

English Catholics & Anti-Catholicism in the Mid-Victorian Era: Anti-Papal or Anti-Imperialist?

By

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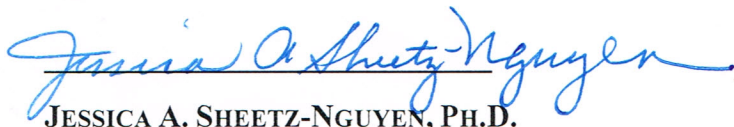
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THESIS APPROVAL

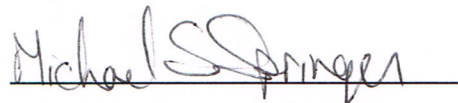
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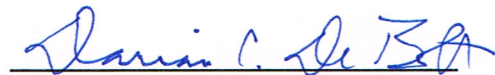
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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TITLE OF THESIS: English Catholics & Anti-Catholicism in the Mid-Victorian Era: Anti-Papal or Anti-Imperialist?

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ABSTRACT: The primary intent of this research is to evaluate and deduce events, leading up to, during, and after, the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain. The culmination of this work questions the perception of how reactionist British Protestants opposed this sudden policy stemming from the Vatican and if such opposition vilified English Catholics, despite their own national distinction. These accounts will also establish both political and public responses against these papal designs and conclude that the traditional Catholic vs. Protestant remained a secondary priority, this British opposition sought to limit and restrict the influence of a foreign institution upon a susceptible minority of the population. This culminated in a mass of public outcries and governmental policies directed against the pope, his Catholic bishops, and institutions in an effort to regulate and contain papal influence. Hence, despite the traditional Protestant arguments, these measures still, to an extent, recognized English Catholics as British subjects and ultimately resulted as an anti-imperialist response to thwart a foreign outlet in the heart of the British Empire.

This area of study commences with controversy surrounding the Oxford Movement in the 1840s, the climatic events that occurred in 1850, and ends with circumstances leading up to radical church renovations and demolitions in the following decades. Given the immense public pressure being exerted upon Parliament during the early months of the restoration of the Catholic

hierarchy, a considerable number of sources are surrounding policy and public opinion within London. Yet other materials also consider anti-papal reaction directed towards the Oxford Movement. The dichotomy of the newspapers of this mid-Victorian Era include, *The Era*, *The Times*, *The London Standard*, *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Worcester Journal*, and others. Primary sources reflect the public statements and correspondence of Prime Minister Lord John Russell, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, and Archbishop Archibald C. Tait. These particular sources are indicated the British Library and Lambeth Palace Library. The British Library consisted of a majority of correspondence letters, some within manuscripts and other published, sent to and from the prime minister addressing the problem of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. A considerable number of published sources from ultra-conservative Protestants is considered. To this effect, the archives within Lambeth Palace and published works within the British Library have contributed a host of rare and unique sources attributing to this research.

INTRODUCTION

Amidst the closing months of 1850, British Protestants faced the sudden and unprecedented event of witnessing the reestablishment of Roman Catholic bishoprics throughout the realm. For most Victorians, they marginally tolerated the fact that from the time of the Reformation, the Papacy established its presence as a missionary state in the British Isles. Still, the prospect of allowing the presence of an alien clergy who answered to a foreign pope exceed the tolerance of conservative British Protestants. The significance of the Vatican's proposal to re-establish the Roman Catholic hierarchy precipitated an immediate reaction as the nation long since officially severed her political and theological allegiances to Rome in 1529 under the reign of King Henry VIII (1491-1547) and Elizabeth I (1533-1603). The increasing public fear caused a dilemma that divided British subjects who had a visceral dislike for Roman Catholicism and those inspired by the Oxford Movement then under the leadership of John Henry Newman (1801-90). Their concerns focused on allegiances to the authority of the state that came into conflict with their declarations of faith, which rested with a foreign pope. After all, how could a good English Catholic, who pledged fealty to the spiritual oecumene of the Roman church, also remain loyal to the British sovereign?

The restoration actions taken by Pius IX (1792-1878) resulted in an abundance of anti-Catholic responses from irate British Protestant groups. Their focal point of vilification aimed against Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65) for exercising freedoms protected under British law by the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. Perceived as a means to assert papal Catholic hierarchy within the heart of the British Empire, reactionary, indeed irate British Protestants regarded their fellow English Catholics

subjects as the culprits of this disastrous exercise of power. Extremist anti-papal materials flooded major urban centers, some marginal consideration remained amongst even the most conservative Protestants as they still acknowledged these Catholics as, distinctly, British. For even as some remained diverse on the question of the civil rights of English Catholics, all protests remained firmly anti-papal. Thus, the combinations of these Protestant reactions and governmental policy limiting and regulating Catholic institutions and potential outlets served as an anti-imperialist response against the Vatican.

Progressivism at that time did, to an extent, tolerate domestic forms of Catholicism within Great Britain. The British did so by means of their own legal reforms and gradual recognition of English Catholics. Reactionaries, such as the Protestant Association, however, believed the papacy had taken advantage of generously liberal policies. This caused the protestors to place blame and levy political pressure upon newly reinstated Catholic bishoprics and institutions. In essence, the British sought to simply contain and effectively muzzle a foreign influence over a minority group of English subjects within the British Empire itself.

The conception of empire serves as a backdrop to the larger question of how the British perceived the Catholic cause. Since the English Reformation, both the church and state showed no distinction of separation. This placed the position of English Catholics at odds with the British crown, while they could swear an oath of loyalty to the monarch as a secular ruler, their spiritual priorities certainly did not rest with the English Church. At the time, intellectuals articulated the term “empire” in a variety of ways. Considering the various historiographies and interpretations of imperialist agendas, be it real or imagined, a traditional analysis of this topic stresses the importance of financial and political

exploitation as a significant incentive for building empire. For example, consider the definition of imperialism as espoused by Vladimir I. Lenin and John Hobson. They define “imperialism” as a method to subdue a nation’s autonomy, be it cultural or fiscal. From these historical viewpoints, an immediate question emerges: how can this British Protestant reaction to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in London during the 1850s have any relevance to the accounts of imperialism?¹ Simply stated, a majority of British Protestants opposed the authority of the Church in Rome as it represented a perceived threat to their very sovereignty and cultural identity. Despite this conflict being set in early modern times, many of these disputes actually extend from the Middle Ages as the fledgling English state often conflicted with the authority of the Roman Catholic Church long before the dawn of the Protestant Reformation. Yet in the Victorian Era, the perceptions of empire and state evolved into much more complex political entities. Lenin's principle definition of imperialism states it is the monopoly stage of capitalism, having subdued a culture or society unable to sustain itself.² The British preoccupation with Empire in the mid-nineteenth century focused upon rapid industrialization and consolidation of capital, these practices remained under the supervision of English industrialists and politicians, many of whom lacked the capacity to accept the ideals of the Catholic Church. While economic concerns motivated certain individuals, protesting British subjects were not squabbling over the control of markets, rather they were agitated by the question of spiritual loyalties. More accurately, this issue provoked a firestorm over maintaining the status-quo and protection of their sovereign, Queen

¹ Walter L. Arnstein, *Queen Victoria* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 135 - 6.

² Vladimir I. Lenin, *Lenin's Collected Works: Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, Volume 23 (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964), 105 - 20.

Victoria (1819-1901). The political opposition honed in on a fear of papal authority and its potential to erode the credibility of British sovereignty.

Since the British clearly understood the power of an “imperial state,” their anxieties reflect Lenin’s latter point of argument with the example of a foreign influence potentially diminishing a nation’s autonomy.³ It could even be said that Lenin, being a well-informed intellectual had some knowledge of this politico-spiritual incursion. Indeed, the dispute primarily confined itself to points of theological jurisdiction, English Protestants still perceived themselves as the potential victims of the unwarranted papal rule, which in turn would undermine their power both politically and spiritually.

In a peculiar historical twist, many opposed this imperialistic agenda stemming from the Vatican. They failed to see the hypocrisy of constantly trying to impose “Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization,” a phrase in which we could easily substitute the term “Protestantism” for Christianity, across an empire, largely non-western at that, on which the sun never set.

As an adjunct to this interpretation of Protestant British reaction, John Hobson’s theory of imperialism rides on the idea that such aims created an unbalanced distribution of wealth within a capitalist nation, particularly in Britain’s case offered deep cause for concern.⁴ Ironically, Hobson's analysis reinforced English pursuits of capitalist agendas and further exploitation in her colonies. More importantly, the fear of social inequality correlated to the British opposition towards the papacy; because of Catholic missionary

³ Vladimir I. Lenin, *Lenin’s Collected Works: Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, Volume 23, 105 - 20.

⁴ J.A. Hobson, J. A., *Imperialism, a Study* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), Chapter IV.

orders of men and women serving the poor in London and Dublin. As issues of national interests and domestic economic standards risked falling under the influence of the Pope.

In addition to these theoretical underpinning of the term “imperialism,” important monographs on the role of religion and Catholicism in Britain helped to shape this project. Stephen Howe’s account of the Catholic Church deriving its authority from the ancient Roman Empire presents a prudent case as he directly refers to the notion of a “Christian Empire” originating from the ancient *Imperium* established by a line of western emperors long since gone.⁵ Another secondary interpretation, more relevant to the issue, defines Hans J. Morgenthau's conception as an unpopular form of foreign policy falling under protest.⁶ Both accounts relate to the British conception of the papacy in Rome as being both a political rival to the crown as well as an interfering imperialist power in the nineteenth century.

Major works concerning the nature of this upsurge and the British Protestant reaction to it in the 1850s includes Edward R. Norman’s 1968 research, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* focusing upon anti-Catholicism in England.⁷ Norman provides analysis of both Catholic accounts and those of reactionary Protestants. Significantly, Norman offers primary source documents from Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman’s (1802-65) writings as well as the sermons of opposing Protestant clergymen such as William Bennett. Walter Arnstein’s account, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England*

⁵ Stephen Howe, *Empire: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 13.

⁶ Hans J. Morgenthau, Kenneth W. Thompson, and W. David Clinton, *Politics Among Nations: the Struggle for Power and Peace* (Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2006), 45.

⁷ Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 13.

published in 1982, also explores the nature of this British reaction as it brings to light the political motivations to Victorian Protestant opposition to Catholicism as it specified over the British regulation of these institutions.⁸ Arnstein's work highlights examples of British domestic policies that attempted to regulate Catholic convents, with the operative word being "convents" or homes for women who committed their lives to living in community and serving the poor by teaching or nursing.⁹ These accusations originated from individuals within Parliament as the institutes fell under suspicion for harboring papal agents working against the interests of the government. Mary Griset Holland's study, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy, 1847-1865*, addresses the important powers exercised by religious communities who opened Catholic schools for the poor and found their ambitions checked by Poor Law guardians who tried to stop them.¹⁰ Amidst the crisis of intense theological opposition to the papacy, increased British regulation affected numerous curriculums and conditional options of government funding for these institutes within England.¹¹ Each historian appears keen to point out the importance of the restoration of Catholic bishops in Britain as the prime catalyst for the Protestant reaction, both in published works and governmental policy. Furthermore, in each case the English targeting convents and institutes, who may or may not have been under the direct influence of the Pope, supports the overall thesis that Protestant opposition focused chiefly on the papacy. As Parliament found it impractical

⁸ Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982).

⁹ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England*, 62.

¹⁰ Mary Griset Holland, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy, 1847-1865* (New York: Garland, 1987).

¹¹ Holland, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy*, 190-1.

and questionably legal to impose any drastic restrictions upon their English Catholic populations, they could, at least, restrict and regulate institutions.

Historians such as E.R. Norman and Walter Arnstein evaluate many points of historical relevance that precede the early 1840s and discuss incipient reactionary protest to the Emancipation Act of 1829.¹² Norman's primary sources offer many letters and pamphlets illustrating strong antipathy. Consider for example the case of Dr. Edward Maltby's (1770-1859) reply to Lord John Russell (1792-1878) in the later months of 1850 as he warns over the danger of harboring a clerical body that is under the control of a foreign sovereignty.¹³ Norman also accounts for the Tractarians as they fall into a classification less favored by British Protestants as these members of the Oxford Movement fell under increasing criticism for 'ritualistic' practices that associated more to Roman Catholicism than modern Anglicanism. Despite being of the Church of England themselves, the historian effectively establishes why this group remained vilified for being partially responsible for the Vatican restoring the bishoprics throughout England.¹⁴ Most historians agree that Wiseman's bold action – to re-establish the hierarchy, catalyzed anti-Catholic sentiments.¹⁵ While Norman's study is comprehensive, he did not develop a thesis that relates the reinstatement of the Catholic hierarchy to commonly accepted and popular ideas about Britain's right to rule the world and to authoritatively establish what it means to be a good British subject. To understand this perspective, it is

¹² Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 131.

¹³ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 57.

¹⁴ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 108.

¹⁵ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 162.

best to explore Linda Colley's work *Britons* in which she bluntly states, "Protestantism was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible."¹⁶

Frank H. Wallis's *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* elaborates diversity within anti-Catholic reactions. The historian's explanation and social analysis of human prejudice force him to support and relate the "Authoritarian Personality" with the ultra-Protestant groups as they reacted to Roman Catholic intentions.¹⁷ Seeing the Vatican as a rival authority institution, Protestant criticisms targeted the papacy. Nonetheless, Wallis's highlights the difficulties facing English Catholics as "Papists" or "Romanists."¹⁸ The author further supplements our understanding of these militant Protestant groups by addressing their concerns with the Mass, its theological rites, and the role of the Catholic priest.¹⁹ This interesting means of analysis helps to discern between one group and the other, particularly between the Protestant Association and similar groups. The vilification of the papacy continued to be the common focal point in Victorian published works yet many committed individuals remained divided on how to tolerate this particular religious denominational group within their country. Despite a lack of consensus, they insistently voiced concerns over the papacy's influence over English Catholics. Further, a lack of censorship from the government permitted any and all opinions— in essence — because anti-Catholic perspectives clearly supported the British state. For example, the City of London served as the focal point for these disputes, a wide

¹⁶ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 54.

¹⁷ Frank H. Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain* (Queenston, Ont E.: Mellen Press, 1993), 11.

¹⁸ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain*, 21.

¹⁹ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain*, 23.

variety of debates, arguments, riots, and radical publications circulated to fuel this unsettled Protestant reaction.²⁰

In D.G. Paz's work, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, the historian goes a step further into explaining the diversity and exact nature of this popular anti-Catholicism in Britain. This particular research in various anti-papal publications elaborates as to the reason Protestant reaction against the papacy proved less than homogenous on a national level, further asserting this mobilization of anti-Catholicism only responded to localized concerns.²¹ Paz does not overlook the relevance of establishing this Protestant response as a potential nationalist reaction as he provides examples to the criticisms of cultural images and various Catholic works that are not consistent with the Victorian conceptions of the English Church or national solidarity. This observation coincides to the increasing numbers of Irish immigrants to particular regions which resulted in a dramatic increase of anti-Catholic literature in specified areas.²² In another critical point of relevance, Paz offers an account of the methodologies and motives for the Protestant Association. In the midst of the restoration, the conservative Protestant group still emphasized the importance of the Anglican Church as the recognized national theological institute of Great Britain.²³ Despite this assumed priority, the extremist groups remained concerned with mounting public opinion against the papacy as some of these authors merely invoked the Church of England for the nation's principle interests to alert the public. Paz succeeds in verifying the non-

²⁰ Denis G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 9.

²¹ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 47.

²² Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 49.

²³ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 111.

uniformity and ulterior motives for various forms of 'popular' anti-Catholicism. Paz supplements the observations of Nicholas Wiseman during the 1840s as the cardinal points out the unique tolerance granted unto these English Catholics as he records these particular groups having some minor connections with the Holy See in Rome through established vicariates.²⁴ Paz goes a long way towards helping us to understand the political machinations of political and theological opposition to Catholics. Nonetheless, his study does not address how pro-Protestant groups regarded English Catholics by analyzing ultra-Protestant works.

The British government found it impractical to disregard the civil rights of their Catholic subjects, they found peripheral ways to respond, by regulating various schools, convents, and churches established by the Roman Church. The historical works that supplement examples of these institutions falling under scrutiny of the agitated British Protestants and show how such responses were both anti-papal and defensive in nature. Mary Griset Holland identifies as much in *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy*, a problem that had already established parliamentary policies of regulating newly established Catholic schools instigated in the late 1840s.²⁵ After the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, Parliament fell under increasing pressure to inquire into the curriculum of these teaching establishments and in the conduct of re-consecrated monasteries. Walter Arnstein's *Protestant versus Catholic* provides insight unto these methods as Charles N. Newdegate (1816-87), a foremost conservative member of Parliament, drew upon rather elaborate reasons as to why he also sought to impose a constant form of inspection for these Catholic nunneries based on popular Protestant

²⁴ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 82-3.

²⁵ Holland, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy*, 156.

reaction.²⁶ Rene Kollar's work, *A Foreign and Wicked Institution?: The Campaign against Convents in Victorian England*, further supplements Arnstein's work as British policy considered the monastic vows of these nunneries as an infringement upon these women without the benefit of English law.²⁷ As the government could not effectively oust these institutions, these examples give clear indication Parliament remained determined to regulate and contain them. For as these sources do agree that the British saw these institutes as a foreign influence, the reaction and policy of regulation by the Protestant government related to an anti-imperialist measure to appease the troubled public.

The subject of this specified anti-papal response during the opposition to the restoration ties in with modernized political reasons. Walter Ralls's article concerning papal aggression of 1850 emphasizes the importance of Lord John Russell's 'No-Popery' stance and how his previous attacks with Tories spewed accusations of them harboring Catholic sentiments years before the restoration.²⁸ Nonetheless, the ongoing crisis utilized a response against papal aggression for political motives as the prime minister did not emphasize support for Wiseman and placed exceptional blame upon the Tractarians as well as other domestic outlets of Catholicism that attributed to this outcome in 1850. As local politics associated this problem with the actions of the cardinal and papal supporters, public outcries and protests in London demanded an urgent course of action. Robert H. Ellison's article explains the reactionary and defensive attitudes Victorian

²⁶ Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England*, 62.

²⁷ Rene Kollar, *A Foreign and Wicked Institution?: The Campaign against Convents in Victorian England* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 5.

²⁸ Walter Ralls, "The Papal Aggression of 1850: A Study in Victorian Anti-Catholicism," *Church History* 43 (1974): 242.

Protestants exhibited on this occasion. These galvanized social tensions manifested by anti-papal sermons with examples from John Cummings's (1807-81). The political apparatus set in Parliament, illustrates how London remained at the heart of the dispute as public pressure mounted concerns and open protests vilified the Catholic hierarchy. These scholars emphasize the ways in which religious tensions, can be analyzed. This mentality proved more pragmatic for resident Londoners residing near the crisis itself.

As both concerns to the integrity of the state and theological disputes arise, the historical work revolves around a Victorian political and spiritual issue. Exclusive articles and materials within British archives and databases allow us to capture a more nuanced perspective, building on the important works of scholars that preceded this study. To corroborate this information with the newspapers, this research dwells upon the parliamentary speeches and letters of correspondence from Lord John Russell as his political statements significantly affect the public's regard about British law for tolerating the civic rights of English Catholics. As the crisis of 1850 placed considerable pressure on Parliament, many of these governmental addresses relating to the issues of countering papal aggression circulated in publications throughout London in abundance. A comparison with British parliamentary records verifies the authenticity of such speeches and elaborates further into the proposal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in early February of 1851. For as these government documents explain the courses of policies to regulate the influence of the Catholic Church, they lack relevance or insight to the positions of conservative Protestant groups. However, the letters of correspondence from Prime Minister Lord John Russell, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, Bishop of Durham Edward Maltby (1770-1859), and Archibald C. Tait (1811-82) associate to British policy and

individual responses to public reaction amidst the crisis of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. Fortunately, these published sources note quoted statements by previously listed monographs and others found in documentation provided by the British Library.

