustained course of education up to the age of sixteen. (1)

The Liverpool Daily Post in 1901 attempted to analyse further the general problem in the city. Its verdict throws some light on the difficulties at St. Francis Xavier's College:

There is a want or demand of a very large class - the majority of parents - for an education which, going beyond the elementary type, shall yet in cost and duration be at a minimum. Knowing that the "imprimatur" of a good secondary school is potent in the city, they send their boys less it seems for educational reasons than for the mere name. Their want or demand in education...is pitifully small. They demand little beyond arithmetic, book-keeping and what they believe to be subjects of immediate utility for bread-winning purposes in commercial life. (2)

If this was true of the population of Liverpool as a whole, there was in the Catholic schools of the city in Fr. Donnelly's view, an added problem to overcome, namely the "siege" mentality from which so many Catholic parents seemed to be suffering as a result of three centuries of persecution and deprivation of civil liberties. This was a subject with which Donnelly dealt early in his period in Liverpool. At the Proclamation ceremony in the summer

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(1) Sadler, M.E., Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool, (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904), p.19.

(2) Liverpool Daily Post, 28 October 1901.

of 1890 he informed parents:

We must keep abreast of the times in which we live, and it must be our endeavour to fit the young with the means whereby they will be enabled to win their way here, as well as to train them in those habits of virtue and piety which will lead them on to their heavenly home. (1)

Speaking more directly, he continued:

We, the Catholics of Liverpool, are not in the position that we ought to occupy. We have numbers, and most of our children belong to a race famous and renowned for intellectual ability. How comes it then that our power is not what it ought to be? Many answers doubtless will be given. Is this not one? The want of education. However, let this suffice. Perhaps another time we may come back to this subject. (2)

Fr. Donnelly proved to be a man of his word. At a similar ceremony in 1895, alluding to the recent success of one boy who had been allowed by his parents to stay on at the College into the Fourth Form, and who had gained a £60 Technical Education Scholarship for three years at University College, Liverpool, Fr. Donnelly made what must rank as one of the most rousing and challenging speeches ever made by a Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's College. Having explained that the boy concerned had been in competition with pupils from Liverpool College, Liverpool Institute and the Merchant Taylors' School in Great Crosby he declared:

We, the authorities of the College, were delighted at his success, inasmuch as it is calculated to teach the Catholics of Liverpool what so many of them seem to ignore - that we Catholics are quite on a level with our Protestant fellow-countrymen, that we should rise from the state of lethargy into which we have fallen after three centuries of persecution, and that we should strive by every lawful means in our power to get the means of self-advancement, open to us as well as to everyone else, into our own hands. (3)

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(1) The Xaverian, August 1890, p.119.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid., August 1895, p.315.

As a pledge of his earnestness and to urge parents to keep their sons at the College he went on to announce that:

To make this more easy of attainment, we purpose opening a fifth form in the commercial course next scholastic year, in which a thoroughly scientific education will be given, the subjects taught being the advanced stages of those required by the Government in organised science schools, so that the members of the Fifth Form will be fully prepared and equipped to do battle with all the competitors from all other parts of the town. (1)

Such dynamic and forceful leadership was in distinct contrast to the qualities shown only seven years earlier by the then Prefect of Studies, Fr. Gerald Tarleton. Writing to the Provincial, Fr. Purbrick, about the curriculum offered at the College, he had asked in all seriousness: "Is it worth while to continue the teaching of chemistry?" (2)

#### School and curriculum reorganization 1888-1898

##### The Preparatory Class

Fr. Terence Donnelly was one of the first Jesuits in the English Province in the nineteenth century to pay real attention to the need of providing boys with a solid formation in their earliest years in a college. In his time as a scholastic at Liverpool in the 1870s he had witnessed year after year the immense upheaval of Jesuit staff as scholastics departed to continue their studies and others arrived to take their place. In the fifty years from the foundation of the school in 1842 to 1892 no fewer than 120 Jesuit assistant masters had passed through the

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(1) Ibid. On this occasion Donnelly's call to parents to keep their sons at school longer was supported both by the College Rector and by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, who had come to distribute the prizes.

(2) Tarleton to Purbrick, 3 July 1888, APA, AI/4.

College (1). In the period up to 1885 no master had taught the preparatory class for more than two or three years at a time at the very most. The departure of Fr. Frederick Jerrard in 1889 after an unprecedented five years as master of that class called for action. Donnelly appreciated the damage which could be wrought by that excessive number of changes of staff which had become a major weakness in the educational organization of the English Province. He realized that what was needed now in Liverpool was an experienced teacher in charge of the Preparatory Class who would not move away to another post after a few years and who could inculcate correct attitudes in new pupils. If this could be achieved much greater stability would be given to the college. When Fr. Jerrard was transferred to parish work at St. Francis Xavier's in the summer of 1889, Donnelly took what was then considered to be a highly unusual step in a Jesuit college by appointing in his place a lay woman teacher, Mrs. Atherton, to take charge of the Preparatory Class (2). This brought the total number of assistant lay teachers to five (3).

Donnelly's desire for stability seemed shattered in 1891 when Mrs. Atherton left her post (4). The appointment of her successor, Mrs. Frances St. George Yorke, "a lady who has had considerable experience in the teaching and

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(1) See Appendix VI (iv).

(2) This step was considered so unusual that the appointment of Mrs. Atherton merited a special mention in the Annual Letter to Rome in 1889.

(3) Lay staff had been employed in the Commercial department of the College for many years before this. Unfortunately their names are nowhere recorded and there appears to be little or no information available about them before the first complete list of staff was published in The Xaverian in 1894.

(4) The Xaverian, September 1891, p.329.

management of children" (1) in August 1891 was to provide more stability than he can ever have hoped for. Mrs. Yorke was to remain at the College until her retirement in 1911.

When, in 1908, the preparatory department was divided because of growing numbers, her daughter Emily took charge of the new class, a post she held until 1936. The work of the Yorkes in teaching generations of College boys during the forty-five years from 1891 to 1936 was to attract the attention and praise of inspectors in their reports on the school (2). So successful was this arrangement that women teachers were later employed to teach the preparatory classes in other Jesuit colleges in the English Province (3).

### Technical Education

If Fr. Donnelly urged parents "to keep abreast of the times", he was certainly prepared to do likewise himself. The passing of the Technical Instruction Act in 1889 and the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act the following year empowered county councils to provide and aid by a local rate an area of education considered necessary for the future progress and prosperity of the nation. The Act gave Liverpool a grant of £15,000 as its

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(1) Ibid. Frances St. George Yorke (1845-1918) had been educated at St. Philip's Convent, Edgbaston, and was well acquainted with Cardinal Newman, being "a member of a select class of ladies to whom the Cardinal gave lessons in Latin"; see The Xaverian, April 1918, p.29.

(2) See, for example, The Xaverian, February 1896, p.24.

(3) One of the earliest pupils of Frances St. George Yorke at St. Francis Xavier's was John Manning, the future Jesuit Prefect of Studies at Wimbledon College (1918-1923). Adopting the formula introduced by Terence Donnelly at Liverpool in the late 1880s, Manning secured the services of his unmarried sister as teacher in charge of the preparatory class at Wimbledon College in the 1920s, with equally successful results.



first year of aid to technical education.

In 1889 the Liverpool School Board, in conjunction with the Conference of School Managers, took the initiative in calling together a conference of representatives of various bodies in Liverpool interested in the promotion of technical education. It comprised representatives of the School Board, the Conference of School Managers, the Liverpool Council of Education, the Liverpool Association for the Promotion of Technical Instruction, the Liverpool School of Science, the Liverpool Science and Art Classes and the Trades Council. The conference decided to ask the Liverpool Association for the Promotion of Technical Instruction, a body which had been formed two or three years previously and affiliated to the corresponding national association, to obtain for them detailed information concerning the work of technical instruction carried on by various bodies in the city. Early in 1890 the conference asked Liverpool City Council to put into force their powers under the provisions of the Technical Instruction Act. Matters were eventually referred to the Library, Museum and Art Committee which was entrusted with the disbursement of the £15,000. In turn this committee appointed a sub-committee to deal with the matter. This latter body in the following year was designated the Liverpool Technical Instruction Sub-Committee (1).

Fr. Donnelly now seized his opportunity and applied for a grant for St. Francis Xavier's College. Competition was fierce, with many other bodies in the city making

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(1) For a full account of the work of this body see McCaughley, D.T., "The Technical Instruction Committee in Liverpool 1890-1903", unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1973.

similar applications. The request from the College was successful and Donnelly received £150 "for the purchase of educational appliances for the Science and Art Classes of the College" (1). Immediately he set to work re-organizing the science teaching area. A large classroom on the top floor of the College was converted into a "Physical Laboratory and Lecture Room" and a third of the area partitioned off for practical work. The rest of the space was filled up with "all the requisites for a lecture room" and the refurbished whole was described as being "admirably adapted for the purpose to which it has been put" (2). Modest though the grant from the Technical

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(1) The Xaverian, September 1891, p.329. Nineteen other institutions received grants, namely: Bankhall Girls' Institute; the Diocesan Board's Pupil Teachers' Classes; the Gordon Working Lads' Institute; the Hope Street Higher Grade School; Liverpool College (Shaw Street); Liverpool Institute; the Liverpool School of Science and Technology; the Liverpool Science Art Classes; the Liverpool Training School of Cookery and Technical College for Women; the Liverpool School Board's Pupil Teachers' Classes and Continuation Schools; the Orphan Boys' Asylum; Parkhill Church School; the School of Art; St. Philemon's Church School; St. Cleopas' School; St. Saviour's School; the School of Sanitary Plumbing; the Walker Engineering Laboratories, the Departments of Chemistry, Physics and Engineering of University College, Liverpool; and the Y.M.C.A. See Hall, J.A., "A Historical Survey of Science Instruction in Liverpool", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1930, p.94.

(2) The Xaverian, February 1892, p.23. Fr. Donnelly's success in securing the £150 grant was duly reported to the General; cf. Murphy to Fr. General Martin, 18 March 1892, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V,7. The one man who had done so much to foster the teaching of chemistry since the opening of the new college building in 1877, Fr. Richard Vaughan, was unfortunately able to enjoy the new arrangements for only a short time. In October 1892 ill health forced him to retire, and a lay master was appointed in his place. Fr. Vaughan spent the remainder of his days quietly at Salisbury Street, where he died in 1899 at the age of 72; see The Xaverian, November 1892, p.168 and Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, f.226.

Instruction may have been, further opportunities for pupils were soon to be made available.

In 1893 the same committee offered eight Elementary Science Scholarships to scholars under 14 years of age living within the city boundary and in attendance at an elementary school. The scholarships, tenable at Liverpool College, Liverpool Institute, the Catholic Institute, Liverpool College for Girls, Blackburne House Girls' School and St. Francis Xavier's College provided free education for three years, a book grant and a clothing and maintenance grant of £1 per month payable to the parents of successful candidates (1). This scheme marked a new era, with the value of the educational work of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool at the secondary level at St. Francis Xavier's College now acknowledged by a public body for the first time.

#### The South Kensington Science and Art Examination

In the summer of 1890 Fr. Donnelly entered College boys for the South Kensington Science and Art examinations for the first time. Candidates from the Commercial Course sat examinations in Mathematics, Chemistry, Sound, Light and Heat. Good results were not hoped for at first as the College masters were not familiar with the style of the examination. Out of 37 candidates entered for Mathematics, 31 passed, 17 with "First Class" and 13 in the Second Class of the First Grade (2). Encouraged by these results, Donnelly continued to enter pupils in

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(1) The Xaverian, April 1893, p.246.

(2) Ibid., August 1890, p.118. The Rector judged the results sufficiently noteworthy to be reported to the Jesuit General. See Murphy to Anderledy, 25 February 1891, ARSJ, Anglia 1007, V,5.

subsequent years. In many cases boys entering the examination were also preparing for the London Matriculation and Oxford Local examinations. By 1895 the workload expected of boys entering the Science and Art examinations was so great that practical chemistry classes were held from 9.30 - 11.00 on Thursdays, the weekly holiday! The extent of the extra work involved in preparing for the examination can be seen from Table XXI overleaf.

The success in 1895 of one College boy, Francis Callaghan, in winning one of the five new £60 scholarships offered by the Technical Instruction Committee and tenable for three years at University College, Liverpool, gave added impetus to the teaching of science at St. Francis Xavier's. By 1896 there were two large classes of practical chemistry being held from 9.20 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Thursdays; a new store for chemicals and apparatus was also created in the basement of the school and a laboratory assistant was appointed (1). Fr. Donnelly was also able to report to parents that the teaching of chemistry was now "universal throughout the course" (2).

### "Commercial" subjects

From the beginning of his period as Prefect of Studies, Fr. Donnelly had a clear vision of the need for a balanced curriculum. While taking note of the need for "commercial" subjects, acknowledging parents' wishes that they should be taught and ensuring that they were made available in the College, he was not prepared to allow them to dominate

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(1) The Xaverian, December 1896, p.189.

(2) Ibid., August 1896, p.125.

TABLE XXITIMETABLE FOR CANDIDATES PREPARING FOR THE SOUTH KENSINGTONSCIENCE AND ART EXAMINATIONS 1894-1895 (1)Classical DepartmentSixth Form

Monday	12.00 - 1.00	Mechanics (Solids)
	2.15 - 3.45	Practical Chemistry
Tuesday	9.40 - 10.40	Theoretical Chemistry
Thursday	9.30 - 11.00	Practical Chemistry
Friday	12.00 - 1.00	Mechanics (Fluids)

Fifth Form

Monday	9.40 - 10.40	Theoretical Chemistry
Thursday	9.30 - 11.00	Practical Chemistry

Fourth Form

Wednesday	9.40 - 10.40	Theoretical Chemistry
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Commercial DepartmentFourth Form

Wednesday	3.15 - 4.15	Physiography
Thursday	11.30 - 1.00	Practical Chemistry
Friday	9.40 - 10.40	Theoretical Chemistry

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(1) Table based on information in The Xaverian, November 1894, p.168. Besides the above classes there were also special classes in mathematics on Tuesdays and Saturdays.

the curriculum to the exclusion of everything else. At a Proclamation ceremony in 1890 he explained to parents that the abolition of Latin in the Realschulen in Germany in the 1870s had been disastrous: many professors of science in the universities there had discovered after a period of some years that those science students who had studied in the Gymnasia and who had thus had the benefit of some classical training were far more successful in their scientific studies than those educated in the Realschulen (1). For this reason Latin was retained in the College curriculum (2).

#### Commercial arithmetic

Shortly after taking up office in Liverpool, Fr. Donnelly made a public pledge "to see that the study of commercial arithmetic, so necessary in a mercantile centre such as this, is not neglected" (3). From 1890 onwards great stress was laid on mental arithmetic and public exhibitions of the boys' abilities were provided at Proclamation ceremonies. By 1899 the training in mental arithmetic fostered by Donnelly had been developed to a fine art. In that year some fifteen boys on the stage

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(1) Ibid., August 1890, p.119. Donnelly's interest in comparative education was genuine. In the summer of 1892 he undertook a tour of inspection of the Jesuit colleges in Belgium, from which the Rector at Liverpool expected "important results....to ensue". See The Xaverian, August 1892, p.117.

(2) This was probably not the sole reason. Complaints had been received two years earlier from the Prefect of Studies at the Jesuit novitiate at Roehampton. It was claimed that pupils from St. Francis Xavier's joining the Society of Jesus were arriving at the novitiate unable to cope with Latin verse. No doubt Donnelly hoped to improve matters. See H. Walmesley to E. Purbrick, 9 July 1888, APA, AI/4.

(3) Ibid., February 1899, p.222-223.

at Proclamation representing most of the classes of the school

.... were subjected to a severe test in rapid addition, subtraction and multiplication, square root and cube root, interest and practice. Long and involved sums, bringing in all the processes just mentioned were given them..... and they were subjected to the ordeal of being stopped in any stage of their calculations by any member of the audience and asked there and then for the answer. (1)

Some parents, alarmed at such efforts of concentration, wondered how justified these gruelling tests really were. Fr. Donnelly believed that training of this sort was essential, given that any competent railway booking clerk in a busy station could in an instant, without a ready reckoner, present "change for a sovereign, correct to a halfpenny, for three and a half tickets at  $2/9\frac{1}{2}$ d each, or something similar" (2).

### Handwriting

In 1888 the Provincial, Fr. Edward Purbrick, suggested that handwriting be taught systematically in the College beyond the preparatory class. Masters were urged to pay close attention to handwriting and not to set so much homework that boys' writing would begin to suffer (3). His advice was heeded. In the autumn term of 1888 a new style of calligraphy originated by a Mr. Bland, a master at the Jesuit day school in Glasgow, was introduced (4). By

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(1) Ibid., February 1899, p.222-223.

(2) Ibid., August 1889, pp.266-267.

(3) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 1888.

(4) The Xaverian, December 1888, p.139. With this style "the pen is never lifted until the word is finished and.... the writing is of the same thickness throughout, there being none of the usual fine upstroke and thick downstroke"; ibid.

Christmas 1888 progress in the new style was such that specimens of calligraphy produced by the boys were passed round for parents' inspection at Proclamation and certificates awarded to the best pupils (1). Eighteen months after the new style was introduced, one former pupil was selected for a post in an office on the strength of his handwriting from a field of seventy-five candidates. His success was duly reported in the College to encourage other pupils in their efforts (2).

### Shorthand and typewriting

As early as 1887, before Fr. Donnelly's arrival in Liverpool, the teaching of shorthand had begun in the two upper classes of the commercial course (3). With the arrival of the new Prefect of Studies the subject was extended into other classes in the commercial course and also introduced into the classical course. Special £1 prizes were awarded twice yearly to boys in both departments from the end of 1890 onwards, the funds for this purpose being made available by the St. Francis Xavier's Association (4). How well boys progressed with shorthand is not clear. If the success of George Grundy, a College boy who learned shorthand, joined the Press, and became editor of an Ipswich newspaper by the age of 21, is any indication, efforts in this direction were worthwhile (5).

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(1) The Xaverian, January 1889, p.157.

(2) Ibid., April 1890, p.57.

(3) Ibid., October 1887, p.259.

(4) Ibid., January 1891, p.200.

(5) Ibid., November 1895, p.359.



Early in 1892 two lay masters at the College were asked to begin teaching typewriting and were soon at work "making themselves thoroughly efficient in this accomplishment" (1). A number of Remington typewriters were purchased and exhibited at work to parents at the end of an instructive lecture organised in the College hall by the St. Francis Xavier's Association (2). When, a few weeks later, parents received a circular announcing that typewriting classes were shortly to begin, the College received a great number of applications (3). As the new course developed special prizes were again made available for the best pupils by the Association (4).

### Modern Languages

Though the introduction of German to the curriculum was advised by the Provincial, Fr. Purbrick, in 1888 the subject does not appear to have been introduced into the College before the autumn of 1892 when a new lay master, Herr Carl Morgenländer, was appointed (5). Whether the master in question was simply not competent in his subject or whether the boys did not enjoy the language is not recorded. Certainly little or no progress was made and the subject was abandoned in 1895 "that more time may be devoted....to the study of the French tongue" (6).

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(1) Ibid., March 1892, p.43. The two lay masters concerned were probably a Mr. McVeigh and a Mr. Callon. See Notice Book, 22 November 1892.

(2) The Xaverian, March 1892, p.43. The lecture was principally devoted to a demonstration of "the marvellous powers of Edison's great patent...the phonograph"; ibid.

(3) The Xaverian, April 1892, p.60. A fee of 2/6d per term was charged for typewriting lessons; see Notice Book, 2 September 1892.

(4) The Xaverian, August 1892, p.117.

(5) Ibid., November 1892, p.169 and October 1893, p.343.

(6) Ibid., August 1895, p.315. Herr Morgenländer appears to have left the College at the end of the summer term of 1895.

The standard of French in the College on Fr. Donnelly's arrival in 1888 appears to have been poor. In 1889 he noted some slight improvement in the higher forms and expressed the hope "...that in one class at least, before the end of the year, a serious attempt at French conversation will be made" (1). When, in 1890, a representative of the French Ministère de l'Instruction Publique paid a visit to the College as part of a fact finding tour of English schools, he found that the pupils knew their French grammar "remarkably well", though how proficient they were in spoken French is not recorded (2). Apart from this reference to the subject little or no other evidence appears to survive to indicate the extent of progress in French during Fr. Donnelly's period as Prefect of Studies.

### Music

In Fr. Harris's time at the College music had not been encouraged, despite the fact that Harris himself was a keen amateur pianist. During his period of nearly twenty years at St. Francis Xavier's there is only one minor passing reference to music. One day in the academic year 1872-1873 he had informed the boys:

There will be a practice in Music today at 12.30. Boys should not attempt to shirk this practice as a knowledge of music will be very useful to them later and civilizes them now. (3)

The announcement must have sounded as hollow and as half hearted then as it does now. It would seem that Harris

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(1) The Xaverian, January 1889, p.157.

(2) Ibid., August 1890, p.117.

(3) Notice Book, 8 August 1872.

considered music as foreign to the life of a school as he did drama.

The purchase of an Erard grand piano for the College hall in the summer of 1884 (1) followed by the opening of the Harris Memorial organ at Christmas of that year (2) led to music being taken more seriously. Fr. Frederick Jerrard, who arrived in 1885, was for four years apparently in charge of music in the school (3). Again little is recorded concerning the actual teaching of the subject. If a short report in a Liverpool newspaper is accurate, musical education was confined mainly to choral training. In 1890 it was reported:

The practice of choral singing....takes place every week in the large hall, to the accompaniment of a fine organ erected near the platform, or rather stage. Several of the boys possess really beautiful voices, and a large number of them take a prominent part in the choral singing at the church, adding greatly to the effect of the musical portion of the service. (4)

#### Fr. Donnelly's achievement

Following the complaint made by Fr. Thomas Murphy in 1888 about excessive changes in the administration of the College a period of stability and growth had been achieved under Fr. Donnelly. Unfortunately, Fr. Murphy was not to live to see the fruit of work to which he, as

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(1) The Xaverian, July 1884, p.9.

(2) Ibid., January 1885, p.7.

(3) Ibid., May 1889, p.224.

(4) Reported in The Xaverian, December 1890, p.182. In order to encourage singing in church a special College Hymn Book was published in 1888 and each boy was expected to have his own copy. In 1894 the hymn book was replaced by a College Prayer Book containing all the hymns of the earlier volume; see The Xaverian, August 1888, p.92 and December 1894, p.188.

Rector, had in part contributed. He died of cancer in September 1894 and was succeeded as Rector by the Vice-President of the College, Fr. Richard Sykes. A few weeks after Fr. Murphy's death the new Rector had the pleasure of being able to report to the General in Rome that a College boy, James Loudon, had taken second place out of a national total of 2878 candidates in the Oxford Local Junior Examination, so winning the Lord Derby Prize for the College for the second year in succession (1). Less than a year later he was again to inform the General that the same boy had taken the 15th place in honours in the London Matriculation Examination (2). As this was the best performance in all the English Jesuit colleges, he also won the £25 Inter-Collegiate prize. Besides this, in 1894 nine other College boys passed the London Matriculation Examination and twenty-seven the Senior and Junior Oxford Local Examination. Also, for a third year the Lord Derby Prize had been won, this time by Oscar Withnell (3).

Fr. Donnelly was to remain as Prefect of Studies until the summer of 1898. Yet by the end of 1896 it is clear

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(1) Sykes to Fr. General Martin, 2 November 1894, ARSJ, Anglia 1018, IV,1. See also The Xaverian, September 1894, p.137.

(2) Sykes to Martin, 1 August 1895, ARSJ, Anglia 1018, IV,3.

(3) The Xaverian, February 1896, p.24. Oscar Withnell (1880-1953) was the great-nephew of the founder of the College, Fr. Randal Lythgoe. Withnell later joined the Society of Jesus. His greatest work was as Rector of Wimbledon College from 1927 to 1934. The benefits he brought to that college are still enjoyed today: in 1929 he purchased new playing fields for the college at Coombe Lane, Raynes Park, and opened Wimbledon College Preparatory School at Donhead Lodge in 1933. He also founded the Sacred Heart Schools in Burlington Road, New Malden.

that he himself felt he had successfully accomplished the task he had set himself on taking up office in 1888. Speaking to the boys' parents at the Christmas Proclamation in 1896 he gave an address which serves as a fitting testimony to his work at St. Francis Xavier's College:

The studies have been placed on such a footing that no one need now complain that he has not got a chance. In proof, I may refer again to the case of the three Scholarships won during the last two years at University College, Liverpool, and open to competition in the whole of Liverpool. Our students were pitted against those of Liverpool College, Shaw Street, the Liverpool Institute, Mount Street, and other non-Catholic institutions, and acquitted themselves most honourably.

We have added a Fifth Form to the Commercial Course by means of which such boys as wish obtain a thoroughly good scientific training. Lowe's system of shorthand has been taught with results that won great praise from the Examiner appointed by the City Council to see into and report upon the training in Commercial Studies. The study of French has been much insisted on, with most gratifying results, as the aforesaid Examiner testified in his Report. The study of Commercial Arithmetic has not been neglected, and nothing gave me higher satisfaction during the late examination than the marked improvement in this important branch of a commercial education. The Fifth Form, Classical, and the Fourth Form, Commercial, were the only two forms that did not fare well in the Mathematical Examination. The Drawing in the Commercial Course has so much improved that at last the boys we have had from the Preparatory upwards are quite a match for those who have been trained in the Elementary Schools. It has taken a long time and much labour to achieve this happy result.

The study of Practical Chemistry has been begun in the lowest forms of the Commercial Course, and I know no study to which our boys turn more eagerly. It has been a problem with me for years to see whether we cannot start the study of Mechanics and Chemistry lower down in the Classical Course, and I hope to see something done in that direction after Christmas. There is no doubt that it tends to rouse and develop a boy's powers of observation in a marvellous way, and that some minds that cannot be excited or stirred by the study of literature are roused from a prolonged state of torpidity by the wonders of the world of science.

It is now eight years ago, almost to a day, that you were told that the authorities of the College were fully alive to the requirements of a great commercial city like this, and were fully determined to respond to your desires, as far as possible, of giving your children such

an education as would fit them to go forth on terms of equality with their non-Catholic fellow countrymen. This I claim that we have done. (1)

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(1) The Xaverian, February 1897, pp.221-222. One small improvement made by Donnelly not mentioned elsewhere was the publication of an annual College Calendar from 1895 onwards; see Letters and Notices, 23, p.57.

CHAPTER TENTHE END OF AN ERA 1896-1902Assessing progress in the Province

By the mid 1890s the English Province of the Society of Jesus had, for a number of reasons, begun a critical examination of its educational work. In the first place the demand for more day schools was beginning to put pressure on the number of Jesuits available for teaching. There were now two new London day schools at Wimbledon and Stamford Hill (1). Founded in 1892 and 1894 respectively, they were still small in scale and, together with two other Jesuit day schools in Preston and Glasgow, officially classed as collegia inchoata. It was realized, however, that the day was not far off when all these schools would develop into full scale colleges of the Society. Added to this, there were increasing prospects of government legislation on the inspection of schools. Doubtless there would also be demands for officially recognized qualifications for non-graduate Jesuit teachers. Such problems could not be ignored.

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(1) Cardinal Manning had long prohibited the opening of a Jesuit college in London. For an account of his ban on the foundation of "a St. Francis Xavier's School" in London see McClelland, V.A., Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p.55, and the same author's English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) pp. 280-295 and 325-329. The foundation of St. Ignatius' College, so long desired by the Society of Jesus, took place in 1894, after Manning's death. Wimbledon was in the diocese of Southwark where no such problems existed. Though the College there did not open until as late as 1892, permission had been granted for the opening of such a school by Bishop Butt of Southwark as early as 1887.

