

The English Reformation
and English Catholic Historians, 1790-1940

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been
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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The aim of this work is to trace the development of Roman Catholic historical writing on the English Reformation from the years 1790 to 1940. This period embraces consecutive extremes in the experience of the English Catholic community: Cisalpinism in the first place, followed by Ultramontanism.. Catholic histories written during this period reflect the transition between the two, and show which issues in the sixteenth century excited the concern of later generations of Catholics.

For them the English Reformation was not only the most important event in English history, but a touchstone for problems in their own day, providing reasons why these problems had arisen and suggesting possible solutions. Cisalpine historians, writing in the early part of the nineteenth century, concerned themselves with the English Reformation for its implications for the cause of Catholic Emancipation. They therefore turned their attention almost exclusively to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and were anxious to show that the issues which had provoked accusations of disloyalty and the penal legislation of the reign were no longer an obstacle to improved relations. Elizabeth was perceived by these writers as a benign monarch who had been forced to repress Catholicism because of the belligerent stance of both the pope and the Society of Jesus.

Once Catholic Emancipation was granted in 1829, this conciliatory tone began to be replaced by a more assertive approach, which saw the pope as an innocent victim and Elizabeth as a calculating tyrant. In addition, other contemporary issues

arose which caused Catholic historians to look elsewhere in the Reformation for explanatory factors. The Romantic revival brought about a re-examination of the state of the monasteries at the time of the dissolution. The Oxford Movement resulted in a closer look at the Reformation in terms of continuity; and for the Oxford converts the Reformation became a theological rather than a political revolution. Symptomatically the Anglican liturgy of the reign of Edward VI became the focus of the debate on Anglican Orders and the possible reunion of churches. The restoration of the Jesuits in England in 1829, and their subsequent growth, resulted in a re-interpretation of the role of the Jesuits in Elizabethan England.

Catholic historical writing between 1790-1940 reveals as much, if not more, about the period in which it was written than it does about the English Reformation. Yet, if Christopher Dawson is correct, we will not know the Catholicism of the nineteenth century until we know the history that it has written.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

AAB -----	Archives of the Archdiocese of Birmingham
AAS -----	Archives of the Archdiocese of Southwark
AAW -----	Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster
BC -----	Belloc Collection at Boston College
DA -----	Archives at Downside Abbey
FSA -----	Jesuit Archives at Farm Street
UCA -----	Ushaw College Archives

Note 1: The Church, The Catholic Church, and the English Catholic Church, are all terms which, in the pages that follow, refer solely to the Roman Catholic Church, and should not be confused with the Church of England.

Note 2: The term 'Liberal Catholic' is used in the technical sense. Josef Altholz defines it as an 'intellectual liberalism, characterized by an emphasis upon the legitimacy and value of intellectual sources independent of the authority of the Church' (The Liberal Catholic Movement in England [London, 1962], p. 1). He adds that the movement was 'neither liberal enough to satisfy the Liberals, nor quite Catholic enough to please the Pope' (Ibid.).

INTRODUCTION

For centuries non-Catholic historians had quarreled among themselves about the English Reformation. Disagreeing not about the necessity for the Reformation, but about its direction, they carried on their feud well into the nineteenth century, when the Whig version became generally triumphant. Catholic versions of the Reformation were looked on as discreditable and as ideologically uniform whereas, on closer inspection, they were neither. Brian Wormald, in a recent article about Reformation historiography, still mentions 'the Catholic version' as though it were a united front.¹ In fact, Catholic versions experienced the same internal disagreement seen in the Protestant versions. Agreeing on the whole that the Reformation was a bad thing, they disagreed quite seriously about its causes, the reputation of its various characters, its very nature.

In examining this Catholic history written between 1790-1940, we learn more about the nineteenth-century Catholic Church than we do about the English Reformation. We learn which issues concerned the Church, how opinions differed on these issues, how these issues and opinions shifted as the century wore on--all through the medium of the Reformation. Christopher Dawson has written that 'We cannot fully understand an age unless we understand how that age regarded the past, for every age makes

¹Brian Wormald, 'The Historiography of the English Reformation', in Historical Studies, I, ed. T. Desmond Williams (London, 1958), 57.

its own past'.²

Most English Catholics would have agreed with Belloc's statement that the English Reformation was 'the most important thing in history since the foundation of the Catholic Church 1500 years before'.³ The English Reformation provided not only the background for many of the issues which faced them in the nineteenth century, it also supplied a touchstone for opinions about those issues. How a historian felt about a particular person or event in the sixteenth century, often revealed what he felt about a particular person or event in the nineteenth.

The amount of material has posed several problems, most of them organisational. The first problem was where to limit the subject in such a way as to keep it manageable, yet comprehensive. The years 1793, when Joseph Berington published his Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, and 1942, when Belloc published his Elizabethan Commentary, can instructively be regarded as a unit of time in the English Catholic Church's development. In those 150 years, the Church proceeded from a small community, more or less controlled by the lay gentry, to a triumphant mass firmly under the control of the clergy. Joseph Berington initiated a period of Cisalpine historical writing in which papal power was viewed with considerable distrust--a feeling which underwent a significant change later in the century, eventually giving way to a devotion to the papacy 'above and beyond the call

²Christopher Dawson, 'Edward Gibbon and the Fall of Rome', in Dynamics of World History, ed. John J. Mulloy (New York, 1956), p. 352.

³Hilaire Belloc, Characters of the Reformation (London, 1936), p. 1.

of duty'.⁴ Hilaire Belloc, though he comes late in this period, must be included since he represents the logical extreme of this transition. Issues such as the Oath of Supremacy, which had exercised historians of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, had become a dead letter by 1830. And the pope, who was a stumbling-block and a rock of offence to the Cisalpines of Berington's day, became a tower of strength to the Ultramontanes of Belloc's.

Furthermore, new issues appeared or increased in importance during this period. Monasticism, which had been a subject of either insignificance or embarrassment to the laymen and secular clergy of the earlier period, re-asserted itself and became a major force in the restoration of Catholic pride. The Oxford Movement raised the question of Continuity, and caused the sudden intrusion of Catholic opinion on what had traditionally been a Protestant debate. The Reformation, taken as a whole, was regarded more and more as a heresy instead of a mere schism, and attitudes changed from being inward-directed and conciliatory to being outward-directed and aggressive. Internal feuding gave way to a 'circling of the wagons'.

In other words, in 150 years the Catholic Church underwent, if not a fairly complete reversal, then at least an important change. Not only were its numerical fortunes improved, but its focus shifted on several issues and its attention was called to others which it had hitherto treated only briefly. All the while, its view of the Reformation underwent a corresponding adjustment.

⁴Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, Class lecture, March 1979.

Another problem in a study of this kind is the uneven quality and quantity of the historical works involved. The sheer volume of a historian's work does not make him necessarily more representative or more important than others who wrote less. Lord Acton never wrote a book, yet no study of Catholic history during this period can ignore him.

It must be emphasised, in conclusion, that this dissertation is not a portrait gallery of Catholic historians, but rather an exposition of the themes which animated them. It has consequently not always been easy or appropriate to include an overall assessment of each writer's contribution at the point of his entry into the argument. In such cases, an evaluation has been reserved until the final chapter.

CHAPTER I
EXILES AND APPELLANTS

Even before Joseph Berington put pen to paper in 1793, there was in place a long-standing tradition of Catholic historiography about the English Reformation. It had begun while Elizabeth was yet on the throne, and had split into two opposing camps before 1600. These two groups, known as Appellants and Exiles, engaged in a debate which would grow more bitter with the years and engulf the whole of English Catholicism right up until the twentieth century. It is necessary to understand the reasons for this split, as well as its immediate historiographical results, if we are to understand Berington and his opponents at all.

The Exiles were missionary priests, some of whom were Jesuits, who had absorbed Ultramontane attitudes abroad while being trained in English seminaries either in Rome or Douai.¹ Their training was greatly affected by the Council of Trent, which had sought to regularise and universalise the education of priests, which until then had been scandalously haphazard. This particular reform coincided with a more general centralisation of the Church, by which doctrine was clarified and discipline standardised--even to the extent of effectively suppressing local liturgical rites and making the Roman Rite normative throughout the world. Thus we find a typical seminary priest, Edward Rishton, ordained at Cambrai in 1577, saying his first Mass

¹The college at Douai was moved temporarily (1578) to Rheims, and a third college was later established at Valladolid (1589).

in the Roman Rite, 'in obedience to the decrees of St. Pius V', thus significantly abandoning the local rites 'to which [his] forefathers had been accustomed in England'.²

The Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, and approved by Pope Paul III in 1540 just five years before the Council of Trent began, proved to be the principal agent by which the reforms of the Council were promoted throughout the world. The Society's bonds to Rome were necessarily strong, and the constitution of the Jesuits (submitted in 1550) specified that the services of the Order should be at the disposal of the pope, going so far as to add a fourth vow of special obedience to the pope.³

Many of these Jesuits, and many others educated by the Jesuits, returned to England in the midst of penal legislation and became the stuff of heroic stories--travelling in disguise from safe house to safe house, administering sacraments at great peril to their lives, ruthlessly hunted down by a nervous government using the services of spies, informers, and, alas, members of the secular clergy.⁴ Many of these priests were caught and sent back to the continent for a first offense, and hence derived the name 'Exiles'. These Exiles, who for various

²David Lewis, Introduction to Nicolas Sanders' The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism (London, 1877), p. xv.