As the cornerstone of the research focuses on printed archival sources supplied by the Protestant Association, secularists, and other extremist anti-Catholic groups, the principle objective is to identify how these sources identify and regard English Catholics. The thesis seeks to uncover the role of defining national identity amidst this outcry aimed against the papacy and to discover if such views were shared amongst the extremist authors. The diversity of such materials located in the British Library, the National Archives, and the archives of Lambeth Palace are significant. These particular works vary from theological disputations to specified letters personally addressed to Cardinal Wiseman himself. For as these authors do not harbor many moderate political considerations, their methodology is less diplomatic and intended to be provocative. Despite the grandiose accusations against the papacy, these exclusive works relate to Paz's perception of popular anti-Catholicism yet consider a different primary objective for the thesis. Unpublished archival materials include original letters of correspondence such as accounts from Lord John Russell and the original letter from the Bishop of Durham forwarded to the prime minister. Newspapers and the monographs provide quotes from original transcriptions, especially those regarding English Catholics. Both the British Library and the British National Archives at Kew host these exclusive letters and published works.

Finally, newspapers supplemented by the databases of the British Library contribute to the uniqueness of the English Protestant reaction of 1850 when compared to

previous anti-Catholic sentiments condemning members of the former Oxford Movement for serving the interests of the Roman Church. The distinction became apparent in the midst of the Catholic restoration having forced Victorians to consider the welfare of the English Catholics as the focal point of vocal opposition aimed against the papacy and grew more intensified. For as opposition to the Tractarians only alienated them from the Anglican Church and generalized their practices as being Catholic in origin, the situation nearing the end of 1850 prioritized the importance of identifying a national distinction among English Catholics when compared to supposed papists. Editorial articles of this time also give an indication to the underlying question of the thesis as various newspapers give an account to the meetings of the Protestant Association and public regard for English Catholics. Furthermore, particular editors of London followed immediate responses to Lord John Russell's parliamentary speeches offering either acclaim or criticism to his policy of seemingly attempting to resist the installment of the Catholic bishoprics. Some articles even countered the prime minister's negative statements, as they did not represent the truthful interests of the British Catholics for the support of the restoration. Combining these sources emphasizes the multiple aspects of anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain as provided by E.R. Norman's diligent research.

Chapter One examines events surrounding the previous reaction against the Oxford Movement in the 1840s. Such prior anti-Catholic reaction falls under concern as it remains distinct, yet relevant, to the British Protestant outcry against the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. In effect, the purpose of the detailing public suspicions against the Tractarians also associates to the potential fears of papal aggression as many reactionary Protestants opposed the Oxford Movement in the same regards as any supposed clergy

under the influence of the papacy, despite this group being a sect of the Anglican Church. The correspondence of Archibald C. Tait to Lord John Russell advocating for further investigations into the University of Oxford in 1846 marked an additional point of relevance as the question to rights of English subjects. Tait's concerns coincide with a variety of newspapers contributing to the anti-Catholic persona of the time. For these groups of theologians and academics only fell under increasing public suspicion of having Catholic affiliations and subject to the potential investigation without justifiable cause according to British law. Consequently, this anti-Catholic persona articulated by the British generalized conceptions of theological practice that appeared akin to 'ritualistic' in design and or appeared to serve papal interests as Roman Catholic. Thus, as the Tractarians fell into a classification of being seemingly English Catholic, and the priority of asserting the British national distinctions became more apparent with the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. In addition to this confrontation with the influences of the Oxford Movement and rival Catholic institutions, the City of London further sought to contain and control the situation after 1850 with the proposed plan to demolish and restore selected churches as some of these structures fell under criticism for being 'ritualistic' in design.

Chapter Two argues the ineffectiveness of Lord John Russell's position in the midst of the restoration. The purpose of this phase is to determine the initial public regard for English Catholics as Wiseman iterates the importance of British law permitting the tolerance of the Catholic religion in England and, therefore, having no grounds to thwart the restoration. Consequently, this forced the prime minister to respond with disfavor in both his correspondence and parliamentary speeches. He vilified these Catholic

influences and openly criticized Wiseman to maintain his political position. Pressure from public protest did not prevent Russell from misrepresenting the English Catholic support for Wiseman in his public addresses. Therefore, as the prime minister fell under increasing pressure by irate Protestants imploring him to address the situation, he remained quick to rebuke any notion of the restoration being supported by English Catholics, yet not to degree as to propose the revocation of their civic rights.

Chapter Three asserts this pragmatic conception of British law as Cardinal Wiseman gives the appraisal of it in his pastoral address announcing the establishment of bishoprics throughout the English realm. Despite the benign tone reflecting a stance of appeasement, this epistle did not spare the new archbishop from publications of ridicule, as certain Protestants and secularists doubted the sincerity of the Catholic Church. Because the church used an increasing Catholic population within England as justification for the restoration.

This issue of diversity amongst the British Protestant reactions remains crucial. Chapter Four presents a comparison of various anti-Catholic publications and attempts to answer if ultra-Protestant authors and secular critics recognized the rights of English Catholics as British subjects. The principle protest unanimously targeted the papacy. As for the English Catholics themselves, the consideration to their position remained an obscure and secondary issue for a majority of these authors. Nonetheless, the contrast between the works offers intriguing insight onto the dichotomies in political and social thought. Some extremist Protestants were seemingly tolerant and recognized their national distinction as British subjects while others openly vilified them for the cause of the restoration itself. Despite these criticisms and political concerns, many protestors

sought a more pragmatic solution of keeping the Catholic Church in check and, to an extent, limiting its social and spiritual influences.

Chapter Five develops a different method of Protestant reaction, by addressing activities in the City of London regarding church renovation and revival in the wake of the Catholic restoration. Thus, as the government could only target Catholic churches and 'papal institutions,' the precision of these actions more related to anti-imperialist methods. As it remained impractical to restrict the English Catholics from their civil rights, the British government commenced an arguably aggressive campaign that spoke volumes about their values. These locations, of course, that supposedly held potential for Catholic influence despite being of the Protestant denomination. In some cases, the city renovated specified structures and in other circumstances they demolished the ancient sites of potential Catholic worship as a means of control and containment.

Considering the primary materials supplemented with monographs and additional academic journals, the question of the British Protestant regard for the civic rights of English Catholics is not an obscure topic. For as previous research attempted to ascertain the impact of popular anti-Catholicism upon the Protestant British, few have considered the national distinction of English Catholics in the midst of this turbulent outburst against the papacy in 1850. Having established this marginal classification, fewer scholars have concluded such religious disputations and governmental actions as anti-imperialistic.

Such conceptions among historians are attributed to the impression of the Catholic Church itself as she no longer represented a significant political threat nor wielded a considerable military force at this time. Nonetheless, the vocal opposition to halt this influence of the papacy surmounted to reactions similar to a reaction against a

militant land invasion. London serves as the focal point for many reactionary Protestant publishers, the research lacks perspective from extremist groups outside of the great metropolis. As this research encompasses only a fraction of this British mainstream protest, it aims to establish a unique analysis of this social and political crisis of the mid-nineteenth century that places these English Catholics into a ‘politically inconvenient’ category for the time. Thus, the conclusion brings together the political, social, theological and material evidence to argue that during the age of empire, in a period boasting when the sun never set on Britannia, some British Protestants came to believe that foreign Roman Catholics had indeed invaded Britain. Since the government could not oust this papal influence nor impose on the rights of their English Catholic subjects, the British could only respond by employing actions against Catholic intuitions that, ironically, proved anti-imperialist in design.

CHAPTER ONE

OUSTING THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND THE REGULATION OF 'RITUALISM'

Long before the abundant outbursts of papal aggression flooded the streets by reactionary British Protestants during the last few months of 1850, the issue of tolerating religious freedoms did not fall exclusively upon the English Catholics denominations alone. The perplexing problem of limiting and restricting the potential influences of Catholicism associated to other domestic religious movements occurring in Great Britain many years before the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. Opposition against any perceptions of Romanism and unwarranted papal influence left many pro-British Protestants groups and public officials to evaluate and scrutinize any institutions or organizations perceived to be emphasizing theological notions of Catholicism in any unregulated forms. In order to keep the Vatican's influence at bay, Parliament made it adamantly clear to the papacy that England was to remain a missionary state.¹ Far from drawing an obvious dividing line in the sand against this foreign institution, Britain was confronted with an ever-increasing domestic Catholic population divided on the issues of what forms of liturgy, academic learning, and theological methodologies should be properly administered in, what most Victorian British construed as, a religiously tolerant state. Despite the legal façade of assuring civic freedoms for these minority denominations after the Catholic Emancipation of 1829, the practicalities of changing government policy caused disputations among members of Parliament.² This conflict of interests manifested in the late 1840s with particular cases involving the British

¹ Johanna H. Hartring, *Catholic London Missions: From the Reformation to 1856* (London: Sands & Co., 1903), ix-x.

² Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 163-4.

government establishing firm regulations over the establishment of Catholic schools for specified communities.³ Despite gradual approval for the funding of these institutes, the combinations of bureaucratic reluctance and the public's heightened anti-papal attitudes prevented the formation of these institutions for many years and only took effect long after the reinstatement of the Catholic bishoprics by the 1850s.⁴ Religious tolerance may have secured English Catholic's rights as British subjects, yet the issue of the government cracking down on any supposed institution with possible connections to the Vatican still placed them in an uncertain position. This Protestant atmosphere of resisting any suspected foreign influence from Rome expanded beyond the denominations of the English Catholics as accusations fell upon individual clergymen within the Protestant Churches of Britain herself. It was one thing to limit the theological influence stemming from a remote and foreign institution, yet a domestic movement within the Anglican Church only served to prompt ever more increasing Protestant opposition to any theological conception that seemingly served pro-Catholic interests for the papacy.

Even before the controversy surrounding the issue of restoring a Catholic hierarchy in England fell under consideration, distinct cases of anti-Catholicism already surfaced in the late 1840s. With an abundant circulation of Protestant publications and newspapers already fueling widespread anti-Catholic sentiments, the media left many British subjects with the impression that a strong, unified, consensus within the Church of England countered any Catholic influence. However, the situation in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century proved the contrary to that assertion as denominational

³ Mary Griset Holland, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy, 1847-1865* (New York: Garland, 1987), 156.

⁴ Holland, *The British Catholic Press and the Educational Controversy*, 157.

fractures and a lack of cohesion among the various Protestant sects of England left many theologians to reconsider their own methodologies. This religious diversity also attributed to an individual numbers of priests hosting services for dwindling congregations in major urban areas, particularly those of London.⁵ These problems became more apparent by authors and commentators as the large metropolitan City housed a considerable array of oldening churches and neglectful clergy. This problem left some theologians to consider a modernized evangelical response toward religious reform. The mounting concerns prompted a few individuals within the Anglican Church to follow a rather controversial direction resulting in considerable protest a decade before the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy as they organized a movement that emphasized a more traditional practice among the priests. Far from interpreted as a conservative response, these methods fell under scrutiny by certain contemporaries as less associated to a reformed sense of modernized English Protestantism and, surprisingly, more akin to the rituals of Roman Catholicism.

These conceptions of individual Tractarian clergymen and university directors opened themselves to the publicity of the newspapers and journals of the time. The initial founding of the movement resided at the University of Oxford and under the coordination of leading Churchman such as Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82) and John Henry Newman (1801-90).⁶ As the Protestant Evangelicals argued for a religious revival throughout England, this group of upper clergy sought a more direct role for the Anglican

⁵ Ben Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad: Preservationism, Demolitionism, and the City of London Churches, 1860 – 1904," *The Journal of British Studies* 53 (1961): 400.

⁶ G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 76.

Church. Having heard other theological reformers advocating a more simplified interpretation according to scripture, these individuals emphasized an importance for the priests by the upholding of faith and keeping observance to the sacraments.⁷ In essence, they wished to re-establish a concentrated and recognized clerical body and affirmed institution among the laymen. Their interpretations also reinforced the existence of the Church of England as they validated its ascendancy short of mentioning any credit of apostolical succession.⁸ Surprisingly, some of their initial ideas already gained popularity among religious reformers within the Anglican Church. For both Newman and Henry Edward Manning (1808-92) came from similar Evangelical backgrounds and both supported these central Tractarian ideals.⁹ As modest as these theological points were, the notion of prioritizing the importance and indispensable positions of the priests clashed with ultra-Protestant views by minimizing the priority of faith alone.¹⁰ Even as these proposals already stirred controversy within Oxford by the late 1830s, the group only held a limited influence upon only a few upper clergymen and university members as they lacked significant political influence.¹¹ The movement itself responded to the Protestant attitudes of the day as individuals such as Newman viewed the Anglican Church as subservient to the state leaving members such as John Keble to protest such policy as he insisted for ‘the abandonment of the national church in favor of a for real one.’¹² Their enclosed publicity, however, did not go without notice as the combinations

⁷ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 76.

⁸ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 76.

⁹ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 76.

¹⁰ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 77.

¹¹ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 76.

¹² Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 1991), 434.

of stirring anti-Catholicism, disputed theological interpretations, and the exclusiveness of their own group only served to rally Protestant criticism and stern accusations long before 1850.

The theological movement fell under increasing scrutiny after 1838 as more radical Tractarians addressed their theological methodology. Having considered and evaluated particular views on doctrine, clergymen under Newman compared liturgy and religious practices with those of the Roman Catholic Church.¹³ Prior to this event, the movement had gained a reputation for defending questionable specifics on doctrine relating to baptismal regeneration. Those amongst the group also advocated for an established Church to work within the framework of the state.¹⁴ Pusey disputed this stance with Newman as he implied the movement to bear away from the papal doctrines and associate itself with High Anglican policy.¹⁵ Despite the ridicule of their publications among non-Protestants and an alarming a number of secularists, there was nothing direct to imply that any of these clergymen openly gave their allegiance to the Vatican. Thus, suppositions and allegations had already fueled booksellers to condemn the Oxford Movement for attempting to take advantage of High-Church positions and for potentially serving papal interests.¹⁶ Alarmed columnists found the organization an affront to detract British Protestants from their own religious establishments. One such article gives voice to this antipathy, “It is carrying on a process of assimilation to popery among nominal Protestants and driving real Protestants away from the centre range of its influence. In a few short years to all appearance, Puseyism will in laying low every defense of the

¹³ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 80.

¹⁴ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 80.

¹⁵ Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, 541.

¹⁶ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 80.

reformed religion which our forefathers raised around the National Establishment of the South; and it is, even now, we believe, exulting in the prospect of undivided ascendancy of the Pope in Rome.”¹⁷ The accusations of supposed ‘Popery’ only increased when John Henry Newman took up the mantle for leadership of the Tractarians. His previously recorded criticisms of the history of the Protestant Reformation offered little credit to the support of the Church of England and thus only stirred more articles and published works rousing popular Protestant opposition against this exclusive group well into the next decade.¹⁸

In the midst of the 1840s, the urgency for reform of the clergy and the association of church and state evolved into a contested issue. Protestant evangelicals and extremist anti-Catholics further distanced themselves from the Oxford Movement mainly on the basis that their religious conceptions did not serve the interests of the British church system nor construed as a practical sense of worship. The newspapers observed this concern from the Anglican Church as letters and public correspondence from Newman and upper clergy members often circulated. *The Times* equally found alarm in some of the theological interpretations of Newman’s tracts as English Catholic contemporaries voiced criticism over Oxford’s “University censure” methods and *The Times* reluctance to elaborate over these theological controversies.¹⁹ Newman’s letter to the Bishop of Oxford, Richard Bagot (1782-1854) expresses concern as to why the recently publicized Tracts in *The Times* fell under scrutiny. The Bishop of Oxford himself wrote of these Tracts being, “objectionable, and may tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the

¹⁷ “Puseyism and Popery,” *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, Oct 9, 1844, 4.

¹⁸ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 81.

¹⁹ “The Oxford Tracts,” *The Times*, March 17, 1841, 5.

Church.”²⁰ Additionally, he opined that these theological interpretations be discontinued, yet this did not prevent Newman from providing a counter-argument.²¹ In spite of Newman’s appeals *The Times*, having no wish to be associated with the controversy, the paper formally announced the discontinuation of publicizing any proposed Tracts from Newman and his affiliates.²²

Those who opposed the Tractarian methodology viewed their traditional interpretations and manner of utilizing liturgy being an archaic fashion and began to find these ‘ritualistic’ practices disconcerting and contrary to the notions of modernizing evangelicals.²³ The demographics of major urban centers such as London also prompted concern for ultra-Protestant groups, as they harbored concerns the Tractarians held the potential of establishing themselves within impoverished quarters of the City attracting both Anglicans and English Roman Catholics.²⁴ The neglect of the Anglican clergy already established this notion and the concern among reactionary Protestants only increased after the Religious census of 1851 and thus left the conclusion that the commutative sum of the Protestant Churches in Wales in England indeed lacked substantial membership and prospects of Oxford Movement appealing to potential members prompted such fears.²⁵ A combination of political and popular disdain reinforced this anti-Catholic stance against the movement in the wake of an increasing

²⁰ “Oxford Tracts: Mr. Newman’s Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,” *Morning Post*, 3 April, 1841, 5.

²¹ “Oxford Tracts: Mr. Newman’s Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,” *Morning Post*, 5.

²² “Discontinuance of the Tracts for the Times,” *The Times*, April 2, 1841, 5.

²³ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 400.

²⁴ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 404.

²⁵ Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, 541.

domestic Catholic population.²⁶ Rising concern to contain and censor the Tractarians echoed from conservative Protestant publishers and newspapers as they vilified these particular clergymen of Oxford in the latter half of the 1840s. Leading newspaper publishers fell under increasing pressure to voice this opposition and force the University to regulate the situation. The *Worcester Journal* indicated one such as example as the author of this single article intended it for the editor of *The Times*.²⁷ Criticizing the Tractarians who had supposed associations to ‘Jesuit’ contacts, the obscure journalist ridiculed the heads of Oxford for permitting these theologians to convey their lessons unto an impressionable student body.²⁸

Far from attempting to establish a tone of marginal religious tolerance, this provocative correspondence had more in similarity to the accusations against Socrates for corrupting the youth of Athens in 399 B.C.E.²⁹ The concluding portion of the article emphasizes this growing British Protestant concern over the conduct of Oxford as the author states:

I cannot tell what insidious hand is at work with the inexperienced youth who have been confided to the parental custody of the University, and it may be difficult to discover it in an atmosphere so clouded with hypocrisy as that of Oxford has become. Bu it behooves the authorities of the institution at least to destroy its influence, and to purify their courts. The facts I have given, sad as they are in themselves, are indicative of far more mischief than they positively exhibit. They prove that the ancient and untitled system is still in vigorous operation: that the sensitive minds of the young are again attacked with weapons which adolescence knows so little how to meet; that blows at the Church are aiming in the dark, of which the Church herself is yet unconscious, and, of which she will

²⁶ Johanna H. Hartring, *Catholic London Missions: From the Reformation to 1856* (London: Sands & Co., 1903), ix-x.

²⁷ “Popery at Oxford,” *Worcester Journal*, January 15, 1846, 4.

²⁸ “Popery at Oxford,” *Worcester Journal*, 4.

²⁹ Michael Curtis, *The Great Political Theories* (New York: Avon Book Division, 1961), 24.

remain ignorant until the treachery of her own children hereafter shall disclose the mischief already beyond the power of reparation.³⁰

As with most reactionary Protestants, this correspondence equally stressed that there was no middle ground for the Tractarians as the author concluded it to be impractical to consider Oxford as a legitimate Protestant establishment in light of these practices being increasingly identifiable as Roman Catholic.³¹ Even as the examples of rather grandiose accusations aimed to persuade the restrictions upon this movement on an academic and institutional level, other extremist anti-Catholic groups emphasized further actions of censorship throughout the realm.