At the Society's temporary headquarters at Fiesole, near Florence (1) interest was being taken in the future prospects of Jesuit educational work in the English Province. An unsigned, undated memorandum in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus sent to the English Assistant by an English Jesuit (2) in or about 1896, critical though it is, gives a valuable insight into the problems then being faced by colleges such as St. Francis Xavier's:

The Colleges already existing in our Province are suffering much from incompetent Masters.....and the want is felt not of higher Masters for Rhetoric, etc., but of Masters who can teach Grammar (3) well.

In the English Province much more time is given now to the Education of our own men than was formerly allowed. We might, therefore, expect better teachers: but we do not find them. In the Provincial Congregation it was urged strongly that the Masters of the lower Schools are often quite unfit for their work.

Whence comes this? One cause stated to me very earnestly by the Master of Novices is, that Candidates for the Society are admitted by the Examiners and by the Provincial, who are not sufficiently educated, and have not sufficient talent. In one year he dismissed (approbante Provincialis) ten Novices of this kind. I myself know lately of one admitted, of whom I warned the Provincial that he was utterly without talent for study, and not fit for our School of Rudiments, though he was 18 or 19 years old. The four examiners, notwithstanding, all voted for him. He was admitted, but soon afterwards sent away. There are no fixed Examiners. Any Father may be selected by chance.(4)

Comparing what ought to have been happening in theory with what was happening in practice, the writer continues:

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(1) From 1870 to 1895 the Jesuit General and his Curia lived at Fiesole because of political and religious upheaval in Italy.

(2) The writer of the memorandum describes himself as having had sixty years experience of the Society and having been both a Prefect of Studies and sometime Rector of Manresa House, Roehampton. Fr. Peter Gallwey (1820-1906) would appear to be the only member of the Province alive c.1896 fitting this description. The memorandum can be found in ARSJ, Anglia 1017, I,104, together with other papers of 1895-1897.

(3) That is, the class of Grammar, or Fourth Form in a secondary school.

(4) ARSJ, Anglia 1017, I,104.



What is prescribed in our Ratio, that our Scholastics should have special preparation for teaching, is entirely neglected. The professors are so occupied with the University examinations that nothing is done to form Magistros Scholarum Inferiorum. Add to this that Prefects of Studies are allowed almost ad libitum to make changes in the course, so that there is a want of stability. (1)

#### The first Catholic Headmasters' Conference 1896

How much attention was paid to this particular memorandum is not recorded, but matters were not allowed to rest there, either by the Jesuit General or by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Late in 1895 Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, the former bishop of Salford and now Manning's successor at Westminster, invited the Headmasters of the leading Catholic day and boarding schools to form a Catholic Headmasters' Conference. The first meeting of the proposed body took place at Archbishop's House, Westminster, on 3 January 1896. Twenty delegates attended

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(1) Such sentiments strengthen the hypothesis that the author was Fr. Gallwey. It will be recalled that in the mid 1850s Gallwey had been responsible for implementing at Stonyhurst the recommendations of the revised Ratio of 1832 taking some account of the suggestions proposed by Fr. Vasco in 1851.

including Fr. Richard Sykes, Rector of St. Francis Xavier's College (1). At this meeting it was agreed to set up a permanent conference which could act both as a forum for exchanging views and sharing experiences and as a watchdog on proposed government legislation on education. As far as the Society of Jesus was concerned one of the key issues raised by the conference was the need for a thorough pedagogic training for future teachers. Fr. Reginald Colley, Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst, in reporting details of the proceedings of the meeting to the Provincial, Fr. Francis Scoles, admitted that this matter was

....of primary importance to us in the Society, and it is clear that we shall have to put our masters through some public examination; and also to train them in Methods of Teaching, as is required in our Ratio Studiorum. (2)

This was a clear admission of the shortcomings then existing in the Society's training of Jesuit teachers in the English

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(1) The other delegates were Monsignor Bernard Ward, St. Edmund's Ware; Fr. John Norris, Oratory School, Birmingham; Canon John Hawksford, St. Wilfrid's, Cheadle; Fr. Henry New, O.S.B., Downside; Fr. Thomas Burge, O.S.B., Ampleforth; Fr. Erkenwald Egan, O.S.B., Ramsgate; Fr. Joseph Cremonini, I.C., Ratcliffe; Fr. Edward Purbrick, S.J., Wimbledon College; Fr. Compton Galton, S.J., Beaumont; Fr. Charles Blount, S.J., Mount St. Mary's; Fr. Reginald Colley, S.J., Stonyhurst; Fr. Eugene Durand, Basilian College, Plymouth; Dr. Louis Casartelli, St. Bede's, Manchester; Canon James Conway, St. Mary's College, Woolhampton; Bishop Thomas Wilkinson and Fr. Joseph Corbishley, Ushaw; Dr. Robert Butler, St. Charles' College, Bayswater; Canon Thomas Graham, Principal, St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith; Brother W. Swan, Prior Park; and a Marist Brother. See summary of the proceedings of the conference in letter of R. Colley to F. Scoles, English Provincial, S.J., 7 January 1896, ARSJ, Anglia 1017, V, 15. Between 1875 and 1895 occasional meetings of the Rectors and Prefects of Studies of the English Jesuit colleges had taken place, but this was the Jesuits' first official public encounter with headmasters of other Catholic schools.

(2) Colley to Scoles, 7 January 1896, ARSJ, Anglia 1017, V, 15, ff. 4-5. This letter was evidently forwarded to the English Assistant at the Society's headquarters at Fiesole for the information of the General.

Province.

A resolution of the conference on the question of the training of teachers, adopted unanimously, had been careful to allow the future possibility of Jesuits training masters either in their own larger colleges or by the establishment of "a house in one of the national universities, where regulars or clerics intending for teaching could be received while they prepared themselves for a University degree and acquired the necessary knowledge of Paedagogy" (1). By March 1896 the Society had succeeded in negotiating with the university authorities in Oxford for the establishment of a house of studies there (2).

Once its doors were opened to Jesuit students at the beginning of the academic year 1896-1897, a new training ground for a small number of future graduate teachers had begun. At the same time much work was being done at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, to improve the studies there for Jesuits destined to teach in the colleges of the Province but unable to obtain an Oxford degree (3). New courses in the theory, history and methodology of education were started, and new series of lectures in ethics, psychology, natural theology, logic, general metaphysics, mathematics, classics, physics and chemistry were also made available.

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(1) Ibid., f.4.

(2) The house of studies at Oxford was opened in 1896 by Fr. Richard Clarke, S.J., former superior of Wimbledon College. Known first as Clarke's Hall and then as Pope's Hall, the house later became known as Campion Hall. The house was opened only after the withdrawal by Propaganda of its admonition against Catholics attending the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For this episode see McClelland, V.A., English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, pp.372-387.

(3) Naturally only those students with good prospects of obtaining an Oxford degree were sent to Clarke's Hall. St. Mary's Hall had had a good and long record of preparing Jesuits for the London degree; see McClelland, V.A., English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, pp.32-45.

During the vacations additional series of lectures were given by Prefects of Studies and senior Jesuit masters from the colleges of the English Province on matters relating to teaching methods. In August 1899, for example, the Prefect of Studies of St. Francis Xavier's College delivered a series of lectures on arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry and mensuration. Similarly in 1901, Fr. Richard Ratcliffe, mathematics and science master at Liverpool, gave lectures on the following subjects: "the teaching of mathematics and science: the value and importance of careful preparation for classes in these subjects"; "the importance of carefully teaching first principles, illustrated with respect to different sciences: the necessity of frequent repetition"; "different types of boy and how to deal with him" and "faults of beginners (teachers) and how to avoid them" (1).

The long standing practice of the Society of Jesus in expecting one master to be able to teach a variety of subjects to his one class of boys was at last being modified. In 1897 an appeal had been sent to the Jesuit Curia at Fiesole from Fr. Joseph Rickaby, a lecturer at Clarke's Hall, Oxford on this very point. He had indicated that

.....some separate Masters must be provided to teach Mathematics. It is not in the nature of things that a Master, who has had two hours or more of teaching Classics to a large school, should in a short half hour's interval take a mathematical class and teach that with effect. The result is that neither Classics nor Mathematics are taught with efficiency, nor with any interest in the subjects taught. We also need to consider the question

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(1) For a Sketch of the Jesuit Method of Training Teachers carried on at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst in the period 1898-1902, see Appendix XVI.

of Masters for Modern Languages, for Science, History and Geography, all very badly done, or not done, at present. (1)

His words were fortunately beginning to be heeded by 1898 (2).

The new programme of training at St. Mary's Hall had as its inspiration the spirit of the Ratio Studiorum with, inevitably, many additions to the range of subjects originally available in that plan of studies. After 1898, in line with the recommendations of the Ratio, greater responsibility was placed on individual prefects of studies in the various colleges for the supervision of Jesuits in their earliest years as teachers. How, one may ask, did these innovations in Jesuit training affect St. Francis Xavier's College?

The first graduates from the new Jesuit hall at Oxford did not emerge ready to teach in the colleges of the Province until the summer of 1900, and the same was true of those passing through the newly revised training course at Stonyhurst. The effects of the work of these Jesuits were not to be seen fully at St. Francis Xavier's College until after 1902, a period lying beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, from about 1897, the new

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(1) Joseph Rickaby to (?) the English Assistant, S.J., 1 July 1897, ARSJ, Anglia 1017, I.98.

(2) The revision of the course at St. Mary's Hall led in 1903 to its full recognition by the Board of Education. As far as the registration of Jesuit teachers was concerned, the Board approved "the general standard of education attained by Teachers of the Jesuit Order who have successfully passed through the courses of studies and training of their Order, and who have a) taught for three years, or b) begun the last part of the full course of studies and training of their Order at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, not later than October 1902". It was agreed that "a declaration of the Provincial of the English Province may be accepted as evidence of the fulfilment of these conditions". See letter of W.C. Lefroy, Board of Education, to Professor B.C.A. Windle, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Birmingham, 29 May 1903, APA, AF/3.

obligations placed on senior Jesuit masters in the colleges of the Province to involve themselves in the training of their future colleagues gave to their work an added impetus. Between 1896 and 1898 the three posts of Rector, Vice-President and Prefect of Studies at Liverpool were filled by new men. Their involvement in Catholic education at a national level through the Catholic Headmasters' Conference and the Stonyhurst training course brought with it a wider breadth of vision which began to show itself in their conduct of the affairs of St. Francis Xavier's College.

#### The formation of a triumvirate 1896-1898

In the summer of 1896 the Rector of the College, Fr. Richard Sykes, was called unexpectedly and at short notice to take up the post of Superior and Prefect Apostolic (1) of the Zambesi Mission. His successor at Liverpool was a man who, less than six years earlier, had been nominated Archbishop of Bombay but who had not taken up the appointment because of poor health (2). Fr. James Hayes (1839-1907), the new Rector, was a Lancashire man with international experience. Born in Preston and educated at Stonyhurst, much of his training as a Jesuit had taken place in France at Laval and later at the house of studies of the exiled Castile Province at Poyanne (3). After four

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(1) A title given in missionary territories to one holding episcopal rank.

(2) See Fr. General Anderledy to Fr. John Clayton, English Provincial, 12 November 1890, APA, Epist.Gen.1884-1892, f.187. Archbishop George Porter, a former Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, had died in 1889 and a successor to the See of Bombay was still being sought.

(3) Letters and Notices, 29, p.203.

years teaching in Jamaica, where he contracted malaria from which he never fully recovered, he had spent two years as Prefect of Studies at St. Aloysius' College, Glasgow. A period as Spiritual Father at Beaumont College found him acting as tutor to the Spanish Infante Don Jaime and on intimate terms with the Spanish Royal Family. Appointed Rector of Farm Street in 1887, he had there achieved the apparently unachievable in purchasing from the Duke of Westminster the freehold of the property on which the church stands, in the heart of Mayfair. Transferred to Liverpool as an assistant missionary in 1894, he had worked hard among the poor, the sick and the elderly of St. Francis Xavier's parish before being appointed Rector of the College. His unusual wealth of experience as a Jesuit was to prove invaluable in his new work in Liverpool.

Shortly before his departure for the Zambesi Mission, Hayes' predecessor as Rector, Fr. Richard Sykes, had written to the Jesuit General in Rome informing him of a problem in the College. On the occasion of the last visitation to Liverpool of the Provincial, Fr. Francis Scoles, Sykes had requested a change of Vice-President as the then occupant of the post, Fr. William Kenny, was proving ineffectual. The Provincial had failed to take action on the matter and Sykes now appealed to the General to intervene (1). Swift action was taken and by the opening of the new academic year on 31 August 1896, Kenny had been replaced by Fr. Frederick Parry, who had just been ordained. The

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(1) Sykes to Fr. General Martin, 12 May 1896, ARSJ.  
Anglia 1018, IV, 6.

services of the latter were long to be remembered (1).

The departure of Fr. Terence Donnelly from Liverpool to take up the post of Vice-Rector of St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill, in the summer of 1898 (2) signalled the arrival of the third member of the new triumvirate at St. Francis Xavier's College - Fr. John McHale. Educated at the small Jesuit school in Preston and later at Mount St. Mary's, he was a graduate of London University and was considered as one of the ablest students of both philosophy and theology in the Province during his period of formation as a Jesuit. Ordained in 1896, he was thirty-six years old when he took up office as Prefect of Studies at Liverpool. For the next few years Frs. McHale and Parry, supported by the Rector, Fr. Hayes, were to steer the College into the twentieth century, making certain breaks with the past and defining new directions for the future. In their efforts they were to receive help from a former Prefect of Studies of the College, Fr. John Gerard, appointed Provincial in 1897.

The opening of the academic year 1898-1899 saw the introduction of a sixth commercial class to accommodate

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(1) Fr. Parry was sent to Liverpool in August 1896 for one year, after which he departed to Tronchiennes in Belgium for his tertianship. He returned to his post in Liverpool in August 1898. In the interim his place was taken by Fr. Francis Dobson. Parry was to remain Vice-President of the College until 1910, when he was appointed Rector. The details of his contribution to the life of the College fall outside the limits of the present study. Some measure of the esteem in which he came to be held can perhaps be judged from the fact that "Parry prizes" are still (1984) awarded at St. Francis Xavier's College in his memory.

(2) Donnelly, with his valuable educational experience, was to play a key role in the development of St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill. See Letters and Notices, 31, pp.374-375.



growing numbers in the lower forms (1), and a thorough tightening up of the running of the College, beginning with the masters and working downwards. Each member of staff, Jesuit and lay, was instructed to ensure that good order prevailed by being at the door of his classroom before the class arrived; to insist that boys came into the room in single file; that prayers be said before and after lessons to establish the correct atmosphere; that the Angelus be recited at mid-day; and that classes be dismissed in an orderly manner at the end of afternoon schools (2).

Night Studies, which had been continued every night without fail during term time since the death of Fr. Harris in 1883, were seen as essential to the maintenance of high standards in both academic work and in general discipline. The obligation on boys living within a one mile radius of the College to attend Night Studies was still in force, but the general shift in population away from the immediate vicinity of the College had considerably reduced the numbers attending. Accordingly, in September 1898, the new Vice-President, Fr. Parry, defined a two mile radius. Boys living within this area were now obliged to attend each evening (3). Boys were expected to be present in the study place by 6 p.m. A maximum of ten minutes leeway was given and the doors closed at 6.10 p.m. Younger pupils in the

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(1) The Xaverian, October 1898, p.149.

(2) Notice Book, 12 September 1898. By this time, as well as containing announcements to be made publicly to the pupils of the College, the Notice Book regularly contained private instructions to be read by the staff.

(3) Ibid., 19 September 1898. To avoid arguments about distances, a map of Liverpool with the two mile radius clearly marked was made available for boys to consult. There had been a similar arrangement in Fr. Harris's time.

preparatory class and the first year of the commercial and classical courses had to work for one and a half hours, the more senior boys for two hours (1). Supervision of Night Studies continued in the Jesuits' hands, but early in 1900 lay masters were requested to help (2). Their response is not recorded. With a framework for methodical study clearly established, the Prefect of Studies, Fr. John McHale began the task of developing the curriculum nurtured so carefully by his predecessor, Fr. Terence Donnelly.

Presiding at the Midsummer Proclamation in 1898, before the arrival of Fr. McHale, the new Provincial, Fr. John Gerard, spoke about the great work that had been done at the College since he had left the post of Prefect of Studies in 1879. He saw a promising future ahead, but there was "one black spot in the picture....the decline of the classical side of the College....(and) that was not as it ought to be" (3). He went on to argue that the universal consensus among educationists was that there was little good in teaching boys subjects which would earn them a few shillings a week as soon as they left. Instead, they should be taught so that their minds were ready for anything they might afterwards require. He recommended, therefore, that boys be given a sound classical education, in order to build a foundation for most other subjects which they would require later on. Unfortunately no records survive to indicate to what extent his recommendations were followed. In putting forward his views on classical education, the Provincial was not attempting to curtail the teaching of science, merely

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid., 19 February 1900.

(3) The Xaverian, September 1898, p.131.

to redress what he saw as an imbalance in the curriculum. He was, in fact, anxious to encourage the teaching of science. A month before making the Proclamation speech, Fr. Gerard, on his visitation to the College, had noted in his Memorial that he considered that the position of the commercial course would be improved by instituting it as an "Organized School of Science", if the Rector and Prefect of Studies judged it expedient (1).

### The School of Science 1899

The suggestion was seized upon by Fr. McHale, the new Prefect of Studies, on his arrival at the College in August 1898. With the Rector's approval the College's solicitor, Mr. Herbert J. Holme, drew up an official letter to the Secretary of the Department of Science and Art in London, applying for approval for the opening of a new School of Science in the College. Explaining that the South Kensington Science and Art examinations had been taken with success for some years and that the work of the College had been "developing in the direction of technical education", Holme informed the authorities of the College's future plans. It was now proposed to construct a "first rate physical laboratory" to supplement the good chemistry laboratory which had been in use since 1877. It was envisaged that if such plans could be realised, between 90 and 100 boys would be able to start a new science course, the majority of them in an advanced group. Within a year

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(1) Visitation Book, Memorial of Visitation, 25 May 1898.

or two the numbers in the classes would certainly increase and the majority of the pupils would be able to stay at the College to complete the full course. Nor would there be any competition with other institutions in the city which already had Schools of Science, as St. Francis Xavier's College would be the only Catholic school with such a course. The proposed venture was seen as a way of breaking new ground and of "obtaining numbers of boys who would otherwise not have the advantage of attending a School of Science" (1).

The letter to the Science and Art Department had ended with a request for a one year delay in the introduction of woodwork, owing to the heavy financial commitments of the College in providing a new physical laboratory. As events turned out there was no need for such a delay. While the matter of the provision of a School of Science was being considered in London, a former pupil of the College, Mr. Joseph Walton, soon to be appointed Chairman of the General Council of the Bar (2), offered to found a scholarship as a token of gratitude for the early training he had received as a boy, before going on to complete his education at Stonyhurst (3). It was suggested to him that the sum of money required to form a scholarship might be more fruitfully used in fitting up a physical laboratory

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(1) Herbert J. Holme to the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, 2 December 1898, Public Record Office, Kew, Archives of the Board of Education, ED 35/1332.

(2) For a biography of Walton see D.N.B., Supplement 1901-1911, pp. 586-587. By the time of his death in 1910, Walton was to see the benefit of his gift as considerable numbers of Old Xaverians obtained the highest honours in the Science Faculty of the newly constituted University of Liverpool.

(3) The Xaverian, November 1901, pp.373-374.

and woodwork department (1). A sum of £250 was donated for the purchase of equipment for the laboratory and the woodwork department and shortly afterwards approval came from London for the School of Science, which "opened" at the beginning of the academic year 1899-1900. In reality, apart from the improvements, there was little change in the daily life of the pupils as the curriculum was already fully in line with the needs of such a course.

Details of developments were duly reported to the Jesuit General by the Rector, Fr. Hayes, who explained that the new venture was costing £400. With the £250 gift from Mr. Walton and £125 awarded by the City Council, the Society of Jesus had little money to find to finance the improvement. Hayes held out hopes that the new course would attract more pupils and was pleased to be able to report that Fathers Parry and McHale were working well together and uplifting the College, which was now highly thought of in Liverpool (2).

On receiving this report the General was anxious for further details about the School of Science. Fr. Hayes replied to assure the General that although the new science training was very different to previous methods known in the College, the education being offered was totally in line with the Ratio Studiorum. He went on to explain that much more emphasis was being placed on practical experiments by the pupils themselves and that such practice was being encouraged by the Government in Britain and was now common

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Hayes to Fr. General Martin, 12 June 1899, ARSJ, Anglia 1018, IV, 11.

in many schools in the country (1). This reply appears to have allayed any momentary fears the General may have had about the orthodoxy of the education being offered in the College.

In June 1900 two inspectors from the Board of Education came to the College to undertake the first annual inspection of the School of Science. They found all in good order in chemistry, physics and manual instruction, but recommended that boys in the School of Science, namely the majority of pupils in the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Forms of the commercial course, should not be prepared both for the Oxford Local and the South Kensington Examinations. This suggestion was duly taken up (2).

In addition to the School of Science, a "Civil Service Class", preparing boys for the Civil Service examinations, was opened in 1899 (3). At the same time more emphasis was given to mathematics and French (4). By 1899 the London Matriculation Examination had been abandoned entirely in the College because of the lack of effort on the part of the University authorities concerned in attempting to grade the successful candidates, and also because of the narrow choice of subjects available. The boys in the classical course now sat for the Oxford Local Examinations alone and the opportunity of doing so was also open to boys from the commercial course. The first signs of a breakdown of the barriers between the two departments of the College were now seen: this was the beginning of a process which was

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(1) Hayes to Martin, 3 October 1899, ARSJ, Anglia 1018, IV, 12.

(2) The Xaverian, August 1900, p.128.

(3) Ibid., November 1899, p.364.

(4) Ibid.

to lead to the fusing of the two groups in 1910 (1).

### The encouragement of sport

#### Football

One aspect of the curriculum which had never received any serious attention was sport. In Fr. Harris's time an annual football match between "Past v. Present" pupils had been permitted (2) but the limitations of a playground with a hard surface and the lack of playing fields had meant that sport had largely been neglected. In the 1880s the annual fixture with the Old Boys had continued (3) but there were no other fixtures on the calendar. Money was apparently so short that the boys had to buy their own football (4) and Fr. Terence Donnelly, keen sportsman though he was, does not appear to have done a great deal to improve matters. The slow development of football at the College was almost entirely due to the fact that until 1888

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(1) In October 1900 a wealthy Catholic woman in Liverpool, Mrs. E.M. Stewart of Sefton Park, whose brother, Thomas Hughes, was a Jesuit in the Missouri Province, S.J., offered the College a plot of thirteen houses in Sefton Park. In offering the land, extending to 5000 sq.yds., Mrs. Stewart wanted to establish the classical side of the College in a new setting, with an adjacent cricket field. Her offer, which would have divided the College, was politely turned down. For her correspondence to Fr. Hayes see APA, XE/5.

(2) See, for example, Beadle's Log, 28 February 1876, 12 February 1877, 4 March 1878 and 24 February 1879. On these occasions former pupils were given lunch after the game.

(3) See, for example, Notice Book, 6 March 1886.

(4) 14 shillings was subscribed by boys for this purpose in 1886: see Notice Book, 10 February 1886. The same situation still applied in 1892; see Notice Book, 26 September 1892.

Stonyhurst Football (1) was the only form of the game played at St. Francis Xavier's. By the end of that year it was noted by the College chronicler that

....the current of domestic favour seems to be setting in strongly in favour of the Association Rules to the exclusion of Stonyhurst's game; but this is hardly to be wondered at, since such would appear to be the tendency even at Stonyhurst itself. (2)

Even after Association Rules had been adopted, a certain element of flexibility was maintained in the application of those rules. As all matches, apart from the annual "Past v. Present" fixture, were played between College teams, no objection could be raised to the common practice of allowing the First XI to play against "the next XVI" or even "the next XVII" (3).

The arrival of Fr. John McHale in September 1898 saw a change in the College's attitude to sport. Realising that football played in the manner which had hitherto obtained offered little incentive to the boys of the College, he encouraged the development of competition with other schools on the sports field. The first out-match played by the First XI football team took place on 30 November 1898 against the boys of H.M.S. Conway, the training ship moored permanently in the Mersey. Playing in appalling conditions the College team lost 7-1, hardly surprising for a school which had so long been deprived of external stimulus on the sports field (4). The first

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(1) For a detailed account of the intricacies of Stonyhurst Football see Gerard, J., op. cit., pp. 185-188.

(2) The Xaverian, December 1888, p.139. For a recent account of the trend away from the Stonyhurst game at Stonyhurst, see Mangan, J.A., Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School (Cambridge, 1981), passim.

(3) The Xaverian, January 1893, p.199.

(4) Ibid., January 1899, p.202.



football match played against any Liverpool school took place just a year later, on 8 November 1899. Meeting the First XI of Liverpool Institute, the current holders of the Everton Football Club shield competed for by many Liverpool schools, the boys of the College First XI won the game 1-0, with the Junior XI beating the Liverpool Institute Junior XI 13-0, on the same day, even with one player short (1).

These early successes quickly established a new tradition within the College. Fixtures increased and multiplied, not only against other Liverpool schools but also against other Jesuit colleges such as Stonyhurst and Preston Catholic College (2). Within ten years the St. Francis Xavier's College First XI Football team was to emerge as one of the strongest school football teams in Lancashire. In the two and a half years before 1910 the team lost only three out of fifty-four matches, and of those three only one to another Liverpool school, though there were fixtures with all (3). Excellence on the football field, happily maintained throughout the present century down to this day, was achieved through the positive support of the Prefect of Studies, Fr. McHale, and his successors after 1911, and by the invaluable assistance of skilled trainers, such as D. Kirkwood, a former player for Everton Football Club employed by Fr. McHale in 1899 (4). Given that the College did not possess its own sports ground until

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(1) Ibid., December 1899, p.379.

(2) Preston Catholic College had been opened in 1898 based on the collegium inchoatum founded in that town in 1865. For a list of football fixtures and results for the season 1899-1900 see The Xaverian, May 1900, p.88.

(3) St. Francis Xavier's College Magazine, Centenary Number, 1942, p.15.

(4) The Xaverian, November 1899, p.366.

the purchase of Melwood (1) in 1920 and was obliged to rent playing fields in various parts of Liverpool at different times, the achievements on the football field were all the more remarkable (2).

### Cricket

Cricket enjoyed a similar though less spectacular growth than football under Fr. McHale from 1898. Forty years earlier, in 1858, the College diarist had recorded the formation of two cricket clubs "formed for playground and field (when we get one) - at present we use Wavertree Park" (3). For a short period in the 1860s, during the rectorate of Fr. George Porter, a cricket pitch in Kensington Fields, half a mile from the College, had been rented, but this was later given up (4). The 1880s saw cricket being played in the College playground with tennis balls for safety in such a confined area (5). As with football, unorthodox methods of playing were resorted to with the First XI frequently playing "the next XVI" (6).