³F.L. Cross (ed.), Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1974), p. 735.

⁴See Evelyn Waugh's Edmund Campion (London, 1935); Robert Hugh Benson's historical novels Come Rack! Come Rope! (London, 1908), The King's Achievement (London, 1905), The Queen's Tragedy (London, 1906), By What Authority (London, 1904); Bernard Bassett, The English Jesuits (London, 1967).

reasons did not return to England and face almost certain death, were the ones responsible for what we shall conveniently label 'Exile History'.

The principal Exile figures were Robert Persons (or Parsons),⁵ Edmund Campion, and Cardinal William Allen, while the most complete Exile history of the Reformation was written by Nicolas Sanders.⁶ Campion and Persons were Jesuits and have similar stories: both were fellows at Oxford, both converted to the Church of Rome when they left Oxford, both joined the Jesuits within two years of each other and returned to England together in 1580. Campion was captured and executed in 1581, while Persons fled to the Continent where he eventually became Rector of the English College in Rome from 1597 to 1610.

William Allen was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and left England for Louvain in 1561, only to return to England the following year and be exiled permanently in 1565. He helped to establish the English Colleges at Douai, Rome, and Valladolid. Sanders graduated from New College, Oxford, in 1551 and fled to the Continent when Elizabeth acceded to the throne. He was ordained priest in 1560, and the next year accompanied Cardinal Hosius to the Council of Trent. In 1572 he became a consultor to Pope Gregory XIII on English affairs, and in 1579 he went to

⁵Most modern writers favour 'Persons', a practice followed in this paper except in quotations.

⁶De Origine ac Progressu Schismatici Anglicani. Sanders did not finish the book, but left notes for its completion in 1579, when he set out on his ill-fated mission to Ireland. Edward Rishton, another exile priest, edited the manuscript and added new material, publishing it in Cologne in 1585. It was translated by David Lewis in 1877 and published as The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism.

Ireland in the hopes of raising a rebellion against the queen. He died in 1581, pursued by the queen's troops.

By and large, their histories blame Elizabeth and, indirectly, Anne Boleyn, for the Reformation. While Henry had begun the Reformation, he showed signs of relenting at the end of his reign. Edward and his protectors were vigorous in promoting the cause of the Reform, but did not endure long enough to make their changes lasting. Elizabeth, on the other hand, by consistent policy and sheer longevity, was able to form the schism into something permanent and of her own design. Hence, she would receive the brunt of the Catholic Exile attack, which encompassed her policies, her person, and her mother.

Their first business was to establish the illegitimacy of Elizabeth's birth, and, by extension, of her reign. Anne Boleyn had married Henry VIII contrary to the laws of the Church, making the marriage invalid and all the children of that marriage bastards. This was not enough for the Exiles, some of whom also tried to propose that Anne was not only the invalid wife of Henry VIII, but his daughter as well. Thus, Elizabeth's birth violated the laws both of the Church and of nature.

Nothing was bad enough for Anne Boleyn. Her immorality was another subject on which the Exiles dwelt--making mention of her sinning first at age fifteen with her father's butler, then with his chaplain, then later with the gentlemen Norris, Weston, and Brereton, her musician Mark, and her own brother. Sanders wrote: 'She appeared at the French court, where she was called the English mare, because of her shameless behaviour; and then the

mule, when she became acquainted with the King of France.⁷

Even Anne's physical appearance became a target. Sanders continues:

Anne Boleyn was rather tall of stature, with black hair, and an oval face of sallow complexion, as if troubled with jaundice. She had a projecting tooth under the upper lip, and on her right hand six fingers. There was a large wen under her chin, and therefore to hide its ugliness she wore a high dress covering her throat.⁸

But the real target here was Elizabeth, the unstated conclusion being, 'Like mother, like daughter.' Allen wrote that the court of Elizabeth was run in the midst of an 'unspeakable and incredible variety of lust'.⁹ She herself, according to the Exiles, was immoral--entertaining any number of suitors; she was a heretic who denied the Pope's authority; she perjured herself by violating her coronation oath providing for the defense of the Catholic faith; she was a bastard and never claimed the crown as her birthright, but intruded by force; she was, therefore, a usurper who did not merit loyalty.

Had Elizabeth submitted to the Pope, the Exiles would have quickly forgiven her other sins. It was her heresy in assuming the supremacy of the Church of England which was the heart of the matter, and for the Exiles the issue was very clear-cut: obey

⁷Sanders, Anglican Schism, pp. 25-26.

⁸Ibid. p. 25. He adds, curiously, that Anne 'was handsome to look at' and admits that she had a pretty mouth, presumably if one overlooked the projecting tooth, 'was amusing in her ways, playing well on the lute, and was a good dancer '(Ibid.).

⁹Allen, Admonition to the Nobility and People of England, in Lingard, History of England (London, 1819-1830), V, 660-663.

the pope and we will be your lawful and loyal subjects; disobey him and we will seek to overthrow you. The first step in any overthrow was excommunication. Since the Exiles had the pope's ear, it is most likely that they urged on him the decision to excommunicate--thinking that such action would force the queen to comply or, in the case of her refusal, provide the legal stage for her removal.

Excommunication was a weapon which had become blunted from overuse in the past, but still carried with it, in some circumstances, enough strength to cause discomfort and even alarm. It could serve, for instance, as justification for interference by other countries, were they to choose to honour it. That the Pope had the right to excommunicate was never questioned; what caused debate was his accompanying claim to depose princes. The Bull of Excommunication read

Relying then on His authority who has placed Us on this sovereign throne of justice, though unequal to the bearing of so great a burden, We declare, in the fulness of the apostolic power, the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic, and an encourager of heretics, together with those who abet her, under the sentence of excommunication, cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ.

Moreover, We declare that she has forfeited her pretended title to the aforesaid kingdom, to all and every right, dignity, and privilege; We also declare that the nobles, the subjects, and the people of the kingdom aforesaid, who have taken any oath to her, are for ever released from that oath, and from every obligation of allegiance, fealty, and obedience, as we now by these letters release them, and deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended right to the throne....We command all...never to venture to obey her monitions, mandates, and laws....

If any shall contravene this Our decree, We bind them with the same bond of anathema.¹⁰

The questions which arose immediately, and were to obsess the Catholics in England for another two and a half centuries, were, 'Did Pius V have the authority to do this? Could he depose temporal rulers? Could he release subjects from their fealty?' The Exiles all agreed that he did, and could, and Persons went so far as to say that the deposing power was an article of faith and binding in conscience under the pain of mortal sin. The Pope had dominion over the spiritual realm, and this included an indirect dominion over the temporal realm. Heretics must be punished, and heretical princes could not logically claim the allegiance of the faithful.¹¹

To some of the Exiles, deposition included the mandate to dethrone heretical princes by force. When Henry VIII's excommunication was drawn up after the executions of More and Fisher, not only were the king's subjects absolved from their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, but the pope

commands them to take up arms against their former sovereign and lords...and exhorts [all foreign nations] to capture the goods, and make prisoners of the persons of all such as still adhere to him in his schism and rebellion.¹²

This was not a mere excommunication; it was a declaration of

¹⁰Sanders, Anglican Schism, p. 304.

¹¹Robert Persons, Responsio Edictum (1593), pp. 149, 151-153.

¹²Lingard, History of England, IV, 223. All references to this history, unless otherwise noted, are from the first edition (1819-1830).

war. No wonder Spain and France balked at publishing it.