The Protestant Association (P.A.) also vocalized this reaction against the Oxford Movement as the organization critiqued over lectures and staging areas for these supposed ‘Romanists.’ Noted as one of the foremost reactionist groups to oppose Catholic influence in both theological and secular matters in Britain and Ireland, this organization spans over the following two centuries opposing governmental concessions to Catholic subjects, be it British or Irish. In their efforts to repeal the act 1778, which eased the restrictions of the Penal Laws upon Scottish Catholics, one of their leaders, Lord George Gordon (1751-1793) offered a parliamentary speech giving way to riots and public attacks against Catholics in London.³² As the following decades have hosted liberal reforms to repeal the Penal Laws altogether, this reactionary body surfaces in midst of policy changes towards domestic Catholic populations and the Oxford Movement bore no exception. Their public position left little to dispute of the Tractarians having any legitimate ties with the English Church. As far as their meetings affirmed,

³⁰ “Popery at Oxford,” *Worcester Journal*, 4.

³¹ “Popery at Oxford,” *Worcester Journal*, 4.

³² Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850*, 127.

they immediately denounced the movement “as a disguised form of popery” and found no grounds to compromise with such suspected subterfuge extending from Rome.³³ In the midst of one of their public gatherings in Exeter Hall in early May of 1848, members of the P.A. deliberated over a lengthy report concerning the Protestant stance to counteract these pro-Catholic theologies.³⁴ The *London Standard* article attempted to define this reactionary attitude of the report as follows:

It referred to the outburst of feeling in England after the recent papal aggression as proof of the protest fueling of the people, and stated that, as Popery was a political-religious system, it should be opposed politically as well as theologically. Lectures have been given, and meetings attended, during the past year by the chairman of the committee at the following places: Birmingham, Elgin, Hopeman, Inverness, Hanley, Rawcliffe, Goole, Scarborough, Colne, Marsden, Buraley, Barroford, Kendal, Fulham, Chipping, Wycombe, Dery, Hull, Winchester, and Bournemouth. Besides these, numerous meetings had been held and lectures given in various parts of the United Kingdom, independently of this association.³⁵

These ultra-Protestant concerns linked the notions of the Vatican beginning to regarding England beyond the status of a missionary state and tied them with these increasing outlets for the Tractarian movement. This reactionary British mentality and harsh criticisms against Catholicism both hindered the mobility for those within the Oxford Movement and gradually pushed them into more influential positions within the Catholic Church only after 1850.³⁶ In spite of their uncompromising stance against the Vatican, the P.A., to an extent, still upheld a distinction among Christians as one such orator stated, “The Protestants had always candidly confessed and declared that they as Protestants could have no peace with Rome as Rome. They would certainly be at peace

³³ “The Protestant Association,” *Kentish Gazette*, May 18, 1847, 1.

³⁴ “Protestant Association,” *London Standard*, May 11, 1848, 4.

³⁵ “Protestant Association,” *London Standard*, 4.

³⁶ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 89.

with their Catholic brethren as men, and would sacrifice anything but the principles on which their faith was founded.”³⁷ Those who organized the Tractarian movement could not be fully regarded, by the British, as laymen English Catholics and yet the manner of their conduct already implied, to some reactionaries, that they could not be considered fully Anglican or Protestant.

The practices and theological atmosphere of Oxford came under the increasing notice of government officials and academic theologians well into the late 1840s. For Anglican churchmen such as Archibald C. Tait (1811-82), the Tractarians and liberalism of the university presented a constant worry for him as the methods of ritualistic practice presented a theological dispute and troublesome political issue. Correspondences from the other heads of various institutions gave warning to specific occurrences surrounding Oxford as one such letter from the Dean of Stanley illustrated. He voiced concern unto Tait for having witnessed an open vote addressing university policy.³⁸ Most alarming was the manner of the Register of the University as the letter reads,

Clergy and laity of all shades and classes crowded the colleges and inns of Oxford for the great battle of Armageddon.

When the whole assembly of upwards 1000 voters was crowded within the Sheldonian Theater, the Registrar of the University read out the incriminating passages of the *Ideal of a Christian Church*. The general proceedings were in Latin, but it was curious to hear the grave voice of the Registrar proclaiming in the vernacular from his high position these several sentences, ‘O most joyful! O most wonderful! O most unexpected sight! We find the whole cycle of Roman doctrine gradually possessing numbers of English Churchmen.’³⁹

³⁷ “Protestant Association,” *London Evening Standard*, May 13, 1847, 3.

³⁸ Randall T. Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: [s.n.], 1891), 129, British Library (BL).

³⁹ Randall T. Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 129, BL.

As headmaster of Rugby School, Tait was all too aware of the various fractures within the Anglican Church and varying forms of practice. His own sermons conducted at his own academic institution reflected this observation as he stated, “Men have been contending very earnestly, each for his own peculiar view of scriptural truth: matters of very little importance have, not unnaturally, on all sides, been magnified into articles of Christian faith: and the church has been divided into very keenly contending parties.”⁴⁰ This open concern and reputation for supporting an autonomous identity within Anglican Church gained recognition by prominent pro-British Protestant statesmen who were also aware of the situation.

In the midst of 1849, Tait was appointed to the Deanery of Carlisle. Upon his installation, he received immediate correspondence from Prime Minister Lord John Russell (1792-1878) extending sincere congratulations and support for his new position.⁴¹ Both the prime minister and Archibald Tait later corresponded to address the situation concerning these controversial theological issues surrounding Oxford. In the following year, Tait wrote to Lord Russell emphasizing the importance of a Royal Commission for an inquiry into the state, disciplinary measures, studies, and revenues of the University of Oxford.⁴² The issue, deliberated in the House of Commons at the time, proved a controversial one. Members such as William E. Gladstone (1809-98) argued that the proposal represented an unlawful attempt to investigate this institution without any legal validity short of allegations; bluntly, he deemed it more of an “inquisition” than a

⁴⁰ Archibald Campbell Tait, *Lessons for School Life: Being a Selection from Sermons Preached in the Chapel of Rugby School* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1853), 319-20.

⁴¹ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 149, BL.

⁴² Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 158, BL.

review.⁴³ Tait, who was one of the selected members of the Commission, affirmed the formation of this inquiry by writing, “I shall hold myself in readiness to begin at once, so soon as I hear who my colleagues are to be, and that we are authorized to proceed. The mere publication of such a Report as the Commission is sure to put forth – drawing attention to evils, many of which the several Colleagues might alter any day if they pleased, we must do much towards the removal of such evils.”⁴⁴ Having found the various controversies stemming from Oxford justifiable for the Commission, Tait attempted to persuade the prime minister to be resolved and, as his letter reads, “stand to his guns.”⁴⁵ The Dean further added this affair was a governmental issue best left out of the concerns of Parliament.⁴⁶ Even as these investigations formulated, the correspondence revealed a precedent for these inquiries into this supposed pro-Catholic institution. Both Russell and Tait remained determined to press the issue and, yet these men confronted the legal repercussions even before the Commission could assemble later that same year. Despite the Tractarians and their supporting members of Oxford being regarded as British subjects, this incident asserted that the government found itself answering more to the publics Protestant fears and less so to the legitimacy of domestic law.

Even as extremist Protestant groups offered their criticisms throughout the 1840s and more adamantly during the restoration of the Catholic bishoprics in 1850, their anti-papal slogans and stern opposition ultimately generalized the Tractarians, clergy, and perceived ritualistic institutions into a single Catholic classification. Ironically, Newman's publications, particularly Tract 90 published on 27 February 1841, attempted to show that

⁴³ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 159, BL.

⁴⁴ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 158, BL.

⁴⁵ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 158, BL.

⁴⁶ Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 158, BL.

the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England were not irreconcilable with Catholic teachings, the only distinctions remarked over 'Catholic corruptions' responsible for the Protestant Reformation.⁴⁷ Regardless of his efforts to erode these differences between Anglicanism and Catholicism, the argument only lead to government inquiries, ultra-Protestant opposition, and restrictions that weighed heavily upon the movement.⁴⁸ Diversity within the Tractarians themselves also affected Newman, who had all but lost faith in the conduct of the British state and ultimately drove him to endorse Roman Catholicism just prior to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850.⁴⁹ As for the English Catholics, they eagerly welcomed the movement as individuals such as Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, a Leicestershire squire, read the *Tracts of the Times* in 1832 and already appraised this Anglican transition to Catholicism.⁵⁰ However, the domestic British Catholic acclaim for the Tractarians only served to antagonize extremist Protestant groups to further censor the Oxford movement. The regulation of both the Tractarians in the 1840s and the question of ritualistic practices all related to a common British Protestant effort to restrict any perceived influence from the Roman Catholic Church. Regardless of the validity of papal connections, the British Protestants held little distinction between those of the Oxford Movement and acknowledged English Catholics by the late 1840s. As this religious movement deemed itself a domestic issue, most Protestant reactionists sought to limit the influence of key Tractarian members giving rise to political atmosphere akin to McCarthyism in the United States, just 100 years later. Their rights as British subjects did fall under scrutiny, yet not so far as to reduce their

⁴⁷ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 82.

⁴⁸ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 89.

⁴⁹ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 89.

⁵⁰ Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868*, 89.

status as equal subjects by law. This mentality eroded with the coming of the Catholic restoration. The method of distinguishing the English Catholics apart from these newly, instated papal institutions proved a different case for these reactionary Protestant groups as the national loyalty of every English Catholic would fall under question.

CHAPTER TWO

RUSSELL VS. WISEMAN & ENGLISH CATHOLICS IN BETWEEN

The final months of 1850 culminated in the momentous event of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain. The event proved a practical action for Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802-65) and long coming because of the increasing Catholic populations in the various districts of England. Thus, on September 29 1850, the cardinal formally announced the installation of Catholic bishops and for the re-establishment of a clerical hierarchy throughout the British realm, effectively ended England's status as missionary state. With his pastoral letter already approved by the Vatican, the Catholic Church divided the British Isles into traditional dioceses for administrative purposes. Pope Pius IX (1792-1878) selected Wiseman selected to assume the position of archbishop in Westminster upon his arrival in London a few months later.¹ Among English Catholics this sudden announcement served as a considerable turning point being that British law attributed to the recognition of their religious freedoms on the principles that they were subjects of the crown. Hence, no official precedence set by Parliament could bar the Vatican from undertaking this installation as such aims chiefly focused upon their spiritual concerns. Such a policy, however, did not suit anti-Catholic elements of the time. Despite the British government having no legal means to prevent the restoration, a percentage of English Catholics became increasingly surprised upon hearing Wiseman's intentions as many considered the potential repercussions of anti-

¹ Nicholas Wiseman, "Cardinal Wiseman's Pastoral, 'Out of the Flaminian Gate, 7 October 1850.'" In J.F. MacClear, ed. *Church and State in the Modern Age: A Documentary History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 148-9; Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982), 45.

Catholic reactions.² The cardinal's objectives did not find favor, especially with members of Parliament and opposing British Protestants, who immediately vilified the actions of Pius IX and Nicholas Wiseman. Contrary to the publicized spiritual concerns, these vocal critics believed the Catholic Church simply exploited the tolerance granted under British law by imposing these foreign papal institutions upon the nation.³ Unlike the generalizations toward the Oxford Movement that vilified the domestic splinter group for practicing Catholic ritualistic practices in England, the British now confronted a more complex predicament now factoring in a foreign party.

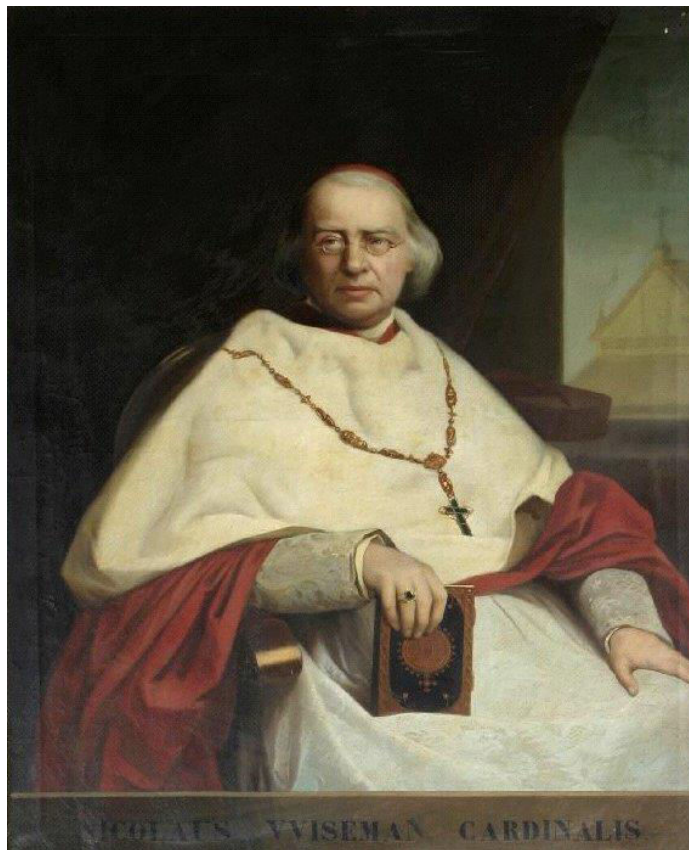


Figure 1. Public Domain Image of Cardinal Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman.

² Denis Gwynn, *Cardinal Wiseman* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1950), 115.

³ Ursula R. Q. Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787-1833* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 4.

The concept of a Catholic hierarchy soon to be established in the realm now entailed a newly appointed clerical body answerable to a principality outside governmental jurisdiction; effectively concentrating the majority of Protestant reaction against the institutions under the direction of the Vatican itself. Extremist groups such as the Protestant Association used the crisis to further their ultra-conservative views against the Roman Church as they deemed these acts for being a supreme manifestation of “papal aggression.”⁴ The term itself would be a reoccurring theme throughout the later months of 1850 and only increase in circulation among the populace in various pamphlets, publications, and various letters of correspondence in the following year of 1851. As many British Protestants construed Wiseman to be chiefly responsible for this perceived calamity, much of the publicized and political criticisms mounted against the Cardinal himself for establishing these papal institutions within the heart of the British Empire. As the rights of English Catholics fell under consideration, the specific nature of anti-Catholicism at this stage underwent a noticeable transfiguration. In order to oppose the Vatican and still, seemingly, tolerate their own domestic Catholic populace the majority of mainstream Protestant reaction modified for the purpose of being mainly anti-papal and anti-foreign in design. Thus, the majority of anti-Catholic opposition intended to separate or, at least, limit the influence of these unregulated theological institutions from their fellow English Catholic subjects.

British Protestant and nationalist response to Wiseman's benign pastoral letter appeared less than tempered as the cardinal became increasingly aware of this public

⁴ Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 163-4.

resistance upon his venture to London in mid-October of 1850.⁵ Members of Parliament, including Prime Minister Lord John Russell, fell under considerable pressure to address the situation as they responded to public questions and individual letters urging them to take prudent action.⁶ Upon his arrival in London, Wiseman confronted a combination of radical Protestant allegations towards the Catholic Church and reluctance from the British government to permit the restoration in light of the ongoing public protest. His arrival in London provoked crowds of irate Protestants who immediately voiced their opposition by hurling stones at Wiseman's carriage.⁷ In response, the cardinal distributed his *Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*. His published work readily addressed the and countered the radical accusations that the Pope simply exploited a Catholic presence in England to undermine the crown.⁸ Far from intending to divide the loyalties of English Catholics, the cardinal's appeal said nothing to undermine the currently administered oath all British subjects swore to state.⁹ The concerns of papal influence did not interfere on a secular level after any Catholic individual made such declaration of allegiance. Wiseman elaborated further stating, "According to this test, the Pope (permissively, at least) does exercise a spiritual jurisdiction in England, and is within the limits of that toleration, so long as he does not exercise a jurisdiction that can be enforced by law, or purporting or claiming to be a

⁵ Gwynn, *Cardinal Wiseman*, 110.

⁶ John M. Prest, *Lord John Russell* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 321.

⁷ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Appleton, 1912), 672.

⁸ Nicholas Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy* (London, 1850).

⁹ Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 21.

jurisdiction enforceable by law.”¹⁰ The cardinal emphasized the constitutional rights of these English Catholics justified a religious presence of the Catholic Church and did not risk undermining the government, contrary to these grandiose claims of papal aggression.¹¹

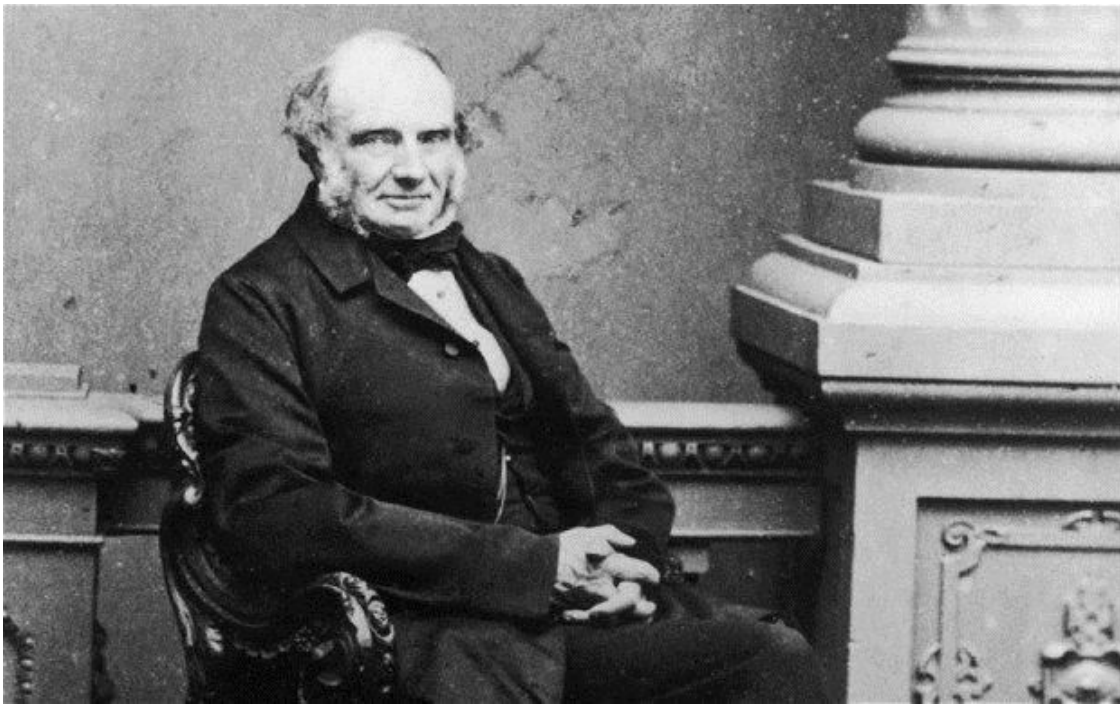


Figure 2. Public Domain Image of British Prime Minister Lord John Russell.

Despite these tempered assurances, M.P.s could not quell outbursts from individual British political figures. One such speech offered by the Chancellor Cottenham, Thomas Wilde (1782-1858), to the Mansion House Assembly, declared his intention to crush Wiseman's red hat under his heel for carrying out these devious papal orders and further stated the cardinal was nothing more than “a wolf in sheep's

¹⁰ Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 21.