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(1) Melwood is an estate at West Derby on the outskirts of Liverpool, purchased by the Society of Jesus in 1920 as playing fields for St. Francis Xavier's College. The name 'Melwood' was coined in honour of both Fr. Francis Melling and Fr. Joseph Woodlock, respectively Vice-President and Prefect of Studies of the College at the time. The estate was subsequently sold to Liverpool Football Club, whose training ground it now is.

(2) A playing field at Wavertree was rented in 1898-1899, another at Old Swan in 1901-1902 with the original field at Wavertree being taken again in 1902-1903; see The Xaverian, October 1898, p.149, October 1901, p.352 and October 1902, p.167.

(3) The Xaverian, November 1892, p.172.

(4) Ibid., June 1893, p.281.

(5) Ibid., May 1885, p.54.

(6) Ibid., July 1893, p.296.

Conventional solid cricket balls were introduced only as late as the summer of 1897 when the Jesuit community challenged the boys of the College to a match (1). Again, as with football, the first out-match ever played took place at the instigation of Fr. McHale against Liverpool Institute on 21 June 1899 (2). Though cricket at the College was never to prove nearly as strong as football, a new pattern of playing the game had been set for the future.

### Gymnastics

By the time of Fr. McHale's arrival in Liverpool in 1898, gymnastics was all but dead in the College. In 1868, in Fr. Harris's time, gymnastic exercises had begun (3) though no documentary evidence survives to indicate the extent to which it featured in the curriculum. In 1876 mention is found of a "Mr. Ferns of the Gymnasium in Myrtle street" in Liverpool who came to the College to give lessons in gymnastics to those boys whose parents were willing to pay the extra fee of 2/6d per quarter (4). Thereafter the records are silent and it must be assumed that in the absence of a properly equipped gymnasium physical education rapidly disappeared. In 1901, after an inspection of the College by the Board of Education it was noted:

There is no fives court or gymnasium. Even if a gymnasium cannot be provided it would be an advantage to fit up a simple moveable gymnastic apparatus in the large hall. (5)

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(1) Ibid., July 1897, p.299 and August 1897, p.315.

(2) Ibid., July 1899, pp.301-302.

(3) Notice Book, 2 May 1868.

(4) Ibid., 12 May 1876.

(5) Board of Education Report of the Inspection of St. Francis Xavier's College, 29-31 May 1901, (hereafter Inspection Report, 1901), P.R.O., Kew, ED 109/3006, f.1.

It was also suggested that

....physical drill should be introduced during School hours, in the lower forms at any rate, as good in itself and affording a wholesome change from constant brain work. (1)

Though the Inspectors' advice was followed and gymnastic apparatus was installed in the College hall, the situation was never to prove satisfactory. Owing to the constricted nature of the College site there was no possibility of building an independent gymnasium. Even as late as 1937 members of His Majesty's Inspectorate were to lament the fact that as far as physical education was concerned the College had "fallen behind.... through the growing inadequacy of its buildings" (2).

#### Excursions - and an alarum

Despite the increasing growth of legislation and external control, both in the teacher training of members of the Society of Jesus in the English Province and in the organization of Jesuit colleges such as St. Francis Xavier's, that spirit of flexibility which had long been associated with the Society's educational work was maintained. Extra holidays were still granted for the boys of the College to view the visit of the Channel fleet in the Mersey in 1898 (3); to go skating on Sefton Meadows early in 1899 as a reward for a period of particularly good work (4);

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(1) Ibid., f.4.

(2) Board of Education Report of Inspection of St. Francis Xavier's College, 2-5 March 1937, P.R.O. Kew, ED 109/3011, p.4.

(3) The Xaverian, November 1898, p.167.

(4) Ibid., March 1899, p.235. In 1901-1902, three days extra holiday was given for good work; see The Xaverian, February 1902, p.39.

to view the march past of the Volunteers of the 5th Irish Regiment from their headquarters to Lime Street Station, on their way to fight in the Boer War (1). All such activities were seen as an important part of the boys' education.

The Boer War especially was followed with interest. The Relief of Ladysmith resulted in a day's holiday being declared the moment the news arrived in Liverpool (2). At the arrival of the news of the Relief of Mafeking three months later, on 19 May 1900, boys sitting the South Kensington Chemistry examination abandoned their scripts and rushed down the hill from the College to the newspaper offices in the town, despite the fact that they still had forty-five minutes to complete the paper (3).

The opportunity afforded by the scenes of rejoicing at this news was not wasted. Fr. John Gerard, the Provincial, happened to be visiting the College when the news came through. Having a brother who had just been appointed Lieutenant-General, Fr. Gerard must have had a special interest in military matters and gave the boys of the College a talk on the heroism of the beleaguered garrison at Mafeking - and then gave a holiday (4). With the return of the Volunteers of the 5th Irish Regiment to Liverpool after the South Africa campaign the boys of the College Cadet Corps, founded in November 1899, took part

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(1) The Xaverian, February 1900, p.28.

(2) Ibid., April 1900, p.57.

(3) Ibid., July 1900, p.114. On the evening following the announcement of the Relief of Mafeking the College was illuminated and decorated with bunting.

(4) Ibid., July 1900, p.114.

PLATE XV

Top

A DRAWING OF 1887 BY H. MAGENIS SHOWING THE CHURCH OF  
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER WITH THE NEWLY BUILT SODALITY CHAPEL

From ARSJ, Fototeca, Album 75, Domus Provinciae Angliae 1907

Bottom

THE JESUIT AND LAY STAFF OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE  
1900-1901

From APA, 48/1/2

The entire College staff is depicted, with the exception of Mrs. Frances St. George Yorke, who was responsible for the Preparatory Class. The identity of the lay staff in the back row is unfortunately not recorded and is a matter of conjecture.

Back row (name-order not known)

Messrs. J.E.Squires; J.Lyons; C.Wilders; J.Quigley

Middle row (left to right)

Messrs. W.Udall; J.Darcy S.J.; A.Robinson S.J.; F.Callaghan;  
W.Thompson S.J.; C.Callaghan; J.Crook S.J.

Front row

Mr.F.Madden S.J.; Mr.C.Coleman S.J.; Fr.F.Parry S.J., Vice-  
President; Fr.J.Hayes S.J., Rector; Fr.J.McHale S.J., Prefect  
of Studies; Fr.R.Ratcliffe S.J.



in the welcome-home parade through the streets of Liverpool (1).

While encouraging boys to take part in general public celebrations of this nature, the Jesuits were wary of allowing themselves or the pupils in their charge at the College to become embroiled in politics. Early in January 1901 Fr. McHale cautioned his staff

.... to be strictly on their guard not to say any word that could be construed into a political utterance. Every word is at once reported at home and parents are naturally very sensitive on the matter. (2)

What provoked such an announcement is not known, but the warning was timely. Islington Square, a matter of yards from the entrance to the College, was a popular public meeting place. There, in May 1901, the extreme Protestant crusader George Wise delivered a fiery lecture to a group of Orangemen some of whom, spurred on by his words, left the Square and attacked two Jesuits from St. Francis Xavier's who were just about to get into a hansom cab outside the College. The windows of the cab were smashed, but the two Jesuits were quickly protected by the police. Though Wise

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(1) Ibid., January 1901, p.212. The Cadet Corps was begun on 16 November 1899 by a Major Leslie. The first rifle practice was held at the Altcar Range north of Liverpool on 10 May 1900 and the Corps' first appearance was made in Queen Victoria's 81st Birthday Volunteer Parade in Liverpool on 24 May of the same year. Open to boys aged 14-19, the Cadet Corps organized weekly drill practices with manoeuvres under canvas and the rifle practice at Altcar in the summer months. Rifles and ammunition were made available to the Corps from Government stocks but uniform and travelling expenses were paid for by the boys; see The Xaverian, December 1899, p.378; June 1900, p.98; July 1900, p.114 and May 1901, p.271.

(2) Notice Book, 10 January 1901.



was summonsed shortly afterwards and ordered not to lecture near Islington Square again, the incident was a sharp reminder of the bigotry which still existed in certain quarters towards Catholics in general and Jesuits in particular (1).

The first Board of Education Inspection May 1901

Within a matter of days of the Islington Square disturbance the College underwent its first Inspection by the Board of Education from 29-31 May 1901. The Inspection was conducted at the request of the College authorities who had applied to the Technical Instruction Committee in Liverpool to invite the Board to send its representatives to examine and report on the College. As this was the first time that any English Jesuit college had been inspected by the Board and as they were totally unfamiliar with Jesuit educational methods, the Inspectors ....were much interested in the system of dividing the functions usually exercised by a headmaster between the (Vice) President, Father Parry, who undertakes administrative work, and the Prefect of Studies, Father McHale, who supervises the teaching. (2)

It was noted with satisfaction that

Father McHale, by his freedom from administrative work acquires an intimate acquaintance with the School that many other headmasters may well envy. (3)

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(1) For an account of the disturbances outside St. Francis Xavier's, see Waller, P.J., Democracy and Sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool, 1868-1939 (Liverpool University Press, 1981), pp.189-190. The incident resulted in the boys of St. Francis Xavier's College being advised to avoid public meetings in Islington Square in the future; see Notice Book, 18 May 1901.

(2) Inspection Report, 1901, f.2.

(3) Ibid.

In general the Inspectors found the College in good order in all departments but lamented the fact that there were no scholarships from the College to places of higher education, remarking that

.....the School appears to be under a great disadvantage in being cut off from the places of highest education in England, Oxford and Cambridge. Even a very few University successes would widen the outlook and stimulate the ambition both of boys and masters, and increase their pride in the School. (1)

Lack of finance to support the College was the other major problem noted by the Inspectors, but of which the Jesuits had been acutely aware since the earliest days of the school nearly sixty years before. Lay masters were found to be difficult to keep because they were attracted elsewhere by higher salaries and

....but for the fact that the 'intern' masters do not receive any salaries, the School would have to be closed. (2)

The Inspectors' verdict was that

....it would be a disaster if the School were in any way prevented from carrying on and extending its useful work. (3)

Confirmation of the validity of their statement, if such were needed, came within a matter of months with the achieving of distinctions by two Xaverians - one old, one young. In November 1901, Mr. Joseph Walton, Chairman of the General Council of the Bar, whose generous donation to the College two years earlier had helped to equip a physics laboratory, was raised to the judicial bench as a King's Counsel. A little over six months later Joseph Mackle, a young College boy, won the first place in all England in the Oxford Local Junior Examination (4).

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(1) Inspection Report, 1901, f.13.

(2) Ibid., f.15.

(3) Ibid.

(4) The Xaverian, October 1902, p.165.

In 1840 Fr. Thomas Glover had informed Cardinal Acton that he fully hoped that one day the "high importance" of a Jesuit college in Liverpool would be "evident to all". These two successes of 1901-1902 both indicated that that hope had been fulfilled and heralded the dawn of a new era in the history of St. Francis Xavier's College.

EPILOGUE

The relations and friends of Fr. Randal Lythgoe who met at the Rose and Crown tavern in Liverpool in 1839 to form an association for the building of a Poor School at Gillmoss cannot have foreseen the results of their initial efforts. Their successful work at Gillmoss led them to call on the Society of Jesus to return to its missionary work in Liverpool after a long absence. The ensuing unavoidable conflict with the local Vicar Apostolic, Bishop George Brown, proved to be an unexpectedly protracted, complex and bitter struggle. It served only to redouble the efforts of the friends of the Jesuits to promote the interests of the Society of Jesus in Liverpool. The "pressing solicitations" from Fr. Randal Lythgoe's friends for him to open a Jesuit day school in the town were significant.

In the earliest days of the Society of Jesus, requests from municipalities across Europe for the opening of Jesuit colleges in particular towns had been very common. Less than ten years after the Liverpool episode, the passing of the Falloux Law in France in 1850 led to lay friends of the Society of Jesus calling for the establishment of day schools such as the Collège La Providence at Amiens and the Collège Saint François Xavier at Vannes in Brittany. The founding of St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool should be viewed not as an isolated event, but as the earliest British manifestation of a movement which was to gather momentum in Europe in the nineteenth century after the Restoration of the Society of Jesus, re-introducing Jesuit day schools to their place in the world of education.

In Liverpool, as elsewhere, lay support contributed largely to the successful foundation of this new generation of collegia - communities of people, Jesuit priests and scholastics, pupils present and past, parents and friends, all striving towards a common educational ideal summed up in the motto of the Society of Jesus - Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

Within the Society of Jesus itself, what precise elements contributed to the development in Liverpool of the first fully fledged English Jesuit day school? As the largest religious Order in the Roman Catholic Church, the Society of Jesus has long possessed a highly organized system of monitoring progress from its very centre - the Jesuit Curia in Rome. As far as Liverpool is concerned, close interest was taken by Fr. General Roothaan in events in the town from the beginning of the dispute over the building of St. Francis Xavier's Church in 1840. This was continued by successive Jesuit Generals throughout the nineteenth century, despite ever-growing demands on their time and energy as the work of the Society increased and multiplied worldwide. The Generals' concern for accurate detail about the inner life of the College ensured that major weaknesses were discovered early and brought to the attention of the Provincial.

At Province level, such constancy of concern and interest was not evident from every English Provincial Superior throughout the entire period under consideration, at least as far as Liverpool was concerned. Randal Lythgoe lived just long enough to see his dream of a Liverpool day school realized with the raising of St. Francis Xavier's to full collegiate status in 1851. Lythgoe saw day schools

as the form of educational endeavour most closely in conformity with the Ignatian ideal. If the Liverpool school fell some way short of that ideal from the very outset in charging tuition fees, there were genuine, if peculiar, national reasons for doing so; and the practice did have the blessing both of the Pope and of the Jesuit General. Only a minority of Lythgoe's successors were to display anything of his breadth and depth of vision in developing the work of St. Francis Xavier's College. Their concern for the College varied in direct proportion to their personal commitment to the Society's educational apostolate. In general, the fullest commitment was to be found only in those Provincials who, before taking up office, had had solid teaching experience followed by a period in posts of particular responsibility in colleges. That the Provincialates of former Prefects of Studies of distinction such as Fathers Joseph Johnson (1853-1860), Peter Gallwey (1873-1876), Edward Purbrick (1880-1888) and John Gerard (1897-1900) should also stand out as times of particular success in the development of St. Francis Xavier's College is no mere coincidence.

The stimulus offered by their routine annual visitations and more informed visits throughout the academic year, as well as their fostering of the Inter-Collegiate competition from 1875 onwards, did much to maintain and improve educational standards at Liverpool. Visitations offered pupils and staff, Jesuit and lay, the opportunity for personal, direct contact with the Provincial. These encounters were a reminder to all that the College was not an isolated educational institution but part of a national and international network of Jesuit colleges - a point which

was not to be forgotten in the rapidly expanding cosmopolitan port of Liverpool. Visitations also offered the opportunity for the<sup>67</sup> Provincial, as an independent observer of the College's progress, to comment on the work currently being done, to encourage the staff and pupils in their endeavours as a collegiate body and to offer constructive criticism when necessary. Maintained at St. Francis Xavier's College and indeed in all the colleges of the English Province until very recently, the Provincial's visitation could play an important role in the Society's educational work. Under a Provincial genuinely committed to education and accessible to all, the visitation provided the entire collegium with annual mileposts at which to assess progress and ensure that aims and values did not become tarnished.

Another key source of strength was to be found in the interest taken by many of the Rectors of St. Francis Xavier's in the educational development of the College. Though observation was normally conducted from a discreet distance, Rectors were ready to step in and correct matters when and where they noted that something was amiss. Nor was the right of direct access to the General in Rome neglected by Rectors when the decisions of Provincials on matters affecting the College were found difficult to accept. Fr. George Porter's appeal to Rome for the retention of Fr. James Harris as Prefect of Studies in 1866 and the latter's highly unusual exemption from the tertianship serves to demonstrate the extent to which a direct appeal to the General could over-ride the decisions of a Provincial, fortuitously altering the course of the development of a college in the process. As with the visitations of the Provincial, the regular contact of the Rector with staff

and pupils at assemblies and prize-giving ceremonies, together with his encouragement - and, if necessary, criticism - were valuable elements in the growth of St. Francis Xavier's College. Coming from one independent of the daily administrative or teaching routine, yet ultimately responsible for the smooth running of the collegium, such contact, with its accompanying praise or blame, was of special importance.

The early Prefects of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's were in spirit "St. Omers'" men - men who had been educated at Stonyhurst in a tradition nearly three hundred years old and based on the Ratio. For these men, for their fellow-Jesuit assistant masters, also Stonyhurst trained, and for the pupils at Liverpool in the 1850s the emphasis was as it had been at St. Omers: games, drama, public speaking and the Sodality were all judged far more important than examination results. Under Fr. James Harris's rule as Prefect of Studies from 1865-1874 the College saw its traditional base being remoulded and modelled on what Harris had found during his time at the Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix at Namur. To this new base Harris added his own idiosyncratic touches, exemplified in the unique Brigade. But times were inevitably changing. The introduction of the London Matriculation and Oxford Local examinations at St. Francis Xavier's by Fr. John Gerard after 1875 signalled, rightly or wrongly, the beginning of the end of the Ratio at Liverpool. At first the College effectively remained what it had become in the 1850s - something akin to a multi-stream comprehensive school in the modern sense of the term. During the final quarter of the nineteenth century a new era dawned as the accent on the supremacy of examination



results over attention to non-academic activities increased year by year. This was a process which was to continue into the twentieth century as the College was gradually transformed into a grammar school. So it was to remain until as recently as July 1983 when it re-assumed certain elements of its former function as a comprehensive high school.

The interest of the Society of Jesus worldwide in the late 1850s in returning to the ideals of the revised Ratio Studiorum was reflected in reform of the curriculum both at Stonyhurst and at Liverpool as well as in the formation of a Province Board of Studies to encourage such reform. Regrettably, the early promise shown by these developments in attempting to formulate a coherent educational policy within the English Province was not fulfilled. The effects of reform eventually petered out, presumably because of lack of support from certain Provincials, and the Board of Studies disappeared. In the words of one Jesuit historian commenting on the educational work of the English Province at this period, "a happy talent for improvisation guided the Jesuits in these decades rather than any long-term plan" (1). Unfortunately, ad hoc arrangements could and did have unhappy and well-nigh disastrous consequences on the life of a college: the crisis of the early 1860s at Liverpool, when the College was left without a Prefect of Studies and suffered a drastic drop in pupils, was almost the ruination of the Society's educational work in the town. Throughout the entire period under consideration another major area of weakness was to be found in the very large

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(1) Basset, B., op.cit., p.401.

number of scholastics who were sent to Liverpool for too short a period, to their own detriment and to that of the growth and smooth running of the collegium. Even as late as 1937, His Majesty's Inspectorate was to point to that serious flaw which had bedevilled the work of the Jesuits in Liverpool for nearly a century. With some alarm it was noted that

....the system by which young scholastics....are posted to the School to gain teaching experience does not produce efficiency: there is no real provision for their further education or training as teachers; their short stay, which is three years, creates unstable conditions and lack of continuity, and in several subjects of the curriculum it is clear that their inexperience is the cause of insecure foundations, for they teach the lower Forms of the Main School. All credit is due to individuals for their willingness and their steady effort, but it is too much to expect anything but a very amateur achievement from men insufficiently equipped by training, experience and in some cases knowledge for the task which is given them. (1)

Criticism of this nature was not intended as an attack on the basic educational philosophy of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuit Constitutions and the Ratio Studiorum, far from being a strait-jacket, together provided, during the period under review, a framework of sufficient flexibility and power to meet new challenges as time went by. The problem and the pity was not that the letter of these guidelines was too rigidly followed but that, through a variety of circumstances, their spirit was not infrequently lost sight of.

Success in running a day school in a large commercial city depended on a combination of good leadership from Rector, Prefect of Studies and Prefect General and on the adapting of traditional structures to suit changing needs.

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(1) Board of Education Report of Inspection of St. Francis Xavier's College, 2-5 May 1937, P.R.O., Kew, ED 109/3011, p.5.

Disregard of those guidelines set down in the earliest days of the Society of Jesus led only to difficulties. The criticism voiced as late as 1937 was simply the response of experienced inspectors looking objectively at an obvious weakness in an otherwise sound system of education. Perhaps unaware of the detailed nature of the Jesuit educational code, the inspectors may not have appreciated that the Ratio Studiorum provided a theoretical solution to the problem in envisaging the deployment in the colleges of 'magistri perpetui' - mature priests whose life's work would be devoted entirely to teaching and who would act as a mainstay in such establishments, helping and guiding young scholastics in their teaching work during their period of formation (1).

At the opening of the collegium inchoatum in Liverpool in 1842, Fr. General Roothaan had warned Randal Lythgoe of the care which needed to be taken in helping scholastics. In practice, the many demands on successive English Provincials throughout the nineteenth century, both at home and abroad, for men to run a rapidly increasing number of missions and to staff a growing network of boarding and day schools across the British Empire stretched the resources of the Province to the limit. This led to a lack of permanent masters and consequent further departures from the prescriptions of the Ratio, resulting in areas of weakness, vulnerability and failure.

Such shortcomings as existed were fortunately more than compensated for by the spirit of confidence and real success engendered by so many dedicated members of the collegium, lay as well as Jesuit, during the period

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(1) Ratio, "Regulae Provincialis", 24.

1842-1902. A significant barometer of the effect the College had on its pupils can be seen in the considerable number of boys, particularly during the incumbencies of James Harris and Terence Donnelly, who joined the Society of Jesus on leaving school. Of these men a number were to play an important role in the subsequent educational work of the English Province. Most notable were John Wright, a future English Provincial; James Nicholson, founder of the two London day schools, Wimbledon College (1892) and St. Ignatius' College, Stamford Hill (1894); and Oscar Withnell, a future distinguished Rector of Wimbledon College. The precise extent of their particular contribution in transforming St. Francis Xavier's College and its younger sister day schools in the English Province into leading grammar schools is one yet to be studied and assessed when post-1900 papers in the Jesuit Roman archives are eventually made available to historians.

On its foundation in 1842, St. Francis Xavier's College had the distinction of being both the first middle class Catholic school and the first Jesuit day school in Britain. If, by 1902, its pre-eminence on those scores was beginning to be overshadowed amid the proliferation of new Catholic secondary schools throughout the kingdom, both the morale and the reputation of the College were higher than they had ever been. The contribution of the Society of Jesus to secondary education in Liverpool over the previous sixty years was one fully appreciated and recognized, not least by the educationist Michael Sadler. After a full-scale survey of secondary educational provision in Liverpool, undertaken on behalf of the city's Education Committee in 1904, Sadler was to publish his findings. His verdict on

St. Francis Xavier's is one of which the founding fathers of the College would have been justly proud:

St. Francis Xavier's College.... meets with energy the educational needs of an important part of the population of the city.... The school has long enjoyed a high repute for the carefulness with which it carries out its educational aims. The value of its work as part of the educational organisation of Liverpool calls for hearty acknowledgment. (1)

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(1) Sadler, M.E., Report on Secondary Education in Liverpool (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904), pp.24-25.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX I

THE RULES OF THE SCHOOLS AT THE  
JESUITS IN FENCHURCH STREET 1688

Bodleian Library, Oxford,  
Ashmole F.I. (4)

# Rules of the Schools

A T T H E

## JESUITS in FANCHURCH-STREET.

I. **T**He Intention of Opening these Schools is, to Teach Youth Vertue and Learning: They shall be Taught *Gratis*; nor shall they be at any farther Charges or Expences than the buying of their own Pens Ink, Paper and Books.

II. These Schools are common to all, of what condition soever, and none shall be excluded, when they shall be thought fit to begin to learn Latin, and Write sufficiently well: And in these Schools shall be taught Greek and Latin, as also Poetry and Rhetoric, as they shall rise to higher Schools.

III. And altho' Youths of different Professions, whether *Catholicks* or *Protestants*, come to these Schools; yet in Teaching all, there shall be no distinction made, but all shall be Taught with equal Diligence and Care, and every one shall be promoted according to his Deserts.

IV. There shall not be, either by Masters or Scholars, any tampering or meddling to persuade any one from the Profession of his own Religion; but there shall be all freedom for every one to practise what Religion he shall please, and none shall be less esteem'd or favored for being of a different Religion from others.

V. None shall upbraid or reproach any one on the account of Religion; and when any Exercise of Religion shall be practised, as hearing *Mass*, *Catechising*, or *Preaching*, or any other; it shall be lawful for any *Protestant*, without any molestation or trouble, to absent himself from such Exercise, if he please.

VI. All shall be Taught to keep God's Commandments, and therefore none shall be permitted to Lye, Swear, or Curse, or talk uncivil Discourse; Nor shall fight or quarrel with one another; and he who shall be observed to fail in these Duties, shall be punished according to his demerit: And when any one, for these, or other Faults, shall be adjudged to any Chastisement, if he shall refuse to receive such Chastisement quietly, or be stubborn, he shall be Expell'd the Schools, and not be re-admitted again, until he shall have given satisfaction for such his Fault.

VII. All shall be in their respective Schools by a quarter before Eight in the Morning, and shall there stay until Ten and a half: Again at a quarter before Two, until half an hour after Four. And all Parents are earnestly desired to send their Children timely to School, and not easily to stay them at home; for the neglect of some Days may hinder the Profit of many Weeks and Months: And they are to send them decently Clad.

VIII. The other hours of the day they shall Study at their own Homes, and prepare those Exercises, which the Masters in the Schools appoint to be brought, at their next coming to the Schools. And therefore all Parents are desired to allow their respective Scholars such conveniency for their Studies at their own Houses, that they may comply with those Duties which are appointed them.

IX. All are required to be exact and diligent, in daily frequenting the Schools, and being there, none are to go out without leave of their Master; and when any one shall be absent from School, he shall the next day he comes bring from his Parents a Ticket of the lawfulness of such his absence: Yet they shall have every Week two Afternoons of Recreation, in which they come not to School; unless a Holy-day happen that Week, which shall then be their Recreation-day.

X. Such as come from the Writing-School, and have no Entrance in Latin, are to be received but three times in the Year, *viz.* at the beginning of the *New Year*, at *Easter*, and about our *Lady-day* in *September*.



APPENDIX II

PETITION OF JOHN ROSSON OF LIVERPOOL  
IN DEFENCE OF THE JESUITS OF  
STONYHURST COLLEGE, PRESENTED TO THE  
HOUSE OF LORDS 10 APRIL 1829

from The Times, 13 April 1829

(cf. House of Lords' Journal, 10 April 1829)

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the undersigned John Rosson, of Lincoln's Inn and the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, sheweth:

that your petitioner, together with many of the sons of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, had the advantage of receiving a part of his education at the College of Stonyhurst in the County Palatine of Lancaster:

that your petitioner is most anxious that a clause in the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, now about to be read a third time by your Lordships, regarding Jesuits and other religious communities and societies, should not operate to the injury of the distinguished ecclesiastics comprising the said College, who have uniformly inculcated, along with sound learning and morality, the principles of affectionate loyalty to the King, obedience to the laws and love of the Constitution:

that your petitioner most humbly implores your Lordships not to make the clause regarding Jesuits and other religious societies a part of the law about to be enacted, lest that great measure of justice - the offspring of the benignant grace of our beloved Sovereign, of the enlightened wisdom of your Lordships, and of the representatives of the people - might hereafter be construed to affect a small but most meritorious class of His Majesty's liege subjects, whose unceasing labours for the advancement of science and morality, and whose extensive charity, amidst a dense population of the operative classes, frequently rendered turbulent by severe privation are essential to the well-being and the wants of the district wherein they dwell, and of which they are at once the support and the ornament.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray etc.

John Rosson.