Nicolas Sanders was the only major Exile figure to become directly involved in a rebellion against the crown, but several others were certainly involved in seditious schemes indirectly-- usually by encouraging foreign countries to threaten war against England. The extent of their involvement has long been a subject of dispute, and the numbers of priests involved in foreign schemes was certainly exaggerated by Elizabeth's ministers, but those who were involved had intentions which could hardly be called innocent. Cardinal Pole was involved in one such scheme as early as 1538, and tried gathering support for the pope's bull excommunicating Henry VIII by forming an alliance between the pope, King Francis and the Emperor Charles. John Lingard criticises the Cardinal in the following words:

Pole, to excuse his conduct in this legation, assures Edward VI that his chief object was to induce these princes to employ all their interest with Henry in favour of religion: but acknowledges that he wished them, in case the king refused to listen to them as friends, to add menaces, and to interrupt the commerce with his subjects. He asserts, however, that he had no desire to injure him in reality, nor ever attempted to excite them to make war upon him. He might, indeed, have hoped that these measures would persuade or intimidate Henry: but he must also have known, that if they had been pursued, they would lead to discontent within the kingdom, and to war without; and that such results were contemplated by those who employed him.¹³

Pole's action set a dangerous precedent. When it became apparent that Elizabeth would not be converted, the Exiles engaged in similar entanglements, especially with Spain. William Allen had been created a cardinal in 1587 presumably so that he

¹³Lingard, *History*, IV, 283-284, fn. 93.

could become the primate in England after the Armada of 1588. He even prepared (though some believe it to be written by Persons) an Admonition to the Nobility and People of England, an inflammatory account of Elizabeth's reign, to be distributed when the Spanish actually invaded.

The Exiles had not always been so extreme. When Elizabeth acceded to the throne in 1558, there was hope that she would continue the reform of Mary and possibly make good her promise to conform to the Catholic Church. As long as the issue was doubtful, the 'Exiles' (for they were hardly exiles at the time) held back on their criticism, becoming belligerent only when it became apparent that she would not be converted. The excommunication served as a rallying point for their discontent. By 1580, however, the Exiles realised the futility of confrontation, and once again used a papal pronouncement as a focus--this time the mitigation offered by Gregory XIII, which stated that English Catholics would not be held to the terms of the excommunication and deposition until such time as they could be effected. The moderate tone educed by this document all but evaporated by 1585 when, once again, it appeared that pacific proposals did little to change the queen's mind or stem the flow of the Reformation. Only the resounding defeat of the Armada in 1588 brought this invective to a halt, and thereafter the Exiles became somewhat more resigned to their lot. It would now be the opposition's turn to interpret the events of the Reformation.

Any assessment of Exile history must admit of two astonishing facts: first, that the Exiles put together a fairly complete story from sources that could only be described as

meagre; secondly, that the story they put together has proven to be, for the most part, accurate.¹⁴

The sources which the Exiles drew upon were some diplomatic reports, mainly information passed on by newly-arrived exiles, merchants, and news from letters. The praise of the accuracy of the information they received must be qualified. Any news passed on in this fashion was bound to be sprinkled with rumour, fabrication, and exaggeration, all of which was complicated by the fact that the Exiles tended to credit every story that was derogatory to their enemies. For they were not merely writing a history of the events surrounding England's break from Rome; they were trying to argue that the break was entirely wrong. They were convinced that the English Reformation had sprung from evil motives and was proceeding on a course which was disastrous. In this cause they occasionally used doubtful material, which earned for Sanders the nickname 'Dr. Slanders', and drew from Collier the rebuke that 'he was almost as bad an historian as he was a subject'.¹⁵ The charge that Anne Boleyn was the daughter of Henry VIII was labeled as 'ridiculous' by John Lingard, a criticism which is given some support by the fact that Sanders repeated every negative charge against Anne Boleyn used by the Government at her trial--a source which, in other circumstances, he would have found to be highly unreliable.

¹⁴The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church says of Sanders: 'His unfinished work...though sharply criticised at the time, is now admitted to be accurate in many of its controverted statements'(2d Edition, 1234).

¹⁵David Lewis, Introduction to Sanders, Anglican Schism, pp. xxii-xxiii.

Exiles could be just as biased in their silence: Sanders never says a word about the heresy burnings carried out in Mary's brief reign, and the Exiles generally overlooked, or positively denied, the role played by some of their number in fomenting foreign mischief.

Exile history suffered because of this black-and-white approach to the issues. Protestants, or any persons who promoted the Protestant cause either consciously or unconsciously, were found almost always to be in the wrong. Conversely, Catholics were found to be in the right. The consequences for the Protestants could sometimes be quite dramatic:

Among the memorable events of these times, in which innocent Catholics were everywhere made to suffer, is that which took place in the city of Oxford. One Rowland Jenks was arraigned as a Catholic, found guilty, and being but one of the common people, was condemned to lose both his ears. But the judge had hardly delivered the sentence when a deadly disease suddenly attacked the whole court; no other parts of the city, and no persons not in the court, were touched. The disease laid hold in a moment of all the judges, the high sheriff, and the twelve men of the jury....The jurymen died immediately, the judges, the lawyers, and the high sheriff died, some of them within a few hours, others within a few days, but all of them died. Not less than five hundred persons who caught the same disease at the same time and place [Oxford], died soon after....¹⁶

Most often, this approach led to a reductionism by which all complex motives and effects were consigned to the single sphere of religion. Thus Catholics were persecuted solely on the grounds of religion. The Pilgrimage of Grace becomes, for Sanders, a revolt on behalf of religion:

¹⁶Sanders, Anglican Schism, pp. 307-308.

When, therefore, they [the Catholics] saw that under the cloak of banishing superstition nothing else was meant but stealing the sacred vessels, the silver crucifixes, the chalices that held the blood of Christ, together with all other things by which the churches were adorned, they took up arms....¹⁷

When Sanders expressed a point which was arguable, he deliberately ignored any nuance which might have clouded his purpose.¹⁸ Persons and Campion, in their own way, tried desperately to formulate a similar, though perhaps more subtle, reduction--namely that the people who were being put to death for treason were, in reality, being put to death for their religious beliefs. Thus, a great deal of attention was devoted to the tortures, interrogations, and executions of these 'martyrs' who had been arrested for no other reason than that they had dared to practise their religion. There was, the Exiles claimed, a clear and necessary distinction between the dictates of conscience and those of loyalty; and only because Henry VIII, and later Edward VI and Elizabeth, claimed Supreme Headship of the Church in England, had the distinction become blurred. The Exiles, for their part, would try to maintain the distinction between conscience and loyalty, and they beseeched the Government

¹⁷Sanders, Anglican Schism, p. 136.

¹⁸A.G. Dickens says of the Pilgrimage that it 'is agreed to have been a social and economic affair, little related to any aspect of the Reformation' (The English Reformation [London, 1964], p.124). That it is not so universally 'agreed' is testified by J. J. Scarisbrick, who says the Pilgrimage 'was "religious" in the widest sense of the word, that is, it was a protest on behalf of the old religion (above all in defense of the monasteries), though the reasons for clinging to the old ways may well have ranged from the highest and most unworldly to the most profane' (The Reformation and the English People [Oxford, 1984], p. 83). The point is that Sanders was incapable of such qualification.

to observe the distinction as well.

The Government was not appeased by this appeal, and claimed that it was the pope in fact who had muddied the waters by pronouncing an excommunication, thus freeing the crown's subjects from their loyalty, and converting a specifically religious issue into one of civil allegiance. It is conceivable that the Government may have even welcomed the pope's Bull of Excommunication and sought to exploit the resulting confusion. For now the Government was free to eradicate the opposition by a process which otherwise might have proved tedious and embarrassing.

Whether Elizabeth and her ministers really believed that Catholics were traitors or not is still disputed; but enough Catholics were involved in foreign schemes to create for the Government at least the appearance of a justifiable case for persecution. One group which certainly believed in the guilt of the Exiles was another party of Catholics--known as the Appellants.

Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, a curious controversy took place which resulted in the formation of a party in opposition to the Exiles, giving rise to an alternative view of the Reformation within the body of the Catholic Church. This so-called 'Appellant Controversy' began when Cardinal William Allen died in 1594. The Roman hierarchy had been suppressed as as 1559, and for the next twenty years the ruling bishop of England was the pope himself. William Allen came to be regarded as the de facto head of the English Catholic family, as a result

of his founding of the English Colleges at Douai (1568) and Rome (1575-1578) and his skillfully keeping the various factions within the Church in some sort of harmony.

When he died in 1594, it was felt that some kind of leadership was needed 'in the field' and George Blackwell was appointed archpriest with authority over the secular clergy. He pursued policies which were seen by the seculars as being pro-Jesuit and overly strict; and redress was sought in Rome where an appeal for his removal was sent, signed by thirty-one priests, headed by William Bishop. It proved unsuccessful; but two more appeals followed in 1601 and 1602, and Blackwell was eventually reprimanded. After this, Bishop and twelve other priests drew up a 'Protestation of Allegiance' to the queen (1603) and repudiated the notion that England could be converted by political means. When Blackwell himself took the Oath of Allegiance to James I, he was replaced immediately by George Birkett, and the controversy died. But some aspects of the history it engendered were to remain with Catholic historians for several centuries.

The Appellants looked on themselves as the innocent victims of a tug-of-war between the Society of Jesus and the Government of Queen Elizabeth; but it was the Society of Jesus, and not the Government, which was the cause of their problems--from the general state of religious persecution throughout England, to their own specific imprisonment in Wisbech Castle.