¹¹ Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 32.

clothing.”¹² *The Times* equally contributed to this Protestant skepticism of a benevolent Catholic clerical presence. Editors blatantly criticized the conduct of Wiseman and the papacy for taking advantage of the situation in England by implying they mistook the tolerance of their domestic policies for indifference.¹³ For even if these protests appeared to alienate English Catholics the disputes intentionally focused upon the extent and limitation of the Pope’s influence upon British subjects. Far from being a clear and traditional case of pitting Protestant versus Catholic, the majority of this particular British response evolved into an anti-imperialist dispute emphasizing nationalist priorities. Despite the guise of anti-Catholicism, the culmination of resentment manifested towards the presence of a perceived foreign influence encroaching upon their very shores. The Victorian Protestant’s perception of the papacy represented that of a foreign entity, despite being diminished in political power, still held considerable influence that rivaled the authority of her majesty's government. Walter Savage Landor's depiction of the papacy defines this impression quite distinctly:

But the generous old Romans, instead of insisting under pain of death and eternal torments that other nations should adore their gods, took to adoration those they found in temples they conquered. And by these, without the same liberty, the Papal rulers at Rome continue to profit. Although they scarcely have a force sufficient to drive a drove of buffaloes, they issue loud commands as when the trumpets sounded to the legions, and Caius Marius and Caius Julius marched under the eagles through the Alps.¹⁴

Even in the midst of such turbulent British Protestant response, Wiseman never intended to antagonize anti-papal groups or give any indication of the papacy to rival the

¹² Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 162. Wilde’s quoted response to Wiseman’s *Appeal*.

¹³ “London,” *The Times*, 14 October, 1850, 4.

¹⁴ Walter Savage Landor, *Poetry: British and Foreign* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1851), 62.

authority of her majesty Queen Victoria (1819-1901). Despite his assurances, he did not underestimate the ramifications and undeniable divide left by English Reformation. He reaffirms this by the following statement in his pastoral letter, “But the pass on more recent events, the history of the Anglican schism of the sixteenth age there is no feature more remarkable than the care unremittingly exercised by our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, to lend succor, in its hour of extremist peril to the Catholic religion in that realm.”¹⁵ That is to say, the cardinal further asserted such a proposal to restore a Roman hierarchy in England as a progressive plan known to the Vatican for years and not meant to be secretive or provocative.¹⁶ In spite of the immediate outbursts of opposition, some British saw these proposals as a progressive, if not favorable, action as Wiseman reminded the public of a series of letters dating from July 3, 1840, requesting permission to increase the number of Apostolic Vicariates throughout the realm.¹⁷ From the seventeenth century onward, the Vatican had classified the British Isles as a “foreign mission” headed by “Vicars Apostolic,” bishops heading a provincial community. From 1623, the papacy established a vicarage between 1688 and 1840 and there on the Vatican appointed four vicariates, in London, the Midlands, the Northern District, and a Western District. Between 1840 and 1850, the Vatican found itself supporting twice that number in the Victorian Era.¹⁸ Common knowledge among English clearly observed a significant increase in the Catholic populations, not in the least due to an influx of Irish immigration. This rapid demographic change forced the British to consider these requests from the

¹⁵ Nicholas Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter* (London, 1851), 3, British Library (BL).

¹⁶ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 4, BL.

¹⁷ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 4, BL.

¹⁸ Johanna H. Hartring, *Catholic London Missions: From the Reformation to 1856* (London: Sands & Co., 1903), ix-x.

Vatican. Parliament, however, remained unwilling to permit the formation of dioceses under papal authority or to consider any prospects of the Jesuits to return. Upon announcing his plans to establish a Catholic hierarchy in England, the cardinal set off a wave of disruption from many reactionary British Protestants who did not interpret these actions to be progressive or benign. Despite this awareness of a growing domestic Catholic population, many British Protestants refused to accept Wiseman's proposition for restoration, i.e. the establishment of a cathedral and a residence for a cardinal in London or anywhere in the British Isles as far as they were concerned.

The British Protestant reluctance and open opposition to the papacy quickly antagonized the Anglican clergy as they expressed their position to the British government. Most notable was the correspondence letter forwarded by the Bishop of Durham, Edward Maltby (1770-1859), to Lord John Russell in late October of 1850. The letter, made widely known by British newspapers, conveyed Maltby's concerns. He wrote the following quite bluntly, "I do not know, what your opinion, is that of the Government, may be reflecting the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism – I confess I think it insolent and insidious."¹⁹ Not only would this discredit the integrity of the Church of England, it would also be "mischievous to the peace if not the principles of our countrymen."²⁰ Even if Maltby openly opposed the conduct of the Vatican, he expressed a slight concern to the position of English Catholics. He elaborated upon this stating, "No one could more honestly or conformably advocate the claims of the R.

¹⁹ *Letter to ...Lord John Russell [on the Subject of his Letter to the Bishop of Durham "on the Insolent and Insidious Aggressions of Rome," etc. With an appendix.]* (John Talbot, 16th, Earl of Shrewsbury, London), 1851, 1, BL.

²⁰ *Letter to ...Lord John Russell [on the Subject of his Letter to the Bishop of Durham "on the Insolent and Insidious Aggressions of Rome," etc. With an appendix.]*, 1, BL.

Catholics to a participation of all civil rights than I always did; but I confess I have been sorely disappointed by the conduct of many of the lack, both Prelates and Priests.”²¹

Thus, this portion of Maltby’s correspondence presents the core of the dilemma confronting British Protestants and members of Parliament. They increasingly condemned this growing influence of foreign Catholic clergy and yet could not equally vilify English Catholics, as it would be contrary and a clear violation of British law. Despite this being a secondary issue, the Bishop of Durham insisted on urgency from the prime minister, he could not find how any English Catholic could effectively take the Oath of Supremacy and not have divided loyalties between that of the Queen and the Pope.²²

By early November 1850, the restoration of a Catholic hierarchy emerged as a shock of reality to concerned and irate British Protestants with the arrival of Cardinal Wiseman within the capital City.²³ A meeting assembly of the clergy of London, convened at Sion College reflected this anxiety to the upcoming installation of Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster.²⁴ Attendees such as the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield (1786-1857), and his fellow clergymen vigorously opposed the cardinal’s pastoral letter being that it represented mere subterfuge as it exploited British law with the intention of asserting “papal dominion” over the sovereignty of England. The debate left many to conclude that those in Parliament did not properly address this Papal Bull. After all, if the state ministers of Catholic nations such as Austria took considerable heed

²¹ *Letter to ...Lord John Russell [on the Subject of his Letter to the Bishop of Durham “on the Insolent and Insidious Aggressions of Rome,” etc. With an appendix.]*, 1, BL.

²² *Letter to ...Lord John Russell [on the Subject of his Letter to the Bishop of Durham “on the Insolent and Insidious Aggressions of Rome,” etc. With an appendix.]*, 1, BL.

²³ Gwynn, *Cardinal Wiseman*, 119.

²⁴ “Usurpation of the Pope,” *The Hampshire Telegraph*, November 2, 1850, 7.

to such issues from the Vatican, how did it come to pass that the British government could not promptly respond?²⁵ The impending situation forced Lord John Russell to write to his reply to the Bishop of Durham. The prime minister himself found little reason to tolerate these actions of the Catholic Church and yet could not conceive of something as radical as to prevent Wiseman's appointment as Archbishop. Having to regard his fellow English Catholic subjects, Russell stated the following in the opening portion of his letter affirming more of a benevolent stance. He states the following: "I not only promoted to the utmost of my power the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesial system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who without such help would have been left in heathen ignorance."²⁶ Nonetheless, the recent measures of the papacy, despite not politically construed as illegal, still represented a threat to the integrity of the British state. The prime minister elaborates this concern as he wrote, "Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks."²⁷ Thus adding, "No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious."²⁸

Having disclosed his concern for the predicament, Russell ensued counter-measures to at least limit and regulate the situation. As these forms of correspondence were becoming almost immediate public knowledge by British newspapers, Wiseman

²⁵ "Usurpation of the Pope," *The Hampshire Telegraph*, 7.

²⁶ "The Papal Aggression," *Morning Chronicle*, November 8, 1850, 5.

²⁷ Gwynn, *Cardinal Wiseman*, 117.

²⁸ "The Papal Aggression," *Morning Chronicle*, 5.

was particularly concerned about these pressures and misconceptions upon the prime minister. The cardinal expressed urgency to respond to Russell in the early weeks of November in an attempt to clarify any misunderstandings and assure him of no grandiose ambitions beyond the installment of Catholic bishoprics throughout Britain. Wiseman initially feared his last departure from England misinterpreted by the prime minister to be his last one. Thus, having left Russell with the impression the cardinal was to take a more permanent residence in Rome. Wiseman's return constituted a sudden alarm yet not intended to be a deception.²⁹ Equally alarmed at the anti-papal reaction expressed by British articles, the cardinal issued the following response:

I cannot but most deeply regret the erroneous and even distorted view which the English papers have presented of what the Holy See has done in regard to the spiritual government of the Catholics of England. But I take the liberty of stating that the measure now emulated was not only prepared but printed three years ago, and a copy of it was shown to Lord Minto by the Pope on occasion of an audience given to his Lordship & his Holiness.³⁰

Thus, the correspondence served as a polite reminder to Russell that these plans fell under no secrecy and made known to him after much consideration for many years. Additionally, the cardinal adamantly gave his assurances that his position merited “no secular or temporal delegation whatever, that my duties will be what they have ever labored to promote the morality of those committed to my charity especially the masses of our poor, and keep up those feelings of good will and friendly intercommunion

²⁹ John Russell, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1840 – 1878*, Ed. G. P. Gooch, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, 1925), 49, BL.

³⁰ Russell, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1840 – 1878*, Ed. G. P. Gooch, vol. 2, 49, BL.

³⁰ Russell, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1840 – 1878*, Ed. G. P. Gooch, vol. 2, 49-50, BL.

between Catholics and their fellow-countrymen.”³¹ Despite his efforts to temper these outlandish reactions from Russell and the media, the British Protestant opposition against Wiseman did not diminish at the end of 1850.

The anti-papal outcries only intensified in the following months of 1851 as mounting criticism directed itself unto the halls of Parliament. The situation left Lord John Russell in a precarious position as he considered the delicate matter of how to regard English Catholic subjects after the installation of Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster.³² After all some of his initial speeches, many conducted in the earlier months, mainly responded more for the sake of angered Protestants than relating to the factual stance of their domestic Catholic counterparts. *The Era* takes heed of such a specific case quoting the prime minister

That, generally speaking, the lay Catholics of England neither wished for the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy nor approved of it; that your lordship said this on the authority of the Roman Catholic laymen and priests; and that you were in a position to take measures not only satisfactory to Protestants but to loyal Roman Catholics, who wished to preserve their allegiance to the crown unimpeached and unimpaired.³³

Charles Langdale (1787-1868), a British statesman and Catholic layman, further exposed this contradictory statement. Many in Parliament knew of a letter forwarded to Wiseman, as well as both houses, expressing the “heartfelt gratitude” from English Catholics for having able to witness the establishment of the hierarchy in Britain.³⁴ The address bore the signatures of “12 either English Catholic peers in this country, by 14 Catholic baronets, and by the above 600 of

³¹ Russell, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1840 – 1878*, Ed. G. P. Gooch, vol. 2, 50, BL.

³² Prest, *Lord John Russell*, 320.

³³ “Lord John Russell and the English Roman Catholics,” *The Era*, February 9, 1851, 9.

³⁴ “Lord John Russell and the English Roman Catholics,” *The Era*, 9.

the principal resident Catholic gentlemen of England, including 30 Catholic barristers.”³⁵ Fearing this as a discredit to the British ideals of religious liberty, Langdale criticized Russell’s failure to clarify the distinction between, or to provide an explanation of who was “a loyal English Catholic” in light of this outlandish contradiction.³⁶ Nonetheless, the example was but one incident where the British government would conveniently forget or at least acknowledge the rights of their fellow English Catholics.

Protestant columnists quickly asserted their dissatisfaction and urgency for a clear policy in light of these cloudy remarks. *The London Standard* remained equally concerned with the reluctance of the prime minister and apparent weakness of his “measures” against the integration of the Catholic hierarchy.³⁷ Far from being critical of the English Catholics for being supportive of the hierarchy in Britain, Russell’s handling of the situation ultimately sought to be conservative yet not violate the basis of British law. The prime minister then directed efforts to regulate the Catholic situation and dispute their ecclesial titles. Thus, the ineffectiveness of such actions compounded to these forms of Protestant criticism as “Lord John Russell virtually admits that this measure will be inoperative, for he assumes it will be a tentative one, and liable to be frustrated by evasion. He feels that he is aiming at the shadow, while the substance remains untouched.”³⁸ As reactionary Protestants found no satisfaction in such policies,

³⁵ “Lord John Russell and the English Roman Catholics,” *The Era*, 9.

³⁶ “Lord John Russell and the English Roman Catholics,” *The Era*, 9.

³⁷ “Lord John Russell’s Measure to put down Papal Aggression,” *London Standard*, February 8, 1851, 1.

³⁸ “Lord John Russell’s Measure to put down Papal Aggression,” *London Standard*, 1.

most acknowledged the measures did not risk offending English Catholics. Some noted as they seemed “to have been specially framed to secure their civil and religious liberties, at least, as far as it goes; for if it have any avail, it will save their charitable trusts from the grasp of the Propaganda.”³⁹ As the prime minister wrestled with upholding a seeming impression of civic equality for English Catholics, such critical statements by the extremist Protestant media made this less a social virtue and more of a political liability as the Catholic clergy remained proverbially entrenched throughout the realm. Popular criticism only intensified in part to the prime minister's efforts to contend with the situation. *Punch* magazine depicted Russell in a disfavoring light as he was portrayed going up to Wiseman's door only to be “the boy who chalked up “no Popery” – and then ran away!”⁴⁰ Such a comical image did little credit, for if the prime minister could not issue policy against English Catholics, he certainly did not carry much of a popular impression for enacting ineffective restrictions against Wiseman.

As Russell confronted political and public pressure to rectify or, at least, minimize the anxiety of these irate anti-papal factions, the considerations to fellow English Catholic subjects remained marginal. The prime minister responded to this concern amidst his speech to the House of Commons on the 17 of February, 1851. As Russell came under increasing public pressure, he addressed this mounting problem of ‘papal aggression,’ conveying his intention to regulate the situation as the question of divided

³⁹ “Lord John Russell's Measure to put down Papal Aggression,” *London Standard*, 1.

⁴⁰ A. Wyatt Tilby, *Lord John Russell, a Study in Civil and Religious Liberty* (London: Cassell, 1930), 119.

priorities among British subjects, particularly English Catholics, now took precedence.⁴¹ Hence, the prime minister inflamed popular opinion by suggesting that the papacy had perpetrated an “encroachment on the part of a foreign sovereign.”⁴² Far from ignoring the complexities of the situation, Russell considered many factors that justified his skepticism and caution. Despite these assurances of Wiseman not interfering in British secular matters, the head of the British government did not dismiss the influence the Catholic Church held over Ireland and Sardinia, which affected both social judgment and internal policy.⁴³ Contrary to the indications that Wiseman knew Lord John Russell remained aware of the plans to establish Catholic bishoprics throughout the realm, the prime minister did not uphold this conception at all. Thus, he stated:

Then came the proceedings more immediately connected with this country. At the end of September letters apostolic were issued, declaring that Rome had altered the ecclesiastical arrangement that had prevailed in this country, altering it from the arrangement of vicars-apostolic, and proposing to establish an archbishop and bishops, among whom the counter was to be divided. I shall hereafter state the view which I take of that document. What I wish to say now is, that that change was made entirely without the consent – I may say entirely without the knowledge – of the Government of this country.⁴⁴

To corroborate that the papacy was less informing unto the British government, Russell conveyed the accounts of Lord Minto's letter written in 1848. The English envoy simply did not recall any official notice from the Pope for his intention to appoint Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster. He gives the following statement saying, “I

⁴¹ John Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851 (London), 5, BL.

⁴² Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 5, BL.

⁴³ Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 7, 11, BL.

⁴⁴ Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 13, BL.

distinctly deny that any brief or other document connected with the establishment of a Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England was ever communicated to me, or that I was at any time during my residence at Rome consulted as to the expediency of such a measure, or aware of the existence of such an invitation.”⁴⁵ Despite this seeming appearance of plausible deniability, the prime minister also implied that he gave no indication to English Catholics of condoning this action by the Vatican. He offered examples to justify his position as Russell recalled answering a question from a colleague at Oxford who inquired if the Pope did intend to create bishoprics in England. The prime minister both said he had no knowledge nor gave his consent to such a plan.⁴⁶ More importantly, he admitted having responded to a similar inquiry made by a “private individual of the Roman Catholic persuasion” when Russell bluntly and briefly mentioned he did not and would not grant any approval to the papacy for such an undertaking.⁴⁷ Not going so far as vilify his fellow British fellow citizens, the prime minister still did nothing to appease these English Catholics by refusing sanction for the restoration. Thus, these concerns led him to conceive of further measures to regulate any possibility of the Pope undermining the Crown or holding jurisdiction over British subjects.⁴⁸ In effect, the only means the British government could employ, or at least partially restrict the Catholic clergy, manifested in the form of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851 passed by Parliament

⁴⁵ Russell, *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell 1840 – 1878*, 53-4, BL.

⁴⁶ Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 13-4, BL.

⁴⁷ Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 14, BL.

⁴⁸ Russell, *Papal Aggression. Speech...Delivered in the House of Commons*, Feb 17, 1851, 42-3, BL.

before the month of March.⁴⁹ These circumstances, as particularly indicated by Langdale, made the position of English Catholics a disputed issue for all theological and political parties.

Wiseman's principle concern to reinstate the Catholic hierarchy remained in part due to the increasing numbers of domestic English Catholics and justified this action with his *Appeal* as British law recognized their religious freedoms.⁵⁰ Reactionary British Protestants, who vocalized their concerns to Parliament, held the popular conception that the Catholic Church merely exploited this virtue of religious tolerance. It now served as an affront to this perceived 'papal aggression.' This precarious predicament influenced upon Lord John Russell's correspondence, and Parliamentary statements, as his regard for English Catholics only complied with convenient political issues. Having made misrepresenting comments of their actual approval for the restoration, the prime minister did nothing to support them and yet did not go so far as to vilify these British subjects for this crisis. Having now to confront the papacy, Russell also placed blame upon the Puseyites for their practices that drew in Catholic interest.⁵¹ If Parliament intentions aimed to regulate the Catholic clergy and institutions, the situation still placed English Catholics in an unpopular position as they remained the focal point of concern by the Vatican. Despite the political disfavor, none in Parliament could go so far as to question or amend the existing civic rights for these domestic Catholic individuals. The predicament and ineffective actions only prompted extremist anti-papal organizations and pro-nationalist British to criticize the situation. Namely, the fact that governmental policy

⁴⁹ Tilby, *Lord John Russell, a Study in Civil and Religious Liberty*, 123.

⁵⁰ Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 10.

⁵¹ Prest, *Lord John Russell*, 319.

granted tolerance unto these religious minorities thus, in turn, permitted this act of papal aggression to occur in the first place.

CHAPTER THREE

BRITISH PROTESTANT WISECRACKS AGAINST WISEMAN

In the midst of the final turbulent months of 1850, the British Empire faced the unforeseen prospect of an invasion upon the very shores of England herself. As provocative and inconceivable as it may have sounded, this singular event differed from the medieval Norman Conquest of 1066 or the dreaded naval engagement with the Spanish Armada in 1588. Unlike these incidents, militant conflagration never occurred during the crisis and still the country fell under the impression that a menacing foreign influence threatened her sovereignty. Many reactionary British Protestants quickly identified these unwanted incursions as stemming from the Vatican in Rome. With an increased domestic Catholic population spanning across the districts of the country, the Roman Church then presumed to assert her presence by dividing these regions into dioceses under the direction of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman and his subordinate bishoprics.¹ Nicholas Wiseman himself originated from Ireland, yet born in Spain as his family conducted merchant transactions in Servile.² His theological studies granted him an adept knowledge of Arabic and perceptions of a cosmopolitan outlook. These precipitated in Wiseman's proponent call for Christian unity and validity to a Catholic hierarchy in England within his pamphlet, *An Appeal to the English People*.³ Despite Parliament granting these British Catholics citizenry rights, and Victorian society

¹ Walter L. Arnstein, *Protestant versus Catholic in Mid-Victorian England: Mr. Newdegate and the Nuns* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1982), 45.

² Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (London: Longmans, Green, 1897), 1-2.

³ Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 560-62.

marginally tolerating some of their religious notions, the actions of Wiseman and the Vatican fell under vilification by reactionary Protestant and nationalist groups.

Far from accepting this as a benevolent gesture, they construed the Catholic Church to have exploited British law as a means to entrench papal influence upon the nation. Having expelled the Roman pontiff's authority under King Henry VIII (1491-1547) during the 1550s, the significance of such an unprecedented occurrence by the Roman Church weighed heavily upon the social and political spheres. When he took the title of Archbishop of Westminster in the closing days of September 1850, Wiseman remained cautious as his remarks focused on the importance and legitimacy for the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England.⁴ Still, in spite of the Archbishop's mild demeanor, he fell under siege by a torrent of Protestant accusations claiming him to be the spearhead of a perceived "papal aggression" upon the land.⁵ In the wake of the restoration of the Roman Church, many extremist Protestants and pro-British reactionists grew more confrontational in their language, directing allegations against Wiseman and effectively launching an anti-papal campaign. Still, as evangelicals and secularists rekindled and galvanized traditional Protestant arguments, many protesters knew they could not go so far as to solve the problem by brazen and unwarranted acts of violence against Catholics for the current predicament. For all their hostile outcries against the papacy, no Victorian implied any intention of turning the archbishop into a martyr in the event of St. Thomas Becket (1120-70). On the contrary, many outspoken authors and

⁴ Nicholas Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter* (London, 1851), 2, British Library (BL).

⁵ Edward R. Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 163-4. As indicated from the original document of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy* (London, 1850).

pamphleteers portrayed the British as victims of this perceived Vatican conspiracy with some even considering the rights of their fellow English Catholics granted by the Catholic Relief Act of 1829 in the midst of this dispute. For if they could not morally oust this foreign influence by the sword, their preferred weapon of choice for this crisis resided in the pen.

In September 1850, Pius IX elevated Wiseman to Archbishop of Westminster; in early October, the pope elevated him to Cardinal of Santa Pudenziana in Rome. This act made Wiseman eligible to vote for the next pontiff; even to run for election to the papacy.⁶ On the 29 of September 1850, Cardinal Wiseman distributed his pastoral letter establishing the Catholic bishoprics throughout Great Britain.⁷ As his address circulated among the clergy, its publication shortly followed within a year. Despite the cautionary tone, Wiseman said nothing directly that emphasized superiority over the spiritual influence of the Anglican Church or the authority of her Majesty Queen Victoria. Adamant British Protestants saw something else afoot and feared that a newly established Catholic hierarchy in England could undermine the already fragmented Anglican Church.⁸ Most concerning of all was the worry that English Catholics, particularly those who served in positions of government, held divided loyalties between the pope's authority and that of the queen's.⁹ For these reasons, many fervent Protestants and British nationalists wrote to Wiseman criticizing his actions, mocking his sincerity, and hoping to shatter any modest or meek impression the archbishop implied. In a proverbial sense, they portrayed him to be a conniving wolf in benevolent sheep's clothing and merely

⁶ Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 527.

⁷ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 5, BL.

⁸ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 1-2.

⁹ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 1-2.

serving papal interests.¹⁰ One such letter, forwarded by Arthur Trevelyan in the early months of 1851, illustrated these fierce disputes against the Catholic Church's spiritual and moral authority. With anti-papal material circulating in vast abundance during these months, it came as no surprise to find Trevelyan's remarks already published and widely distributed by extremist anti-papist organizations. As these two letters represent a mere fraction of this saga, a comparison and dramatic contrast between Wiseman's tempered theological words and Trevelyan's stern critiques provide an insight into the British mentality for resisting this perceived foreign influence from Rome.

Upon reviewing the cardinal's pastoral address, it is understandable to find an introduction that offers a more diplomatic tone considering what Wiseman expected to occur afterward. Fully aware that his letter was to become widely known, the cardinal remained tactful by using historical points and observing that England held the status of being a Catholic country longer, far longer, than a Protestant one and had faced dramatic transitions before. He references the example of Pope Gregory I (540-604) who sent Augustine the Monk (?-604) to the Germanic, pagan, tribes of England during the late sixth century.¹¹ With nearly all remnants of the Romano-British culture fleeing the island, the Saxons controlled a majority of the lower country. In the spite of their well-known hostility, Wiseman states, "the Anglo-Saxons were brought to embrace the Christian religion; and by their exertions it was brought to pass, that in Britain, which had now

¹⁰ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 162. As indicated from the original document of Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People on the Subject of the Catholic Hierarchy* (London, 1850). Quoted by the Lord Chancellor of Cottenham, Thomas Wilde.

¹¹ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 3, BL.

come to be called England, the Catholic region was everywhere restored and extended.”¹² The opening portion of the letter compliments Gregory the Great who is equally acclaimed by Protestant sects to have been a capable and respected pontiff, he was at least, one of the few decent popes. Additionally, Wiseman’s historical point draws parallels with the situation occurring in 1850 as the Roman Catholic Church was, yet again, attempting to assert a presence in England after the momentous schism of the mid-sixteenth century.¹³ Still, considering the island nation had been an anti-Catholic state for nearly three hundred years, the cardinal held no illusions that his presence could yield any appreciation by a considerable number of irate British Protestants. Wiseman anticipated less a better reception than if the Catholic bishop had been greeted by a hostile group of pagans for that matter.

Wiseman’s priorities never intended to antagonize anti-papal groups, for his concerns only focused on the existing Catholic populations in need of spiritual guidance in England. None the less, he did not underestimate the ramifications and undeniable divide left by English Reformation as he states further, “But the pass on more recent events, the history of the Anglican schism of the sixteenth age presents no feature more remarkable that the care unremittingly exercised by our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs to lend succor, in its hour of extremist peril, to the Catholic religion in that realm, and by ever means to afford I support and assist.”¹⁴ The cardinal further asserts that this proposal to restore a Roman clerical hierarchy in England was not done so in secrecy, for a

¹² Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 3, BL.

¹³ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 3, BL. Wiseman comments over the schism under Henry VIII in his introduction so as to not underestimate the long-term effects of this reinstatement.

¹⁴ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 3, BL.

generation of pontiffs had taken on this process in a gradual fashion.¹⁵ The British themselves were not oblivious to these proposals as Wiseman mentions a series of letters dates and sent July 3, 1840, requesting permission to increase the number of Apostolic Vicariates throughout the realm.¹⁶ From the time of the Reformation, the Vatican classified the British Isles as a missionary state. Thus, the increasing domestic Catholic populations forced the British to consider these requests from the Vatican, yet they shied away from the establishment of dioceses under papal authority or Jesuit schools. Still, the cardinal observed this level of compromise as a significant milestone. The next step to consider advocated for the restoration of an integrated Catholic hierarchy in England; a request that many reactionary Protestants refused to accept in Britain even across the English Channel as far as they were concerned.

It was at this point Wiseman shifted his observations from religious demographics to the transitions of Parliamentary law already permitting existing Catholic chapels and clergy. The combinations of increasing Catholic populations and legal reforms that gradually amended religious persecution are key to Wiseman's address. The conception to establish these Catholic bishoprics within the heart of the British Empire came about by these multiple factors. The means that assured domestic citizenry rights and religious tolerance remained one of the chief components. His exact words elaborate upon this as he states,

Wherefore, having taken into earnest consideration the present state of Catholic affairs in England, and reflecting on the vary large and everywhere increasing number of Catholics there; considering also that the impediments which principally stood in the way of the spread of Catholicity were daily being removed, we judged that the time had arrived

¹⁵ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 4, BL.

¹⁶ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 4, BL.

when the form of the ecclesiastical government in England might be brought back to that model on which it exists freely amongst other nations, where there is particular reason for their being governed by the extraordinary administration of Vicars Apostolic. We were of opinion that times and circumstances had brought it about, that it was unnecessary for the English Catholics to be any longer guided by Vicars Apostolic nay more, that the revolution that had taken place in things there, was such as to demand the form of Ordinary Episcopal government.¹⁷

Wiseman, hence, suggests that the Act of 1829 permitting religious tolerance and increasing numbers of domestic Catholics, required the restoration of the hierarchy and that of the Roman Church. Furthermore, Wiseman and the Roman Church saw no legal obstructions preventing the appointment of bishops and creation of dioceses. Since the Cardinal's pastoral reflected a growing sense of religious freedom in England, certain individuals in Parliament were left to swallow their own enlightened medicine; more for the sake of their fellow British subjects and less so for the papacy.

The conclusion of Wiseman's pastoral letter outlined the transformation of England from a missionary state into specified dioceses with London housing the Archdiocese of Westminster.¹⁸ What was a mere notion written on paper and forwarded to the Vatican on 29 September 1850, soon shocked reactionary Protestants and British nationalists. The event quickly rattled a contingent of authors, conservative groups, and newspaper editors as the media interpreted this as a clear threat to the sovereignty of the British crown. *The Times* fueled this protest as they argued that Wiseman had exploited British law and misrepresented the numbers of English Catholics in the country.¹⁹ The article affirms this further as many construed the pope and his advisors had exploited the legal reforms granted to English Catholics as a means to gain a foothold within the

¹⁷ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 5, BL.

¹⁸ Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 560-2.

¹⁹ "London," *The Times*, 14 October 1850, 4.

British Empire and effectively undermine the zeal of her own domestic church.²⁰ With so many diverse religious denominations to consider, this incident detracted further from the unity of the Anglican Church. Wiseman indicated as much in his writing, “the Church in England might be re-edified and recovered from the great calamity that had befallen her.”²¹ Despite these hopes, that a Catholic presence could reinvigorate religious fervor in the land by example, skeptics and critics did not agree with Wiseman’s conceptions nor did they approve of his intentions to restore an antiquated Catholic hierarchy answerable to a foreign power. It came as no surprise to find irate and condemning letters circulating to the newly appointed archbishop, Arthur Trevelyan’s letters among them.

Upon first glance at the wording of this individual message, it is somewhat difficult to generalize such blunt criticisms by calling them akin to hate mail. However, Trevelyan’s apparent dislike for the Wiseman and clear disdain for the papacy firmly indicated by his prose, which is far from a diplomatic form of correspondence. The opening itself leaves little to the imagination as the letter commences with a highly charged judgment. “I cannot believe you to be a sincere Christian – were you so, you could not countenance the Pope (Pio Nono), who scrupled to employ hired men-butchers (Christian soldiers!) to reinstate him on a temporal throne – a deed accomplished only by the horrible sacrifice of many human lives.”²² He then expands upon this accusation by referring to the acts of violence and suppression the Catholic Church implemented throughout the ages arguing them to be equivalent to the murder of Abel by Cain. Thus, any who associate and serve the papacy bore this seemingly accursed, if not openly

²⁰ “London,” *The Times*, 4.

²¹ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 5, BL.

²² Arthur Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman* (London: J. Watson, 1851), 1, British Library.

visible, mark.²³ In a language and style that is comparable to John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Trevelyan vilifies the Vatican for its tarnished episodes of history and finds no legitimacy in the pope's monarchical rule.²⁴ In a style similar to a court judge reviewing a man's criminal record, the author holds the Catholic Church accountable for the innocents it had murdered across the centuries. Thus, Trevelyan finds no redemption for such crimes by an ecclesiastical institution.²⁵ Amidst such harsh accusations, he pauses to acknowledge the manner of words conveyed by his Eminence being "mild" in tone, only to later comment that such means are a deception, and he has no reason to trust Wiseman's religious authority.²⁶

This brief, yet provocative, dialog turns increasingly bitter as the letter continues. However, the following text provides an interesting insight of Trevelyan's intense dispute as he clarifies his distrust by writing, "Had you power to persecute, never for one moment would I trust to your tender mercy, or that of any other Christian priest, whether Catholic or Protestant; for the tender mercy of priests in power, has ever been cruel."²⁷ Far from taking an evangelical position or prompting words to defend the Church of England against papal influence, the author emphasizes his mistrust for centralized religious authority in any form. A question then surfaces: what spiritual or moral stance is Trevelyan making against the cardinal? The following offers insight as the author states:

I am indifferent to all religious belief, and expect neither temporal nor spiritual rewards. Still my morals forbid me to lift even my little finger to injure any of my fellow-creatures, or, like other anti-Christ bishops and priests, employ lawyers to revenge myself on those that offend me;

²³ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 1, BL.

²⁴ Norman, *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England*, 13.

²⁵ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

²⁶ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

²⁷ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

therefore are my morals superior to a religion, powerless to prevent its disciples from being revengeful, even becoming murderers, cutting the throats of co-religionists, and assisting in the dreadful slaughter of human life, when by so doing power and wealth are to be gained.²⁸

The archbishop relied upon the Act of 1829 to justify a tolerated presence of the Catholic clergy in England; responding to Pius IX's defense of the papacy by force against Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72).²⁹ Trevelyan finds nothing lawful in the conduct of any religious institution that emphasizes power with the use of popular violence when such conditions arise under extreme circumstances.

The letter maintains a stern tone of protest, the style of the author's questions is comparable to the concerns of an adamant, yet enlightened, Victorian mentality. This method presented itself as less than a matter of protecting the Protestant church from clashing with the Catholics. For Trevelyan, the incursion was more an issue of preventing a foreign medieval religious hierarchy from interfering with a modernized society. Immediately meaning to vilify the brazen acts of these agents of the Vatican, Trevelyan finds no sanctuary or solace in this religious institution. His dissatisfaction leads him to conclude, "the conduct of the Pope and his supporters, like that of all Christian government where power is upheld by human blood-hounds, leaves us but one conclusion to come to, and that is, medically, we consider them moral lunatics – therefore, not responsible beings."³⁰

²⁸ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

²⁹ Alfred Owen Legge, *Pius IX: The Story of His Life to the Restoration in 1850, with Glimpses at the National Movement in Italy*, vol. 1 (Chapman and Hall, 1875), 343.

³⁰ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 3, BL.

The disclosure highlights a contradiction in allowing the law to establish and maintain these churches. Such a concept that, according to Trevelyan, is antithetical to the enlightened morals that he is arguing.³¹ In this analysis, there is little to indicate his appreciation or disdain for the Protestant denominations. Rather, he advocates laws calling for the protections of life and liberty. His closing argument to Wiseman states, “The only sacred things are human life and liberty, and intellectual freedom, under the influence of pure morality.”³² Hence, he found no sense of free thought or tranquility for his fellow countrymen under the thumb of Catholic authority. Comparable to an irate persona of Voltaire (1696-1778), the message proved a unique one in contrast to many already forwarded to the Cardinal in early months of 1851. Despite having a seemingly agnostic view, this obscure dialog quickly followed with publication and a wide circulation serving to fueling an intense anti-papal media campaign. If Nicholas Wiseman received this particular, and arguably hostile, correspondence it was likely amongst hundreds already flooding into the diocesan office in Leyton during the early months of 1851.

The contrast between these letters offers a small insight into the larger and complex story of how extremist British Protestants and nationals reacted to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. Having to factor in the histories of the religious wars, the decline of the Anglican Church, and efforts to secure religious tolerance throughout the realm, it is not astonishing to find enlightened critics opposing the influence of the old institutions of the Catholic Church. Even if

³¹ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 4, BL.

³² Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 3-4, BL.

critics such as Trevelyan held no religious enthusiasm unlike evangelical Protestants, the common threat of papal aggression drew many to voice similar opposition. This bitter dispute also reflected a new transition in these religious arguments as nationalist priorities and domestic law were now becoming the primary concerns of the British Empire. As with the economic crisis in 2008 that led many Americans to focus their resentment to Bernard Madoff's (1938-) insidious Ponzi scheme, the Victorian Protestants of the 1850s held a similar contempt for Cardinal Wiseman as a figurehead for their current predicament as they hastily vilified his actions asserting foreign papal institutions throughout England. Despite the abundant protests, the extreme anti-papal opposition did not oust the Cardinal or his Catholic bishoprics. Wiseman himself resided in Leyton throughout his function as head of the English Catholic Church. He remained so in the East End of London until he died in 1865; he was succeeded by the former Anglican cleric and new convert to Roman Catholicism, Henry Edward Manning.³³ At most, the concerns only prompted Parliamentary regulations and inquiries into these institutions in the following years. For Britannia may have continued to boast she still ruled the waves for next half the nineteenth century, yet the situation regarding domestic control of spiritual powers remained a contested and unresolved matter for many decades to come.

³³ Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, 654.

CHAPTER FOUR

DIVERSITY WITHIN 'POPULAR' BRITISH ANTI-CATHOLIC BELIEFS

The British government attempted to counter perceived and unwarranted influence from the Vatican with the ratification of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851. The distribution of anti-Catholic materials escalated as parliamentary policy and deliberation did little to dislodge the Catholic hierarchy from England. The apparent ineffectiveness of Parliament to effect change, further rallied ultra-Protestant authors and clergy to criticize the tolerance of Roman Catholic clergy in the midst of their Protestant nation.¹ The turbulent arguments from these authors and commentators typically targeted the papacy in Rome. In contrast to unanimous agitation among British Protestants, motives for Catholic opposition proved more diverse from Evangelicals, Victorian secularists, and British nationalists who equally vilified the actions of the Nicholas Wiseman and the Pope. Yet the grievances behind their protests acknowledged a combination of political and religious priorities. The crucial factor remained; how did these extremist anti-papal groups consider the position of their fellow English Catholic subjects? After all, were they, in part, responsible for the restoration of hierarchy? John Russell, Whig MP, and later Prime Minister and a majority of Parliament held no political incentive to favor British Catholic subjects in light of the current dilemma. The situation did not merit any radical actions to suspend their civic rights nor could such a policy be deemed practical, for the essential villain of the crisis stemmed from the Vatican, not Great Britain's own subjects.

¹ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 18, 23. In *Britons* she clearly makes her point about British sentiments favoring Protestantism.

Still, blaming the English Catholics as the cause of this ‘papal aggression’ did not escape the minds of extreme conservative groups such as the Protestant Association. Having a long history of protesting the concessions and legal reforms granted to English Catholics, the P.A. demonstrated their opposition in the Gordon Riots of 1780, the Catholic Relief Act of 1829, and, and the 1840s Oxford Movement.² Clearly, acts of popular violence against Catholics were not out of the question.³ In the midst of the Victorian period, members who comprised this organization certainly held no appreciation for the situation precipitating from the Vatican, yet circumstances called for a more precise and tactful response. For as more popular anti-Catholic pamphlets and published letters circulated throughout London, the British regard for English Catholics differed even among these ultra-conservative groups. The impression of a marginal sense of religious tolerance still lingered in the minds of certain authors in regards to their fellow countrymen, even amidst this crisis. A tolerant mentality, however, did not apply to the more radical and grandiose anti-papal works that flooded the streets of London, as well as the rest of the country, to gain the momentum of public reaction. For as many of these sources intended provocation, the truth behind their statements is not the main object. The importance of this widely cast debate rests upon how the public ultimately interpreted and responded to it.

When considering the term ‘popular’ anti-Catholic literature, the subject is not an obscure area of study by Victorian scholars and historians. D.G. Paz’s particular work, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, provides a detailed account of the

² Colley, *Britons*, 22.

³ Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain, 1700-1850* (London: Routledge, 1991), 127.

variety and impact of Protestant defiance against the Catholic hierarchy in England. His particular research highlights ulterior motives as with the case relating to the Protestant Association for mobilizing public fear against Vatican influence; the Association was not exclusively devoted to the defense of the Anglican Church.⁴ Even before the crisis of the restoration, Paz notes the anti-papal slogans utilized for political purposes that prompted many British officials to evaluate the influx of Irish Catholic populations in Manchester and Liverpool during elections.⁵ For this reason, British public officials found it politically unfavorable to antagonize this concentrated Catholic populous by vilifying them with Nicholas Wiseman and the papacy as significantly they held the right to vote. Another chief component that attributed to the diversity and abundance of this anti-Catholic material resided in the formation of Protestant publishing groups near high concentrations of Catholic populations, Manchester being one of the prime examples.⁶ Despite bearing with political and practical concerns, this did not temper members of the Protestant Association to affirm or support the civic rights of any “supposed papists.”⁷ The London press became mired with the controversy surrounding Wiseman’s appointment as Archbishop of Westminster. Reactionary Protestant groups did not wish to make their protests subtle or sought to shield their opposition from the Catholic clergy from P.A. opposition.