APPENDIX III

EXTRACT OF A LETTER OF DR. GEORGE BROWN,  
VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE LANCASHIRE DISTRICT,  
TO MONSIGNOR CHARLES ACTON IN ROME,  
3 NOVEMBER 1840, CONCERNING THE BUILDING  
OF A JESUIT CHURCH IN SALISBURY STREET,  
LIVERPOOL

Lancashire Record Office, Preston, RCLv.

.....The troubles which I anticipated have, I regret to say, already begun. A difference of opinion has arisen between me and the Provincial of the Jesuits about building a new church in the town of Liverpool. That Reverend Gentleman came to see me during my retreat to ask me to give my consent to a project for erecting a new Church in that town. Being entirely ignorant of the nature of the place, and of every other circumstance, I delayed giving an assurance at that time. A little while afterwards, having to go to Stonyhurst, he renewed his application on which occasion, trusting to the correctness of all that he said about the situation fixed upon for the intended Church, I gave my consent. (I must here observe that owing to the bad state of my health for several years, I had not been in the town of Liverpool for many years, and on this account I had no knowledge of the state of things there. And from the time of my appointment to be Vicar Apostolic up to the time of my visit to Stonyhurst above mentioned, I had been so much occupied by a continual torrent of business, that I had not had an opportunity of visiting Liverpool to examine how it happened that I knew so little of the state of things). Being thus unacquainted with the state of the town of Liverpool, and trusting to the correctness of what the Father Provincial had said, I assented to his request. Afterwards, being in Liverpool and visiting most parts of the town, I was not a little surprised to find that the place named for the new Church, namely Salisbury Street, is in a neighbourhood where there are scarcely any houses, and that it stands about midway between the large Church of St. Anthony and the intended new Church of the Benedictines on Edge Hill; that there are no people there in want of a Church, for the two above mentioned will accommodate more people than will live in that quarter of the suburbs for many years to come. Seeing all this, I wrote to Fr. Bird on September 30th, stating all these things to him, representing how little a church is wanted in that situation, that by building there the charitable donations of the faithful would be expended where there is no harvest of souls to reap, and that it would contribute much more to the honour and glory of God and the salvation of thousands of poor souls for whom our Blessed Lord has died if the new Church was built in the midst of the people. In reply to this letter, Fr. Bird said that he entirely differed with me in opinion and persisted in encouraging the collection of money for building in Salisbury Street, though I had told him that I cannot in conscience consent to the building of a Church in that situation, first because there is no want of one, secondly because it would injure the old Church of St. Anthony and the new one of the Benedictines on Edge Hill. Such, my Lord, is the origin of the present trouble and Fr. Bird, not being willing to submit to the judgement of him whom the Holy See has appointed to be Vicar Apostolic of this District and on whom rests the whole responsibility of administering the religious affairs of the District, has appealed from me to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. In this emergency therefore I confidently appeal to your Lordship and beg that you will use in my favour your powerful influence with His Holiness and the Sacred Congregation, assuring them that I am not actuated by any feeling of hostility against that respectable

Society, but only by a desire of promoting the general good of religion and the salvation of souls. I do declare that building another Church in that quarter of the town (or rather suburbs) which is mentioned above will be of no more service to the Catholic population of Liverpool than a new church built behind the Pontifical Palace on Monte Quirinale would benefit the Trasteverini. This would appear from a bare inspection of the map. One of Fr. Bird's arguments in favour of the place in Salisbury Street I will notice at present. It is this. "The intended site", he says, "is at a greater distance from any other chapel than is required by the Canons". It does not exactly appear what is meant by this: the fact is that it is about a mile distant from one of the Chapels and less than a mile from the others. But, my Lord, that which it is most important to attend to in this matter is the great difference between a country where the whole population is Catholic and this country where a small part only are Catholic. In the former case churches may be built much nearer to each other without injuring one another than in the latter. Moreover, when the whole population is Catholic there is found a congregation to fill a church and support it within a much smaller circle than when a part only, and that the smaller part of the people is Catholic. It should be borne in mind My Lord that no additional Church is wanted in that part of the town where Salisbury Street is. For this reason, therefore, and because a new Church will injure the old ones and not benefit the people (for there is no people there to be benefited by one) I object to a church being built in that quarter. I requested Fr. Bird to join me in stopping all procurings that I might settle the matter with him: he refused, and openly encouraged the Committee to proceed in defiance of my authority - now in danger of being broken.

George Brown.

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF MONSIGNOR CHARLES ACTON  
TO THE SACRED CONGREGATION 'DE PROPAGANDA FIDE'  
RECOMMENDING THE OPENING OF A JESUIT CHURCH, HOUSE  
AND COLLEGE IN LIVERPOOL 1842 (Original Italian  
version, followed by an English translation)

SCPF, Acta, 1842,

Vol. 205, ff. 49-51.

It should be noted that Acton's views towards non-Catholic denominations as expressed in his submission to Propaganda reflect the increasingly spiky and intolerant ecclesiology of many Roman Catholics of the period

# VOTO

*Di Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima*

**MONSIGNOR CARLO ACTON**

UDITORE DELLA R. C. A.

E CONSULTORE DELLA S. C. DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

**SULLA EREZIONE**

*Di una nuova Chiesa da dedicarsi a S. Francesco Saverio  
e da uffiziarsi dai Padri della Compagnia di Gesù  
nella Città di Liverpool.*

§. II. *Ragioni per aprire in Liverpool una Chiesa ed una Casa per i Gesuiti.*

Quanto sia utile e vantaggiosa in una Città l'opera che prestano i Padri Gesuiti nell'amministrazione dei Sacramenti, nella direzione delle anime, nella predicazione della Divina Parola, nell'istruzione catechistica, nella visitazione degl'infermi, nell'assistenza dei moribondi, nel conforto dei carcerati, nella educazione della gioventù, nel mantenere nelle diverse classi degli abitanti, dai nobili fino agli artisti e plebei, devote pratiche di pietà, frequenti congregazioni di spirito, lo sanno bene quei Vescovi che hanno la sorte di possederli nelle loro Diocesi, lo sanno bene quelle popolazioni che dopo di averli una volta avuti in mezzo a loro, poi, per le vicende de' tempi, ne sono rimasti privi. Sono ben lontano dal credere che nel Clero secolare d'Inghilterra non si trovi lo stesso zelo che si trova nei regolari e nei Padri della Compagnia di Gesù, per promuovere il culto del Signore, ed il bene delle anime. Sarei ingiusto se trattenessi una tale opinione, e tradirei la verità se io nascondessi all'Eminenza Vostra Rma le virtù, le fatiche, i patimenti de' Sacerdoti secolari miei connazionali. Piacemi, Eminenza Revma, di tributare il dovuto elogio ad uomini che entrano nel Santuario, non allettati da cosa alcuna umana, ma unicamente dal desiderio di servire Iddio: che fanno una vita esemplare e laboriosa, intenti a combattere l'errore, ed a mantenere saldi i cattolici nella loro religione. Ma non credo di far torto al Clero secolare, nè di detrarre in punto alcuno all'alta



opinione che merita il suo zelo, se asserisco essere in genere, nei Paesi in cui la Religione Cattolica deve combattere cogli eretici, più potente la forza unita di una corporazione religiosa, che quella d'individui che non hanno sempre fra di loro quei più stretti legami che formano una medesima educazione, una costante ed uniforme osservanza delle medesime regole, una totale ed assoluta dipendenza, anche nelle cose più intime, da un solo e medesimo Superiore.

Sembra poi assai conveniente di accordare ai Gesuiti la richiesta grazia di avere cioè in Liverpool una casa, ed una Chiesa. Essi hanno continuamente necessità di accedere a quella Città, e per i molti rapporti, che vi hanno, e per le occorrenze del loro collegio di Stoneyharst situato circa quaranta miglia lontano. Hanno perciò sempre delle comunicazioni con Liverpool, che è la Città la più importante e la meglio provveduta dopo Londra di tutte le altre Città d'Inghilterra. Debbono poi o andare o mandare persone a quel Porto ogni qualvolta parte od arriva un loro Missionario dalle Indie, dall'America, e da altre lontane regioni: Quindi è che sembra cosa dura il non permettere che vi abbiano una casa col comodo di una Chiesa; mentre se l'avessero, forse troverebbero utile di trasferire in Liverpool o la residenza del loro Procuratore, o quella del loro stesso Provinciale per l'opportuna e più facile comunicazione che vi si ha con tutte le parti d'Inghilterra, coll'Irlanda, e colla Scozia, non che con i Paesi stranieri. Ma non solo un riguardo dovuto alla Compagnia di Gesù sembra richiedere l'annuenza alla loro ragionevole domanda; ma ancora un motivo di giustizia. I Gesuiti in fatti possedevano in Liverpool una missione prima della loro soppressione. Anzi essi unitamente ai Benedettini sono stati per tutto il tempo che durò la persecuzione contro i cattolici in Inghilterra, ed il rigore delle leggi contro il libero esercizio della nostra Santa Religione, i soli missionarj di Liverpool. Essi vi hanno conservata la Fede in mezzo alle violenze, in mezzo alle grandi e penose difficoltà, che s'incontravano nell'esercitare i doveri di cattolico. La loro cappella nella strada detta di s. Tommaso, fu dopo la morte dell'ultimo missionario Gesuita, rimasto dopo la soppressione, venduta dagli amministratori laici e comprata dai *Metodisti*. Quindi con danno della Religione Cattolica quel locale è stato occupato dagli eretici, e pervertito in un uso opposto a quello di sua prima erezione. È ben vero che col ritratto di una tal vendita i detti amministratori comprarono il terreno ove fu fabbricata poi la Chiesa di S. Niccola, uffiziata dai Sacerdoti secolari. Ma è vero altresì che il vantaggio procurato alla popolazione cattolica coll'erezione di questo nuovo Tempio è stato contrabilanciato dal danno della tradizione di un Tempio antico in mano degli eretici. Quindi avuto riguardo all'incremento della Città, all'aumento degli abitanti,

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il risultato di questa compra e vendita è ridonato effettivamente in danno della Religione e delle anime.

A questo motivo di giustizia si deve aggiungere quello della utilità immensa che può arrecare ai cattolici di Liverpool l'erezione di un nuovo Tempio, con una casa ove si riuniscano nuovi operaj, e più ancora se a questa vi si unirà una scuola per l'educazione della gioventù. Ciò che manca assai nelle nostre grandi Città, a cominciare da Londra stessa, è una scuola per quella classe della società non abbastanza povera per assoggettarsi a frequentare le scuole di carità, e non abbastanza agiata per andare nei collegj, ove si vive in convitto a dozzina, e che sono fuori della Città a qualche miglia di distanza. Manca una scuola per i figliuoli di persone di questa classe assai numerosa, onde questi senza lasciare di convivere con i proprj Parenti possano essere istruiti nelle ore della giornata in quelle scienze che sono proprie della loro condizione. In Londra i grandi collegj di questa natura, fondati dai nostri pii antenati cattolici, sono ora sotto la direzione esclusiva dei protestanti. Vi sono però alcune piccole scuole private tenute da buoni secolari cattolici, ma dove non possono essere accolti se non che un numero di giovani assai ristretto. Di queste scuole non ne vedo nessuna notata per Liverpool nell'Almanacco cattolico, ove tutti i maestri di questo genere hanno interesse di far inserire l'indicazione delle loro scuole onde richiamare l'attenzione dei parenti, e procurare l'aumento degli scolari. Non vi sono se non che le tre scuole gratuite sopra notate per la povera gente, ed il convitto di Stoneyharst, quaranta miglia lontano, per quelli che hanno il comodo di pagarne la dozzina. Da ciò io arguisco che i figli dei bottegari, ed artigiani, ed in somma i figli di una gran porzione delle famiglie Cattoliche ricevono quella educazione, di cui non mancano, nelle scuole miste dirette da maestri protestanti. Spesso mi è venuto in mente il pensiero dell'immenso vantaggio che potrebbe recare in Londra, in Liverpool, ed in altre nostre grandi Città, l'apertura di scuole, almeno per gli studj inferiori, a guisa di quelle che hanno i Gesuiti nelle maggiori Città d'Italia, ove i giovani impiegano una porzione delle ore del giorno. Sono persuaso che se i Gesuiti avessero scuole di questo genere nella detta Città, il concorso de' scolari sarebbe assai numeroso: L'unica avvertenza che si dovrebbe avere è di far pagare ai parenti una tenuissima somma mensile, come fanno i medesimi Gesuiti in Dublino, onde togliere quella ripugnanza che provano molti a mandare i loro figli a scuole meramente gratuite.

Ogn'uno poi sa di quanto vantaggio sia nello spirituale l'esistenza di un Collegio di Gesuiti in una Città, non solo per i giovani che lo frequentano, ma ancora per quelli che hanno compito il tempo de' loro studj, e che conservando sempre un affetto verso

gli antichi maestri, di quando in quando ad essi si ravvicinano. Spesso in mezzo alle seduzioni, da cui sono circondate le vie dei giovani, in mezzo alla dissipazione degli affari e delle negoziazioni, giova l'accesso al Collegio che serviva di baluardo alla innocenza della prima gioventù; il frequentare quei medesimi maestri che istillarono i sentimenti di Cristiana pietà, e che si mostrano sempre pronti a dare nuovi eccitamenti nelle vie della virtù.

La circostanza poi dell'essere Liverpool Città di gran commercio, centro di comunicazione fra le tre parti del regno unito della Gran Bretagna, e fra l'Europa e le altre parti del mondo, fa sì che non si potranno mai abbastanza moltiplicare ivi le istituzioni dirette a propagare, a conservare la Fede, a combattere l'errore e la miscredenza. Quanta gioventù perduta in quella immensa moltitudine, che se avesse delle guide, se fosse coltivata, sarebbe suscettibile di grandi imprese! *Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci.* Oh potesse la voce dei Figli di S. Ignazio chiamare dei novelli Saverj in mezzo a tanta turba di gente, e fare che le navi che partono da Liverpool per cercare in lontani paesi le ricchezze della terra, trasportino nuovi vasi di elezione, che facciano conoscere il nome di Cristo a coloro che ancora lo ignorano! Ed in vero ben tristo è il pensiero dell'attività, che si scorge in quel Porto medesimo per parte dei Biblici, dei Metodisti, dei Pseudo-missionarj delle Chiese Anglicane che vanno e vengono, radunano gente, coacervano denari, caricano bastimenti di Bibbie e di stampe per portare la confusione altrove e per insultare la Chiesa di Gesù Cristo! E mentre questi tanto fanno per trovare satelliti, per raccogliere mezzi, per proseguire le loro intraprese, dovranno vedersi sì inoperosi i Cattolici? dovranno vedersi circondate da mille difficoltà ed ostacoli quelle Corporazioni religiose fondate da Dio medesimo nel gremio di Sua Chiesa per lavorare nella grand' opera delle Apostoliche Missioni, per prestare mano alla conversione delle Nazioni?

Dunque l'erezione di una casa e di una Chiesa di Gesuiti in Liverpool presenta dei grandi vantaggi per quella Città non solo, ma ancora per la più facile diffusione dei mezzi di Cattolica istruzione altrove, onde sembra non solo equa e ragionevole, ma di più assai utile la domanda in genere, e merita assai di essere dall'Eminenza Vostra Rma presa in considerazione.

REASONS FOR OPENING A CHURCH AND A HOUSE  
FOR THE JESUITS IN LIVERPOOL

(A translation of the Italian original)

Those Bishops who have the good fortune to have Jesuits in their Diocese, and those people who once had them in their midst and were deprived of them by the vicissitudes of the times, know just how useful and advantageous can be the work of the Jesuit Fathers in a city in the administration of the Sacraments; in the direction of souls; in the preaching of the Divine Word; in catechetical instruction; in visiting the sick; in helping the dying; in comforting prisoners; in educating the young; and in maintaining among the city's various classes of inhabitants - from nobles to artisans and commoners - pious devotional practices and frequent spiritual gatherings. Far be it from me to believe that one cannot find among the secular clergy of England that same zeal that is found in the regular clergy and in the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in promoting the worship of the Lord and the good of souls. I would be unjust in holding such an opinion and I should betray the truth were I to conceal from your Eminence the virtues, labours and sufferings of the secular priests who are my compatriots. It pleases me, your Eminence, to accord due praise to the men who enter the Sanctuary, attracted not by anything human, but solely by the desire to serve God: men who lead an exemplary and hardworking life, intent on combating error, and on keeping the Catholics steadfast in their religion.

But I do not feel that I am wronging the secular Clergy nor detracting in any way from the high opinion which their zeal merits, in asserting that in countries in which the Catholic Religion is in contention with heretics, the united strength of a religious order is generally more powerful than that of individuals who do not always have those stronger bonds formed by a uniform education, constant and uniform observation of the same rules, a total and absolute dependence, even in most intimate matters, upon one and the same Superior.

It therefore seems most appropriate to grant to the Jesuits the requested grace of having a house and church in Liverpool. The Jesuits continually have cause to come to the city both on account of the many connections they have there and on account of the requirements of their college at Stonyhurst situated some 40 miles away. As a result they are always in touch with Liverpool which is the most important and well served of all English cities after London. Moreover, they have to go to or send someone to that Port whenever one of their missionaries leaves for or arrives from India, America and other far off lands. It therefore seems hard not to allow them to have a house there with the facility of a church; whereas, if they were to have this, they might perhaps find it practical to transfer to Liverpool either the residence of their Procurator or that of the Provincial himself, given the ease of communication which it would afford to all parts of England, Ireland and Scotland, not to mention foreign lands. But not only does the regard due to the Society of Jesus seem to require the granting of their reasonable request, but also justice. In fact the Jesuits

owned a mission in Liverpool prior to their suppression. Indeed, together with the Benedictines, they were the sole missionaries in Liverpool during the persecution of the Catholics in England when the laws against the free practice of our Holy Religion were so stringent. They preserved the faith in the midst of violence, in the midst of the great and painful difficulties encountered in the exercise of the duties of a Catholic. After the death of the last Jesuit missionary who had remained after the suppression, their chapel in Sir Thomas Street was sold by the lay administrators and bought by the Methodists. Hence, to the detriment of the Catholic Religion, that site was occupied by the heretics and turned to a use perversely opposed to that envisaged when it was first erected. It is of course true that with the proceeds from this sale the said administrators purchased the land on which St. Nicholas's church, served by the secular priests, was built. But it is also true that the advantage to the Catholic population of the erection of this new place of worship was counterbalanced by the damage incurred from the fact that a former place of worship had been delivered into the hands of the heretics. Hence, taking into account the growth of the city and the increase of its population, the result of this purchase and sale was in fact detrimental to the Religion and to souls.

Besides these considerations of justice, we must also bear in mind the immense usefulness to the Catholics of Liverpool of the building of a new church together with a house in which new labourers can come together. This would be even more the case were it to incorporate a school for the education of the young. What is quite lacking in our large cities, starting with London itself, is a school for the social class which is not poor enough to attend charity schools but which is insufficiently affluent to go to the boarding schools which lie some miles outside the city. What is lacking is a school for the sons of people from this large social class, in which they can be instructed during the daytime, without leaving the parental home, in those subjects befitting their condition. In London the large colleges of this type, founded by our devout Catholic forefathers, are now under the sole direction of the Protestants. There are, however, a few small private schools run by good Catholic lay people but which can only cater for a very small proportion of youngsters. I see no mention of these schools for the Liverpool area in the Catholic Almanac, where all such masters find it useful to list their schools so as to attract the attention of parents and increase the number of pupils. There are in Liverpool only three non-fee-paying schools for the poor - and Stonyhurst College, forty miles away, for those who can afford boarding fees. From this I argue that the sons of shopkeepers and craftsmen and, on the whole, the sons of a large proportion of Catholic families are receiving such an education in the mixed schools run by Protestants. It has often crossed my mind that it would be tremendously advantageous to open in London, Liverpool and in other large cities schools, at least for lower studies, like the Jesuit schools in the major Italian cities, where the youngsters spend a number of hours in the day. I am convinced that, if the Jesuits had schools of this type in Liverpool, the attendance would be most considerable. One would simply have to take the precaution

of asking parents to pay a minimal monthly sum, as do the same Jesuits in Dublin, in order to forestall that aversion which many people feel in sending their sons to school without paying anything.

Everyone then knows the spiritual advantage which can be gained from the existence of a Jesuit College in a city, not only for the young who attend it but also for those who have completed their period of studies, and who, with continuing affection for their former teachers, meet up with them again from time to time. Often amidst the temptations which beset the paths of young people, amidst the dissipation of the business world, it can be most beneficial to have access to the College which served as a bulwark to the innocence of tender youth, and to meet those same masters who instilled the sentiments of Christian piety, and who show themselves to be always ready to give fresh incentives in the ways of virtue.

Thus the fact that Liverpool is a great centre for business and for communication between the three parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and between Europe and the rest of the world, means that one cannot find too many institutions dedicated to the propagation and conservation of the Faith; institutions whose aim it is to combat error and unbelief. How many young ones lost in this vast throng who, where they to have guides, were they to be properly educated, would be capable of great things! "*Massis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci*". Oh, if only the voice of the Sons of St. Ignatius could call forth new Xaviers in the midst of such a vast crowd of people, so that the ships which leave Liverpool to seek the riches of the earth in far off lands might carry new vessels of election to make known the name of Christ to those who still do not know it! And in truth it is most sad to think of the activity which one sees in the very same Port on the part of the Protestants, the Methodists, the false missionaries of the Anglican churches who come and go, gather people together, amass funds, load up ships with Bibles and printed matter in order to carry confusion elsewhere and to insult the Church of Jesus Christ! And whilst these people are doing so much to find followers, to gather the means and to proceed with their enterprises, must the Catholics be seen to be inactive? Should those religious orders founded by God himself in the very bosom of his Church to partake of the great work of the Apostolic Missions, to aid the conversion of nations, be seen to be beset by a thousand difficulties and obstacles?

Thus, the erection of a Jesuit house and church in Liverpool presents great advantages not only for the City but also for the easier diffusion of the means of Catholic instruction elsewhere, whence the request seems not only fair and reasonable but, moreover, extremely useful in general and is most worthy of Your Eminence's consideration.

APPENDIX VGENERAL AND ENGLISH PROVINCIAL SUPERIORS  
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS 1829-1906I Fathers General of the Society of Jesus

1829 - 1853	Jan Philip Roothaan (Dutch)	(1785 - 1853)
1853 - 1887	Pieter Beckx (Belgian)	(1795 - 1887)
(1883)- 1892	Anton M. Anderledy (Swiss)	(1819 - 1892)
1892 - 1906	Luis Martin (Spanish)	(1846 - 1906)

N.B. Owing to the advanced years and failing health of Fr. Pieter Beckx, Fr. Anderledy was appointed his Vicar General on 24 September 1883. On the death of Fr. Beckx, Anderledy succeeded as General of the Society of Jesus on 4 March 1887.

II English Provincials 1838-1904Date of appointment

25 June	1838	John Bird	(1783 - 1853)
14 September	1841	Randal Lythgoe	(1793 - 1854)
1 January	1848	William Cobb	(1804 - 1877)
6 January	1851	John Etheridge	(1811 - 1882)
24 September	1853	Joseph Johnson	(1810 - 1893)
2 January	1860	Thomas Seed	(1807 - 1874)
8 September	1864	Alfred Weld	(1823 - 1890)
19 May	1870	Robert Whitty	(1817 - 1895)
9 July	1873	Peter Gallwey	(1820 - 1906)
1 September	1876	James Jones	(1828 - 1893)
30 March	1880	Edward Purbrick	(1830 - 1914)
15 August	1888	John Clayton	(1841 - 1914)
8 September	1894	Francis Scoles	(1840 - 1909)
8 September	1897	John Gerard	(1840 - 1912)
1 January	1901	Reginald Colley*	(1848 - 1904)

\*Provincial until 24 May 1904

APPENDIX VIREGISTER OF JESUIT STAFF OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S  
SCHOOL AND COLLEGE 1842 - (1902)

The following register is based on the annual printed Catalogues of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. It has been augmented from the manuscript Province Register, APA, 14/2/6, and from Little Lives, 1877-1890, APA, 14/2/10. The latter volume is a collection of manuscript autobiographical notes written by each novice shortly after his admission to the Society of Jesus in the English Province. The register comprises four sections:

- i) Superiors and Rectors 1842-1906
- ii) Prefects of Studies 1842-1911
- iii) Vice-Presidents or Prefects General 1874-1911
- iv) Assistant Jesuit masters 1842-1902

Sections ii) and iii) indicate the educational background and teaching experience of Jesuits prior to their appointment to posts of responsibility at St. Francis Xavier's College. Section iv) lists a group of Jesuits of whom the majority began teaching in Liverpool as young men. In addition to giving details of their educational background, the nature of their subsequent teaching experience, if any, has been noted in summary form.



i) SUPERIORS AND RECTORS 1842-1906Superiors

1842-1844	Francis Lythgoe	(1796-1873)	
1844-1845	Joseph Johnson	(1810-1893)	[1]
1845-1849	Francis West	(1782-1852)	
1849-1853	Joseph Johnson	(1810-1893)	[1]

From 1842 until 1851 the collegium inchoatum in Liverpool was in the charge of the Superiors listed above. On 15 October 1851 Fr. General Roothaan raised St. Francis Xavier's to the rank of a full college of the Society of Jesus with Fr. Joseph Johnson as the first Rector until 1853.