Before the Jesuits had come, life for Catholics had been relatively peaceful. William Watson, the principal spokesman for the Appellants, wrote:

It cannot be denied that, but that for the first tenne yeares of her Majesties raigne, the state of Catholikes in England was tollerable, and after a sort in some good quietnesse. Such as for their consciences were imprisoned in the beginning of her comming to the Crowne, were very kindly and mercifully used....¹⁹

Then followed a series of ill-advised provocations, beginning with the Rising of the North in 1569, followed quickly by the Bull of Excommunication in 1570 and papal attempts to foment the rebellion by sending his agent Ridolphi from Florence, solliciting the help of Spain, and assigning the Duke of Norfolk to lead the uprising.²⁰

Even though the Jesuits were ten years away from coming to England, their influence in these matters was obvious to the Appellants, who charged the pope only with being 'mis-informed, and indirectly drawn to these courses'.²¹

For the Appellants, the Jesuits were responsible for the lowly state into which English Catholics had fallen, even before they were personally present in England. Watson wrote:

[They] have bin the chiefe instruments of al the mischiefes that have bene intended against her Majestie, since the beginning of her reigne, and of the miseries, which we, or any Catholikes, have upon these occasions susteined.²²

Despite these provocations, Elizabeth reacted with

¹⁹William Watson, Important Considerations, in D.M. Rogers, ed., English Recusant Literature (Menston, 1970), XXXI, 6.

²⁰Ibid., p. 9.

²¹Ibid., p. 10. Of course, the Appellants had to tread lightly on the pope since he was the one to whom they were making their famous 'appeal'.

²²Ibid., p. 14.

surprising moderation. The Law of 1571, though strict, was sprung from a just cause and was never effected with such cruelty as it might have been.²³ Watson wrote:

[Once the excommunication had become known] there followed a great restraint of the said prisoners: but none of them were put to death upon that occasion: the sword being then onely drawne against such Catholikes, as had risen up actually into open rebellion. Wherein we cannot see what her Majestie did, that any Prince in Christendome in such a case, would not have done.²⁴

Catholics, however, persisted in their ingratitude. In 1572 Sanders wrote De Visibili Monarchia, defending the Rising of the North, and in 1580 the ultimate provocation saw the arrival in England of the Jesuits Campion and Persons. This, combined with the news of the Desmond Rebellion in Ireland (in which Sanders played a leading role), settled what had previously been a doubtful issue. Elizabeth and her ministers would now come down heavily against the Catholics of England. 'They had great cause as politicke persons,' Watson wrote, 'to suspect the worst.'²⁵

While Watson claimed that he was not opposed to the Society of Jesus as such, it is clear that he thought 'good' Jesuits were exceptions. He wrote:

The order of that society being approved by the Pope is to be honoured of all good Catholikes, and the men

²³Watson, Important Considerations, p. 11.

²⁴Ibid., p. 10.

²⁵Ibid., p. 17.

themselves are to be revered; such we mean as live according to their calling and first institution: which few of them do.²⁶

The odium attached to the Jesuits had much to do with their Spanish origins. Having been founded by a Spanish soldier, they could hardly avoid a loyalty to the Spanish realm, and, consequently, the implication of involvement in foreign schemes. Nor was this all. Jesuits sought only 'to advance and increase their owne societie'; they were known to have stolen money destined for secular priests;²⁷ they exaggerated their tortures, and both lied and dissembled under interrogation; finally, they opposed the appointment of abbots and bishops-in-ordinary, wanting instead 'to fixe Vicars [so that they] shall have the Land, Mannors, Lordships, Parsonages, Monasteries, and whatsoever, into their owne hands'.²⁸

The brunt of this attack was Robert Persons, who embodied everything devious, grasping, and pernicious about the Society. He was, according to Watson, 'their chief Polypragmon' and a 'prowde Nemrod'.²⁹ Furthermore, Persons was 'by his birth a bastard, begotten upon the bodie of a very base woman by the Parson of the parish where hee was borne: and his right name is

²⁶William Watson, A Sparing Discovery, p. 6.

²⁷One Jesuit was accused of taking £500, another (Percye) of taking £57.17s one year and £27 the next, in addition to the Jesuit 'general pillage' of England and Scotland (Ibid., p. 20.)

²⁸Ibid., pp. 10-31.

²⁹Ibid., Introductory Epistle. A 'Polypragmon' is an officious meddler, and a 'Nemrod' is a tyrant.

not Parsons but Cowbuck'.³⁰

At first sight, the Appellants do not seem to offer anything more than a crude assault on the Society of Jesus. Watson says of the Jesuits, 'The ignorant sort of their foolish Enamorades have nothing but their backs, or Posteriora, that is, the fruits of their labors to judge them by....'³¹ Such examples are fairly typical of the abusive name-calling and libellous accusations which filled their pages.

Yet, polemic aside, the Appellants exhibit a consistent view of the Reformation which bears a closer look. They saw it, first of all, as a purely Elizabethan phenomenon; nowhere do they mention the Henrician or Edwardian Reformation. The Reformation, instead, was an undecided affair before 1570, and certainly before 1580; and it was only during Elizabeth's reign that it began to take a definite direction.

Next, the forces which caused a particular direction to be taken were predominantly Catholic. Elizabeth and her Government were regarded as neutral factors on which the negative influence of the Jesuits and the popes was exercised. Thus Elizabeth did not initiate the Reformation practices of her reign, but rather was compelled to act as she did by forces quite outside her control. Watson asked:

Who then gave the cause that you were troubled? When her Majestie used you kindly: how trecherously was she dealt with by you? Did not Pius Quint. practise her

³⁰Watson, A Sparing Discovery, p. 42.

³¹Ibid., Introductory Epistle.

Majesties subversion: the (good Lady) never dreaming of any such mischief?³²

Furthermore, the Catholic forces had more to do with politics than with religion. The English Reformation was, for the Appellants, primarily a quarrel about jurisdiction. Very little allusion is made by them to reformed religions and their influence on or within Elizabeth's government.

This is in sharp contrast to the Exile view, which saw the Reformation more in religious terms. Persons could describe the excommunication as 'an act of jurisdiction between two superiours, the one Ecclesiastical, the other temporal', and in so doing attempt to trivialise its effect.³³ But he refused to trivialise the Reformation as a whole, placing, as he did, the English version of the Reformation in the context of a general European movement. Persons saw the Reformation as a complicated mixture of politics and religion; and he frequently wrote on the heretical nature of the Reform, the truth of Catholicism, and the reasons why Catholics could not attend the Anglican service. These were not questions of jurisdiction, but matters of theology, and were hardly mentioned by the Appellants.³⁴

Accusations have been made that the Appellants trivialised the English Reformation and wrote 'merely to gain toleration'.³⁵

³²Watson, Important Considerations, p. 9.

³³Robert Persons, A Temperate Ward Word, in D.M. Rogers, ed., English Recusant Literature (Menston, 1970), XXXI, 36.

³⁴Persons, on the other hand, hardly mentions the deposition.

³⁵J.B. Code, Queen Elizabeth and the English Catholic Historians (PhD dissertation, Louvain, 1935), p. 85.

Evidence is not wanting in support of this thesis, notably their grovelling protestations of loyalty made to the Government. Watson had written:

We ought to have carried our selves in an other manner of course towards her, our true and lawfull Queene, and towards our countrie, then hath bene taken and pursued by many Catholikes. but especially by the Jesuites. And therefore...we have thought it our parts, (being her Highnesse naturalle born subjects,) to acknowledge the truth of the cariage of matters against us, and the apparent causes of it....³⁶

The Appellants also became pawns for a Government which, even though offering very little incentive, convinced them to inform on the whereabouts of missionary priests and to write a defence of the Crown so conciliatory as to be indistinguishable from the writings of William Cecil.

But to concentrate solely on this 'surrender' is to oversimplify the Appellant position, which was a consistent program, though never systematically expressed, for the improvement of relations between the Catholic religion and the English state. The pope was to refrain from intruding into areas (i.e. deposing princes) over which he had no jurisdiction;³⁷ bishops-in-ordinary were to be appointed in order to provide an ecclesiastical court of appeal within England as well as an ecclesiastical body more in tune with the needs of the English people; the Jesuits were to be removed both from England and the seminary colleges throught the continent.

The Appellant mistake was to associate the pope's quarrel

³⁶Watson, Important Considerations, p. 5.

³⁷C.f John Bishop, Courteous Conference (1598).

with Elizabeth too closely with the Reformation itself. It was an issue, certainly, but one which could not be taken in isolation. Furthermore, the Appellants saw the Reformation rather narrowly as coterminus with England. The Jesuits had an advantage here, in that they saw the causes and effects of the reforming movement in continental terms, and therefore as a larger issue. But this could also have been a disadvantage, since the Jesuits applied a continental solution to what may have only been a specifically English problem.