A key historical monograph to consider when analyzing Victorian anti-Catholic reactions is Frank H. Wallis’s *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian Britain* as it

⁴ D.G. Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 111.

⁵ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 199, 205.

⁶ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 280.

⁷ Paz, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England*, 153.

further explains the ultra-Protestants regards for English Catholics. According to this evidence, these conservative groups did not place any considerable effort to distinguish whether individual English Catholics held reservations for supporting the papacy.⁸ Furthermore, militant Protestants made no efforts to recognize English Catholics as British subjects due to the issue of their theological practice, all of which centralized upon the indispensable presence of a foreign, and Romanist, priest.⁹ Despite these critiques and skepticisms, conservative Protestant evangelicals vilified the increasing presence of the Catholic Church all the while Anglican clergy contended with multiple Protestant denominations and dwindling congregations within their own national churches. Wallis's research outlining the alarmed reactions of British Protestants also concurs with the Census of Religious Worship conducted in 1851 taking in the account of the churches in London lacking significant attendance.¹⁰ Many churchmen concluded the decline in the congregations could be attributed to fracturing within the Anglican Church, multiple evangelical denominations, and the Tractarians. Thus, at the time of the Catholic restoration, the Church of England (CoE) fueled public and political reactions as they believed they were competing against an integrated foreign hierarchy of the Roman Church.¹¹ The Protestant clergy harbored reasons to resent the Tractarians or the Oxford Movement for encouraging this Catholic presence, they found little incentive to regard English Catholics favorably amidst this crisis. Wallis's final conclusions elaborates upon the grandiose nature of these anti-Catholic publications and explains their diverse origins.

⁸ Frank H. Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain* (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1993), 21.

⁹ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain*, 23.

¹⁰ Great Britain and Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales* (London: G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1853).

¹¹ Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain*, 54.

He asserts that Protestant prejudices toward Catholics were not based on facts, but merely based on the convenience of assumption.¹² In effect, the dichotomy and motive for each Victorian Protestant author varied as they promoted their arguments with ever more lavish and fearful titles of papal aggression. Both Paz and Wallis questioned over the initial social impact and nature of British Anti-Catholicism. Yet it is surprising that few historians have considered comparing these primary and provocative British sources to a crucial question. Despite the grandiose and irate tone of these anti-papal works, did these materials still factor, and marginally acknowledge, the civic rights of English Catholics?

Opposition to the potential and unwanted influences of the Vatican remained the common objective, for it is extremely doubtful Protestant sources offered praise for the circumstances of 1850. Still, the complexities and practicalities of how British Protestants addressed the situation remain diverse as scholars and theologians forwarded their concerns and criticisms to Parliament and the newly instated cardinal. Some authors advocated stronger actions against the Catholic hierarchy; others reevaluated the relationship of a British national identity with its religious institutions to counteract Wiseman's intentions. One such correspondence letter, forwarded by an anonymous member of the Middle Temple in London, directed itself to Lord John Russell and elaborated on several critical issues.¹³ Reacting to the prime minister's previous speeches in Parliament conducted during the early weeks of February, this criticism addressed the ineffectiveness of Russell's actions saying the Papal system "that its encroachments can

¹² Wallis, *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Britain*, 254.

¹³ Anonymous, *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a Remedy for Anglican Assumption, and Papal Aggression. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell* (London: R. Groombridge & Sons, 1851), British Library (BL).

never be effectually resisted, by the machinery of a *merely secular* policy.”¹⁴ Shortly after, the author provides a modernized solution that reinforces the idea of religious and autonomous sovereignty as follows:

To render our National Church effectual to this great end, ought henceforth to be the chief aim and purpose of all her true members. A question, however, of no small perplexity immediately arises - by what *instrumentality* is such an object to be made attainable in the present day, and under existing circumstances. I trust it will appear, in the course of the following remarks, that there still survives, in the Supremacy of the Crown, a constitutional power adequate to its successful accomplishment: and fully competent, both to suppress flagrant abuses; and likewise to authorize such modifications of our devotional services, as may render the Church more scriptural as a *Christian* communion, and more comprehensive and efficient as a *national* establishment.¹⁵

Thus, the principle question for this author queried the authority of balance between the church and state the British autonomously upheld. With the onset of the Catholic restoration, papal authority, asserted by doctrine, significantly disrupted this ‘national’ model as public skepticism resigned on the divided influence of spiritual concerns and its impact upon the laity.¹⁶ Many within the Anglican Church found this situation as problematic, as an incentive for reform, and they urged governmental intervention. Protestors such as these still held hopes for a model of “pure religion and of the most enlightened civil policy.”¹⁷ This concept, at least, placed English Catholics into a tolerable classification provided they could very impartially remain isolated from papal influence.

¹⁴ Anonymous, *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a Remedy for Anglican Assumption, and Papal Aggression. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell*, 3, BL.

¹⁵ Anonymous, *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a Remedy for Anglican Assumption, and Papal Aggression. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell*, 4-5, BL.

¹⁶ Anonymous, *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a Remedy for Anglican Assumption, and Papal Aggression. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell*, 29-30, BL.

¹⁷ Anonymous, *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a Remedy for Anglican Assumption, and Papal Aggression. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord J. Russell*, 40, BL.

As reactionary Anglicans demanded parliamentary action, secular critics contributed their advice to the church-state split controversy. After all, the Gorham debates of 1850 raised just this question as the British government already imposed authority upon ecclesial institutions.¹⁸ Arthur Trevelyan's published letter directed against Nicholas Wiseman provides a prime example. His opposition was not based on Anglican, Evangelical, or even mainstream Protestant concerns. He openly discloses that he was "indifferent to all religious belief, and expect neither temporal nor spiritual rewards."¹⁹ The author's criticisms were based upon the distrust he held for both Wiseman and the Catholic Church. There was no lacking of provocative words as Trevelyan attacked the Catholic bishop's sincerity by stating the following: Although your Eminence's words are mild, had you power to persecute, never for one moment would I trust to your tender mercy, or that of any other Christian priest, whether Catholic or Protestant; for the tender mercy of priests in power, has ever been cruel.²⁰ This secular perspective not only placed the Catholic Church under scrutiny; it also took into account less than reputable actions of Protestants in the prior centuries. Hence, a restored Catholic presence in Britain certainly resurrected the bitter memories of these religious conflicts. Of course, the fault lay with Rome. He writes in a very racist fashion:

The conduct of the Pope and his supporters, like that of all Christian government where power is upheld by human blood-hounds, leaves us but one conclusion to come to, and that is, medically, we consider them moral lunatics – therefore, not responsible beings. Were they otherwise, the committal of such a dreadful crime as murder would make them unhappy,

¹⁸ Peter C. Erb, *The Correspondence of Henry Edward Manning and William Ewart Gladstone: The Complete Correspondence, 1833-1891* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), lxxi.

¹⁹ Arthur Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman* (London: J. Watson, 1851), 2, British Library.

²⁰ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

and no same individual would remain in a position that caused them unhappiness.²¹

Such vivid a description gives little credit to the undesirable Catholics who welcomed the presence of their own clergy. Here Trevelyan is most likely making a blunt reference to Irish immigrants. Falling short of disclosing a course of action, the author concludes his arguments by praising human life, liberty, and intellectual freedom: virtues he does find in the Catholic Church or those who support it. Thus, the criticism only serves to plant a seed of discord.

Despite the constant onslaught of criticism mounted against the papacy, few sources mention the direct question of English among Irish Catholics. For most critics tend to aim their harsh criticism directly against Rome and appear reserved when speaking too harshly against their fellow British subjects. However, a few publications do not mince words when discussing Catholics. One such provocative source, *The Peril of Papal Aggression: or the Case as It Stands between the Queen and the Pope*, written and signed with a penname Anglicanus, rates as one of the most outspoken examples. Like many distraught Protestant British, the author argues the papal actions were highly advantageous to the Church of Rome:

As years have worn on and party feeling has abated, the laws against Papists have been gradually and liberally relaxed. Of late years, and especially since 1829, not only has an active persecution against Roman Catholics ceased, but disabilities of every kind have been removed, and they have been placed in posts of honour and emolument from which they were before excluded. They have been admitted to parliament, to seats at the council board, to lucrative public offices; to be governors of colonies and provinces, and to embassies and commissions.²²

²¹ Trevelyan, *A Letter to Cardinal Wiseman*, 2, BL.

²² Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression: or the Case as It Stands between the Queen and the Pope* (London: Bosworth, 1851), 9, Lambeth Palace Archives (LPA).

First, the author acknowledges the rise of respectable English Catholics.

They have received public money for their education, and, in the colonies, for the payment of their clergy.²³

Hence, the public's government revenue went to Ireland, a British colony.

The utmost toleration has been granted in the exercise of their religious services. They have been suffered to infringe the law by procession, by appearing in the public streets in the ecclesiastical vestments and robes of religious orders.²⁴

In turn, the law has permitted the Catholics to practice their faith in public. "They have been exempted from oaths that many are obliged to take."²⁵ Thus, the question of allegiance to a foreign power, the pope, was now mute.

They erect churches and found monasteries and convents, and revile the Establish Church, and hold up her minister and principles to ridicule without let or hindrance.²⁶

The Catholics even claimed real-estate in the cities.

The bulls of the Pope are brought into the county, published, boasted of, acted on, with perfect impunity.²⁷

It is here the author establishes the British 'laxation' of anti-Catholicism as progressive religious tolerance, despite its well-meaning by Parliament and her majesty, now is ultimately responsible for the predicament nearing the end of 1850.

As with the majority of other works, Anglicanus the author of *The Peril of Papal Aggression: or the Case as It Stands between the Queen and the Pope* applauds the conception of how the British institutions maintained an amenable sense of the laws of

²³ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 9.

²⁴ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 9.

²⁵ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 9.

²⁶ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 9.

²⁷ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 9.

social progress.²⁸ In effect, he does not raise criticism of this conduct; rather he finds no trust in the cosmopolitan Catholic. He reinforced his fears by providing examples regarding uncompromising position all Catholics must adhere toward as the author discloses extracts of a confession prescribed and tendered (*prascripta et proposita*). Protestants in Hungary and Germany indicated these accounts upon their reception into the communion of Rome, A.D. 1673:

No. II. We confess that the Pope of Rome is head of the Church, and *cannot err*.²⁹

III. We confess and are certain that the Pope of Rome is the Vicar of Christ, and has plenary power of remitting and retaining sins *according to his will*, and of thrusting men down into hell.³⁰

IV. We confess that whatever *new thing* the Pope of Roman may have *instituted*, whether it be in Scripture or out of Scripture, is true, *divine, and salvific*, and therefore ought to be regarded as of *higher* value by lay-people than *the precepts of the living God*.

V. We confess that the most Holy Pontiff ought to be honored by all with *divine honour*, with the major genuflexion due to Christ himself.

VI. We confess and affirm that the Pope is to be obeyed by all men, *in all things without exception*, and that whoever contravenes his decrees is not only to be *burnt without mercy*, but to be delivered, *body and soul*, to hell.

XVIII. We confess that the Blessed Virgin Mary is the Queen of Heaven, and reigns *together with her son (simulque cum filio regnare)*, and that her Son ought to act in all things according to her will.

XXI. We confess that *Holy Scripture* is imperfect and a *dead letter*, until explained by the supreme Pontiff, and permitted by him to be read by the lay-people.³¹

²⁸ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 7.

²⁹ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 18.

³⁰ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 18-9.

³¹ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 19.

Such vows that leave little compromise between ecclesial and secular priorities placed considerable pressure upon the English Catholics.

As other publications have pleaded for parliamentary intervention or fallen short of offering definite solutions. The letter signed by Anglicanus offers a direct list of objections and reflects a general distrust with the Catholic Church. In a sermon-like fashion, the author issues a call to action in the name of God and with God's help:

Let us hope that our legislature will set forward a sober and well considered resistance, and that by God's help some effect steps may yet be taken to ensure the stability of the throne, and extension of the Church, and the peace of the nation.

Amongst many suggestions, the following attempting to strike at the root of the evil:

1. Let it be made illegal for any English subject to take such an oath as every Roman Catholic bishop is now compelled to take.
2. Let it be make illegal for the Roman Catholic Church to act in a corporate form, by synod or otherwise in these dominions.
3. Let it be made illegal to bring into this country or to put in force any papal bull or rescript.
4. Let it be made illegal to establish a Romish hierarchy in any shape.

Boldly, Anglicanus demanded,

5. Let the Pope be called upon to retract such laws and constitutions in his church as are incompatible with the supremacy of our Queen and the liberty of her subjects.³²

Most consequential of all, the author's last proposal states, "Let so much of the Act of 1829 as give the Roman Church the power of increasing her influence, as a church, in this

³² Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 39.

country be forthwith repealed.”³³ While other critics and religious commentators sought to limit solely papal influence, this proposal took aim at English Catholics themselves by denying them their equal standing as British subjects established over two decades before. In effect, they faced the prospect of having their status reduced to second-class subjects once again. Despite the context of the writing chiefly to vilify the papacy, this suggested mandate implies little trust for the Catholics of England, regardless of their views concerning the restoration.

The protection of such obscurity explains the boasting of such a radical position when compared to other sources, sparing the author unwarranted criticism. Extremist as these conclusions are conveyed, such brash conceptions intended to gain publicity. Being both radical and provocative, organizations like the P.A. surely circulated such accounts. Furthermore, proposals to bar or limit the rights of English Catholics did not escape the minds of irate British Protestants as the Catholic population in England increased and prompted the motion of a re-establish hierarchy in the first place.

³³ Anglicanus, *The Peril of Papal Aggression*, 39.



Figure 1. Illustration from *Punch*, Issued November 1850.

Parliament itself confronted the problem of how to regard their fellow English Catholics in the wake of this mounting public concern. Those who represented conservative views elaborated upon this dilemma in the early months of 1851 during the second proposal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. The First Earl of Selborne, MP Roundell Palmer (1812-95) openly opposed the ratification of this proposed statute in light of its apparent ineffectiveness to halt Catholic influence by regulating the Roman clergy.³⁴ The

³⁴ Roundell Palmer, *Papal Aggression: a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the Motion for the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, March 14, 1851...with an Appendix* (London: Parker, 1851), 5, Lambeth Palace Archives.

question of oaths rendered to multiple sovereign states, be it temporal or ecclesial, served as a crucial concern for Roundell as such forms of legislature simply could not guarantee or assure the loyalty and obedience of a ‘Popish priest.’³⁵ His suspicions of divided loyalties then shifted to English Catholics among them as he states the following among his peers:

No doubt this may seem logically correct; but have we not decided that our legislation shall not be based upon any such alarm, and that we will trust the professions of allegiance made by our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, who say they do not hold a divided allegiance? We have taken the Roman Catholics at their word; we have even admitted them to the seats in this House; and when we have thus given them the full substance of political power, is it reasonable, sensible, or consistent to draw back as soon as they extend their ecclesiastical institutions, and to refuse them the complete enjoyment of that prior, dearer, and more sacred right, the liberty of religion, which every man values above very political privilege?³⁶

Provocative as these questions seemed, the First Earl of Selborne’s main point rested upon the standing of Roman bishops answerable to the British government. Despite his efforts to undermine the effectiveness of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, his latter words certainly alienated and proverbially ostracized any English Catholic laymen who happened to hear them in the halls of Parliament on that day.

The political issue concerning English Catholics intensified in the closing months of 1850. Hence, the debate concerning divided loyalties between queen and pope remained a contested topic among conservatives and ultra-Protestants long before the papacy even proposed establishing bishoprics throughout England. As Parliament

³⁵ Palmer, *Papal Aggression: a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the Motion for the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, March 14, 1851...with an Appendix*, 9, LPA.

³⁶ Palmer, *Papal Aggression: a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons on the Motion for the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, March 14, 1851...with an Appendix*, 9, LPA.

considered their fellow Catholic subjects a political liability in 1851, a host of conservative religious organizations wrestled with the distinction of English Catholics among fellow British. The Oxford Movement had already fueled dispute over the standing and national priorities of English Catholics. One such example that gives a keen insight to this reaction took place at a publicized meeting of the P.A. at Manchester in early March of 1843; seven years prior to the climactic events in 1850.³⁷ The P.A. debate immediately vilifies the papacy for its missionary practices within England, the following account seemingly tempers the audience's anger towards English Catholics as indicated by Hugh Boyd M'neile's 1843 speech delivered to the Protestant Association in Manchester. Here, M'neile opens his oration by directly denying unappreciative language against English Catholics:

Now, there are those who call speaking in this way 'railing' against Roman Catholics. There are persons who will say that when we speak about Missionary Society and missionary efforts, and show you the sad state the Heathens are in, we do all this out of love to the Heathen, in order that we may send them the Gospel.³⁸

Thus, he compares the attitudes of Protestants towards Catholics and heathens, almost conflating the two on a universal spectrum.

But that when we speak of Romanism, and show the sad state that the poor Romanists are in and who are thus kept away from Jesus – instead of this bringing love to them, and a desire to send them the Gospel, it is set down as hatred to them, as anger against them; and while we get credit for loving the Heathen, and desiring at our missionary meetings to bring them God, we are accused of hating the Papist at our Protestant Meetings. Now

³⁷ Hugh Boyd M'neile, *The Papal Antichrist: the Church of Rome Proved to Have the Marks of Antichrist: being the Substance of Speech Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Manchester Protestant Association...March 7, 1843* (London: Hatchard's [and others] for the Protestant Association, 1843), 5, Lambeth Palace Archives.

³⁸ M'neile, *The Papal Antichrist: the Church of Rome Proved to Have the Marks of Antichrist: being the Substance of Speech Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Manchester Protestant Association...March 7, 1843*, 5, LPA.

I protest I don't like the Heathen half so much as I like the Papists. (Applause.) I have acquaintance with many Papists, and I would take a great deal of pains to do them good, from personal feelings of respect for them. (Hear, hear.) They are my fellow-countrymen; and I cannot be one to those cosmopolitans of the present time, who throw patriotism over their shoulder.³⁹

Amazingly, the speaker gave English Catholics credit as fellow countrymen and for being patriotic British gentlemen taking pride in this stance.

I love the Papist better than I love Hottentots a thousand times; and is it in anger I speak thus about the system? Not at all. If I wished to show my anger at them I would not say a word about Popery, like those lady drones who, out of their pretended charity for the Catholics, as they call them, would leave them to perish in idolatry without ever once asking them to look to Jesus. And that is love and charity! And what is their excuse? Their excuse is, that Romanism is Christianity as well as Protestantism.⁴⁰

Drawing on this question, he uses faith practices as a measure of distinction. He is beginning to see the Catholic tradition as both a challenge and an opportunity for evangelicalism, so as to bring the Protestant message to all Catholics.