Rectors

1853-1855	Richard Sumner	(1801-1877)	
1855-1857	Charles Collyns	(1820-1885)	
1857-1860	Richard Sumner	(1801-1877)	
1860-1861	Joseph Johnson	(1810-1893)	[1]
1861-1864	Francis Clough	(1810-1891)	
1864-1871	George Porter	(1825-1889)	[2]
1871-1877	Thomas Porter	(1828-1888)	[3]
1877-1879	James Maguire	(1825-1904)	
1879-1884	James Clare	(1827-1902)	
1884-1893	Thomas Murphy	(1838-1894)	
1893-1896	Richard Sykes	(1854-1920)	[4]
1896-1906	James Hayes	(1839-1907)	

[1] English Provincial, 1853-1860

[2] Archbishop of Bombay, 1887-1889

[3] Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica, 1877-1888

[4] Prefect Apostolic of the Zambesi Mission,  
1896-1904; 1911-1919;

English Provincial, Society of Jesus, 1904-1911

ii) PREFECTS OF STUDIES 1842-1911

Key: a) educated  
 b) date of admission to novitiate  
 c) teaching experience prior to appointment  
 as Prefect of Studies  
 + denotes a convert to Roman Catholicism

- 1842-1846 Post vacant
- I 1846-1848 Fr. Joseph Johnson (1810-1893)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1827  
 c) Nil
- 1848-1853 Post vacant
- II 1853-1854 +Fr. Charles Collyns, M.A. (1820-1885)  
 a) Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford  
 b) 1846  
 c) Prior Park, 1845-1846
- 1854-1856 Post vacant
- III 1856-1858 Mr. Richard Payne, B.A. (1827-1905)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1844  
 c) Mount St. Mary's, 1850-1853;  
 Stonyhurst, 1853-1856
- IV 1858-1862 Mr. John Baptist Bodoano, B.A. (1832-1868)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1850  
 c) Stonyhurst, 1854-1856;  
 St. Francis Xavier's, 1856-1858
- 1862-1863 Post vacant
- V 1863-1865 Fr. Richard Payne (see III above)
- VI 1865-1874 +Fr. James Harris (1824-1883)  
 a) private tuition  
 b) 1850  
 c) Collège Notre-Dame de la Paix, Namur,  
 1854-1858; Professor of Moral Theology,  
 St. Beuno's 1862-1865
- VII 1874-1875 Fr. William Loughnan (1838-1897)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1856  
 c) Stonyhurst, 1861-1867  
 Mount St. Mary's (Prefect of Studies)  
 1867-1869

- VIII 1875-1879 Fr. John Gerard (1840-1912)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1856  
 c) Beaumont 1862-1865;  
 Stonyhurst 1865-1870
- IX 1879-1881 Fr. Peter Chandlery (1846-1925)  
 a) Alost, Belgium and Mount St. Mary's  
 b) 1863  
 c) Hodder 1870-1871;  
 St. Francis Xavier's 1871-1875
- X 1881-1885 Fr. Robert Cardwell, M.A. (London) (1842-1898)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1860  
 c) Beaumont, 1867-1872 and 1876-1877;  
 Mount St. Mary's 1878-1880
- XI 1885-1888 Fr. Gerald Tarleton, B.A. (1849-1927)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1867  
 c) Beaumont 1874-1875;  
 St. Francis Xavier's 1875-1879
- XII 1888-1898 Fr. Terence Donnelly (1851-1930)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1870  
 c) St. Francis Xavier's 1873-1875  
 and 1878-1882
- XIII 1898-1911 Fr. John McHale (1862-1911)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's  
 b) 1882  
 c) Mount St. Mary's 1889-1890;  
 Malta 1890-1893

iii) VICE PRESIDENTS OR PREFECTS GENERAL 1874-1911

- Key: a) educated  
 b) date of admission to novitiate  
 c) teaching experience prior to appointment  
 as Vice President or Prefect General  
 + denotes a convert to Roman Catholicism

- I 1874-1883 +Fr. James Harris (cf. list of Prefects of Studies, VI)
- II 1883-1884 Fr. William Joseph Burns (1849-1908)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1867  
 c) 1876-1877 St. Francis Xavier's;  
 1877-1879 Beaumont;  
 1879-1880 Malta
- III 1884-1885 Fr. George Huggins (1843-1918)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1861  
 c) 1865-1872 Beaumont;  
 1875-1876 Beaumont;  
 1877-1878 Jamaica
- IV 1885-1887 Fr. Gerald Tarleton (cf. list of Prefects of Studies, XI)
- V 1887-1888 Fr. Arthur Yates (1851-1912)  
 a) Clongowes  
 b) 1869  
 c) 1876-1881 St. Francis Xavier's  
 1881-1886 Beaumont
- VI 1888-1893 Fr. Richard Sykes (cf. list of Rectors)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1874  
 c) 1877-1880 Stonyhurst;  
 1883-1884 St. Francis Xavier's
- VII 1893-1894 Fr. John Benson (1853-1923)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's and Stonyhurst  
 b) 1872  
 c) nil (owing to ill health)
- VIII 1894-1896 Fr. William Kenny (1844-1915)  
 a) Stonyhurst  
 b) 1865  
 c) 1868-1874 Beaumont
- IX 1896-1897 and 1898-1911 Fr. Frederick Parry (1864-1951)  
 a) Mount St. Mary's  
 b) 1882  
 c) 1888-1890 Hodder;  
 1890-1893 Stonyhurst;  
 subsequently Rector of St. Francis Xavier's, 1910
- X 1897-1898 Fr. Francis Dobson (1860-1926)  
 a) St. Francis Xavier's  
 b) 1877  
 c) 1881-1883 Beaumont;  
 1884-1886 St. Francis Xavier's
- XI 1898-1911 Fr. Frederick Parry (cf. IX supra)

ASSISTANT JESUIT MASTERS 1842-1902

iv) + denotes a convert to Roman Catholicism

	Lived	Educated	Admitted Novice	Taught at S.F.X. College	Years Service	Subsequent teaching experience
HAVERS	1817- ?	Stonyhurst	1833	1843	6 mths	Left Society, 1847
GALLWEY	1820-1906	Stonyhurst	1836	1844-1845	1	Prefect of Studies, Stonyhurst, 1855-1857
STRICKLAND	1822-1856	Stonyhurst	1840	1844-1845	1	Nil
SHERLOCK	1820-1910	Stonyhurst	1839	1845-1846	1	Nil
BRINDLE	1824-1880	Stonyhurst	1842	1846-1847	1	Nil
HENRY	1826-1869	Stonyhurst	1842	1846-1851	5	Nil
COOPER	1821-1894	Stonyhurst	1840	1847-1848	1	Nil
PORTER	1825-1889	Stonyhurst	1841	1848-1849	1	Prefect of Studies, Stonyhurst, 1850-1853, 1857-1858
THOMSON	1824-1866	Stonyhurst	1843	1849-1854	5	Nil
LAZENBY	1824-1887	Stonyhurst	1842	1851-1853	2	Taught in Brazil, 1857-1858
SHEA	1827-1898	Not known	1850	1853-1854	1	Nil
MEYRICK	1817-1903	Not known	1846	1854-1855	1	Left Society, 1880
LESLIE	1826-1917	Not known	1849	1854-1856	2	Nil
THOMSON	1831-1908	Stonyhurst	1851	1854-1857	3	Beaumont; Glasgow
PEARSON	1832- ?	Stonyhurst	1853	1856-1859	3	Became secular priest, 1874
BODDANO	1832-1868	Stonyhurst	1850	1856-1862	6	Prefect of Studies, Mount St. Mary's, 1867-1868
LANGTON	1830-1866	Downside & Stonyhurst	1854	1857-1858	2	Nil
MEYER	1837-1869	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1857	1858-1860	2	Stonyhurst; Mount St. Mary's; Beaumont
KAMMERLOCHER	1832-1911	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1852	1858-1860	2	Nil
SIDGREAVES	1829-1920	Stonyhurst	1849	(1859-1860 (1865-1869	1	Glasgow, 1863-1865
BRIDGE	1834-1901	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1853	1859-1863	4	Nil
EYRE	1832-1882	Stonyhurst	1853	1860-1861	1	Nil
JACKSON	1831-1906	Stonyhurst	1852	1861-1862	2	Nil
POPE	1837-1908	Not known	1853	1861-1863	2	Nil
MACQUEEN	1838-1879	Not known	1856	1861-1864	3	Hodder; Beaumont
DIGNAM	1833-1894	Not known	1856	1862-1865	3	Nil
EVERARO	1838-1891	Stonyhurst	1854	1864-1867	3	Nil
MacDONNELL	1840- ?	Stonyhurst	1859	1865-1870	5	Left Society, 1880
GILLET	1842-1911	Stonyhurst	1861	1866-1869	3	Nil
HORN	1845- ?	Stonyhurst	1862	1867-1868	1	Left Society, 1869
HEAD	1836-1924	Stonyhurst	1857	1867-1868	1	Nil
PAYNE	1847-1906	Mount St. Mary's	1863	1867-1868	1	Prefect of Studies, Preston, 1884-1898
MIDDLEHURST	1844- ?	Stonyhurst	1863	1868-1869	1	Left Society, 1872
de LAPASTURE	1839-1923	Downside	1863	1868-1872	4	Prefect of Studies, Preston, 1878-1884
MORGAN	1842-1890	Stonyhurst	1861	1868-1872	4	Became secular priest, 1889
ROCHFORD	1840-1890	Downside & Stonyhurst	1864	1868-1873	5	Nil
RYAN	1842-1926	Stonyhurst	1860	1869-1871	2	Kingston, Jamaica, 1878
EDGECOMBE	1846- ?	Not known	1865	1869-1871	2	Left Society, 1875
KNOWLES	1874-1900	Stonyhurst	1866	1869-1871	2	Left Society, 1873
PARKER	1848-1922	Stonyhurst	1867	1870-1871	1	Nil
RYAN	1843-1890	Oscott	1865	1870-1874	4	Mangalore, 1880-1890
REMEDIOS	1846- ?	Not known	1865	1871-1872	1	Left Society (?)
CHANDLERY	1846-1925	Alost, Belgium & Mount St. Mary's	1863	1871-1875	4	Prefect of Studies, St. Francis Xavier's 1879-1881
LOWERGAN	1835-1918	Not known	1854	1872-1873	1	(From Lyons Province, Society of Jesus)

EDGECOMBE	William	1845-1899	Not known	1866	1872-1878	6	Nil
DONNELLY	Terence	1851-1930	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1870	(1873-1875 (1878-1882	2	Prefect of Studies, St. Francis Xavier's, 1888-1898,
HAGUE	William	1851-1877	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1870	1873-1874	4	Drowned in River Hodder, 1877
GORDON	Peter	1852-1907	Oratory, Edgbaston	1870	1873-1875	2	Stonyhurst, 1890-1903
SERGEANT	John	1844-1915	Stonyhurst	1863	(1873-1876 (1878-1879	3	Mangalore, 1880-1886; Preston, 1886-1898
RICKABY	John B.A.	1847-1927	Stonyhurst	1867	1874-1875	1	St. Beuno's
COWELL	Henry +	1846-1897	Not known	1867	1874-1875	1	Nil
LUCAS	Edward	1852-1919	Mount St. Mary's, Preston & Stonyhurst	1871	1874-1875	1	Nil
MEYER	Joseph Fr.	1839-1885	Mount St. Mary's	1857	1874-1877	3	Nil
FOLEY	James	1845-1900	St. Francis Xavier's & Stonyhurst	1865	(1875-1876 (1878-1879	1	Prefect General, Glasgow, 1880-1881
NEUSHAM	Matthew Fr.	1828-1907	Stonyhurst	1862	1875-1876	1	Nil
MORGAN	Sydney	1847- ?	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1867	1875-1876	5	mths Left Society, 1876
JERRARD	Joseph	1846-1896	Stonyhurst	1863	1875-1877	2	Nil
GILLET	Anselm	1848-1884	Stonyhurst	1868	1875-1877	2	Nil
BRADY	Philip	1846-1917	Not known	1868	1875-1877	2	(From Irish Province, Society of Jesus)
TARLETON	Gerald B.A.	1849-1927	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1867	1875-1879	4	Prefect of Studies, St. Francis Xavier's, 1885-1888
BURNS	William J.	1849-1908	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1867	1876-1877	1	Prefect General, St. Francis Xavier's, 1883-1884
SOUTHERN	Joseph	1850-1878	Stonyhurst	1868	1876-1878	2	Died in Liverpool, 1878
YATES	Arthur	1857-1912	Clongowes	1869	1876-1881	5	Prefect General, St. Francis Xavier's, 1889-1894
COLLINS	John	1848-1909	Glasgow, Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1866	1877-1878	1	Glasgow, 1883-1886
HERBERT	George	1850- ?	Stonyhurst	1851	1877-1878	1	Left Society, 1878
BALDWIN	Thomas	1854-1914	Stonyhurst	1874	1877-1879	2	Nil
CAMPBELL	Archibald	1850-1921	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1871	1877-1881	4	Nil
HASSAN	Patrick	1854-1928	Not known	1871	1877-1882	5	Nil
VAUGHAN	Richard Fr.	1826-1899	Stonyhurst	1842	1877-1892	16	Died in Liverpool, 1899
COUPE	Charles	1853-1910	Bradshaw's Academy, Warrington	1875	1878-1879	1	Stonyhurst, 1893-1894
KING	Michael	1853-1931	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1872	1878-1880	2	Nil
THOMSON	William	1856-1929	Stonyhurst	1874	1879-1880	1	Became secular priest, 1892
KILLION	Bernard	1861-1925	Mount St. Mary's	1877	1880-1881	1	Beaumont; Stamford Hill
COORINGTON	William	1856- ?	Harrow & Oscott	1876	1880-1881	1	Left Society, 1882
BALDWIN	John B.A.	1856-1906	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1876	1880-1881	1	Mount St. Mary's 1881
BEALL	John	1849-1910	Tullabeg & Mellaray	1873	1880-1881	1	Nil
OWENS	James	1854-1912	Limerick	1872	1880-1881	1	Became secular priest, 1891
DARBY	John	1858-1939	St. Francis Xavier's	1874	1881-1882	1	Prefect of Studies, Malta, 1898-1901
REDMAN	John	1853-1933	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1873	1881-1883	2	Assistant Prefect General, St. Francis Xavier's, 1886-1887
DOBSON	Joseph	1855-1932	St. Francis Xavier's	1873	1881-1884	3	Malta, 1890-1892
ETHERINGTON	Edward	1853-1939	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1873	(1881-1884 (1888-1889	3	Prefect of Studies, Malta, 1901
FLYNN	Patrick	1859-1920	Mount St. Mary's	1878	1882-1883	1	Prefect of Studies, Stamford Hill, 1895-1898
POWER	Matthew	1857-1926	Clongowes & Stonyhurst	1875	1882-1883	1	Prefect of Studies, Preston, 1898-1899
LEESE	Richard	1858-1911	St. Francis Xavier's	1875	1882-1886	4	Nil
O'ROURKE	Matthew	1856- ?	Not known	1878	1882-1883	1	Left Society, 1894
SYKES	Richard	1854-1920	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1874	1883-1884	1	(From Canadian Mission, Society of Jesus, Left Society, 1883)
JERRARD	Frederick	1850-1922	Stonyhurst	1867	1883-1884	1	Prefect General, St. Francis Xavier's, 1888-1889; 1890-1892
DOBSON	Francis	1860-1926	St. Francis Xavier's	1877	1884-1886	2	Wimbledon, 1895
GILLET	Cyprian	1850-1904	Stonyhurst	1869	1884-1885	1	Prefect General, St. Francis Xavier's, 1897-1898; Wimbledon; Preston; Malta

GARTLAN	Ignatius	1848-1926	Mount St. Mary's & Stonyhurst	1867	1884-1885	1	Stonyhurst, 1886-1891
HUDSON	William	1856-1898	Clongowes	1877	1885-1886	1	Nil
POLLEN	John	1858-1925	Oratory, Edgbaston	1877	1885-1886	1	Nil
WALMESLEY	Edwin	1859-1889	St. Francis Xavier's	1875	1885-1887	2	Died as a scholastic
ASHTON	John	1863-1947	Mount St. Mary's	1881	1885-1888	3	Wimbledon, 1902-1903
LUMAX	Wilfrid	1859-1933	St. Francis Xavier's	1880	1886-1887	1	Nil
GORDON	Alexander	1862- ?	Mount St. Mary's	1879	1886-1888	2	Left Society, 1894
WALSH	Francis	1863-1907	Stonyhurst	1880	1886-1889	3	Nil
CORRIGAN	James	1861- ?	Stonyhurst	1880	1886-1890	4	Left Society, 1903
GRAHAM	John	1855-1927	Stonyhurst	1874	1887-1888	1	Nil
PORTER	Edward	1858-1938	Mount St. Mary's	1878	1887-1888	1	Nil
KENDAL	James	1865-1948	Mount St. Mary's	1883	1887-1888	1	Malta, 1901-1904; Bulawayo, 1908
EDGE	John	1864-1923	Mount St. Mary's	1883	1888-1889	1	Nil
RATCLIFFE	Richard	1862-1917	Stonyhurst	1880	(1888-1889 (1899-1908	1	-----
FRASER	Gordon	1862-1899	Beaumont	1883	1888-1890	2	Nil
McDERMOTT	James	1863-1902	Mount St. Mary's	1882	1889-1890	1	Left Society, 1894
NEUDIGATE	Charles +	1863-1942	Stonyhurst	1881	1889-1890	1	Prefect of Studies, Stamford Hill, 1897-1900, 1905-1914
MAGUIRE	Ignatius	1864-1925	Stonyhurst	1883	1889-1893	4	Nil
FITZPATRICK	George	1861-1933	Castle College, Torquay	1883	1889-1892	3	Nil
GUIBARA	Aloysius	1862-1908	Stonyhurst	1879	1890-1891	1	Mount St. Mary's, 1902-1903
COONEY	Bartholomew Fr	1848-1909	Not known	1877	1890-1891	1	Nil
FISH	Joseph	1860-1930	Mount St. Mary's	1881	1890-1891	1	Nil
JAGGAR	John + B.A.	1862-1930	Mount St. Mary's	1879	1890-1892	2	Prefect of Studies, Wimbledon, 1896-1897
BUTTERFIELD	Herbert	1862-1911	Mount St. Mary's	1881	1890-1894	4	Nil
CORRIGAN	Henry	1863-1927	Stonyhurst	1882	1891-1894	3	Glasgow, 1901
ST. JOHN	Stanislaus	1865-1943	Turnhout, Belgium	1884	1891-1895	4	Nil
HARE	Wilfrid	1871-1955	St. Joseph's, Clapham	1888	1892-1893	1	Nil
MEYER	Henry	1864-1928	Mount St. Mary's	1883	1892-1893	1	Prefect of Studies, Preston, 1906
BAMBER	Joseph	1864-1929	Mount St. Mary's	1883	1892-1895	3	Prefect General, Stamford Hill, 1903-1911
TATLOCK	William +B.A.	1854-1939	King's School, Gloucester	1890	1893-1894	1	Mangalore, 1902
GARDNER	Thomas	1866-1944	Mount St. Mary's	1886	1893-1896	3	Nil
KOPP	Augustus	1867-1943	Mount St. Mary's	1885	1893-1897	4	Prefect of Studies, Mount St. Mary's, 1901-1905
BERT	Charles	1869-1952	Turnhout, Belgium	1888	1893-1899	6	Nil
RATCLIFFE	Francis	1870-1931	Stonyhurst	1887	(1894-1895 (1899-1900	1	Nil
RUTHEN	Charles +	1861-1932	St. Nicholas's School, St. Yarmouth; St. Mark's College, Chelsea	1888	1894-1896	2	Nil (Elementary school master before entering Society)
MAYO	Edward	1868-1954	Stonyhurst	1886	1895-1896	1	Beaumont, 1909
THORP	Joseph	1873- ?	Stonyhurst	1891	1895-1896	1	Left Society, 1901
GEORGE	Philip	1871-1950	St. Francis Xavier's	1887	(1895-1897 (1906-1907	2	-----
MOONEY	Laurence	1872-1898	Mount St. Mary's	1893	1896-1897	1	Died at Stonyhurst, 1898
QUICK	Robert	1868-1939	St. Francis Xavier's	1889	1896-1898	2	Nil
WHITE	Thomas	1870-1932	Stonyhurst	1889	1896-1900	4	Stonyhurst, 1900-1914
COCKSEY	Charles	1869-1945	Basingstoke Grammar School	1892	1896-1900	4	Nil
MADDEN	Francis	1872-1948	St. Francis Xavier's	1888	(1897-1898 (1899-1901 (1897-1898 (1904-1908	1	Nil
MORAN	Patrick	1867-1908	Harrison College, Barbados	1885	1897-1899	1	-----
COVERDALE	Thomas	1873-1944	St. Edmund's, Ware	1889	1897-1899	2	Nil
ESCH	Bernard	1869- ?	Mount St. Mary's	1888	1898-1899	1	Left Society, 1901
THOMSON	William	1874-1950	Jesuit Grammar School, Preston	1890	1898-1903	5	Nil

CROTTY	Daniel	1872- ?	Glasgow & Mount St. Mary's	1890	1899-1900	1	Left Society, 1901
ROBINSON	Alban	1876-1944	St. Francis Xavier's	1893	1900-1901	1	Georgetown, 1901-
COLEMAN	James	1876-1930	Mount St. Mary's	1894	1900-1903	3	Nil
D'ARCY	Joseph	1876-1963	St. Francis Xavier's	1893	1900-1906	6	Prefect General, Stamford Hill, 1911-
BRIDGE	James	1871-1940	Mount St. Mary's	1888	1901-1902	2	(Prefect of Studies, St. Francis Xavier's, 1910-1914 (Prefect of Studies, Preston, 1915-1918
FITZJAMES	Charles	1874-1954	Stonyhurst	1892	1901-1903	2	Beaumont, 1908
SHANKLAND	Robert	1875- ?	French Jesuit Apostolic Schools at Littlehampton and Amiens	1895	1901-1903	2	Left Society, 1903
SIRCOM, Fr.	Sebastian	M.A.1844-1934	Stonyhurst	1862	1902-1912	10	----



APPENDIX VIIPROSPECTUS OF ST. EDWARD'S COLLEGE LIVERPOOL

from The Tablet 26 November 1842

St. Edward's School, Everton, late Domingo House, Liverpool, conducted by Clergymen appointed by the Right Rev. Dr. Brown, Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District.

I. The Course of Education will comprise: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Mathematics, History, Geography, Elocution, English Composition, the French, Latin and Greek Languages. For this course of Education the Pension will be £45 per annum, to be paid half-yearly, in addition with £1 per annum for the use of Books, and an extra charge for Washing. Parents will be required to provide their children with clothes. Instead of each boy bringing along with him silver spoon, fork, bed-linen and napkins, the sum of £3.3s will be charged as Entrance Money and those articles will be provided by the house.

II. Drawing, Dancing, Drilling, Fencing, Modern Languages (except French), Music, the use of the Piano-Forte, Stationery, Medicine and Medical Attendance, will form extra charges.

N.B. All pocket-money must pass through the hands of the Superiors. Further particulars may be obtained by applying to the Rev. John Henry Fisher, St. Edward's, or to the Rev. Dr. Youens, 16 Warren Street, Liverpool.

APPENDIX VIIIARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE  
NEW COLLEGE BUILDING AT ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S 1856

(composed shortly before the demolition  
of the building in 1908 and published  
in The Xaverian, April 1908, pp.93-94)

The front door where the present Presbytery is, was No.6. It was the entrance to the College, with a small window on each side and a small window in the gable. On the right on entering was the College office with a good three light window and a small window in the gable.

In the rear over the two gables was a fine gable rising to a considerable height, relieved by a good niche. The building to the right was the College Chapel. It was lighted in front by two double light and three single light decorated Gothic windows with label moulds springing from carved bosses. With a moulded string course above, relieved with carved bosses, viz., the Shamrock, Rose, Thistle, and Fleur-de-Lis. An embattled parapet, and a high pitched roof with an ornamental cresting. There was a small weathered buttress at each end of the front and two at the south end.

On the south end was a beautiful decorated Gothic window, the tracery being a copy of one in Oxford Cathedral, with a small double light window over and an ornamental iron cross at the apex.

At the back was a small Sacristy lighted by a four light early English window, and one single light and two two-light windows in the Chapel, which had an open stained and varnished roof inside.

The unique little slated tower, had on the south side a door and two small windows. About fifteen feet from the ground was a deeply sunk window (to give light to the staircase) with a canopy of elaborate workmanship relieved with carved crockets and a fleur-de-lis finial. It was a good copy of the Sedilia in Bolton Percy Church, Yorks.

Immediately above, carrying the moulded string course was a series of richly carved corbels, on which rested a clerestory light of trefoils. This was repeated on the four sides. Surmounting this was a fine moulded cornice, at the angles of which were four gargoyles, these being well executed emblems of the four Evangelists.

On this rested the slated roof, on each side of which was a low red dormer window with a trefoil head and crocketed gable, and a double poppy-head finial. The top was surrounded by an ornamental iron tracery with a standard at each angle supporting two small copper flags, alternately perforated with letters. The tower formed the staircase to the Academy room which had a fine gallery, with a pleasing mediaeval stained and varnished roof well lighted. A movable stage was erected for proclamations and exhibitions.

The room on the ground floor was divided into two class rooms by a movable partition. The basement was used as a play room on wet days. The boys' washing place was at the foot of the tower stairs.

APPENDIX IX

ACADÉMIE ST. FRANÇOIS XAVIER, LIVERPOOL 1868

An account of the Middle School  
run by the Brothers of the Christian Schools  
at St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool, 1868

Archives of St. Joseph's College,  
Beulah Hill, London

Register, ff. 39 and 42

Académie  
(Français)  
Xavier  
Maurice

Cet état de l'homme français par l'œuvre  
de M. Liguori se rapporte des idées les plus  
régulières sur Dieu, en 1867.

Le Directeur ayant témoigné le désir de  
confier l'œuvre moyennant une somme de 1000  
francs, le Sr. Liguori, son collègue et son frère, lequel dé-  
pendaient de l'œuvre de M. Liguori.

M. R. F. Porter, Recteur de l'œuvre  
fut connu au Sr. Liguori, le désir qu'il entre-  
tenait d'avoir une Communauté de Recolons  
dans l'œuvre, dans l'œuvre - Cela lui fut  
accordé - à condition qu'il payerait chaque  
frère 150 - ce qui est donné pour l'œuvre  
blanche de l'œuvre 150 par an, ce qui  
fut accordé.

Le Sr. Liguori, son Directeur de l'œuvre  
de M. Liguori, en 1868.

Communi  
Francois.  
Mier. Luyssi  
(Liverpool)

Jusqu'au moment de ma Communion fut organe.  
Cherle Jesuites No. 17. ten ains deux, d'après  
Et allait bien. Mais la demeurant de l'entente  
de Providence - et le Directeur de cette dernière  
Où l'on avait guère 10000. de St. Francois sur  
Je protestais par apy à Providence; et étais  
dans cette dernière OÙ l'on avait une petite Mis-  
sion - Casse par un des autres de St. Fran-  
sullian - homme d'Etat et plein de vie me Compro-  
mais par un autre que tous les hommes me l'ont  
par capable d'un même genre d'œuvre  
Travaux

Il devint urgent de lui présenter les  
Comptes de St. Francois - St. J. Jesuites.  
Propose au Père Pons, le Recteur de l'École  
d'Orléans - Ce fut fait. Mais la  
Jesuites n'ont pas l'autorité au Directeur qui n'a  
autorité nominale: Il pourrait diriger les Jésuites  
mais n'avait pas d'action sur St. J. B. et  
le Jesuites n'ont voulu dépendants d'un - et  
présentait (avec raison) que cette école devint  
St. J. harmoniser avec le Centre de St. J. B. et  
l'harmoniser d'un bon point

Nous devons que nous avons besoin d'un  
St. J. de liberté - Nous voulons que les Jésuites  
Ainsi d'Évêque se fassent Dirigeants - On  
Jesuites derrière des Jésuites de St. J. B.  
Et l'on abandonne l'école. La Communion  
fut supprimée - St. J. B. et ceux qui y étaient  
étaient vint à Orléans - et le Père  
Liberté fut pris au Collège -

Nécessaire de vivre, dans un monde d'Évêques  
apuy sur dépendants d'une seule la Communion!

(A translation from the French original)

[f. 39]

When the Jesuits expressed the wish of entrusting the Middle School to the Brothers, Brother Imidonis gave them two Brothers based in Soho Street.

The Reverend Father Porter, the Jesuit Rector, intimated to Brother Liguori his wish to have a properly constituted Community of Brothers in his house. That was granted to him on condition that he would pay each Brother £50 and give £50 per Brother for the furnishing of the house - which was duly done.

The Community was thus established and Brother Acheul de Jésus, deputy Headmaster of the College at Clapham, took charge on 1 September 1868.

[f. 40]

Up to the time when a Community was formed in the Jesuits' house, our Brothers had two classes. All went well. Two of the Brothers worked in the cause of God but the Superior of the Community (in Soho Street) found that the Brothers working at St. Francis Xavier's thought themselves superior and were not sufficiently reliant on Providence. That could not last. Brother Tertullian, an energetic man, full of life, could not understand that all men are not capable of the same amount of work.

He urgently needed to have the Brothers at St. Francis Xavier's taken off his hands. The Brother Visitor suggested to Fr. Porter, the Jesuit Rector, that a community should be formed. This was done, but the Jesuits gave the Headmaster (of the Middle School) only nominal authority. He could supervise the Brothers but had no say in the running of the School. The Jesuits wanted control of it and claimed (with justification) that the School should be on a par with the other (elementary) schools in the parish.