Persons' solution was a more sweeping eradication of heresy and the restoration of the Catholic religion, while the Appellants, perhaps more realistically, sought only the toleration of their faith.

In any case, the programs of both parties persisted as late as the nineteenth century, and greatly influenced the Catholic historical perception of the Reformation in England. The Ultramontanists and Cisalpines of the later period would hold views remarkably similar to those of the Jesuits and Appellants, respectively, and would use many of the same arguments and much of the same information as their predecessors.

CHAPTER II, Part 1

THE PAPACY AND THE EARLY CISALPINES

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the question of Catholic loyalty began once more to be raised. Catholics, now less than 1% of the population, no longer posed the same threat to the Government that they once did. The papacy, largely shorn of its political power, was not only less menacing, but appeared to be on the road to obsolescence. So many constraints had been put on the papacy that it had become vitually powerless, except in spiritual matters. It even appeared to some that the papacy would not long survive. Horace Walpole, writing from Italy in 1769, when Clement XIII died, speculated on the election of 'the last pope.'¹

Not only was the Catholic presence muted, both at home and abroad, but Enlightenment ideals of toleration aroused a certain sympathy for English Catholics, against whom civil disabilities still pressed hardly. The later eighteenth century sat easy to its religion; and proposals for Catholic relief, once unthinkable, now began to be heard from such eminent statesmen as Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox.

By themselves, these factors were not sufficient to pass relief legislation as early as 1778, but another factor surfaced which was to give such legislation a definite urgency it did not previously have. In October, 1777, General Burgoyne had lost the

¹Owen Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution (Oxford, 1984), p. 368.

Battle of Saratoga.

The prospect of a prolonged conflict with the American colonies, combined with the entry of the French into that war, forced the English Government to look to the Catholic Highlands for more fighting men. Thus Lord North pursued a quick deal with the Catholic Church, seeking to lessen the civil disabilities of Catholics in exchange for their enlistment in the army.

His first overtures went unheeded, mainly because the two bishops to whom he appealed (Hay of Glasgow and the ancient Challoner, who was eighty-seven) did not trust him. Years of living under penal legislation had made these two bishops wary of concessions offered by a Government which had suddenly become friendly. Besides this, they feared the reaction of the mob to sweeping improvements in the Catholic situation, a fear which events would later prove correct.²

Lord North next appealed to the Catholic laity, in the person of William Sheldon, who was only too eager to wrest negotiations away from the clergy. A meeting was arranged for 2 April 1778 to discuss the proposed Relief Bill, and the Cisalpine Movement in England was born.³

It began exclusively as a lay movement. Every Roman Catholic gentleman of standing was invited by letter to this historic meeting, Edmund Burke wrote the address, and the eighty

²The Gordon Riots of 1780, which occurred when the Government refused to abrogate the Relief Bill of 1778, saw 285 people killed and fifty-eight Catholic residences destroyed, including those of Hay in Glasgow and Bishop Walmsley in Bath.

³See Appendix for an explanation of the various Catholic committees.

people present approved and signed it.⁴ No clergy were present. Sheldon, thinking that clerical interference might doom the bill, strongly opposed 'any application to our clergy in temporal matters, the English Catholic Gentlemen being quite able to judge and act for themselves in these affairs.' Sir John Throckmorton told Bishop Hay more directly, 'We don't want bishops.'⁵

On the surface, it appeared that the Cisalpine gentlemen had scored a great victory. The Relief Act received the royal assent one month after their meeting, and the penal laws began to fall away. The Act of 1700 was repealed; it had imposed life sentences on Catholic clergy and schoolmasters, rewarded any informer £100 on conviction, and denied the right of a Catholic to inherit or buy property. The more menacing Act of Elizabeth and Recusancy Acts remained in place, but probably because they were dead letters already, and the Government wished to avoid the impression of giving too much away.⁶ In reality, however, the Cisalpines distorted their own importance in the passage of the Bill, and stood to lose more than they knew. Aside from the fact that there was considerable sympathy for Catholic relief within the legislature already, the Government wanted a Relief Act, and was going to get it--bishops or no bishops. The Catholic gentlemen were little more than a tool to ease the passage of the

⁴127 signed by proxy.

⁵Philip Hughes, The Catholic Question (London, 1929), p. 148. For an explanation of 'temporal matters', see below pp. 32-33.

⁶The Government quite possibly also wanted to retain the legal option of returning to penal legislation if the Relief Bill did not work or met an embarrassing degree of popular resistance.

act, providing supporters within the Government with a group reputedly representative of the Catholic body as a whole, thus creating the appearance, at least, of Catholic approval.

One of the side effects of the Relief Bill, and one unwanted by the Cisalpines, was that the Catholic bishops began to regain their power. Once the conditions were removed, which had allowed the Cisalpines to gain power, their power began to wane and that of the bishops began to re-assert itself. When the next round of discussions for further relief measures began in the late 1780's, the bishops were already strong enough to intrude and get their way. By 1803 the Cisalpine Movement, as a political force, was finished.

In not wanting bishops, the Cisalpines had made a necessary, though fatal mistake. They knew well the ways of bishops and that they resembled too closely the ways of camels putting their noses under tent flaps. To invite them would have meant to abandon negotiations to them, while all haste and opportunity for relief might be lost. Yet not to invite them incurred their constant suspicion and hostility. In an effort to assuage the bishops' sensibilities, the Catholic Committee added three clerics to their number in 1788, at best a token effort at reconciliation since two of the three clerics, Charles Berington and Joseph Wilkes, were openly sympathetic to the Cisalpine cause. The third, Bishop James Talbot, was never comfortable in the role. By 1789 the Committee was reverting to form in attempting to bypass the bishops, thus further aggravating the already-hostile vicars-apostolic. One historian has asked whether the bishops' objection to the Cisalpines did not have

more to do with the impropriety of their dictating to bishops than with any heretical content in their proposals. Joan Connell quotes a letter from Bishop Walmsley to Charles Butler in this regard:

Thus to dictate to us in Ecclesiastical matters, is it not assuming an authority which you have not? Must the Vicars Apostolic learn their Duty from you? Are they obliged to adopt your Verdict or have you a right to give any Verdict at all? Whom did the Founder of his Church speak to, when he said, 'Go and teach all nations, he that hears you, hears me.'⁷

The Cisalpines further antagonised the bishops by their recklessness. Their enthusiasm for emancipation made them appear to the bishops to be incautious, and little concerned about the theological ramifications of their political stance. Lord Petre, an officer on the Committee in both 1782 and 1787, was typical. He wrote to Bishop Walmsley defiantly:

The minds of men are not in these times disposed to submit to any unnecessary punctilios of the Court of Rome, [and threatened that if his time and money] always ready to come forward in support of Catholicity...are to become the sport of Romish punctilios and lust for power, they must be directed to some other line. If English Catholics could be seen to be British, root and branch, neither priest nor pope ridden, emancipation would come that much sooner.⁸

The Cisalpines subordinated doctrinal matters to the business of emancipation. In their defence, they needed to avoid theological hair-splitting if a relief bill was to be quickly

⁷Walmsley to Butler, 28 Sept 1789 (Clifton Archives), in Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850 (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 67.

⁸Bernard Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Revival (London, 1909), I, 224-225.

passed. But this was achieved at the cost of ridiculing nearly the whole of papal claims. Joseph Berington had written to John Carroll, a rare Cisalpine-leaning Jesuit in the United States, that he should

shut his eyes on the last fourteen centuries, and only consider what was the prerogative of the See of Rome during the Apostolic ages and the years immediately succeeding to them. All that is essential then existed; the rest is abuse and corruption.⁹

Alexander Geddes, a Scottish Catholic priest associated with the Cisalpine Movement, took Berington's sentiment a step further when he wrote:

The Papal Primacy became when stripped of all its usurped appendages and reduced to its primitive simplicity nothing more than a bare primacy of honour, rank and precedence, which is not more dangerous to the liberties of the Christian Church in general, than the primacy of Lyons is to the liberties of the Gallican [sic], or that of Canterbury, is to the liberties of the Anglican Church.¹⁰

Berington, not to be outdone, added, 'The word Roman has been given us to intimate some undue attachment to the See of Rome....I am no Papist, nor is my religion Popery.'¹¹

In the 1787 volume of Gentleman's Magazine he would elaborate:

⁹Berington to John Carroll, in Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll (New York, 1922), p. 132.

¹⁰Alexander Geddes, A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain (London, 1800), p. 80.

¹¹Joseph Berington: State and Behaviour of English Catholics (London, 1780). p. vi.