Is it so? (No, no.) Is it Christianity to come to pray to the creature to get at Jesus instead of coming to Jesus himself, who came to be “bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh,” that we might breathe our sorrows to the sympathizing ear, and lay our weary heads upon the sympathizing bosom of God manifest in the flesh? Is it Christianity to set him half-way between heaven and earth, and to set between him and us his mother and the saints?⁴¹

As a climax, he adds this harsh closing: “Instead of having in our secret prayers Jesus himself – that day's man that puts his hand upon God and man? No, if Romanism be

³⁹ M'neile, *The Papal Antichrist: the Church of Rome Proved to Have the Marks of Antichrist: being the Substance of Speech Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Manchester Protestant Association...March 7, 1843, 5, LPA.*

⁴⁰ M'neile, *The Papal Antichrist: the Church of Rome Proved to Have the Marks of Antichrist: being the Substance of Speech Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Manchester Protestant Association...March 7, 1843, 5, LPA.*

⁴¹ M'neile, *The Papal Antichrist: the Church of Rome Proved to Have the Marks of Antichrist: being the Substance of Speech Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Manchester Protestant Association...March 7, 1843, 5, LPA.*

among ultra-Protestants prompted more assertive action in the following months. During one of the Protestant Associations publicized meetings in May of 1851, a speaker who addressed the chairman of the committee stated, “as Popery was a religious-political system, it should be opposed politically as well as theologically.”⁴³ The speaker then indicated the House of Lords only recently rejected a second proposal from the House of Commons permitting those of Jewish persuasion to serve as members of Parliament.⁴⁴ Thus, the government veto affirmed their agreement as the P.A. rallied against the bill long before its deliberation. The relevance of this situation now encouraged conservative heads of state to bar, or at least limit, the political influence of English Catholics.⁴⁵ Even as less compromising groups of ultra-Protestants sought to find some way of containing this influx of papal influence, various newspapers and publications already added to the impression of English Catholics as being a national liability only a few weeks prior to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. One such article in *The Times* accounts for this reactionary Protestant mentality as a public meeting, held in the month of October in 1850. It indicated that the papacy justified their actions by a tally of misrepresented numbers of Catholics within England. Many irate attendees then left with the conclusion that “the pope and his advisors had mistaken English tolerance for indifference. They had mistaken the renovated zeal of the Church in this country for a return to Romish bondage.”⁴⁶ The impression of a common tolerance toward English Catholics still loomed in the British mindset.

⁴³ “Protestant Association,” *London Daily News*, May 15, 1851, 3.

⁴⁴ “Protestant Association,” *London Daily News*, 3.

⁴⁵ “Protestant Association,” *London Daily News*, 3.

⁴⁶ “London,” *The Times*, 14 October, 1850, 4.

Despite the increasing disfavor for English Catholics after the restoration of the hierarchy throughout England, the proposed actions meant to impede or suspend the civil rights of these questionable British subjects remained diverse. For as the public fell under a perpetual bombardment of anti-papal media, the most radical publications intended to gain notoriety for being so provocative, if not politically practical. Organizations such as the P.A. and conservative members of Parliament saw little effective actions against the presence of the Catholic Church, this is understandable why extremists published or stated such grandiose suggestions to bar English Catholics from governmental matters. Conservative Protestant groups still considered the national identity of these individuals a significant problem. The situation of an impending papal presence in the heart of Britain forced many critics and authors to pressure Parliament to act. Some publications even suggested that Parliament bar Catholic influence in the deliberating body. Thus, many reactionary authors and conservative organizations simply made the question of acknowledging English Catholics rights as equal subjects a low priority after 1850. Protestors concluded the only way to oust or regulate the newly established 'foreign' bishoprics resided in parliamentary policy. This culminated into a considerable sum of publications and articles that advocated for the restriction of English Catholics from serving as members. The specifics of religious practices among English Catholics remained a secondary concern, less so for secular critics, for the current issue surrounded how much open support they actually gave the pope in light of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy.

The diversity of ultra-Protestant and secular reactionaries all agree upon the vilification of the papacy and yet remain divided, uncertain, or in some cases omit

altogether the question of identity. Some indicated a marginal recognition of acknowledging English Catholics as equal subjects. The situation after 1850, particularly in London, eroded that conception leaving other extreme reactionaries to protest the Catholic Relief Act of 1829. Despite these increasing unfavorable views to English Catholics, Parliament did not go so far as to limit their rights as English subjects. The British government only reacted to public pressure with the passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851, which sought to regulate the Catholic clergy with very little success in the following years to come. It remained impractical and inconsistent with British law to place blame or reduce English Catholics to second-class citizens in light of the restoration. Nonetheless, evangelicals, anti-papal groups, and statesmen still sought to regulate these growing papal institutions. If they could not oust the foreign messenger, they could now try to at least partially muzzle and isolate these locations such as traditional churches from the domestic Catholic populations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHURCH REVIVAL IN LONDON: KEEPING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AT BAY

In April 1878, *The Times* published the commentaries and stern protests from an irate letter forwarded by the acclaimed Victorian social activist William Morris (1834-96). In his correspondence, he vigorously opposed the demolition of a selected number of historical churches within the City of London. The combinations of domestic policy and some urgency for civic modernization suddenly contributed to the destruction of these notable places of worship. The controversy even considered the dismantling of several of the most revered structures in London, all reconstructed and redesigned by the renowned seventeenth-century English architect Christopher Wren (1632-1723) after the Great Fire in 1666.¹ In response to this, Morris spared no diplomatic words to these destructive actions as he vilified them for being acts “of outrageous and monstrous barbarity” for Victorians to undertake.² Over the course of the past few decades, a considerable number of these churches fell under scrutiny as political and social events played out behind the scenes. In response, the City attempted to find reasons to rid themselves of these aging structures; while activist groups sought some motive to preserve others. Unfortunately, the increasing number of those condemned for demolition angered Morris and those who showed great appreciation for such architectural achievements unique to London. In the midst of this reaction, a question lingered: Why this sudden and increasing trend of church demolitions within London over these past few decades? The City itself utilized

¹ Ben Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad: Preservationism, Demolitionism, and the City of London Churches, 1860 – 1904,” *The Journal of British Studies* 53 (1961): 400.

² Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 400.

building renovations and deconstruction methods before, yet nothing that previously involved so many revered locations. As these churches fell to the streets, some practical issues marked their very demise as any antiquated building would have during modern times. Still, the chief catalyst that ultimately attributed to their destruction surfaced shortly after 1850 as London, and the entire nation, confronted religious and domestic predicaments with the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy.³ Thus, this manner of British church restoration and demolition originated from a sense of Victorian anti-Catholic reaction spanning from the mid-1800s.

In a rather ironic turn of events, efforts to promote religious and clerical reform in both Anglican liturgy and priestly functions indirectly contributed to the Catholic restoration in 1850. To combat this concern of a dwindling clerical influence, the Church of England sensed an established urgency for reform. The shock of the event stirred a common reaction, for no Victorian living in the prior decade could have suspected that their own government simply would allow the re-establishment of Catholic bishoprics in the realm. For Parliament made it distinctly clear to the papacy that England remained a missionary state.⁴ With an abundant circulation of pro-Protestant publications and newspapers already fueling popular anti-Catholic sentiments, the media left many British subjects with the impression that there was a strong, unified consensus within the Church of England. Still, the situation in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century was contrary to that assertion. A culmination of denominational fractures and a lack of cohesion among the various Protestant sects of England left many theologians to

³ Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter* (London, 1851), 2.

⁴ Johanna H. Hartring, *Catholic London Missions: From the Reformation to 1856* (London: Sands & Co., 1903), ix-x.

reconsider their methodologies.⁵ This religious diversity also attributed to a certain numbers of priests hosting services for decreasing congregations in major urban areas, particularly those of London.⁶

These problems became more apparent by authors and commentators as the great City housed a considerable array of aging churches and neglectful clergy. Some even criticized the antiquated structures, not to mention unmotivated priests, commenting that these circumstances left an unremarkable and less influential impact on the populace.⁷ The great Victorian author Charles Dickens (1812-1870) also recalled these decayed places of worship as their architectural appearance and conduct of service left no lasting impressions upon the dwindling congregations.⁸ In a relevant, yet ironic, point Dickens admitted he cultivated “a familiarity with all the churches of Rome” and knew next to nothing about these religious establishments within London.⁹ The critiques in his work, *The Uncommercial Traveler*, left many British Protestants with an impression to reconsider their own liturgy, possible renovations to these existing structures, and perhaps, a new practical functionality for the Sunday sermon.¹⁰ Even as these observations meant to portray these institutions in a rather obsolete fashion, the need to reorganize and standardize specified practices sent an alarming message for the clergy of England.¹¹ Still, this priority to accelerate church revival and clerical reviews within the

⁵ G.I.T. Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-1868* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 76.

⁶ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 400.

⁷ John Gross, *The Oxford Book of Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 199.

⁸ Gross, *The Oxford Book of Essays*, 200.

⁹ Gross, *The Oxford Book of Essays*, 197.

¹⁰ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 406.

¹¹ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 405.

City of London did not come about from the instruction of the Anglican Church or Parliament. Ironically, the urgency came about with an unprecedented historical event that stemmed from the Vatican in Rome.

The sudden announcement of Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral letter effectively appointed him as Archbishop on September 29th of 1850.¹² His official installation occurred in St. George's Chapel, Southwark, on the seventh of December nearly two months later. The cathedral only permitted admission by distributing tickets in an attempt to confine the service to the local congregation. Observers noted that over one-half of the attendees only participated out of curiosity as they did not display a familiarity with the service.¹³ The ceremony presented itself as a benign event, identifying "Dr. Wiseman" as the man who now presided over the diocese of Westminster; the rest of the day went without incident. Outside the confines of the Catholic cathedral, there remained a different case regarding the reinstatement of the Catholic hierarchy in England. As illustrated earlier, this direct action served as a proverbial, yet provocative, alarm signal for Victorian evangelicals and anti-Catholic religious reformers. Despite this intense anti-papal uproar, irate British Protestants could not legally oust these non-Protestant bishops as many Victorians still considered the domestic position of their fellow English Catholic subjects. The combinations of granting civic rights to English Catholics and an influx of Irish immigration over the past few decades simply made it impractical for the British government to resist the re-installation of these Catholic bishoprics from Rome. Now confronted with a growing Catholic population in the very heart of the British Empire,

¹² Wiseman, *First Pastoral Letter*, 2.

¹³ "Installation of Cardinal Wiseman," *The London Evening Standard*, 7 December, 1850, 3.

the City of London evaluated her religious institutes; those, at least, under the British government's control. Parliament attempted to regulate the situation in early months of 1851 with the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act as a means to control the mobility and limited the recognition of these Catholic bishops.¹⁴

In spite of these rapid reactionary measures, the newly passed legislation did not prove to be practical. As the law did make it a criminal offense for these Catholic bishops to attain their clerical titles, according to their assigned territories, the method did not outright forbid them for establishing a presence within these communities and townships.¹⁵ Furthermore, the enforcement of this act rested with the local secular authorities and as most of the diocesan bishops did not take on any regional titles, chiefly to avoid forfeiting church property to the crown, many of the lower Catholic clergy discreetly ignored such restrictions.¹⁶ Many contemporaries even questioned the validity of this legal deterrent finding it impractical inconsistent with the law. One such publication, circulated by Stephen Howard De Vere, questions the basis of this act by her majesty's government. He states the following, "British law gives to the Queen no power to confer upon Catholic Prelates the titles which designate their Spiritual rank and functions. Had it done so, it would have empowered her to enforce the performance of the duties inherent in the office: and their position would have been recognized by law."¹⁷

¹⁴ A. Wyatt Tilby, *Lord John Russell, a Study in Civil and Religious Liberty* (London: Cassell, 1930), 123.

¹⁵ *Report from the Select Committee on Ecclesiastical Titles and Roman Catholic Relief Acts* (Great Britain, 1867), 90.

¹⁶ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 304.

¹⁷ Steven Howard De Vere, *Is the Hierarchy an Aggression?* (London: J. Ridgway, 1867), 38.

This observation made a clear distinction to the recognition of such territorial names among the Catholic clergy when compared to the appointed Protestant clerics. The ineffectiveness of the act on a secular level also failed to assess the dichotomy of regions having a considerable Catholic population in conjunction with other denominations.

It came as no coincidence that the City of London quickly took notice of the Census of Religious Worship as this board conducted a review of various Protestant churches throughout the districts, as well the entire nation.¹⁸ Such an inquiry felt prudent and supported as contemporaries and journalists called such action “desirable that we should have authentic accounts of the numbers of every denomination of religion, in a country which possesses so many shades of opinion.”¹⁹ Their results discovered a shockingly poor level of or regular attendance by congregations as some of these institutes only saw an average of ten or fewer individuals for each service.²⁰ Worse still, the bulk of these absent families came from the working class who could rarely afford such regular religious comfort.²¹ Furthermore, the statistics accounted for the past fifty years and found the estimated number of Roman Catholics in England had risen from about 700,000 to over 1,500,000.²² The Census also accounted for an increasing trend of Catholic chapels as the number nearly doubled throughout the realm from 346 in 1824 to 583 in 1851.²³ These statistics also verify the increasing yield of religious houses that far

¹⁸Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 407.

¹⁹ *The Morning Adventurer*, 20 March, 1851, 4.

²⁰ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 400.

²¹ Lisa Picard, *Victorian London: The Life of a City, 1840-1870* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006), 290-91.

²² Edward Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 205-6.

²³ Horace Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales* (London: printed by G.E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode, 1853), 43.

exceeded the growth rate of the chapels as only seventeen existed in 1841 with a clergy count of 557.²⁴ In 1851 that number of religious places increased to sixty-eight with well over 826 priests. Thus, the problem of contending with the rival, and unregulated, Catholic institutions became a critical issue, especially for Protestant Londoners. For how could they limit this influx of Catholicism if they did not maintain their own clerical infrastructure in the heart of the capitol City?

Having assessed the numerous institutes and clergy under London's jurisdiction a general plan formulated to demolish the most defunct churches within impoverished areas and prompt the construction of new places of worship within developing regions.²⁵ The central area of London north of the Thames, just across from the Houses of Parliament, became a contested issue for the unfortunate and destitute. For some reactionary Protestants knew both the Catholics and the Tractarians most likely to attempt establishing themselves within these areas, or any location potentially welcoming any form of aid.²⁶ Although, the Anglican Church offered comfort the poor, the Catholic clergy pointed to inequities and unorthodox patterns in the availability of Protestant church services; suggesting, yes, suggesting that the Protestant clergy catered to the wealthy.²⁷ Due to the apparent ineffectual results of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851, some concerned reviews speculated how susceptible these churches were to the influence of the Catholic clergy.²⁸ Considering many of these institutes fell within a few blocks of St. Paul's Cathedral itself, many Victorians did not relish such an inconceivable prospect.

²⁴ Mann, *Census of Great Britain, 1851. Religious Worship. England and Wales*, 44.

²⁵ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 407.

²⁶ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 404.

²⁷ Picard, *Victorian London: The Life of a City, 1840-1870*, 289-90.

²⁸ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 404.

For while, English Protestants tolerated the fact of Cardinal Wiseman overseeing the diocese of Westminster from his residence of St. Mary Moorfields, which functioned as pro-cathedral until Cardinal Vaughan, not Cardinal Manning, commenced the construction of Westminster Cathedral in 1895.²⁹ For as some Protestants bared the presence of the Cardinal within the heart of London, none favored the prospect of a Catholic influence encroaching upon the great Anglican Church in the heart of the City.

The Union of Benefices Act of 1860 precipitated this anxiety as the officials commenced to select churches deemed as undistinguishable and irreparable.³⁰ Despite the passage of nine years after the religious census of 1851, pragmatic and progressive plans still dictated the demolition of these structures. The announcement quickly alarmed many contemporaries as they saw other influences deciding the fate of these demolished churches over the course of next two decades. For those proponents of this motion, “the Union of Benefices Bill is intended to keep the Church in active labour for the good of mankind, and its principle is that the human soul is of more value than architectural grandeur.”³¹ This contemporary adds a pragmatic defense, “Therefore, as the City has found to contain more churches than it can profitably use in the service of religion, it proposes to create a legal power of removal to districts where the people sit in darkness, through inefficiency of spiritual ministrations.”³² Thus, the perception of these selected structures did not perceive them to be unique or beneficial, yet being more akin to ‘Romish’ standards marking them for inevitable demolition.³³

²⁹ “Wiseman and the Concordat,” *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 16 December, 1855, 8.

³⁰ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 407.

³¹ “Union of City Benefices,” *London City Press*, 1 September, 1860, 4.

³² “Union of City Benefices,” *London City Press*, 1 September, 1860, 4.

³³ Weinstein, “Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad,” 407.

This progressive, yet urgent, plan to consider the destruction of selected churches in London stirred an immediate reaction from preservationists and alarmed critics. The City's administration placed such emphasis on this deconstruction method that they implemented the Benefice Commission shortly after their proposed Act of 1860. The meeting conceived the necessary guidelines for deciding if a selected church fell under the case of demolition and neither the protests of the local patrons nor the opposition of the Bishop of London himself could overturn them.³⁴ As far as the moderate Protestant Victorians were concerned, they saw this as a required measure to address the overall problem of institutional and clerical reform for the City. This action especially suited to prevent any potential Catholic presence to exploit dwindling and impoverished urban areas.

The controversy only intensified when Londoners confronted the prospects of relocating church cemeteries and resonated harsh protests from the City Church and Churchyard Preservation Society (CCYPS) as this newly formed group condemned these methods as a mass desecration of the graves.³⁵ Founded by Henry Charles Richards (1851-1905), this conservative body fervently advocated a conservative stance for the Anglican Church, yet grew increasingly alarmed by the progressive series of demolition proposals.³⁶ Some observers found it disconcerting that government could arbitrarily pull these structures down as if they were "old barns."³⁷ Practical concerns also attributed to these churches with low congregations in poorer East-end areas where the construction of

³⁴ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 407.

³⁵ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 410.

³⁶ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 410.

³⁷ "Singular Church Demolition," *The London Evening Standard*, 12 March, 1864, 5.

a particular new church costed tremendous revenue and, in turn, detracted from the poverty of 12,000 within that district.³⁸ To counter the large-scale destruction of these sacred locations, the CCYPS attempted to rally public support and staff these institutes with respectable clergy.³⁹ Thus, their main objective sought to find some functional aspect to thwart the City's plans for demolishing most, if not all, of these buildings. *The Times* portrayed this public, and often ill-tempered, argument between the preservationists' groups and the utilitarians who favored the ongoing redevelopment plan throughout London based on antiquarian and religious grounds.⁴⁰ For those British Protestants who firmly supported the majority of these demolitions, they condemned the preservationist organizations as stagnant and unprogressive. Furthermore, a few frustrated utilitarians vilified them as "un-Christian" and even "damningly Romish" as their actions and debates stalled results.⁴¹

Such criticisms vocalized the anti-papal reaction following the 1850s and played a significant role in citywide policy many decades after. A fear of Catholic ritualism still held a formidable influence over London's plans regarding church reform. A columnist, S.A. Walker, presented this concern of popery in the midst of London: "No one will deny that for some years the Papal party in this country have been using the most strenuous exertions to recover lost ground, and without decided success, as the multiplication of chapels, convents, and religious orders, &c., shows, not to speak of the legal status conceded to Romanish priests as chaplains to poor-houses, prisons, regiments, &c."⁴²

³⁸ "Singular Church Demolition," *The London Evening Standard*, 5.

³⁹ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 411.

⁴⁰ "City Churches and Churchyards," *The Times*, 24 June, 1880, 7.

⁴¹ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 417.

⁴² "The Progress of Popery," *The Morning Advertiser*, 25 February, 1864, 3.