We felt we needed greater freedom. We wanted the School to be under the control of the Headmaster. We sought refuge behind the position we took and we left the School. The Community was suppressed. Brother Acheul, who was the Headmaster there, came to China Terrace (in London) and Brother Aibertid was sent to the College (at Clapham). It is no easy thing to live in a Jesuit House sufficiently independent of them to please them!

APPENDIX X

PROSPECTUSES FOR THE  
COLLÈGE NOTRE-DAME DE LA PAIX, NAMUR  
1847 and 1867

The 1847 prospectus overleaf is reproduced from  
The Tablet 10 July 1847

The 1867 prospectus on p.445 is reproduced from  
a copy in the archives of the College at Namur  
by courtesy of the College Archivist,  
Fr. J. Hanno, S.J.



**COLLEGE NOTRE-DAME DE LA PAIX,**

Under the Superintendance of Members of the SOCIETY of JESUS, NAMUR, BELGIUM,

The object of this establishment is to give to the youths admitted into it a careful education with solid instruction, based upon Religion.

A testimonial of good conduct is required from such as have previously studied in other colleges.

The course of studies comprises Latin, Greek, polite Literature, Elocution, and Composition, History, Geography, Mathematics, Moral and Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Natural History, &c.

There is a preparatory school designed for pupils who may not be able to enter upon the study of the classics with due prospect of success.

Besides the particular attention which is paid to the study of French literature, lessons are also given, if required, in English, Italian, and German.

Drawing, Painting, Music, Gymnastics, &c. are at the choice of parents and form extra-charges. These exercises, however, are not allowed to be detrimental to the principal studies.

It is requested that students bring no other books with them than the classical authors approved by the College. They have free access to a library of interesting and useful works selected for their reading. Two cabinets, one of Experimental Philosophy, and another of Natural History, and a Chemical laboratory are provided for those who attend lectures in these various departments of Science.

There is also a shorter course of three years, particularly adapted for such as being destined for commercial pursuits, or may not desire to follow the regular classical studies.

The students are never left to themselves, but are constantly attended by their Superiors during all their exercises.

As soon as it becomes evident that a scholar does not suit the establishment, he is sent back to his family with all possible precaution.

Peculiar care is taken of cleanliness and of everything that may improve the health of the pupils.

A Medical attendant pays a daily visit at the charge of the establishment. When a scholar is taken ill, his parents are immediately informed of it.

Every quarter the parents receive an account of the conduct, application, improvement, and health of their children.

The pension is Thirty Pounds per Annum\*, to be paid every half year in advance; the quarters begin on the 1st of October, 15th of December, 1st of March, and 1st of June. A quarter commenced is to be paid in full, unless the scholar is removed at the desire of the Superior, or on account of illness.

Every student must be furnished with four pair of sheets, four pillow-cases, eight night-caps, twelve towels, twelve napkins, twelve pairs of stockings, twelve pocket handkerchiefs, three black cravats, a cap and a hat, a knife, a silver spoon, and fork. All these objects should bear the number assigned to each scholar.

The uniform of the College is a blue coat with gilt buttons, blue trowsers, and a black waistcoat. This dress is required to be worn only on Sundays and Feast-days.

Postage, pocket-money, school-books, stationery, and the casual expenses of sickness are separate charges.

The students are neither permitted to send nor receive letters or packages without the knowledge of the Superior.

Schools open on the first Tuesday of October, and terminate towards the end of August. Besides the holidays in September there is also a fortnight vacation at Easter, which commences on the Tuesday in Easter week. All are strictly required to return for the days appointed for the opening of schools.

Leave of absence is rarely granted, and not without good reason. The scholars can leave the College with none but their parents, or such as are duly authorised by their parents.

Before the pupil is sent to the College, a promise of admission must be obtained, and his name, age, and place of residence made known, by letter or personal application to the Superior.

Letters to be forwarded to the Rev. Superior, as above.

References will be given if required.

\* In this pension are included the expenses of bedding and washing.

## ORDRE DU JOUR POUR LES ÉLÈVES EXTERNES (1)

### Les jours ordinaires

- Prières, étude, déjeuner.
- A 7 h. 10 Etude facultative au Collège.
  - 7 h. 35 Ouverture des classes. Les élèves doivent se trouver au Collège avant 7 h. 3/4.
  - 7 h. 50 Messe.
  - 8 h. 20 Classe.
  - 10 h. 3/4 Récréation.
  - 11 h. 1/4 Etude jusqu'à midi.
  - 1 h. 1/2 Etude.
  - 2 h. Classe.
  - 4 h. Récréation.
  - 4 h. 3/4 Etude jusqu'à 7 h. 1/2, en y comprenant un quart d'heure de lecture de piété.
- Avant le coucher, prières du soir.

### Les jours de congé (mardis et jeudis)

- A 7 h. 50 Messe.
  - 8 h. 20 Classe.
  - 10 h. 1/2 Récréation. (A 10 h. 3/4 Cours de langues [modernes].)
  - 11 h. Etude.
- Après-midi, en hiver, promenade jusqu'à 4 h.; le reste comme les jours ordinaires. (De 1 h. à 2 h. Cours facultatif de dessin.)
- En été, étude de 1 h. 1/2 à 3 h. 3/4; (de 1 h. à 2 h. Cours facultatif de dessin;) promenade jusqu'à 7 h. 1/2 au plus tard.
- Lecture de piété et prières du soir.

### Les dimanches et les fêtes

- Prières.
- A 6 h. 3/4 Communion facultative au Collège.
  - 8 h. 1/2 Messe.
  - 11 h. Etude jusqu'à midi.
  - 5 h. Etude jusqu'à 7 h. Prières, etc.

(1) Les élèves des Cours préparatoires ont un règlement spécial.

## PARLOIR

I. Les heures fixées pour les visites sont : de 10 h. 1/2 à 11 h., de 12 h. 1/2 à 1 h. 1/2 et de 4 h. à 4 h. 1/2; en outre, le dimanche, de 10 h. à 11 h. On ne déroge à cette règle que pour de bonnes raisons.

II. C'est au R. P. Recteur, au P. Préfet des études et aux PP. Préfets de discipline que l'on demande les renseignements sur l'application et sur la conduite des élèves.

III. Les élèves ne peuvent recevoir ni lettres ni paquets à l'insu des supérieurs.

## SORTIES

On accorde, à titre de récompense pour les bonnes notes, une sortie, trois fois par an, c'est-à-dire une seule fois entre deux vacances successives. Les élèves qui obtiendront cette récompense ne sortiront qu'avec leurs parents, et ils seront ramenés par eux au Collège.

Au sortir de l'établissement et à la rentrée, l'élève se présente au R. P. Recteur et au P. Préfet de discipline; s'il s'est procuré quelque objet, il doit en informer le P. Préfet.

N. B. — D'après le temps qu'ils passent au Collège, les élèves se divisent en internes, demi-pensionnaires, quart-pensionnaires et externes. Ils ne peuvent dans le courant de l'année passer de l'une de ces catégories à aucune des suivantes.

APPENDIX XI

REPORT ON THE SUMMER PROCLAMATION 1870

From The Catholic Times 25 June 1870

## ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE, LIVERPOOL.

On Tuesday evening last was held the annual distribution of prizes to the most deserving of the pupils of this noble institution. In former years this annual reunion of the friends and relatives of the youths took place in the Hall of the College, in Salisbury-street. On the last occasion, however, and on the present one, greater eclat has been given to the proceedings and more accommodation afforded by using for the purpose the elegant small concert room of St. George's Hall, and on Tuesday evening the wisdom of this course was fully borne out, for the beautiful room was filled to its utmost capacity with the elite of Catholic Liverpool.

The Rev. George Porter, S.J., presided, and the following amongst others were present:—Rev. James Harris, S.J. (Profect of Studies), Hon. and Rev. Walter Ignatius Clifford, S.J., Rev. W. Maher, S.J., Rev. T. A. Snow, O.S.B., Rev. Father Johnson, S.J., Rev. F. A. Coopman, O.M.I., Rev. H. Martin, S.J., Rev. Thomas Tobin, Rev. Wm. P. Dillon, O.E.B., Rev. T. Carroll, Rev. Patrick O'Donovan, Rev. Father Gibney, O.M.I., Rev. E. Parbrick, S.J., Rector of Stoneyhurst College, Rev. T. Cooper, S.J., Rev. G. Noble, S.J.; Messrs. Francis Dobson, W. Johnson, John S. Clarke, V. J. Verbaarsken, Hugh Cullen, John Lynch, Geoffrey Crank, Major McMullin, Captain Williams, Captain Fison; Messrs. E. Darby, T. Martin, A. Crilly, J. Lane, R. Lightbound, W. Macdon, John Taylor, Joseph Bradley, R. J. Hughes, Charles Martin, Francis Rockliffe, &c., &c.

Father Harris conducted the examination in Arithmetic, and the ready manner in which the boys answered every question and the admirable way in which they acquitted themselves generally, rendered somewhat necessary the explanation afterwards made by Father Porter, that the questions for solution were given for the first time in that room, the rapidity and correctness shown in the answers being most remarkable. After a close and animated contest it was decided that Master William A. Hunt was the winner of the diploma for having achieved the greatest distinction in these exercises.

The evening's proceedings were at this stage agreeably diversified by selections given with admirable spirit by a number of the boys, whose bright intelligent features and grace of manner must have been a source of gratification, not only to their friends and the managers of the college but also to the Catholic body generally, for in these boys were displayed the manifestations of ability in the youthful generation now ripening into manhood, which will place them in days to come in prominent and honourable positions in this first seat of commerce, and give that influence to the Catholic body which it does not possess at present. Although the recitations and dialogues are perhaps the most interesting portion of such an evening's proceedings, and it is possible, and indeed very likely, that the same boy who shines before the public in this way may also carry off other honours which the general audience may not be so well able to appreciate, still the greatest care is necessary to reward and encourage those boys who may not be gifted with the same power of shining before an audience.

The friends of the boys must, therefore, rely on the judgment of those who have charge of them to reward unobtrusive merit which would not otherwise be recognised. One very admirable plan which the good fathers have adopted is that of allowing the whole body of students themselves to make the awards for good conduct. After the prologue had been spoken by Master Oulton, Longfellow's poem of "Robert of Stolly" was the first piece on the programme. The dialogue from "Euripides," between Orestes and Medea, was then admirably given by Masters W. Matheson and John R. Prescott, the graceful manner in which the latter young gentleman acquitted himself being particularly admired. Southey's "Death of Mohareb" was then recited in a vigorous and telling manner by Master James Nicholson. Then followed a scene from Shakespeare's "Love's Labour Lost," the characters being "Holofernes," a schoolmaster, the curate, "Sir Nathaniel," and "Dull," a constable; the parts being severally spoken by Masters John R. Prescott, Joseph F. Dubson, and William Kehoe, the delivery of the latter young gentleman possessing an amount of humour well suited to the character. The scene from Terence was well represented by Masters Andrew Atteridge, Thomas Balnea, and Frederick O. Cole, and "Mary, the Maid of the Inn," by Southey, was delivered with much energy and pathos by Master William Roche. The last piece in the programme was Molière's scene in which the characters were "Mascarille," sustained by Master Edward Kelly; "Medon," by Master Richard Shell; and "Cathos," by Master Charles Hayes, all the parts being very cleverly rendered. The gem of the evening was reserved, and very properly, for the last. This was a selection called in the programme "Ireland at present," being a portion of a speech delivered by one of the most distinguished sons that the green island has produced—Charles Gavan Duffy, who is at once a poet, an orator, and a statesman. Master Lane must surely have felt, on Tuesday evening, some of the inspirations of the original orator, for portions of the speech were delivered with the most thrilling effect. He described in a graphic manner, the way in which the land of Ireland had been confiscated, and pictured the horrors of the Irish famine so as to do ample justice to the powerful language of the original orator.

After this portion of the evening's proceedings had been concluded, some very fine specimens of hand-writing were exhibited and very much admired.

The Rev. George Porter then addressed the assembled company. He said: Ladies and gentlemen, I think that without any egotism or risk of incurring censure for self-praise, I may thank these boys for the exhibition they have given us this evening, and for the very spirited and creditable manner in which they have acquitted themselves (cheers). If anything, the manner in which the arithmetic was performed was rather too good, so much so that many persons thought the exercises had been prepared beforehand. You may take my word that this was not so (cheers). The boys had not heard, or prepared the sums until they heard them in this room; and the rapidity with which

they answered is a proof of the excellence and the quality of the training they have gone through (applause). On those occasions I lay before you the general condition of the college. I may say that notwithstanding we have lost many scholars during the past year, and notwithstanding the continued bad times, our numbers have increased upon the whole, and the increase, though not considerable, has been a gain. There are, I should think, 13 additional scholars in advance of the numbers this time last year (applause). You will be pleased to know that in a very short time—I hope I may say almost in a few days—we shall begin the foundation of a large college, and I hope it will not be unworthy of the Catholic body in Liverpool (applause). The bad times tell upon us as well as upon the rest of the world, and we must be content to build a college in parts and by instalments. The first instalment I hope you will see completed before the 31st of December next (applause). There is one point in which I cannot say that my account of the past year is entirely satisfactory, and that is as regards the middle school. Two years ago I made a beginning in that respect, offering a thoroughly good and purely English education at a very moderate pension of £1 a quarter—about 2s. a week. Now, I am sorry to say that at the end of two years that school is still, as to numbers, where it was in the beginning—not fifty boys in it. This fact justifies me in calling to it the attention of the Catholic body, which I see largely represented here to-night. Perhaps what I may lead a few persons to turn their minds to this matter, and to use their influence, if they have any, to remove what is confessedly an evil. We have in Liverpool—I will take it at a very low estimate—180,000 Catholics. My own belief is that we are much in excess of 200,000. Out of all that immense population, though we can get 250 boys for our high school, that is, 250 boys who require a classical education, and are willing to pay for it, we cannot find 50 boys who care to pay 2s. a week for a thoroughly good English education. There is something wrong when, out of a population of 180,000—which is mainly a population of bread-winners—250 come forward and ask for a classical education, and not 50 care to possess themselves of a superior and thoroughly English education. I will tell you where I think some of the cause of this indifference lies. We have been—I may say, because we are all one here—we have been for three centuries under a system of oppression and persecution; and though the chains are broken on our arms, we are not yet accustomed to freedom. We have the recollection of the chains about us, and the liveliness of freedom and liberty has not come to us (hear, hear). We are not, as free men, above small petty local considerations; and the result is that, though we are so numerous a body, we present a number of petty jealousies. The Englishman is jealous of the Irishman, and the Irishman from the north does not think so much of him from the south. The Irishmen who succeed are not so careful to continue their acquaintance with countrymen from their neighbourhood who have not been so successful; and those who have not succeeded so well still remember that it is not fifty years since they were equals upon the old soil. Consequently, if they cannot afford the distinction of a classical education in the high school, they will not send their child to

the middle school at 2s a-week for fear of their boy appearing in the same school with a child of Mr. So-and-so whom they remember on the banks of the Barrow, and who had a farm near theirs. Rather than submit to that, parents condemn a child to a poor school, where perhaps 2d, 3d, or 4d a-week is paid. This is done out of a small miserable pride (applause). No matter what a man was fifty years ago in Ireland, here we are all the same, as the old Scotch song says, "In the race, and the Devil take the hindmost" (laughter). All must push forward, and it is small comfort for the laggards to remember that 60 years ago their grandfathers had a farm side by side with one owned by the grandfather of one who is now leading the race (hear, hear). Parents ought to prepare their children for something better. The poor school is not the proper place for hundreds of our Catholic children who are kept there. I speak particularly of our own. There are in our own poor schools boys enough to make a most respectable middle school—boys who have a right to look for higher success in life than they are prepared for in the poor schools. If you have any influence and see a parent thus sending an intelligent boy to the poor school, tell him he is his own enemy, and the enemy of his child, by not sending him to the middle school. Some two or three years ago the boys attending the Liverpool College numbered about 1000. Their high school numbered about the same as our high school they had 240, we had 250. But while our middle school had only 50 boys, their middle school numbered between 400 and 500. Many young Catholics are excluded from positions of trust and confidence, which they would otherwise be not only able to fill but to adorn, because some prejudice of their parents or some paltry consideration deprived them of the advantage of a thorough English education (applause). Father Porter concluded by saying that whatever education was given should be thorough. Let the boy be taught to use his own language, to read, write, and cipher, and with such an education a boy at 14 or 15 might take his first step on the ladder with every prospect of attaining a higher point. Father Porter concluded by thanking the audience for their attention, and retired amidst loud applause.

Father Harris said: Before beginning my accustomed pleasing duty, and reading out the names of the successful students for the scholastic year 1869 and 1870, will you permit me to bear testimony to the constant good conduct of your children during the year that has just passed. They have been to me the source of never ending consolation. Speaking of the necessity of the boys all attending at the re-assembling of the schools on the 1st of August, Father Harris said: Our rules in the matter are strict. There are boys to-night who would have been called on this stage, but who cannot be so called because they did not return through their own fault at the appointed time. A few days lost at the beginning of the year in the cause of derangement through the whole scholastic year. It is a pleasant sight to me to see all our boys here, and I congratulate you on the rewards they are about to obtain (cheers). Father Harris then made the following

**DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES.**

**Good Conduct.**—The prize of Uniform Good Conduct, during the scholastic year 1869-70, has been awarded by the votes of his fellow-students, to Master John Robert Prescott, of Preston. Accessits, also awarded by the votes of the students: High School—First Class: Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, Peter Ward, Liverpool, Frederick Cole, Everton. Second Class: Francis Chew, Liverpool, Joseph Chew, Liverpool, William A. Hunt, Liverpool. Third Class: James J. Cusker, Liverpool, William J. Roche, Liverpool, Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool. Fourth Class: Edward L. McArdie, London, Thomas Roche, Liverpool, Robert Dunderdale, Everton. Fifth Class: Albert Walstie, Liverpool, James P. Lawler, Liverpool, Henry Poulton, Liverpool. Sixth Class: Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool, James J. Arnold, Liverpool, George S. Colchester, Chll. Seventh Class: Thomas Nelson, Liverpool, Joseph F. Bradley, Preston, Frank Dobson, Everton. Preparatory School: Frank J. Colchester, Chll, John J. Fox, Liverpool, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool. Special distinction awarded to Master Andrew Atteridge, who might have obtained higher places in his class, had he not suffered from continual ill-health.

**Certificates of the Highest Distinction, awarded by authority.**—Two years' certificate, Master Peter Ward, Liverpool. Twenty three months' Certificate, Master Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool. Twenty months' certificate, Master John Robert Prescott, of Preston. Ten months' certificate, Master Frederick Cole, Everton. Ten months' certificate, Master Francis Chew, Liverpool.

**Certificates of Distinction, awarded by authority to the following boys of the Junior Classes.**—Henry Stanley Flinn, Liverpool, John Tunnicliffe, Bootle, Charles Joseph Gillow, Liverpool, Charles John Hayes, Liverpool, Richard Samuel Dunderdale, Everton, Edwin Walmaley, Liverpool, Michael Cullen, Liverpool, John Arthur O'Connor, Waver-tree, George Thomas Mooney, Everton; Joseph McKenna, Egremont, James Kelly, Liverpool, George Roberts, Port-au-Prince.

**First Class.—Excellence: Prize, the head boy, Master John R. Prescott, Preston; Accessits, Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, Frederick Cole, Everton, Thomas Baines, Liverpool. Greek: Prize, John R. Prescott, Preston; Accessits, Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, Frederick Cole, Everton, Thomas Baines, Liverpool. Latin: Prize, John R. Prescott, Preston; Accessits, Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, Frederick Cole, Everton, Thomas Baines, Liverpool. French: Prize, John R. Prescott, Preston; Accessits, Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, Frederick Cole, Everton, John L. Dobson, Everton. English Prize, Andrew A. Briggs, Liverpool; Accessits, John R. Prescott, Preston, Joseph McNally, Liverpool, John L. Dobson, Everton.**

**Second Class.—Excellence: Prize, Joseph F. Dobson, Everton; Accessits, Francis Chew, Liverpool, John Nevanas, Liverpool, Joseph Chew, Liverpool, Richard Dobbin, Liverpool, William A. Hunt, Liverpool, Joseph Brown, Liverpool. Greek: Prize, Francis Chew, Liverpool; Accessits, John Nevanas, Liverpool, Joseph F. Dobson, Preston, Joseph Chew, Liverpool, John Smith, Liverpool, William Cole, Everton, Richard Dobbin, Liverpool. Latin: Prize, Francis Chew, Liverpool; Accessits, Joseph F. Dobson, Everton, John Nevanas, Liverpool, Joseph Chew, Liverpool, Richard Dobbin, Liverpool, William A. Hunt, Liverpool, Joseph Brown, Liverpool. French: Prize, Joseph F. Dobson, Everton; Accessits, Francis Chew, Liverpool, John Nevanas, Liverpool, Joseph Chew, Liverpool, Richard Dobbin, Liverpool, William A. Hunt, Liverpool, Joseph Brown, Liverpool. English: Prize, William A. Hunt, Liverpool; Accessits, Joseph F. Dobson, Everton, Joseph Brown, Liverpool, Francis Chew, Liverpool, Edmund Wright, Everton, John E. Darby, Everton, James J. Darby, Everton.**

**Third Class.—Excellence: Prize, Michael J. Flynn, Liverpool; Accessits: Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool, William Evans, Chester, Joseph Flynn, York, Peter Leonard, Liverpool, Austin Smith, Liverpool, Alexander Newbigging, Liverpool. Latin: Prize, Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool; Accessits, Michael J. Flynn, Liverpool, William Evans, Chester, Peter Leonard, Liverpool, Joseph Flynn, York, William Haines, Liverpool, Edwin Evans, Chester. French: Certificate, William Evans, Chester; Accessits, Michael J. Flynn, Liverpool, Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool, Joseph Flynn, York, Austin Smith, Liverpool, William Haines, Liverpool. English: Certificate, Michael J. Flynn, Liverpool; Accessits, Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool, Charles I. O'Doherty, London, Alexander Newbigging, Liverpool, Joseph Flynn, York, Austin Smith, Liverpool, John Barton, Liverpool.**

**Fourth Class.—Excellence: Prize, Edward L. McArdie, London; Accessits John Gerrard, Bedford, Robert Briscoe, Liverpool, Albert J. Duffy, Everton, Thomas Rathe, Liverpool, Joseph O'Leary, Liverpool, Joseph M'Adam, Liverpool. Latin: Certificate, Edward L. McArdie, London; Accessits, John Gerrard, Bedford, Joseph O'Leary, Liverpool, Robert Briscoe, Liverpool, Albert J. Duffy, Everton, Joseph M'Adam, Liverpool, Robert Dunderdale, Everton. French: Certificate, Edward L. McArdie, London; Accessits, Albert J. Duffy, Everton, John Gerrard, Bedford, Robert Briscoe, Liverpool, Robert Dunderdale, Everton, James C. Baxter, Liverpool, James Nicholson, Birkenhead. English: Certificate, Thomas Rathe, Birkenhead; Accessits, Joseph Fradham, Liverpool, John Gerrard, Bedford, Frederick W. Smith, Chllson, Francis J. Deane, Everton, Joseph M'Adam, Liverpool, Austin Hughes, Everton.**

**Fifth Class.—Excellence: Prize, Albert Walstie Liverpool; Accessits, John Gaffney, Liverpool, Henry Poulton, Liverpool, William Sampson, Liverpool, James P. Lawler, Liverpool, Robert R. Grogan, Liverpool, Edwin Walmaley, Liverpool. Latin: Certificate, Albert Walstie, Liverpool; Accessits, John Gaffney, Liverpool, Henry Poulton, Liverpool, Edwin Walmaley, Liverpool, Peter Bogtiano, Liver-**

pool, William Sampson, Liverpool, Charles J. Hayes, Liverpool, French: Certificate, Albert Walstie, Liverpool; Accessits, Henry Poulton, Liverpool, John Gaffney, Liverpool, Edwin Walmaley, Liverpool, William Sampson, Liverpool, James P. Lawler, Liverpool, Robert R. Grogan, Liverpool. English: Certificate, Henry Poulton, Liverpool; Accessits, John Gaffney, Liverpool, Robert R. Grogan, Liverpool, James P. Lawler, Liverpool, William Sampson, Liverpool, Albert Walstie, Liverpool, Robert Sampson, Liverpool.

**Sixth Class.—Excellence: Prize, Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool; Accessits, Joseph P. Snow, Liverpool, James Dobson, Liverpool, Thomas Badger, Liverpool, Richard Lacey, Liverpool, John N. Bockliff, Liverpool, Michael Cullen, Liverpool. Latin: Certificate, Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool; Accessits, Joseph P. Snow, Liverpool, Thomas Badger, Liverpool, Wilfrid Lomax, Liverpool, Richard Lacey, Liverpool, John A. O'Connor, Waver-tree, Michael Cullen, Liverpool. French: Certificate, Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool; Accessits, Thomas Badger, Liverpool, Joseph P. Snow, Liverpool, George S. Colchester, Chll, John N. Bockliff, Liverpool, James Dobson, Liverpool, Wilfrid Lomax, Liverpool. English Certificate, Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool; Accessits, Richard Lacey, Liverpool, Joseph O'Sullivan, Liverpool, Bernard M'Estegari, Liverpool, James Dobson, Liverpool, Thomas Craven, Birkenhead, Richard Richmond, Liverpool.**

**Seventh Class.—Excellence: Prize, Joseph F. Bradley, Preston; Accessits, George T. Mooney, Everton, Joseph Swift, Kirkby, Thomas Nelson, Liverpool, Joseph McKenna, Egremont, Frank Dobson, Everton, Thomas Morgan, Liverpool. Latin: Certificate, Frank Dobson, Everton; Accessits, Joseph F. Bradley, Preston, George T. Mooney, Everton, Joseph Swift, Kirkby, D. Moriarty O'Doherty, London, Thomas Nelson, Liverpool, Frederick W. Stokes, Liverpool. French: Certificate, Joseph F. Bradley, Preston; Accessits, Thomas Nelson, Liverpool, Frank Dobson, Everton, George T. Mooney, Everton, Joseph Swift, Kirkby, Frederick W. Stokes, Liverpool, Andrew Timmons, Birkenhead. English: Certificate, Joseph F. Bradley, Preston; Accessits, George T. Mooney, Everton, Joseph McKenna, Egremont, Thomas Nelson, Liverpool, Frank Dobson, Everton, Joseph Swift, Kirkby, John Walsh, Liverpool.**

**Preparatory School.—Excellence: Prize, Harry J. Pyc, Everton; Accessits, John J. Fox, Liverpool, Peter Alty, West Derby, James Kelly, Liverpool, Frank Colchester, Chll, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool, Joseph Burrows, West Derby. English Grammar: Certificate, Harry J. Pyc, Everton; Accessits, Joseph Burrows, West Derby, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool, James Kelly, Liverpool, John J. Fox, Liverpool, Peter Alty, West Derby, Frank Colchester, Chll. Dictation: Certificate, Harry J. Pyc, Everton; Accessits, John J. Fox, Liverpool, Peter Alty, West Derby, James Kelly, Liverpool, Robert McGinnis, Liverpool, Frank Colchester, Chll, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool. Christian Doctrine: Certificate, Harry J. Pyc, Liverpool, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool, Chll, John J. Fox, Liverpool, Joseph Burrows, West Derby, Alphonus Doyle, Liverpool.**

**Special Classes—Mathematics and Arithmetic. Higher Division.—First Class: Prize, John R. Prescott, Preston; Accessits, Andrew Atteridge, Liverpool, John L. Dobson, Everton, William Matheson, Liverpool. Second Class: Prize, Edwin Evans, Chester; Edward L. McArdie, London, William Branca, Everton, Charles I. O'Doherty, Liverpool, William A. Hunt, Liverpool, Michael J. Flynn, Liverpool, William Flinn, Liverpool. Third Class: Prize, John Nevanas, Liverpool; Accessits, John F. Darby, Everton, Henry Finlay, Liverpool, Richard Dublin, Liverpool, John Gaffney, Liverpool, Nicholas Jackson, Liverpool, Daniel O'Hara, Liverpool. Fourth Class: Prize, Joseph L. Davis, Liverpool; Richard Lacey, Liverpool, Charles J. Gillow, Liverpool, George R. O'Leary, Everton, Thomas Rathe, Birkenhead, Joseph Brown, Liverpool, Joseph M'Adam, Liverpool.**

**Lower Division.—Fifth Class: Prize, John A. O'Connor, Waver-tree; Accessits, Edwin Walmaley, Liverpool, John Gerard, Bedford, James P. Lawler, Liverpool, Elias McKenna, Liverpool, Wilfrid Lomax, Liverpool, Thomas Walker, Everton. Sixth Class: Certificate, Thomas Craven, Birkenhead; Accessits, Albert Walstie, Liverpool, Joseph F. Bradley, Everton, Walter J. Roche, Liverpool, Vincent Walmaley, Liverpool, Michael Cullen, Liverpool, Joseph P. Snow, Liverpool. Seventh Class: Certificate, John Grogan, Liverpool; Accessits, Joseph Burrows, West Derby, Frank Dobson, Everton, Frederick W. Stokes, Liverpool, James Dobson, Liverpool, John Walsh, Liverpool, George T. Mooney, Everton. Preparatory School:**

**Certificate, Frederick W. Flinn, Liverpool; Accessits, Harry J. Pyc, Everton, Alphonus Doyle, Liverpool, John Orford, Tranmere, Daniel Flynn, Liverpool, Peter Alty, West Derby, Frank Colchester, Chll.**

**Writing.—First Class: John R. Prescott, Preston, Thomas Baines, Liverpool. Second Class: James Arnold, Liverpool, Joseph Chew, Liverpool. Third Class: John Gaffney, Liverpool, James L. Dobson, Everton. Fourth Class: John Barton, Liverpool, Joseph Fradham, Liverpool. Fifth Class: James P. Lawler, Liverpool, Thomas Murphy, Liverpool. Sixth Class: Lee J. Smith, Liverpool, Arthur Reeve, Birkenhead. Seventh Class: Austin Johnson, Bristol, Joseph Charnock, Liverpool. Seventh Class: Austin Johnson, Bristol, Joseph Charnock, Liverpool. Preparatory School: Frank Colchester, Chll, James J. Thompson, Liverpool.**

This brought the evening's proceedings to a agreeable close.