It is no matter of faith to believe that the Pope is in himself infallible, separated from the Church, even in expounding the faith; by consequence papal decrees, taken exclusively from a General Council or universal acceptance of the Church, oblige none, under pain of heresy, to an interior assent.

If the Pope should pretend to absolve or dispense with His Majesty's subjects from their allegiance, on account of heresy or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null.¹²

Sir John Throckmorton, Berington's patron, showed the theological naivete of the Cisalpines by suggesting that the English bishops simply declare themselves bishops-in-ordinary without waiting for Rome's approval.

This was all too much for the vicars-apostolic, and Berington, Geddes, and Wilkes (a Benedictine monk added to the Catholic Committee in 1788) were all eventually suspended, while Charles Berington, Joseph's cousin, had his episcopal appointment so obstructed that he would never take office. This disciplinary action was a sign that the 'orthodox' party had gained the upper hand. Nor was it the only sign. The oath of allegiance proposed by the Committee was strongly condemned by the bishops, who addressed the Committee in the unambiguous words, 'To these determinations [i.e. corrections to the oath] we require your submission.'¹³ This was a new age for the English Church, and nothing could be more symbolic than the appointment of a forty-one-year-old priest to assist the bishops. His name was John

¹²Joseph Berington (q.v. 'Candidus'), 'The Principles of Roman Catholics Stated,' Gentleman's Magazine, LVII (Feb. 1787), 108. By the word 'exclusively' Berington means 'outside of' or 'without the backing of' a General Council, etc.

¹³Ward, Dawn, I, 176.

Milner.

The papacy became the central issue of this tug-of-war because the Government still viewed a loyalty oath as the sine qua non of Catholic relief. The principal obstacle within any proposed oath was the papal claim to depose rulers, and to 'regulate' English Catholics if only in an indirect way.

Various formulations attempted to satisfy the Government without compromising the Catholics. In 1774 the provisions of a new oath, though replete with the old codewords, significantly omitted mention of the royal supremacy. A new oath, proposed for the 1791 Bill, contained several provisions which the bishops found offensive, namely,

That no foreign prelate...hath...any spiritual power of jurisdiction...within this realm that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with...the liberties, persons, or properties of the subject thereof.

That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical, that damnable Doctrine and Position that Princes excommunicated by the Pope or by Authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects....

That I acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope.¹⁴

These provisions were either dropped or so amended by the bishops that they lost their meaning. A good example is the provision on Infallibility, which became under the bishops' skilful qualification, 'I acknowledge no Infallibility, right, power or authority in the Pope, save in matters of Ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline only.'¹⁵

¹⁴Ward, Dawn, I, 165-166.

¹⁵Ibid., 282.

The debate on the Oath of Allegiance continued almost to the time of Catholic Emancipation, and involved all sorts of ingenious proposals. John Lingard, writing in 1821, suggested the inclusion of an explanatory clause 'limiting the spiritual authority abjured, to such authority as may affect the civil rights of the king and his subjects'.¹⁶ Such a clause, he added, needed to be approved by Parliament, but did not have to be read aloud when the Oath was taken, since it would be assumed to be the approved meaning of the Oath.

The Cisalpine solution was to divorce themselves from the whole question of deposing princes. Being good Whigs, they believed in the legitimate overthrow of tyrants; but this was a right which belonged to the people and not to any outside body, such as the Holy See. The Cisalpines thus attempted to distinguish clearly between the pope's rights in ecclesiastical matters and his rights in temporal matters. The pope was within his rights to excommunicate, indiscreet though this may have been, but he did not have the right to depose. The Cisalpines did not believe what one Jesuit historian would say about the Armada, that 'What the Catholic Exiles had in mind in 1588 was no more disgraceful than the intentions of those who brought in the Orange dynasty in 1688.'¹⁷ The difference was that the deposition of Elizabeth was initiated from the outside by a pope overstepping his authority, that it enjoyed no popularity among

¹⁶Lingard to Bishop Poynter, 18 March 1821, AAW--Poynter Papers, IV, 5.

¹⁷Francis Edwards, The Jesuits in England (Tunbridge Wells, 1985), p. 21.

Catholics in England, and that Elizabeth was neither incompetent nor tyrannical.

The Cisalpine argument depended on a radical distinction between the pope's spiritual and temporal power. Aside from the limited domain of the Papal States, the pope's ability to impose any but ecclesiastical penalties (excommunication, exclusion from sacraments, suspension from orders, etc.) was non-existent.¹⁸

But the temporal power of the pope was not a thing easily defined. Did the pope, as Bellarmine argued, have an 'indirect' power to depose, by dint of his office? Could he depose a king if it were necessary to do so 'for the good of souls'? When was the pope a foreign prelate, and when was he head of the Church? Bishop Law pointed out, 'Spiritual and temporal domains run imperceptibly into each other, and are separated by almost evanescent boundaries'.¹⁹ A letter to Henry Bathurst, Anglican Bishop of Norwich who favoured Catholic emancipation throws a sharp light on the confusion:

As to the extent of the meaning of the term Temporal Power; should the power of the Pope be restricted, to deny him all Civil Jurisdiction, and to give him an Ecclesiastical Power or Jurisdiction solely; yet if the exercise of such Supremacy, though in matters purely relating to the Church, has the least tendency even to

¹⁸It is important to note that the Cisalpines did not see the Temporal Power as equivalent to power over the Papal States, as it came later to be understood, but saw it rather in the more general meaning of 'temporalities', or the use of temporal privileges and penalties, as opposed to spiritual authority. Thus the deposition of princes was a temporal power.

¹⁹Edward Norman, Church and Society in England (Oxford, 1976), pp. 79-80.

work any political effect upon the State or Government, I call that Temporal Power, and the establishing such an Imperium in Imperio ought to be resisted ferro et igni.²⁰

The dilemma would never be solved, of course, partly because of its intrinsic tension and because the bishops and Cisalpines saw the problem differently. To the Cisalpines, all that stood between English Catholics and emancipation were papal claims. They searched history and judged that the final break with Rome came, for the English, when Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and set her people 'free'. Catholics were ipso facto traitors, not because of any action on Elizabeth's part, nor because of action by the English people, but because the pope separated the Roman Church from the English, whereas hitherto they had been one. They saw the Reformation as a schism, rather than as a heresy, and, curiously, as a schism in which the separated body was not responsible for the separation. Rome initiated the process with little provocation, as reaction unforeseen and unwanted by the English. The solution, therefore, lay with the pope--namely, a complete repudiation of the power which brought about this schism. The Cisalpine appeal to history is an interesting one because it is double-edged. There is, on the one hand, the attempt to explain the Catholic position to the non-Catholic world, to insist on Catholic loyalty, on the misfortune of the Reformation, on the inessential quality of the break. And, on the other hand, there is displayed the need to reflect on their

²⁰A Letter to the Right Reverend Henry Bathurst, D. D. Lord Bishop of Norwich, in William Firth, Esq., Tracts, Roman Catholic Claims (London, 1813), II, 53.

own communion, to question Catholic adherence to outdated and possibly unnecessary 'doctrines'. Later Catholic histories would not be so circumspect.

The Cisalpines chose history because it would explain the situation in which they lived, and perhaps provide a clue about how to ease that situation. For them, and for Catholics generally, the problems of the sixteenth century had yet to be solved, and they hoped that, by showing those problems in a clear and honest light, they could go some distance in solving the problems of their own day.

A breakthrough of sorts was achieved when John Throckmorton, that most impetuous of Cisalpines, asked his chaplain, Joseph Berington, to produce a history which would expose

an ecclesiastical government depending on a foreign power, and its whole influenced exercised, to prevent [Catholics] from giving to the government of their country, that security of their good behaviour which the laws required.²¹

Berington took up this project which he called The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani with a blend of courage and characteristic recklessness. The authenticity of these Memoirs had never been proven, and only extracts had previously appeared in print--in Charles Dodd's Church History of England.²² Berington said that publication of the entire manuscript had been deliberately avoided by Dodd lest it 'might prejudice the evil-disposed', a

²¹In Eamon Duffy. 'Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected II', Recusant History, X (1970), 324.

²²Charles Dodd, Church History of England (Liege, 1734-1739). It was actually published in Wolverhampton.

caution Berington found no longer necessary to observe.²³

Publication in 1793 was a coup in two ways: first, it meant that Berington was not going to re-arrange or edit Dodd's Church History, as several authors in succession were trying (and would later try) to do, but that he was going to attempt something entirely new.²⁴ Secondly, he was introducing an original and largely unknown manuscript into the debate on the Oath of Supremacy. He fully intended it as an act of defiance and a starting-point for his own historical observations.

Gregorio Panzani was a secret papal agent who was sent to England from 1634 to 1636 by Pope Urban VIII in the hope of settling the disputes between the religious and secular clergy, and to assess both the expediency of appointing a bishop-in-ordinary and the lawfulness of taking the Oath of Allegiance. His actual Memoirs did not overly concern Berington, who used them as little more than a peg on which to hang his own ideas. The Memoirs themselves are only 145 pages long, while Berington's Preface, Introduction, and Afterword run to 262 pages.