Thus, such harsh criticisms and accusations precipitated upon these preservationist groups as they forestalled London's solution of containment. The social anxiety stressed upon many Londoners as the mid-Victorian Era saw an increase in various unorthodox religious practices as authors and newspapers noted these as ritualistic in nature and more akin to Catholicism.⁴³ St. Ethelburga's Church, for instance, fell under criticism as observers associated both the structure and the clergy to be ritualistic and pro-Catholic; these accusations further increased when the City administration spared the structure from demolition in the Benefices Act of 1860.⁴⁴

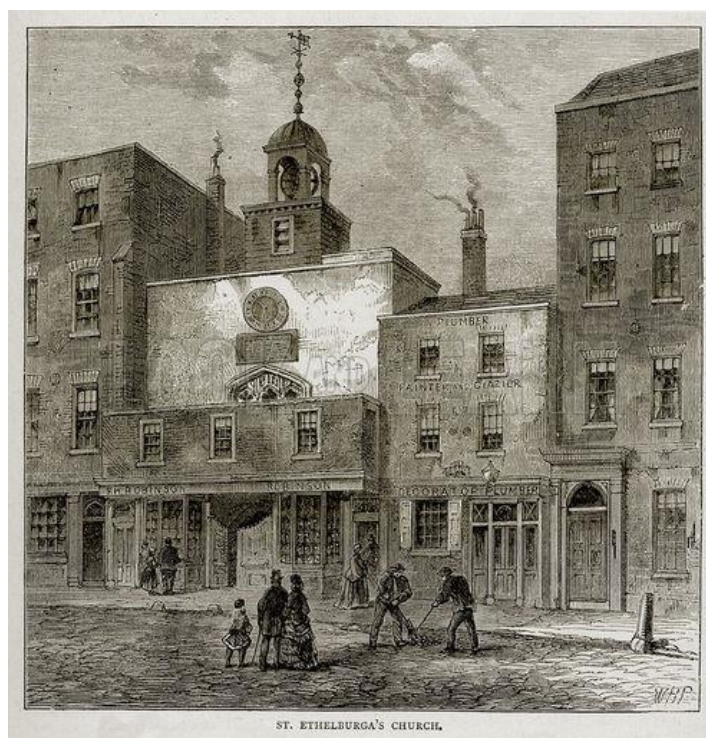


Figure 1. Walter Thornbury and Edward Walford, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places* (London: Casell, Petter & Galpin, 1880).

⁴³ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 420.

⁴⁴ "Disturbances and St. Ethelburga," *London City Press*, 25 January, 1868, 4.

Thus, the utilitarian British saw these deconstructive efforts as the only effective means to rid the City's metropolitan churches of this quasi "popery" infecting them.⁴⁵ The conduct of religious service and antiquated design of such structures left many locations open to consideration. One such event witnessed a number of London evangelicals stirring controversy in the early 1860s to the supposed ritualistic practices of St. Ethelburga and forcing the City to consider it for immediate evaluation and possible demolition.⁴⁶ Repeated cases of scrutiny and speculation of such questionable religious practices surfaced in Henry William Clark's *Romanism without the Pope in the Church of England*, published in 1899. The author's observations concluded that a considerable number of these churches conducted services associated with an atmosphere similar to Catholic Mass and further stated, "We have therefore the Roman Catholic religious services in our churches without the Pope."⁴⁷ As groups such as the CCYPS attempted to quell these concerns, their intentions did not appease nor calm the situation for those administering the government. James Bacon (1798-1895) of the Privy Council openly denounced the group as a ritualistic organization and attacked their agenda for preserving these sacred structures only as means to safeguard "Romish orientation."⁴⁸ Gradually, the following decades after 1860 resulted in a series of church demolitions near the poor areas of London. A certain number of Christopher Wren's churches fell victim to this policy yet the ratio of those individual structures destroyed fell short to those selected for restoration.

⁴⁵ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 421.

⁴⁶ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 422.

⁴⁷ Henry William Clark, *Romanism without the Pope in the Church of England* (Beckenham: H.W. Clarke, 1899), 116.

⁴⁸ Weinstein, "Questioning a Late Victorian Dyad," 420.

As many Victorians held concern to the potential Catholic influence among the less fortunate, the poorer sections of the City near the Thames River witnessed some churches torn down in the 1870s. St. Michael Queenhithe, formally situated near the ward docks, held a reputation as a 'corn church' among the poor.⁴⁹ The lack of regular congregations and the unremarkable architectural design led to its demolition in 1876.⁵⁰ This area of London also saw the destruction of All Hallows at Bread Street within the following year as the church also held a history of aiding the impoverished near the docks and local market areas.⁵¹ Still, as the structure resided in the midst of such a poor quarter, it too did not hold a substantial attendance.⁵² Despite a loss of these structures near the northern riverbank of the Thames, the demolishment of other churches related to pragmatic issues as with the case of St. Antholin at Watling Street. The irregular shape of the building corresponded to the placement of the streets yet the dome, adorned with scrolls and painted flowers, remained its most prominent feature.⁵³ Still, the church's proximity to the poor areas near the river and situated only a few blocks away from St. Paul's Cathedral merely made the structure overly redundant.

⁴⁹ Paul Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 312-3.

⁵⁰ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 312-3.

⁵¹ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 182-3.

⁵² Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 183.

⁵³ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 207-8.



Figure 2. Thornbury and Walford, *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People, and its Places*. Upon finalizing its plans, London organized its demolition strategies in 1875 to make way for Queen Victoria Street.⁵⁴ As these are only a few examples of Wren's Churches selected to be demolished, the overall number totals to six of these structures leveled within a ten-year period. More significantly, a majority of these former buildings remained in proximity to St. Paul's, some only a short distance of four city blocks.

⁵⁴ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 208.

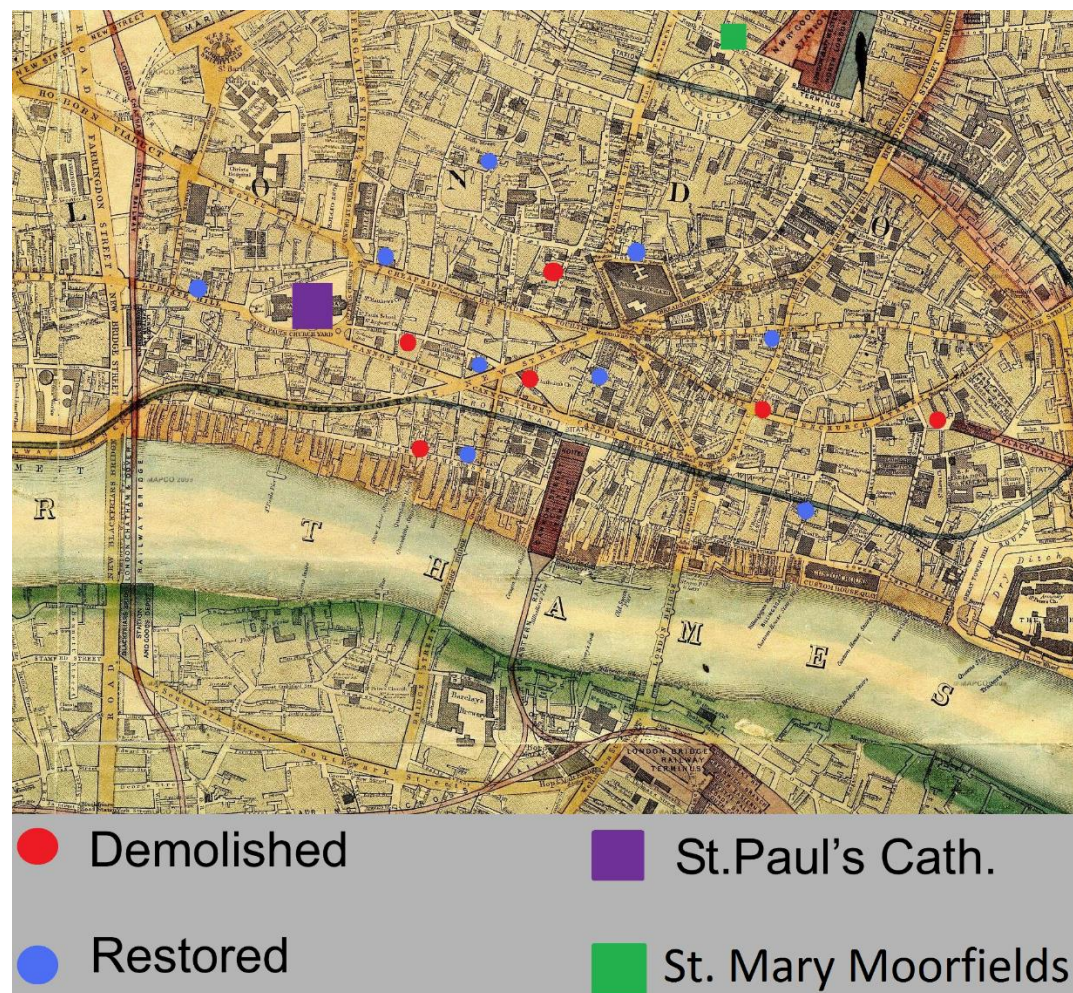


Figure 3. Compiled and Engraved by Edward Weller, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, 1866. Image modified to highlight specified churches.

The scale and consistency of these demolitions during the 1870s went without significant protest. Reactionary newspapers did not interpret these actions as a means to detour Catholic influence or a means for progressive renovation. One such article found it astonishing that an urgency for classical revival, did in fact, exist at the time in the face of these demolitions. The article further enhances this contradiction as it reads, “The prevailing taste of the time renders this wholesale destruction of Wren’s churches the more surprising.”⁵⁵ The revulsion is directed towards London’s effort to modernize and

⁵⁵ “A Plea for Wren’s Churches,” *The Saturday Review*, 8 February, 1879, 171.

practicalize these selected locations and have thus eroded over the “Queen Anne” mania calling for both the reverence and preservation of these structures.⁵⁶ This rapid renovation did not only extend to Wren’s selected churches, it also affected other places with distinguished buildings of that time period. One local journalist also gave alarm to the increasing presence of shops and warehouses where olden sanctuaries once stood. The sheer scale of these proposed demolitions also struck a chord with contemporaries as a sum of the fourteen favored churches that faced leveling by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, not on the basis of church revival yet only to increase the land properly value.⁵⁷

Outside observers such as *The New York Herald* gave an account to redundancy of these methods by the British government yet advocated the City, by all accounts, relocated the former cemeteries with utmost care as with the case of St. Martin Outwich at Bishop-gate Street in 1874.⁵⁸ Still, the demise of these buildings did not leave this section of London lacking in religious institutes as the Anglican clergy planned to consolidate congregations into neighboring churches, some of which selected for pending restoration. Still, with some critics still wary at the increasing trend of British commerce replacing English clerical outlets, the method none the less filled any suspected and potential area the Catholic Church could exploit.

Of the various churches and cathedrals selected for preservation, the City remained just as meticulous over what features to renovate. The case of St. Mary Aldermary offers a prime example of preferred Gothic design in the late Victorian Era.

⁵⁶ “A Plea for Wren’s Churches,” *The Saturday Review*, 171.

⁵⁷ “Demolition of City Churches,” *The Academy*, 10 January, 1874, 37.

⁵⁸ “Demolition of Another London Church,” *The New York Herald*, 27 February, 1874, 3.

As many of the restorations suggested drastic changes to other of Wren's structures, the City's administration proposed to both restore and enhance this particular church's existing design.⁵⁹ Having considered the harsh criticisms targeting ritualistic practice, the idea of maintaining an apparent medieval structure seemed contrary to the utilitarian arguments. Such commentaries did not diminish the historical importance of the building, and the renovation plan met with a favorable compromise. Thus, in 1876-77 work commenced to replace the fittings with those of a distinct and approved gothic style. The redesigned interior placed a plaster fan-vaulted ceiling with rosettes in shallow saucer-shaped domes, one of the prime example of Gothic revival in London.⁶⁰ The white vaulting remained elegant and ornate yet maintained a balanced simplicity of lacking any over-decorative features a late medieval Catholic church might have. These efforts prompted an architectural design favorable to the Victorian appreciation for such esthetic quality for the method kept the basic model of the past and yet modernized the style to what British Protestants could accept. For if any previous criticism condemned a feature of these churches as 'Romish' the restoration efforts made certain to address those concerns.

As the 1870s ended, the campaign to reform and renovate the existing churches within the City of London subsided. Out of the rubble, Christopher Wren's Churches favored a ratio of two restored for each destroyed. Still, Londoners held fewer reservations toward the less prominent locations near the poorer quarters of the City as the constant trend of demolitions only further antagonized many preservationists. In

⁵⁹ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 274-6.

⁶⁰ Jeffery, *The City Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, 275.

retrospect, the results of the Religious Census of 1851 contributed to the rapid series of church renovations conducted in the 1870s. Factoring in the former criticisms aimed against the CCYPS, many City officials still held the impression of a potential, and unwarranted, Catholic influence resonating from a clerical body that did not answer to the British government. Even as each church met under specified qualifications for restoration or demolition, the ultimate cause of why so many fell under question dawned only after the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850. For as Parliament attempted to halt this perceived papal aggression with legislation, the City of London tried to contain any potential Catholic influence amongst the populace by institutional and clerical reform. In this case, this particular form of anti-Catholic reaction impacted upon the process of church renovation. The Act of 1860 considered a larger number of these structures for demolition based upon these prior concerns of the Catholics and the Tractarians establishing themselves amongst the poor areas of the City. Thus, the 1870s witnessed a scale of church demolition, renovation, and controversy rarely seen during the Victorian Era. For a modern British Protestant, having little choice, could marginally tolerate the notion of Catholic presence in Westminster Abbey. Less so if such a Roman cleric remained only a few blocks away from St. Paul's Cathedral. The fear certainly justified, for some, the urgency behind these deconstructive plans as the British saw no legal means to oust Cardinal Wiseman or his fellow clergy. At the very least, London sought to contain their influence. Unfortunately, the collateral damage resided within the rubble of many historic London churches torn down in the midst of the 1870s long after the crisis of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy.

CONCLUSIONS

With the installation of a Catholic hierarchy in Great Britain during the latter months of 1850, the controversy reflected in abundant anti-papal works forced many reactionary contemporaries to evaluate the question of regarding English Catholics as equal British subjects. Despite the considerable number of public opposition, these events are but a microcosm of anti-Catholicism among Protestant British. The significance of the restoration of Catholic bishoprics in Victorian Britain is not to be underestimated considering the long-term political and social repercussions left after the English Reformation of the sixteenth century. The distrust and criticism of perceived Vatican control and papal dominion did not vanish from the popular mindset or conservative elements in the British government. With the passing of nearly three centuries, this conception only reinforced the British Protestant's view of Catholic Church as no more than a foreign interloper seeking to undermine Queen Victoria's empire. The apparent change in British Anti-Catholicism only tempered itself with the regard to English Catholics themselves during the early nineteenth century. Legal reforms and the acknowledgement of their rights as English subjects held distinction. For as some fell under criticism and accusation of being papal supporters, the majority of protests and aggravation directed itself towards Cardinal Wiseman and Pope Pius IX.

For as Protestant Evangelicals presented their traditional arguments going back to the Reformation, British modernization in legal reforms and how they maintained foreign policy rendered the situation very different in the Victorian Era. The nationalism of the English Catholics took precedence out of political and social practicality and yet the British government sought to contain and restrict Catholic institutional influence by

precise measures in the law. Thus, they appeared to be benevolent and tolerant of English Catholics on one hand and yet attempted to hinder the Catholic Church's institutions and bishoprics on the other. In retrospect, and considering the previous implications of the religious conflicts of the previous two centuries, religious tolerance among the Victorians, despite its ambiguous nature, attempted to at least recognize the national distinction among the English Catholics; far less so for the Catholic establishments. Having boasted of repelling the encroachment of the Spanish Armada in 1588, England's proverbial cannons fell short in the 1850s, unable to dislodge the bishoprics or the Catholic institutes already settled within her own lands. Ironically, the British Protestants vigorously attacked the Catholic Church as a meddling foreign imperial power all the while the English sought to maintain their own national and imperialist interests for themselves, thus leaving their own English Catholic population in the middle of an uncertain, and rather unfavorable, predicament well into the late Victorian Era.

The restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850 served as the catalyst for all this abundant anti-papal backlash, a considerable number of events throughout the reign of Queen Victoria implies a gradual process at work when considering this form of anti-Catholicism. Events in the 1840's, Cardinal Wiseman's appointment as head of the Catholic Church in England in 1850, and restrictions on Catholic institutions in the following decades gave rise to both reactions and policies, stemming from the British government, deemed as anti-imperialist methods directed against the Catholic Church. The Victorians already wrestled with tolerating the controversy surrounding the Oxford Movement, that which placed individuals such as Edward Bouverie Pusey and John Henry Newman under suspicion for their, proverbially, 'unorthodox' methods of

reasserting Catholic liturgy and ritualistic practices within Anglican institutions. Still, unlike Cardinal Wiseman, these men who organized the Tractarians originated from the Church of England and born British subjects whom, unfortunately, confronted mass criticism and scrutiny with some calling for censorship and yet nothing to suggest revoking their status as subjects under British law. The crisis in October of 1850, however, rendered the situation more unsettling for all English Catholics, at least for their national standing, with the reestablishment of bishoprics throughout the realm. For the Catholic Church saw their presence as a benign and justifiable one in light of an increasing Catholic population. Reactionary British Protestants only saw this a means of exploiting both the law and the influx of this minority group they themselves emancipated from the constraints of the Penal Laws. Therefore, much of the immediate criticism focused upon the heads of the Catholic Church and less so English Catholics.

For as some extremist authors implied reestablishing some of the former civic restrictions against English Catholics, few found it practical to impede upon their fellow English subjects as the popular impression, at least from the British Protestant mindset, portrayed England as the victim of an insidious plot originating from the Vatican. The passing of Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851 only intended to make the Catholic clergy, to an extent, answerable to the British government yet did not have much a practical effect and did nothing to bar English Catholics from the government or civil positions. British law only imposed itself more sternly upon Catholic institutions and the City of London insured a measure of containment with extensive church renovations preventing any questionable structure to, supposedly, fall under Catholic influence. Throughout this saga, English Catholics still maintained their recognition as British subjects, yet the pressures,

regulations, and constraints upon these newly created institutions made it increasingly, and intentionally, difficult for Catholic clergy to assert an equal standing among the English Catholics, yet not impossible. For the Victorian British, at least, it cannot be said that they lacked any conceptions of improved religious tolerance during this period. For they acknowledged these Catholic denominations within their libertarian and modernized nation and government; still, it would be on their own terms.

As the nineteenth century gave rise to new definitions of imperialism, the history of anti-papal reaction reaches back even beyond the English Reformation and precipitates to the modern politics and social attitudes shaping British Anti-Catholicism throughout the following centuries. For the Victorians of this period, despite their harsh responses to the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy, the situation proved unique as modernization and nationalism impacted upon policies and measures to contain or, at least, reduce the tensions. As many historians and authors such as E.R. Norman, Walter Arnstein, and Mary Griscti Holland have addressed specific cases of Victorian Anti-Catholicism, few have considered how extremist groups, such as the Protestant Association, regarded their fellow British Catholics. D.J. Paz's research elaborates over the nature and dichotomy of anti-Catholic materials, yet the question of how such publications impact upon English Catholic subjects is not addressed directly. Fewer authors have yet declared such English reaction to the papacy as anti-imperialist in that Victorian Britain portrayed herself to be the leading nations of world and yet contested with the influence of one of Europe's oldest institutions.

When comparing anti-Catholic attitudes with progressive liberal motives of British law, this avenue of history is more exclusive when addressing religious tolerance

for English Catholics. For the British have long contended with a growing presence of Catholic populations despite the government's non-recognition of the papacy since the mid-sixtieth century. Increasing populations from the industrial revolution and modernizations in legal reforms attributed to equal rights bestowed upon English Catholics in the early half of the 1800s. What is further intriguing is the question of how the British later responded to religious minorities that did not have a long-term existing presence in England. For as the Victorians long envisioned the Vatican as a meddling and rival foreign entity, can this be compared to the same Jewish communities of the later nineteenth century or the future influx of Islamic immigration after the conclusion of World War I? Considering English Catholics have undergone an extended naturalization process, the circumstances certainly proved different for these Arabic and Semitic minorities as their displacement and immigration, ironically and to an extent, stemmed from Great Britain herself with the fragmentation of the Ottoman Empire in 1919. As this research only represents a mere fraction of British religious tolerance in practice during a crucial event of the Victorian period, the potential study and comparison of how later British will react to the growing number of Islamic mosques in England offers a unique insight when considering modern political tensions and the increasing rise of globalization during the early quarter of the twentieth century. The importance being that modern nation states will have to consider the political consequences of implementing and enacting policies upon such minority groups that never held a prolonged domestic history within such countries.

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