The schools will re-open Monday, August 1st, upon which day the students will assemble in the college hall at 9 a.m. precisely.

Application for admission to be made to the Rev. James Harris, S.J., Prefect of Studies, at the office of the college, 6 Salisbury-street.

APPENDIX XIIRULES, SAMPLES OF QUESTIONS  
AND RESULTS OF THE  
INTER-COLLEGIATE COMPETITION 1876

From APA, AF/2

and from the Jesuit Library,  
Les Fontaines, Chantilly (1)

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(1) The two sheets of competition results are to be found inserted loosely in the Library's copy of Letters and Notices for 1876.

ARCH. PROV. ANG. S. J. OCTOBER. 1960

A.M.D.G.

Competitions 1876-7.

\* \* Father Provincial wishes it to be understood that the Rectors of all the Colleges are quite at liberty to allow or not to allow their students to take part in this Competition.

The following prizes are offered to the Competition of Students of the Colleges belonging to the English Province of the Society of Jesus.

The Competitions will be conducted by three Examiners of the Society unconnected with any of the competing Colleges.

In all the Competitions an extra book prize will be given to the highest unrewarded student belonging to the College that sends up to that Competition the largest number of competitors who gain prize marks, provided this student have himself secured prize marks.

**MATRICULATION.** Twenty-five pounds to the student whose name stands highest in the Matriculation of the University of London, and ten pounds to the student whose name stands second in the Matriculation of the University of London, provided they respectively gain prize-marks in the June University Examination.

*For Boys of Poetry.* Two prizes of £10 and £5 to the authors of the two best poems in English heroic couplets, if of sufficient merit.

The subject of the poem will be published on Feb. 14. The poem should contain not less than 100 nor more than 120 lines. It is to be sent to the Examiners on April 1.

Also, two prizes of £10 and £5 to the authors of the two best Latin orations, if of sufficient merit.

The subject of the Oration will be published on April 1. The Oration should be of a length corresponding to not less than 6 nor more than 8 ordinary theme-book pages. It is to be sent to the Examiners on May 10.



*For Boys of Syntax.* Two prizes of £10 and £5 to the authors of the two best translations from English Verse into Latin Elegiacs, if of sufficient merit.

The passage selected for translation will be published on Feb. 14, and will be between 80 and 100 lines in length. The translations will be sent to the Examiners on April 1.

Also, two prizes of £10 and £5 to the authors of the two best English prose Essays, if of sufficient merit.

The subject of the Essay will be published on April 1. The Essay should be of a length corresponding to not less than 10 nor more than 12 ordinary theme-book pages. It is to be sent to the Examiners on May 10.

*For Boys of Grammar, Rudiments, Figures and Elements.* Two book prizes to the authors of the two best Compositions in Latin Prose in each school, at the Third Compositions of the year, being April 16.

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. *For Boys of Syntax and Poetry.* Two book prizes to the first and second in a competition to be held on Wednesday, May 9, if of sufficient merit. The subject of the competition will be the Dogma and Church History, of the prescribed course, for the first three terms of the year. This will be De Sacramentis in Genere, De Baptismo, De Confirmatione, De Eucharistia: and Church History from the year 1000 to the year 1600.

*For Boys of Rudiments and Grammar.* Two book prizes to the first and second in a competition to be held on Wednesday, May 9, if of sufficient merit. The subject of the competition to be the Catechism and other religious matter of the prescribed course for the first three terms of the year. This will be chapters 1--3 of the Catechism, Bagshawe, Instructions (1) and (2), and Bible History to the death of Solomon.

ELOCUTION. *For Students over 14.* Books to the value of £3 and £2 to the first and second in Elocution, if of sufficient merit.

*For Boys under 14.* Books to the value of £2 and £1 to the first and second in Elocution, if of sufficient merit.

The Elocution competition will take place on Wednesday, May 23, on which occasion the results of all the competitions will be announced. The pieces selected to be spoken by all the candidates will be announced on April 1. The competition will not include reading.

*Inter-Collegiate Competition.*

## ARRANGEMENTS.

1. The papers will be given in the following order :

- |              |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| Mon. May 8.  | 1. Greek Author.             |
|              | 2. Latin Author.             |
|              | 3. Latin Prose Composition.  |
| Tues. „ 9.   | 1. Latin Verse Composition.  |
|              | 2. Greek and Latin Grammar.  |
| Wed. „ 10.   | 1. Arithmetic.               |
|              | 2. Algebra.                  |
|              | 3. Geometry.                 |
| Thurs. „ 11. | English Narrative.           |
| Fri. „ 12.   | 1. Dogma.                    |
|              | 2. Dogma and Church History. |

2. The time allowed for each paper is two hours, except for the English Narrative, for which three hours are allowed.

3. The time when the papers are written will be settled according to the convenience of each College by the Prefect of Studies, who will also be responsible for the arrangements of the examination-room and for the candidates satisfying the conditions of eligibility.

4. No packet of examination papers is to be opened before the arrival of the time appointed for that examination.

5. All answers are to be written upon the paper supplied to the College for the purpose.

6. No candidate is to mark his name or his College upon his paper. Each candidate will mark each sheet of his answers with a motto selected from the list transmitted to the Prefect of Studies for the purpose. When the same candidate takes part in two or more Competitions, he will use distinct mottoes.

7. In the case of each candidate in each Competition, a paper is to be prepared, with the following particulars legibly written : (1) The Competition ; (2) the Motto ; (3) the Candidate's name in full ; (4) the College. These papers are to be placed separately in envelopes bearing on the outside (1) the Competition, (2) the Motto, and nothing else. The envelopes are to be sealed and transmitted without delay to Father Provincial, by whom they will be retained unopened until the announcement of the result.

8. The Gradus is allowed during the Latin Verse Competition. With this exception, no books are allowed during any of the Competitions.

9. The papers of answers will be posted without delay to . . . who will remove the envelopes and hand the contents to the Examiners.

10. The papers of mottoes will be opened publicly, and the result made known, at the close of the Elocution Competition.

*Inter-Collegiate Competition.*

## ENGLISH NARRATIVE.

*Boys of Syntax.**Time, Three Hours.*

Write Narratives on one or more of the following subjects:—

1. The Life of Lord Bacon.
  2. The Life of the Duke of Buckingham.
  3. The Restoration.
  4. The Plague of London.
  5. The Fire of London.
  6. The Enterprise of the Duke of Monmouth.
- 

## RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE. DOGMA AND HISTORY.

*Boys of Syntax.**Time, Two Hours.*

1. What do you know about the intercourse of good and bad angels with men? How is it that we read so much more about possessed persons in the Gospels than in modern histories?
2. Give some account of the Christian "apologists." Do you think Christianity stands in need of apology?
3. Mention, with dates, the names of those Emperors or Kings whose names are prominent in Church history. Give a fuller account of two of the principal among them.
4. Detail the circumstances of the separation of the See of Constantinople from Catholic unity.
5. The Pagans justified their persecution of the Christians on the ground, first, that the Christians did not pay undivided allegiance to Cæsar, but acknowledged that they would obey the law of Christ in spite of the Government; and, secondly, that while the Empire was Pagan it was prosperous, but after the rise of the Christians the barbarians began to prevail. How would you reply?

A.M.D.G.

## INTER-COLLEGIATE COMPETITION.

MAY, 1876.

*Prize Marks were obtained by the following.*

## RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

*Two Papers, of Two Hours each.*

Name.	College.	Dogma.	Dogma and History.	Total.
Full Marks ...	...	100	100	200
1. A. Cortie ...	Stonyhurst ...	100	100	200
2. B. Partridge ...	Stonyhurst ...	100	80	180
3. Killion ...	Mount St. Mary's ...	82	84	166
4. D. Boulger ...	Mount St. Mary's ...	71	84	155
5. Colchester ...	Liverpool ...	74	67	141
6. H. Bampton ...	Stonyhurst ...	68	65	133

## HISTORICAL NARRATIVE.

*Three Hours.*

Name.	College.
1. B. Partridge ...	Stonyhurst.
2. A. Kopp ...	Mount St. Mary's.

### MATHEMATICAL COMPETITION.

*Three Papers, of Two Hours each.*

Name.	College.	Arithmetic.	Algebra.	Geometry.	Total.
Full Marks ...	...	100	100	100	300
1. W. Ratcliffe...	Stonyhurst ...	82	63	61	206
2. A. Reilly ...	Mount St. Mary's ...	84	57	61	202

### CLASSICAL COMPETITION.

*Five Papers, of Two Hours each.*

Name.	College.	Greek Author.	Latin Author.	Latin Prose.	Latin Verse.	Grammar.	Total.
Full Marks ...	...	100	100	100	100	100	500
1. B. Partridge...	Stonyhurst	95	82	85	91	79	428
2. A. Cortie ...	Stonyhurst	83	84	67	75	72	381
3. A. Kopp ...	Mount St. Mary's...	78	81	71	62	53	345
4. Boulger ...	Mount St. Mary's...	76	74	68	69	49	336
5. Faulkner ...	Mount St. Mary's...	71	79	75	59	50	334

*In Elocution, Prizes or Honourable Mention were obtained by the following:*

#### SENIORS.

C. Pedley	...	Beaumont.
J. Berkeley	...	Mount St. Mary's.
F. Pemartin	...	Beaumont.
J. Faulkner	...	Mount St. Mary's.
C. Grafton	...	Stonyhurst.
T. Lee	...	Mount St. Mary's.

#### JUNIORS.

T. Mullins	...	Liverpool.
J. Flint	...	Liverpool.
M. Shea	...	Liverpool.
C. Mansfield	...	Beaumont.

APPENDIX XIIIEXTRACTS FROM THE  
SUMMER PROCLAMATION PROGRAMME 1877

From a set of Proclamation programmes  
in the custody of the Headmaster,  
St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE,  
LIVERPOOL.

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DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES,

MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1877.

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1877.

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HICKLIFF BROTHERS, PRINTERS, CASTLE STREET, LIVERPOOL.

# RE-OPENING OF SCHOOLS,

FOR THE SCHOLASTIC YEAR 1877-78.

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SCHOOLS WILL RE-OPEN MONDAY, AUGUST 6TH, UPON WHICH DAY THE STUDENTS WILL ASSEMBLE IN THE COLLEGE HALL, AT 9 A.M. PRECISELY.

STUDENTS WILL TAKE NOTICE THAT THEY ARE LIABLE TO FORFEIT 200 MARKS, AS WELL AS THE RIGHT OF COMPETING FOR THE PRIZE OR ACCESSITS OF GOOD CONDUCT, IF ABSENT UPON THE RE-OPENING DAY; CASES OF ILLNESS ALONE EXCEPTED.

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO BE MADE TO THE UNDERSIGNED, AT THE OFFICE OF THE COLLEGE, SALISBURY STREET.

JAMES HARRIS, S.J.

*Vice-President.*



A. M. D. G.

Distribution of Prizes.

THE PRIZE  
OF  
UNIFORM GOOD CONDUCT

DURING THE SCHOLASTIC YEAR 1876-77

HAS BEEN AWARDED

BY THE

Votes of his Fellow Students

TO

JOSEPH FRANCIS COLCHESTER,

OF

CHILI.

L. D. S.

## Intercollegiate Competition.

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ENGLISH COMPOSITION.—Amongst 19 Competitors from the Class of Syntax of Stonyhurst College, Mount St. Mary's College, and St. Francis Xavier's, the Third Place was gained by

OWEN CAREGAN, of Liverpool.

LATIN COMPOSITION.—Amongst 39 Competitors from the Class of Elements of Stonyhurst College, Mount St. Mary's College, and St. Francis Xavier's, the Second Prize—Books to the value of £1—was gained by

WILFRID C. CAFFERATA, of Liverpool.

ELOCUTION.—*Senior Prize*, boys above 14.—Amongst 10 Competitors from the same Colleges, the First Prize—Books to the value of £3—was gained by

JOHN FLINT, of Liverpool.

*Junior Prize*, boys under 14.—Amongst 7 Competitors from the same, the First Prize—Books to the value of £2—was gained by

RICHARD S. MULLINS, of Liverpool.

The Second—Books to the value of £1—by

JOHN SHEA, of Queenstown.

And an Extra Prize—Books to the same amount—by

PATRICK O'HARE, of Liverpool.

## College Scholarships

OF THE YEARLY VALUE OF £10.

### THREE SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS, open only to Boys upwards of 15.

*Matter of Examination.*—Latin and Greek Grammar and Composition. French Translation at sight: Grammar and Composition. English History. Modern Geography. Arithmetic. Algebra to Quadratics exclusive. Euclid I. and II. Elements of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.

*Full Marks, 1200. Lowest Marks admissible, 800.*

			<i>No. of Marks.</i>
1	SCHOLARSHIP. JOSEPH WALSHÉ,	of Waterford,	1007
2	„ RICHARD A. HART,	„ Liverpool,	864
3	„ NORBERT WESTHEAD,	„ Warrington,	801

### THREE JUNIOR SCHOLARSHIPS, open to Boys upwards of 14.

*Matter of Examination.*—Latin and Greek Grammar and Composition. French Translation at sight: Grammar and Composition. English History. Modern Geography. Arithmetic: Algebra to Simple Equations. Euclid I.

*Full Marks, 800. Lowest Marks admissible, 533.*

			<i>No. of Marks.</i>
1	SCHOLARSHIP. HERBERT J. HOLME,	of Liverpool,	596
2	„ MALACHY DONNELLAN,	„ Liverpool,	591
3	„ FREDERICK KING,	„ Liverpool,	551
	<i>Accessit.</i> JOHN DONNELLAN,	„ Liverpool,	546

L. D. S.

APPENDIX XIV

LORD O'HAGAN ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION:  
A REPORT ON THE SUMMER PROCLAMATION 1878

From The Tablet 29 June 1878

LIVERPOOL.  
ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S COLLEGE.—LORD O'HAGAN ON  
CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

On the 21st inst. the annual distribution of prizes and certificates obtained by the students attending St. Francis Xavier's College, Salisbury-street, took place in the magnificent new hall of the college. The hall was crowded, and the chair was occupied by the *Bishop of Liverpool*. There were also present Lord O'Hagan, the Rev. Father Maguire, S.J., rector of the college, the Right Rev. Abbot Burchall, O.S.B., the Rev. Father George Porter (formerly rector of the college);

Messrs. P. Cullen, H. Jump, T. Lightbound, E. R. Russell, J. Yates, &c., &c.

After recitations from Shakespeare, Molière, &c.,

*Rev. Father Gerard*, prefect of studies, made a statement respecting the progress which had been made, and said that on the whole the boys had accomplished a satisfactory year's work.

*Lord O'Hagan*, after complimenting the boys on their performance, spoke on the subject of education. His Lordship said: Education at this period of the world's history is a condition without which there is not much to be obtained in the world. In this country formerly people might live in corners here and there, and sleep away their lives, and be as well to do as their fellow beings who slept like themselves. But now the world had been awakened, and the world went on; and, if they did not go on with the world, the world would walk over them; and if they did not care to educate either themselves or their children, they must lag behind in the race of life. That being so, it was now the duty of all to take advantage of the best opportunities that were offered for the education of the young. There was a special duty cast upon those in this country who boasted of the name of Catholics. They were all, whether they lived in England or in Ireland, interested in the progress of knowledge, and very much for the reason that what had been in the days of the past was not now, and would not be in the future. The day of nominations and of patronage was passed. Every man who now desired that his son should advance in the world must prepare his son to meet his fellow-countrymen hereafter in the fair field of intellectual fight, in competitive examinations in which men were tested according to the real merits on the one side or the other; and he was happy to say that very many of the people of his own country had, in this battle of brain to brain, and mind to mind, although fighting at a disadvantage, fought successfully. They had educational disadvantages in Ireland, and some advantages, but there were educational disadvantages in Ireland which did not prevail in England. They had unfortunately lost in Ireland a multitude of schools which in old times instructed the people in classical literature and general knowledge. The middle-class schools which existed in former days in Ireland had, through the operation of the State system that existed in that country, been more or less abolished, and the result was a great evil—the want of an intermediate system of education in Ireland. He was happy to say that—probably while he was addressing them—the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain was explaining in the House of Lords a measure which proposed to remedy that great defect in Ireland. (Hear, hear). Although he (the speaker) was not connected with the present Government, or associated with them, he promised them, if the measure were fair and honest, all honest men in Ireland of both parties would give it their support. (Applause.)

In the competitive examinations of the day the Irish held their places in the front rank; and it was only the other day that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland gave a statistical statement that demonstrated that fact beyond all doubt. He (Lord O'Hagan) would put strongly before those he was addressing the fact that English Catholics had all a common interest in knowledge; but they had peculiar difficulties which they were bound to encounter. English Catholics had for many a long year, been denied civil privileges, as Irish Catholics had been denied them. They had been isolated from the great body of the community, and at this moment they were comparatively a small body in the community. They had been deprived of the endowments which their fathers gave for the purposes of education, and he would tell those he was addressing in this great and rich town of Liverpool that there was no worthier object to be sought, and no higher honour to be achieved, than by following the example of the good people who, in days gone by, made those endowments for educational purposes for God's honour and the good of the people. A bursar or provision for the poor student might in the course of time produce advantages beyond all calculation and all praise; and it was difficult to see that a college such as that of St. Francis Xavier could be absolutely what it ought to be if it had no endowments coming from the benevolence of private individuals who knew their duty and were prepared to do it. It was especially the duty of English Catholics to cultivate education in the highest possible way. (Hear, hear.) They were not in the position they ought to hold. They were no doubt growing in wealth and social importance, but they were not in the position that would be given to them only by a good education. He was perfectly sure that the way to attain, in Liverpool and elsewhere, the position Catholics ought to hold in England, was that they should educate their children in the best possible way. He would ask them whether they had not in Liverpool advantages which few other places possessed for educational purposes? Catholics in England and Catholics elsewhere had not merely a material and social interest in the education that was given in that college. There was at the present moment abroad in the world a flood of dismal and desolating doctrines which sought to make a negation of the human conscience, and to sweep the Almighty Himself from His Throne. There was a prevalence of infidel opinions to which reference had been made in the course of the performance that had gone before that evening—a prevalence of infidel opinions such as he believed that since Christianity was consolidated, and established its supremacy in the world, had never been exhibited before. He believed that the time was very near when there would be a death struggle between the truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Atheism; and he believed that in that struggle the Catholic Church must be the victor if religion was to be maintained in the world. It was said by the greatest statesman who ever sat in the House of Commons, and not less great because he happened to be an Irishman—Edmund Burke—it was said by him at the time of the French Revolution that he was the most foolish man who ever lived who could conceive that, if the Catholic Church were abolished in Europe, the Christian religion would subsist in the world. He (his lordship) believed that was true then—he believed it was true now; and he believed that without a system of positive dogma, maintained vigorously and conscientiously, they could not encounter the influences which were prevalent at the present time; they could not encounter atheism, materialism, and all such bad influences, which would deprive them of faith here and hope hereafter. And he believed it was especially the duty of Catholics in this country, and in every country—particularly, perhaps, in this country, from its special circumstances—to see when they had an institution like that, which guarded at once the faith of the child and secured his intellectual progress, that they availed themselves of that advantage to the utmost possible extent. His lordship concluded by strongly recommending the College to the support of the Catholics of Liverpool.

The prizes were then distributed by the *Bishop*.

APPENDIX XV

THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION:

A REPORT ON THE SUMMER PROCLAMATION 1884

From The Tablet 19 July 1884

### St. Francis Xavier's Prize Distribution.

#### THE MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL ON CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

The annual prize distribution in connection with St. Francis Xavier's College, took place in the Lecture Hall, Salisbury-street, on Thursday night, July 10th. The handsome and spacious building was crowded to excess with the pupils and their friends, and the proceedings were marked throughout with the utmost enthusiasm. The Mayor of Liverpool (Mr. Thomas Holder), who occupied a place on the platform, was received with the most hearty and prolonged cheering, as was also the Bishop (Dr. O'Reilly). The Rector of the College (the Very Rev. Father Murphy) presided, and amongst other gentlemen present were Mr. John Yates, Mr. Henry Jump, Mr. T. Lightbound, Mr. H. Cullen, Colonel Roberts, Mr. B. Cook, Mr. J. Walton, Mr. J. Finney, Mr. A. Crilly, Mr. C. S. Samuells, Mr. W. G. Henderson, Dr. Williams, Dr. Finegan, Dr. Callon Dr. J. Bligh, Dr. A. M. Bligh, Major Hore, Major Reilly, Mr. C. Concannon, Captain Woollett, Mr. H. Verdon, Mr. J. Simpson, Captain Sinnott, Mr. J. Quinn, Dr. O'Feely, and Dr. Whitford. There was also a large number of the clergy present, including the following: Very Rev. W. Eyre, S.J., Rector of Stonyhurst College; Rev. W. J. Burns, S.J., Vice-President of St. Francis Xavier's; Rev. R. Cardwell, S.J., Prefect of Studies; Rev. R. Vaughan, S.J., Professor of Chemistry; the Rev. Professors and Teachers of the College; Rev. James Nugent, Rev. John P. Nugent, the Very Rev. J. Hickie, O.S.B., Rev. C. Wiedermann, Rector of Ditton College; the Very Rev. Canon Buquet, Birkenhead; the Very Rev. Canon Frith, New Brighton; Rev. W. Sidgreaves, S.J., Stonyhurst College; Rev. Joseph Jerrard, S.J., Wakefield; and Rev. P. Chandlers, S.J., Glasgow.

The Rev. Father CARDWELL (Prefect of Studies) in the course of some introductory remarks, said he could heartily congratulate the boys on the result of their studies during the year. He did not think it would be easy to find another set of four hundred boys who had worked so well and so constantly with so little material stimulus to encourage them. At this time of the year, when other colleges were breaking up, it was impossible to read the accounts of their prize distributions without being painfully struck at the disparity between the rewards given by them and those which their poverty compelled them to offer to the pupils of St. Francis Xavier's College. This college had been established for forty years, and had a record of successes they need not be ashamed of; and yet during all that time not one scholarship or prize had been founded, and only two or three had been offered to the boys by the Catholic public of Liverpool. It had been proposed to raise a scholastic fund in connection with the name of Father Harris, and such a testimonial would be a fitting one by which to honour the memory of a man who had devoted his life to this work without any reward.

The prizes were then distributed by the Bishop. They comprised books and certificates, and many of them were awarded by the votes of the students, the list of the principal prizes being as follows:

Prizes of uniform good conduct during the scholastic year 1883-4, awarded by the votes of the students: First prize, seniors, J. O'Brien (form 6); second prize, juniors, W. Whitty (form 2); third prize, commercial course, E. Leech (form 4).

*Certificates of the Highest Distinction, awarded by Authority.*—Classical course: Two years' certificate, J. O'Brien, J. Heelan, J. Looney, and D. O'Connell Crilly; one year's certificate, T. Sweeney, W. Davis, R. French, T. Hogan, V. Murphy, T. B. Pinnington, W. Pinnington, W. Quinn, R. H. Walsh, F. Redmond, J. Conroy, W. French, T. Mercer, and W. Whitty; three years' certificate, W. Feran. Commercial Course: One year's certificate, E. Leech, E. Toker, J. Doran, and M. M'Adam.

In Religious Doctrine certificates were awarded to the following: M. P. Coghlan, W. Feran, T. Hogan, A. G. Crilly, P. Flynn, W. French, C. Roberts, W. Whitty, O. Wayne, W. Degan, W. Costello, W. D'Arcy, W. Donovan, T. O'Brien, T. Organ, E. Madden, J. Nolan, G. M. Noakes, A. Harrison, A. K. Smith, T. Walker, A. O'Leary, M. O'Reilly, L. Shields, J. Short, J. Forshaw, J. Daly, V. Glover, H. Ball, R. Reilly, T. Lightbound, J. Stewart, W. Lightbound, F. Short, S. Doran, R. Logue, G. Gibbons, J. Lynch, J. Mulhall, E. Mulhall, T. O'Brien, J. Doran, I. Smith, J. Kennedy, J. Whittle, J. Grayston, R. Brodrick, W. Morgan, G. Downey, W. Culleton, F. Traynor, and J. Kernan.



*Classics and Literature.—The Harris Scholarships.*—Oxford Local A Class: First Scholarship awarded to W. Feren; next in merit, J. Quinn; worthy of special mention, W. Davis, J. Gorman, J. Bullen, and J. Moran. Oxford Local B Class: Second Scholarship awarded to T. Hogan; next in merit, R. H. Walsh; worthy of special mention, M. O'Connor, A. Forshaw, W. Quinn, and T. Pennington.