Berington was a secular priest who had been highly-regarded until his fall from favour at Douai, where he had promoted rational philosophy. He became the spokesman for the Catholic Committee and Cisalpine Club, and incurred the further ire of the majority of bishops with his State and Behaviour of the English Catholics (1780) and then his Memoirs of Panzani (1793), both of

²³Joseph Berington, Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani (Birmingham, 1793), p. vii. Dodd omitted certain passages which were even more damaging to the Jesuits' reputation than the ones he included.

²⁴See Berington, Panzani, pp. 144-146.

which were designed to lessen any fear that the State or the people of England may have had of Catholics.

The Reformation issues which Berington dealt with were twofold: the papal actions against Elizabeth, and the role of the Regulars. Berington felt that the central problem in the English Reformation was the pope's temporal power, and especially his deposing power. Since he says very little about the Henrician Reformation, we must assume that Berington viewed the Reformation in England as essentially an Elizabethan phenomenon, and the problems of his own day to be the result of the Elizabethan Settlement. In one place, he calls Elizabeth's reign 'the real era of the Reformation'.²⁵ But he does not look on Elizabeth's headship of the Church as an issue at all; he does not mention it as being a complication in the taking of the Oath. Elizabeth, in his view, had hardly changed the religion, and what changes she had made were sensible and executed in a conciliatory manner. 'To conciliate the minds of men, not to divide them, was the policy of this uncommon woman.'²⁶

The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign saw little persecution except 'what arose from the act of supremacy, the severity of which was lessening'.²⁷ Granted, the Marian bishops had been deprived of their sees, still they were treated humanely and only Bishop Bonner was kept in prison--as a result of his role in the Marian persecution. Berington suggests that those

²⁵Berington, State and Behaviour, p. 14.

²⁶Berington, Panzani, p. 18.

²⁷Ibid., p. 29.

few who refused to take the Oath probably did so for reasons which were less than religious:

Few then remained firm to the old cause; and of these few, as many were placed in elevated stations, we may, perhaps, be induced to think that a point of honour, rather than a conviction of duty, influenced their determination.²⁸

Elizabeth's moderation was further attested to when news of the excommunication helped instigate the Rebellion of the North, which she responded to by punishing only the active participants. No priest was executed until 1577, even though Parliament had given Elizabeth warrant for such action as early as 1571, and despite the presence in England of fifty missionary priests since 1574. In all this Elizabeth appeared to Berington to be the model of restraint.

The pope, on the other hand, was the model of excess. Berington called Paul IV 'the haughty Paul', and quoted Heylyn's account of the conversation between Edward Carne and the pope when the latter was informed that Elizabeth had acceded to the throne. The pope told Carne,

that the kindom of England was a fief of the holy see; that Elizabeth was a bastard, and had no right to the succession; that he could not annul the decrees of Clement VII and of Paul III with regard to her father's marriage; that it was an act of signal audacity in her to have assumed the title of queen, without his participation; that thus she was undeserving of the smallest indulgence....²⁹

²⁸Berington, Panzani, p. 14.

²⁹Ibid., p. 3. C.f. Peter Heylyn, Ecclesia Restaurata (London, 1661), p. 103.

The deposing power was clearly a temporal power which had been assumed in a superstitious age, and it was this unlawful power, coupled with the pope's attitude, that 'soon took care to fix her [Elizabeth's] resolution.'³⁰

Berington, possibly by way of asserting that Elizabeth's claim to supremacy was justifiable, seriously questioned the primacy of the pope. These two opinions were, in fact, correlative. Taking the Oath of Supremacy could be done without damage to one's conscience because there was a benign interpretation of the Oath which rested largely on the minimalisation of the pope's spiritual authority. Thus, Berington moved almost imperceptibly from denying the pope's temporal power to questioning the extent (and possibly even the existence) of the pope's spiritual power. He wrote:

To the jurisdiction of the Roman see and to the supremacy of its first pastor I bow with reverence; but neither with that jurisdiction nor with that supremacy, though they are sometimes sullied by the contact, has the court of Rome and its fifteen congregations any proper concern.³¹

Berington thinks, simply, that the rights of the first bishop of Rome (he carefully avoids the term 'the first pope') have been exaggerated all through history.³² He wrote, 'The primitive rights of a first bishop could with difficulty be

³⁰Berington, Panzani, p. 4.

³¹Ibid., p. xix.

³²A recent book on the subject of papal authority, by the Catholic theologian J.M. Tillard, which questions the Ultramontanist understanding of papacy, is called significantly The Bishop of Rome.

traced, and the whole fabric of his jurisdiction seemed rather to be the contrivance of human ambition on the one side, and of weak concessions on the other.³³

In private correspondence he was even more explicit. In a letter to John Kirk he drew an interesting relation between the theory of the primacy and its practice:

I find, for instance, that from St. Peter to the time of Constantine there is no document to prove, that any primacy was exercised by the Roman Bishop. On this ground, I state the fact; but during all that period, I do not say, that those bishops were not jure divino, possessed of the primacy. The right to jurisdiction and its exercise are obviously different things.³⁴

This led Berington to a discussion of the effect of these claims on the English Church in Elizabeth's time. Logically, he saw her resistance to this unlawful authority as reasonable:

He (the Catholick) readily acknowledges, admitting the Roman bishop to be the first pastor of his church, that much of the ecclesiastical, and all of the temporal power, at any time claimed by him, was acquired by human means, and that its exercise was lawfully resisted.³⁵

The Oath of Supremacy was involved in all this because the queen's resistance centered on the Oath, and Catholic hesitation in signing the Oath depended on the notion of a papal primacy. A position like Berington's was antecedent to the removal of obstacles toward such signing. It is little wonder that

³³Berington, Panzani, p. 7.

³⁴Berington to Kirk, 26 Dec. 1794, AAB, c. 1310. C.f. Eamon Duffy, Joseph Berington and the English Catholic Cisalpine Movement 1782-1803 (PhD Dissertation, Cambridge, 1972), p. 239.

³⁵Joseph Berington, Gentlemen's Magazine, LXIX (August 1799), 653-654.

Berington found it such an easy step to take the Oath:

Just notions of the path of supremacy are becoming peculiarly important to us, as it alone withholds us from the exercise of our elective franchise: and why should we importune government for a further redress of grievances, or complain that we are aggrieved, if the remedy be in our own hands? One bold man, by taking the oath, may dissipate the whole charm of prejudice, and restore us to the most valuable privilege of British citizens.³⁶

That one bold man would have to be someone else, because Joseph Berington never took the Oath.³⁷

The reaction to Berington's suggestions was mixed. Non-Catholics generally applauded the Memoirs, but regarded Berington as an exception, un-representative of Catholic thinking, and likely to be silenced if he persisted. Part of this reaction was due to the prevailing spirit of the time, which did not see how an enlightened person could long remain in the service of a superstitious and authoritarian Church; partly it was due to the storm of protest raised within the Catholic Church, which only proved to the Protestants that this Church was, of its very nature, unable to tolerate a priest with such views as Berington's.

The reaction from the Catholic Church would have been more severe, in fact, had it not been for the intervention of Bishop Thomas Talbot, vicar-apostolic of the Midland District, on Berington's behalf. He wrote:

³⁶Berington, Panzani, p. 11n.

³⁷His hesitation here was probably not due to cowardice. He may have had a person more prominent (i.e. a bishop) in mind.

I do not mean to become the apologist for Mr. Joseph Berington or to take on the defence of any extravagant notion he may have adopted....Without abetting any wrong opinion Mr. Berington may have broached, and without pretending to exculpate him from censure when he deserves it, I consider him as a man of learning, and a person very regular and even exemplary in the exercise of his missionary functions. He is ready, as he declares, to explain or even to retract what may be deemed amiss in his writings. Why, then, must he be run down like a wild beast?³⁸

Bishop Walmesley, Vicar-Apostolic of Western District, wanted ecclesiastical penalties imposed on Berington; and Bishop Douglass, Vicar-Apostolic of London District, suspended him from his priestly faculties. But beyond this they did not go--content to allow Father Charles Plowden (1743-1821), a former Jesuit, to write a suitable reply.³⁹

Plowden's book, Remarks on a Book Entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani (Liege, 1794), was written in the polemical spirit of the day--much like Berington's book. The language, in fact, is often ferocious, the accusations extreme. He accuses Berington of trying to set a trap for him by drawing him into writing a full-scale history for which he was unsuited. He makes frequent mention of this 'trap' and of his skill at avoiding it. Then he proceeds to fall headlong into Berington's real trap, and calls the Memoirs a forgery:

I maintain that either this man [Panzani] was a very unfair and partial negotiator, quite undeserving of

³⁸Ward, Dawn, II, 44-45.