The Very Rev. CHAIRMAN afterwards addressed the assembly, and expressed the gratification of everybody present at the fact that they had with them the Bishop (Dr. O'Reilly) and the Mayor of Liverpool. This was the first occasion on which they had had the presence of any Mayor of Liverpool, or on which the Mayor and the Catholic Bishop occupied a position together on a Catholic educational platform. Their 400 pupils, he hoped, would turn out worthy citizens of Liverpool.

The BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL, in the course of a few remarks, dwelt with regret on the fact that most of their pupils were taken away from college at too early an age. This was the same in all Catholic schools. Most of the scholars had to leave at thirteen up to sixteen years of age, whereas in many other schools scholars were able to remain till they were eighteen; yet their success was fully equal, if not superior, to that of other schools. It was much to be regretted that Catholic parents could not leave their children for a year or two longer at school.

The MAYOR, who was received with loud cheers, said he had been very greatly impressed with the magnitude of the educational work done by the college and the schools of St. Francis Xavier, there being not fewer than 2,000 pupils in both the college and the schools. The average attendance of the ordinary day schools was 3 per cent. above the average of the attendance generally in the schools of the nation, which, Mr. Mundella stated, was 73·1 per cent. With reference to the Catholic schools of the city, there was room for improvement as regarded the attendance; but that was a complaint not peculiar to the Catholic schools—it applied to most of the voluntary schools of the city. The Catholic schools held their own in comparison with other schools, and in some instances more than their own, as with regard to the amounts received in capitation grants; and when they remembered that these grants were a test of the quality of the education given and of the proficiency of the scholars, and when they also considered that many of the Catholic children were the poorest of the poor, this fact spoke well for the efficiency of the teaching as well as for the aptness of the children. They lived in times of great educational activity—almost of excitement. A great amount of educational machinery had been set in motion, and it was well it was so, as this country had a good deal of leeway to make up. Some people imagined that we were running to an extreme, and they had heard a good deal of over-pressure. He did not believe, the evil existed to any great extent, though it was necessary to send forth a warning note to teachers that they should not be too rigorous or exacting with children who, though they might be mentally strong, might be physically weak. The system of cramming ought, under any circumstances, to be discouraged. His Worship proceeded to congratulate the successful pupils, and offered words of encouragement and good advice to all of them. He strongly urged that the college should be enriched by a few exhibitions or scholarships, so that many youths might remain longer and have a distinguished career before them. Some of their well-to-do friends present should perpetuate their names and their good deeds by founding such scholarships. There were many wealthy Catholics who could do the thing nobly and not be a whit the poorer for it. He hoped that all parents would let their boys remain at school as long as they could, and that the boys would make the best use of their time.

At the conclusion of the speeches a number of the leading boys gave a performance of a fairy opera entitled "Iolanthos," which is founded on or adapted from Gilbert and Sullivan's opera "Iolanthe." The performance was in every respect an admirable one, several of the boys displaying remarkable musical and dramatic talent. The large audience thoroughly enjoyed it, and the performers were frequently and loudly cheered. The Rev. J. Dobson presided at the piano and Mr. E. Wilberforce at the harmonium. The play was produced under the direction of the Rev. Fr. Jerrard and the Rev. J. Dobson. The piece was prettily staged, and the beautiful costumes were supplied by Mr. J. Carr. Each visitor was presented with a book of the play, and everything was done by the Fathers of the college for the comfort of their guests.

APPENDIX XVI

SKETCH OF THE JESUIT METHOD OF TRAINING TEACHERS

CARRIED ON AT

ST. MARY'S HALL, STONYHURST

1898-1903

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## Sketch of the Jesuit Method of Training Teachers

carried on at

St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst.

1. For the convenience of the gentlemen appointed by the Board of Education to observe and report upon the method of training its future teachers employed by the Society of Jesus at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst and in order to enable them to get a better understanding of the whole system, it will probably be helpful to supply them in writing with a concise account of the work at present done there, dwelling more particularly on the parts or features of that work especially calculated to equip our young men for the profession of Teaching.
  
2. The methodical training of our teachers so much urged upon the English educational world during recent years, was practically provided for in regard to its own members by the Society of Jesus in the Ratio Studiorum more than three centuries ago. In that document the general scheme of our studies was laid down in considerable detail, both as to matter and form. It dealt with the higher advanced University classes, which included the Students of our own Order, as well as with the work of the ordinary secondary schools. It is scarcely necessary to say that the subject matter of the curriculum has been profoundly changed in the interval, as will be seen from the Syllabus of Stonyhurst or any of our schools. In the year 1599 when the Ratio was issued Modern Science had not yet been born, mathematics were in their infancy, the literatures of the great modern languages were only beginning to be made, Geography was in a like condition, and History was a mere chronology of facts. Consequently, the position which these subjects now-a-days occupy in our system of education is totally different from that which they formerly held. On the other hand, the methods and exercises in our own training found by long experience to turn out efficient schoolmasters have been preserved, but at the same time, have been improved in sundry respects.
  
3. Our future teachers usually enter the society at from 18 to 20 years of age having completed the highest forms of their schools.

At Manresa House, Roehampton they receive two years general training and then normally for two years study Classics, Mathematics, History, French and English Literature. (It is now arranged that the bulk of them whilst there shall be prepared for the Intermediate Arts, London - a few of the best being set apart for Oxford.) From Roehampton ordinarily they pass to "Philosophy" which in England is carried on here at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst. The course here covers three years. The staple subjects of study for all are Philosophy and Science; but there is provision for the continuation of their special subjects by men of exceptional ability in classics and mathematics. If these have good prospects of First Class Honours they are sent at the end of their course to Pope's Hall, Oxford to read for an Honours Degree. (It is now arranged that the bulk of the remainder during their course here shall prepare for the final examination of the London B. A.)

In addition there is now for all the students here instruction in the History, Theory and Methods of education.

4. We have at present 61 students; 20 in the final year, 22 in the second and 19 in the first year: 6 students are following the special classical course and 4 the special mathematical course with a view to Oxford.

Of the 61 young men 7 are Germans, 5 Belgians, 3 Dutch, 1 Mexican, 1 American and 1 Canadian. It may be observed here that we find from experience this variety and mixture of nationalities during the studies is very advantageous both in stimulating intellectual work and in enlarging the mental horizon of all the students.

5. Here is the rough outline of the curriculum during the year:-

1st year Logic and General Metaphysics.

Lectures 7 hrs per week. Disputations & Repetitions 4.

Mathematics. About 4 lectures and 1 Repetition.

Classics or Advanced Mathematics (Oxford classes) About 4 lectures each.

Pedagogy. 2 lectures per week.

2nd year Psychology or Natural Theology.

Lectures 4. Disputations & Repetitions 3.

Mixed Mathematics. 4 lectures and 1 Repetition.

Physics. 4 lectures and 1 Repetition.

Classics or Advanced Mathematics (Oxford) 4 lectures each

Pedagogy. 2 lectures per week.

3rd year Ethics. 4 lectures. 3 Disputations or Repetitions.

Natural Theology or Psychology. 4 lectures 3 Disputations <sup>or Repetitions.</sup>

Classics or Advanced Mathematics. (Oxford) 4 lectures

Pedagogy. 2 lectures per week.

6. Each Summer Vacation there are in addition three or four short special courses of lectures on Pedagogy, about twenty in all.
7. The men following the "Oxford" courses are exempted from the ordinary mathematical course of their year, but not from the Philosophy or Pedagogy lectures.

Certain students reading for the Fifth Stage of the South Kensington Science Exam. are also dispensed from some classes in these subjects, and there are a few other minor exemptions, but this Table indicates the main outlines at present. We shall, however, within a year or two have to make some alterations to work in the matter of the final B.A. of London. We have not yet decided how much of it we can weave into our present course; but we shall probably have to allow an additional year to it as we do not see our way to omitting any of the present matter.

8. With respect to the features of the Ratio which especially conduce to the production of efficient teachers the following points are to be noted.

A. The unusual extent and duration of the general course of studies designed for all who shall have to teach. The first essential qualification of the good teacher in secondary schools in the view of the authors of the Ratio was that he be a well educated man.

B. In the next place the method of our studies which secures that the future teacher shall have as much practice as possible in the oral exposition of the subjects which he is engaged in studying. This is carried out in the numerous public "repetitions" and "disputations" indicated in the above table. Every student in turn, consequently several times each year, has to give to his fellow students, under the presidency of the professor, an exposition of the matter already treated. In doing so he must face the interrogations or objections of the class and will have the benefit of friendly advice and criticism afterwards. This practice, lasting over the entire three years, we find by experience to be extremely valuable in developing habits of self-reliance and self-command, in cultivating clearness of expression, and in freeing men from unconscious mannerisms, tricks of language and the like.

C. Further it is prescribed in the Ratio that our young men receive from our best masters formal instruction in the art of teaching and in the general conduct of education before they begin this work. This formal instruction has been provided here at Stonyhurst in recent years by short courses of lectures given during the summer vacation by our most experienced and

efficient teachers. About 16 to 20 lectures on the average were thus given each year, so that in the course of his three years the student will have heard nearly sixty such lectures in which from ten to twelve picked school masters will have endeavoured to communicate to him the best fruits of their experience.

D. Moreover since 1901 we have enlarged and varied this part of our training by securing courses of lectures from men outside of our own Order, recognised as competent authorities on education. Thus in 1901 Mr. P. A. Barnett gave a course of ten lectures on methods of teaching. In 1902 the late Prof. Withers gave a similar course; and arrangements have been made to ensure a similar course from Mr. M. Keatinge of the Oxford training College this summer.

E. Further, although a training in Logic, Psychology and Ethics, subjects which have recently come to be so much insisted upon as a needful part of the schoolmaster's outfit, has for the last three centuries formed a portion of the ordinary course of studies of our future teachers, in view of the importance now ascribed to the direct applications of the principles of Mental and Moral Science to the work of Education, we have during the past year made a very considerable addition to our existing pedagogical instruction in the forms of two lectures a week to run throughout the forty weeks of our school year and to last over the entire three years. In this course which, we believe is exceptionally extensive, it is intended that the History and Educational systems, the Theory of Education and the application of Psychology to the various problems of Education may be dealt with in an adequate manner; and we hope that by it our young men will be made acquainted with the most valuable results of modern educational thought and stimulated to familiarize themselves with the best that has been written on the subject. For this latter purpose the pedagogical section of the Student's library has been strengthened and it is intended to enlarge it considerably in the near future.

F. Supervision by the Prefect of Studies. From the practical point of view a more important feature still in the Jesuit method of training its teachers, than any of those hitherto mentioned, is the careful supervision by which the young teacher is helped and directed during the first stages of his experience in the actual work of teaching and managing a class of boys. In each of our schools or colleges there is a prefect of Studies. Exempt from all external occupations and from any regular class teaching, it is his duty to organize the studies, to classify the boys and supervise all the classes. He visits the classes frequently

and examines every boy at least three times a year, partly by written papers and partly viva voce.

It is his special work to supervise the teaching of our young masters, to observe their methods, to correct, to suggest, to guide and generally to help them to become efficient teachers on the lines of our system. Thus, it is his duty to hear them teach, at times to teach before them, to explain to them their defects and frequently to examine their boys. In fact, having been himself selected for his post on account of his past experience and success as a teacher, he fulfils in an exceptionally suitable manner the functions of Master of Methods. The young teacher starting in his first terms has special claims on him for guidance, help and encouragement, which indeed he is sure to receive. On the other hand, it also falls upon the prefect studies to report to the higher Superior how the work is being executed and thus to secure the transference of those who do not show aptness for it from the office of teaching to some other occupation.

Besides these various agencies which constitute the substantial part of the machinery by which our young men are trained for the work of Education there are certain supplementary aids which though of minor importance we find beneficial. Among them are:

- (a) A Students' Literary and Philosophical Society in which papers are read and discussed every month.
- (b) A Dramatic Club.
- (c) A number of Catechism Classes given in the neighbourhood every Sunday.
- (d) Certain exercises in elocution and preaching with subsequent criticism from the audience.

9. Summary of Jesuit system of training its teachers.

Briefly then, apart from the fact that we devote an unusually long period to the general education of our men, the more special process of training them for teaching is extended over three years, and it is planned to develop solid habits which will render them efficient schoolmasters. During that interval the future teacher will hear two lectures a week for nearly forty weeks each year on Theory and History of Education. Each summer vacation he will hear twenty lectures on Methods of Teaching and Organization, or about sixty during his three years stay at St. Mary's Hall. These courses of lectures are so distributed that he will have the opportunity of listening to at least a dozen different experienced and efficient teachers - the most competent both within and without our own Order that we can secure. During each of the three years he will have had to take his turn in the weekly repetitions to his fellow students of lessons in Mathematics, Science and Philosophy,

whilst he will have received again and again the help of the advice and criticism suggested by his defects in these exercises. Finally, after all this preparation he will begin work in one of our own schools about the spirit and traditions of which he will have been well informed. Even should he be a brilliant scholar he is almost certain to begin with a low class, and he will have especially during his first terms the close supervision, guidance and help of the Prefect of Studies who will moreover have been accurately informed of his capabilities and limitations. When it is borne in mind that the pedagogical instruction and exercises even in the best training courses in our Universities are limited to two or three terms of eight weeks and often combined with reading for a pass or honours degree we believe that the provision made for the formation of our teachers may claim to be deemed liberal.

10. After mature consideration we have decided not to adopt the method of "model lessons" to boys or "practising classes" during the period at St. Mary's Hall. These exercises undoubtedly possess considerable utility. For the ordinary University Student the entire course and method of whose studies have been directed solely to attaining honours in a written examination, who will moreover have to make his first plunge in a school where perhaps there is no traditional method of teaching, in which he knows nobody and in which nobody has any special duty to supervise or direct his efforts, these exercises should be of great assistance. As, however, the benefit which they afford is otherwise secured in our system, in what we believe to be in our own case a better way, and as our training course is already extremely long and charged with as much work as the students can support, we have come to the conclusion that good though these exercises may be in themselves their introduction into our system would involve more injury than benefit. At the same time we are most anxious, as will be evident from the measures already taken, to profit by every genuine improvement in the method of training teachers by which our young men can be rendered more efficient in the work of their profession.

11. Finally, before closing this sketch of our system of training we ought to add that in addition to the more concrete pedagogic agencies above enumerated, the fact that education is a main business of our profession, that our Order has achieved a not inconsiderable measure of success in this field, that there is a definite educational tradition among us, and that each of us feels he has the reputation and the credit of our craft to sustain, all conspire to produce an



educational atmosphere or climate which materially fosters the development of educational efficiency. At the same time the diversity of studies appealing to different tastes, the interest in philosophy both for its own sake and with a view to its bearing on theology, the fact that the vocation of the Jesuit includes missionary labour and other kinds of work in addition to that of teaching, the variety of forms of culture which it has always been the aim of the Society to develop amongst its abler students as well as the presence of a considerable number of clever young men from several foreign nations and brought up under different conditions, all combine here to counteract and correct a certain narrowness of spirit and pedantic conception of the teacher's trade and qualifications, of which there is some danger in a Training College in which all the studies and all the exercises have but one supreme aim - the manufacture of a schoolmaster.

12. Connexion of St. Mary's Hall with the universities.

As until recently by our position we were virtually shut out from the older Universities, we for a considerable time prepared some of our students for a degree in the London University, sending up, however, only those who could take honours. About fifty of our present teachers have qualified for the new register in this way. But from the multiplicity of obligatory subjects we found the curriculum of London inferior to our own course as a preparation for Teachers, and so we gave up connexion with that University. Considerable modifications and improvements however, have been recently made in the graduate course there, and we propose in the future to take up the degrees of that University in the case of those teachers whom we do not send to our Hall (Pope's Hall), at Oxford. This was opened about half a dozen years ago. The University limits the size of such Halls and our House can only hold about a dozen students and consequently can receive from us here not more than three a year. The results, however, already achieved by this small Hall may be of interest. Since 1900, the first year in which the final schools were completed the Hall has gained:

In "Greats" In Classical Honours: One First Class, One Second.  
In Mathematical Honours Two First Classes.

In "Mods" In Classical Honours Five First Classes, Three Second.  
In Mathematical Honours: Three First Classes, One  
Third.

That is, in "Mods" during the past four years our very small contingent has won Eight First Classes, Three Seconds, and One Third. Several of these young men have still to appear in the "Greats".

13. We may now appropriately close with a brief final description of the Jesuit organization for the Training of Teachers viewed as a whole. It consists of a large Training Centre at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, in intimate union with the eight or nine Jesuit schools throughout Great Britain. These latter are virtually the "practising schools" of the young teachers whose education in the theoretical part of their profession has been carried on in the former institutions. In St. Mary's Hall the most ample provision is made for instruction in Theory, History and Methods of Teaching, whilst the general studies there are planned with a view to the cultivation of the qualities and habits most valuable to the future schoolmaster. In the schools the young teacher's training is completed under the supervision of the Prefect of Studies, who is in a peculiarly favourable position for fulfilling the office of local Master of Method. For, on the one hand the unity of organization and the solidarity of the Jesuit schools will secure that the local Prefect of Studies is in close connection with the Master of Method at St. Mary's Hall and will enable the latter to have carried out any arrangements that seem desirable in good notes of lessons etc. by the novice teacher. On the other hand the fact that the Prefect of Studies dwells in the same house with the young teacher and that he is responsible for the general success of the teaching of the schools will secure that his supervision is effectual.

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 We append lists of the lectures in Pedagogy given during recent years, and also a list of our present staff of Professors.  
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Courses  
 of  
 Vacation Lectures on Education,  
 Methods of Teaching and Organization.

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1898 August. Courses of lectures each given by:

The Reverend Father Colley, S.J. Prefect of Studies, Stonyhurst College.  
The Rev. F. C. Plcunt S.J. Prefect of Studies, Beaumont College.  
The Rev. F. T. Donnelly S.J. Rector of Stamford Hill College.

1899 August. Course of 4 lectures each:

The Rev. J. McHale, S.J. Prefect of Studies at St. Francis Xavier's College, Liverpool.

- (1) Mathematics: their place and function in General Education
- (2) The teaching of Arithmetic in the lower schools and Mental Arithmetic.
- (3) The teaching of Algebra in different classes.
- (4) The teaching of Trigonometry and Mensuration.

The Rev. G. Cruggen S.J. Master of Rhetoric at Wimbledon College.

- (1) Scholarship standard and how to attain it.
- (2) Equipment of a master in our schools.
- (3) Form discipline.
- (4) Practical hints for the teaching of various subjects.

The Rev. G. Townsend S.J. Master of Second Rhetoric at Manresa, Roehampton.

- (1) Introduction to a Foreign Language. How to acquire a vocabulary.
- (2) Introduction to Greek.
- (3) The teaching of Greek Syntax.

1900 August. Course of 4 lectures each.

The Rev. M. Maher S.J. Professor of Mental Philosophy at Stonyhurst College.

- (1) Mutual relations of History, Theory & Practice in preparing for the work of Education.
- (2) Psychology of Memory and Education.
- (3) Psychology of Apperception and Education.
- (4) Psychology of Habit and Education.

The Rev. J. Corrigan, S.J. Master of Rhetoric at St. Aloysius College Glasgow.

- (1) Curricula. The Ratio Studiorum.
- (2) Method. The teaching of small boys Latin accidence.
- (3) do. do. Latin in further stages.
- (4) Analysis of Sentences and other exercises: their educational value.

Rev. Joseph Keating, S.J. Master of Rhetoric at Beaumont College.

- (1) The ideal school-boy morally, physically & intellectually considered.
- (2) The ideal Master do. do. do.
- (3) How these ideals are to be realised.
- (4) Methods of teaching on various subjects.

Rev. C. Newdigate, S.J. Rrefect of Studies at St. Ignatius' College  
Stamford Hill.

- (1) On Examinations: the good & evil of them: their true functions.
- (2) English Grammar and Analysis.
- (3) English History in various classes.
- (4) Latin Authors in lower classes.

#### 1901 August Lectures.

Rev. T. Wiggins S.J. Senior Mathematical Master at Manresa Roehampton.

- (1) The qualities required in a teacher of Mathematics in various stages.
- (2) The method of teaching mathematics in the lower schools.
- (3) The method of teaching mathematics in the higher schools.
- (4) Certain special points respecting the teaching of Arithmetic and Euclid.
- (5) The same with respect to Algebra and Trigonometry.

Rev. J. Wright S.J. Prefect of Studies at St. Aloysius College  
Preston.

- (1) Special features of teaching in a day-school.
- (2) Schoolroom discipline: Home lessons.
- (3) The use of the Black-board. How to teach 2. Prop. in Euclid.
- (4) Sundries: Note taking: Correcting Exercises: Marking &c.

Mr. P. A. Barnett. Course of 10 lectures.

- (1) Stock in trade of the Master.
- (2) Stock in trade of the Boy.
- (3) Physical conditions.
- (4) The teaching of English literature.
- (5) The teaching of Latin and Greek.
- (6) Geography and History.
- (7) The teaching of Physical Science.
- (8) The Time-table.
- (9) The formation of character.
- (10) The Making of the Teacher.

#### 1902 August

#### Courses of Lectures

Rev. R. Ratcliffe S.J. Prof. of Mathematics & Science at St. F.  
Xavier's Liverpool.

- (1) The teaching of Mathematics & Science: Value & importance of careful preparation for classes in these subjects.
- (2) Importance of carefully teaching first principles, illustrated with respect to different sciences. The necessity of frequent repetition.
- (3) Different types of boy and how to deal with him.
- (4) Faults of beginners (teachers) and how to avoid them.

Professor H. Withers Owen's College. 10 lectures.

- (1) Discipline and management.
- (2) Method In Instruction: General principles.
- (3) School organization: The English Public School: Arnold & Thring.
- (4) Curriculum and Time-tables.
- (5) The teaching of English Literature.
- (6) Some ideas on the teaching of Mathematics & Science.
- (7) The Teaching of History.
- (8) The teaching of Geography.
- (9) The teaching Ancient Languages with special reference to Latin.
- (10) The Teaching of Modern Languages with special reference to French.

1903 Arrangements have been made to secure courses this summer from:

Mr. M. Keatinge M. A. Training College Oxford.

10 lectures on Method.

Rev. H. Davis, S. J. Prefect of Studies at Manresa House Roehampton.

5 lectures on Method.

Rev. E. Blount S. J. Sometime Prefect of Studies at Mount St. Mary's  
College Chesterfield

5 lectures on Method.

Lectures on Education throughout the Year.  
1902 - 1903.

1902 Christmas Term October - December. One lecture per week.

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History of Education. :-  
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Rev. E. McCoy, S. J. Prefect of Studies at St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst

The Renaissance with special reference to:-

- (1) Roman education and Latin Classical authors.
- (2) Greek education and Greek Classical Authors.

The following scholars and educational reformers.

- (3) Victorine de Felvro.
- (4) Poggio Bracciolini.
- (5) Bessarion.
- (6) Leonard Bruni.
- (7) Gerard Groot and the "Brethren of the Common Life".
- (8) Erasmus.
- (9) Rudaeus.
- (10) Melancthon.

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1903 Easter and Summer Terms. Feb. 10 - May 23.

Two (half-hour) lectures Lectures per week.

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Theory of Education and Psychology applied to Teaching.  
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Rev. L. Maher S. J.

- (1) Introductory: Qualifications for the Profession of Teaching and the New Register .
- (2) The functions of Modern Training Colleges and the Curriculum of a course of Training.
- (3) The relative value to the teacher of each part of the course:
  - { a } History of Educationalists and Educational Systems.
  - { b } Psychology applied to Education.
  - { c } Systematic study of Methods of Teaching.
- (4) The literature of each of these branches.
- (5) Sample: An Oxford Examination Paper on Theory of Education.
- (6) Ethics & Education: The right aim of Education: various theories
- (7) Application of Psychology to Education in general. The portions of Psychology specially useful to the teacher.

- 13 -

- (8) Scope and Method of Psychology: Comparative Psychology: Child Psychology.
- (9) Classification of Mental Activities. Meaning of Mental "Faculty".
- (10) The Physical bases of Mental Life. Outlines of Physiology of brain, nervous system and special sense-organs.
- (11) The Growth of the Brain: The Work of the Brain: fatigue, waste, repair, circulation, nutrition, exercise rest: educational bearing of these facts.
- (12) Sensuous life: sensations: Perceptions: their relations.
- (13) Educability of each of the senses. Development of Perception.
- (14) Systematic training of the senses. How far beneficial.
- (15) Faculty of observation. Its cultivation.

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The Present Staff  
of  
St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst.

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Superior:	Reverend Michael Maher S.J.
Professor of Ethics:	Rev. G. Canning S. J.
Professor of Psychology & Natural Theology	Rev. B. Boedder S.J.
Professor of Logic & General Metaphysics	Rev. T. Taaffe S.J.
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Professor of Chemistry	G. P. Bailey Esq. M. A. Dublin University
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N.B. Each Anglia reference denotes one large bundle of correspondence. Each bundle is subdivided into numbered and named fascicules concerning individual territorial Colleges within the English Province.

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b) English Province Letterbooks 1830-1890

1. 30 April 1830 - 11 July 1850
2. 13 July 1850 - 20 August 1864
3. 27 August 1864 - 28 May 1890

These letterbooks contain copies of letters written by the Jesuit Generals to individual members of the English Province. The original copies of the majority of letters sent by the Jesuit Generals to the English Provincials during this period can be found in the series Epistolae Generalium in the Archives of the English Province. The Roman letterbooks, however, preserve copies of letters to Jesuits other than the Provincial, the originals of which have in many cases perished.

c) Anglia 1501 - Litterae Annuae Provinciae Angliae Societatis Jesu, 1833-1888

Annual Letters or Reports sent to the Jesuit General giving details of the year's progress in individual Colleges of the English Province.

One volume containing manuscript letters for the period 1833-1865 and printed letters thereafter.

d) Anglia 1013 - Controversiarum inter Vicarios Apostolicos et Soc. Jesus in Anglia, Tom.III, (1829-1850)

A bundle of correspondence concerning disputes between the English Vicars Apostolic and the Society of Jesus in England. See particularly Fascicule II, Controversia de templo Liverpoliensi, S.J., 1840-1842.

e) Fototeca - Album 75 - Domus Provinciae Angliae 1907

An album of photographs of all the houses, churches and colleges of the English Province of the Society of Jesus presented to the Jesuit General in 1907. Two items from the Liverpool section of the album are reproduced in the present study.

II Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide (SCPF)  
 (Archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide,  
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a) Scritture riferite nei Congressi (SC)

Anglia, Vol. 9 - 1834-1841  
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These files of correspondence addressed to Propaganda from individuals and groups in England and Wales contain material relating to the work of the Society of St. Francis Xavier in Liverpool in 1840-1842.

b) Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (SOCG)

Vol. 961 - January - June 1842  
 Vol. 962 - August - December 1842

These collections of original documents in manuscript, used in the General Congregations of Propaganda, contain decisions reached on the dispute between the Vicar Apostolic and the Society of Jesus concerning the proposed missionary and educational work of the latter in Liverpool.

c) Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario (LDB)

Vols. 323-328 - 1840-1842

These letters of the Sacred Congregation referring to the execution of decisions are indexed according to locality. The Liverpool section contains material relating to the Society of Jesus in Liverpool in the period 1840-1842.

d) Acta Sacrae Congregationis Propaganda Fide (ACTA)

Vol. 205, ff. 37-86 contains a mass of printed material entitled Concessione ai Gesuiti di aprire una nuova chiesa (Liverpool).

The file is, in effect, the printed form of SOCG referred to in b) above.

III Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe (AVCA)  
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b) Liber 1645 - Jesuit affairs in dispute with the English Bishops - 19th Century

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