³⁹Plowden also denounced Berington to Propaganda, which office promptly confused Joseph with Bishop Charles Berington, 'and the case of both of them became intricately involved in consequence' (Ward, Dawn, II, 45).

credit; or that his memoirs are a forgery; or that Mr. Berington has garbled, curtailed and altered them....Panzani tells us the story of the first archpriest, just as if he had been reading Mr. Berington's Introduction, which stands before his memoirs. The truth is, that the Introduction and the memoirs were collected and written by the same man.⁴⁰

The chief purpose of these Memoirs, according to Plowden, was to discredit the Society of Jesus, the popes, and vicars-apostolic, in the hope of 'inducing [the British Catholics] to swallow the oath of supremacy'.⁴¹ Berington was 'in religion a sceptic, and in politics a sans-culottes [sic]'.⁴²

Plowden had no doubt about Queen Elizabeth's intentions:

The Queen's government never intended to indulge catholics in a quiet tolerance of their religion, in return for their civil allegiance. That profligate government well knew, that the catholics were faithful by principle and by habit; but their policy was, not to protect them honourably, as their duty prescribed, but to wring from them, by art and by force, that very religion, in which they found the source and motive of their allegiance.⁴³

The Queen, therefore, or at least her government, was the aggressor, and not the pope. Any priests who were sentenced to imprisonment or death were condemned for the sole reason that they had exercised their priesthood, and not for any feeling of disloyalty or act of treason. The Appellants at Wisbech prison particularly disgraced themselves by playing into the hands of

⁴⁰Charles Plowden, Remarks on a Book Entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani (Liege, 1794), pp. 176, 209.

⁴¹Ibid. p. 31.

⁴²Ibid, p. 19.

⁴³Ibid, p. 136.

the Government; their loyalty was not suspect, yet they 'conveyed a reproach of disloyalty upon all other priests and catholics'.⁴⁴

What Plowden did not see, or refused to see, was the contradictory nature of dual loyalties to pope and queen, which contradiction was not the fault of the arrested priests, but was the condition set by both princes: one could not swear simultaneous allegiance. Plowden's failure was in not recognising the historical context of the dual loyalties; the two loyalties might not have been seen in his own day as intrinsically contradictory, but there was much more confusion about them in the sixteenth century. Besides, the choices which were offered the priests under interrogation were intentionally contradictory. The priests sought to avoid this predicament by silence or evasion; but they surely did not, and could not, escape its grasp by ignoring it, as Plowden did.

For all that can be said against Berington's version of the Reformation, it marked a small step in the direction of a more scientific and objective history. He was a child of his time, and this meant he inherited the failings and virtues of his predecessors--but did so as a Catholic, and this was an important difference.

He borrowed liberally from previous historians and accepted them as unerring--a flaw still common in the Enlightenment. His book is filled with citations from Heylyn, Collier, Fuller, and Dodd, any of which he considered to be sufficient documentation on a controverted point. But Enlightenment historians also began

⁴⁴Plowden, Remarks, p. 136.

to show a growing unease at this method, and sought for more and better documents to back up their arguments. Berington shared in this search, and we have one instance of his impatience with an un-cooperative archivist:

The liberty I requested [to see certain documents] was refused me, from the generous motives...of the peevish animal who, lying in the manger, refused to let the patient ox, whom hunger pressed, feed on the food that was natural to him, and unnatural to the snarling tyrant that did but defile it by his presence.⁴⁵

The use he made of Panzani's Memoirs was less than disinterested, but it marked a revolutionary advance for an English Catholic in that it showed, in a small and imperfect way, how the final arbiter of a dispute would be the scholar who could amass the largest number of the most authoritative documents, and not the person who had popular opinion or the prevailing orthodoxy on his side. Furthermore, his use of the Memoirs stood up against its critics. Mark Tierney wrote to John Kirk years later:

You will recollect that Charles Plowden, who had publicly treated the Memoirs of Panzani as a forgery,...acknowledges that he subsequently found the original MS., but adds that both Dodd and Berington had been guilty of suppressions which totally altered the character of the work. This is false....I have Dodd's own copy (in his own handwriting) of the translation of the MS. It is the same in all respects as that published by Mr. Berington, and contains every syllable that is to be found in the Latin original.⁴⁶

Yet, running throughout Berington's narrative, there is a

⁴⁵Berington, Panzani, p. xiv.

⁴⁶Ward, Dawn, II, 45n.

persistent one-sidedness. While it was helpful to Catholics to hear the 'corrective' for past histories, Berington hurt his own case by making no effort to balance the evidence. Nicolas Sanders had failed to say one word about the cruelty or extent of the Marian persecution, in which 273 people died; and Berington, in his enthusiasm for Elizabeth's moderation, replied by failing to mention the 800 men executed by her for the Rebellion in the North, a military operation which resulted in the deaths of only five people.⁴⁷ He also mentioned the role of Elizabeth and her ministers in the Appellant controversy only once--and then only in a footnote, where he dismissed the manuscript Relation (drawn up by the Regulars) as 'unsupported by any historical facts'.⁴⁸

This one-sidedness became especially evident in his discussion of the Oath of Supremacy. He judged the missionary priests on the basis of his own day, when the question of dual allegiance had become considerably more settled, and when the boundaries between temporal and spiritual power had been more clearly drawn. To Berington, there was a simple solution to the dilemma in which the missionary priests found themselves, and that was to minimise the authority of the pope, and imply an almost unrestricted authority in the English monarch.

The problem with doing that was manifold. First of all, the English Catholics of Elizabeth's time did not hold that view of the respective authorities, so that Berington finds himself

⁴⁷Marvin O'Connell, 'Protestant Reformation in the British Isles', New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1967), Vol. 12, 180.

⁴⁸Berington, Panzani, p. 66.

criticising them not for what they believed and did, but what they should have believed and did not do.

Secondly, Berington failed to note the ~~the~~ revolutionary quality of Elizabeth's claim. He concentrated entirely on the pope's over-extension of power while ignoring Elizabeth's. Catholics could not sign an oath giving Elizabeth spiritual supremacy, no matter how they regarded the pope's right to depose. The boundaries of Elizabeth's and the pope's authority intruded on each other, and such were the terms that they set that reconciliation through oath-taking was not possible. Thus Catholics became disloyal, at least indirectly.

Catholics, if they accepted the pope's right to depose a ruler, were guilty of indirect or passive disloyalty, and in some cases (e.g. Sanders) direct disloyalty. But even if they did not accept the pope's right to depose (or even his right to excommunicate), they still could not take the Oath, which did more than deny the pope these powers. The queen had made the penalty for refusing to take the Oath high treason, and thus she raised the stakes. Until that sanction was dropped, Catholics (in the eyes of the law) could not be loyal. Once it was dropped as a requirement for citizenship in 1829, and only then, were Catholics legally free of the taint of disloyalty.

Berington made the mistake of assuming that deposition and the Oath of Supremacy were concerned with the same thing, and that once the former was disposed of, there could be little objection to taking the Oath. The only obstacle to signing the Oath, in other words, was the pope. Hence Berington's urgency in attacking papal power, and his bewilderment that that 'one bold

man' never came forward to sign the Oath.

If these had been Berington's only faults, he would have escaped censure. But he was unable to resist the indiscreet remark, which proved his undoing and the virtual end of his role as spokesman for the Cisalpine movement. Even by the standards of the eighteenth century, Berington's ridicule went beyond the limits of decorum. He once wrote of Milner:

[He is] neither a gentleman nor a Christian. Whether the water-nymphs...would take him for their chaplain, I know not; sure I am, that communities of a better polish and of better principles must be shocked by his intemperate effusions. And what, after all, was the provocation that instigated the fellow to throw about his stink-pots?⁴⁹

John Milner, the Ultramontane controversialist, engaged in a pamphlet war with Dr. Sturges, who had taken exception to Milner's History of Winchester. Berington impulsively entered the feud on the side of Sturges with an open letter to the Gentleman's Magazine in August 1799. Among its sentences found to be objectionable by the bishops were (the italics are Berington's):

That some religious societies, benevolently fostered in the country, and protected by its laws, in direct opposition to the opinions and policy of that country, should dare to perpetuate themselves by admitting new members, [the Catholick] will think deserving a severe animadversion.

He [the Catholick whose mind is truly English] readily acknowledges, admitting the Roman bishop to be the first pastor of his church, that much of the ecclesiastical, and all of the temporal power, at any time claimed by him, was acquired by human means, and that its exercise was lawfully resisted.

⁴⁹Berington, Panzani, p. xxii.

In the foundation, or continuance, of monastic institutions, to so many the source of misery, to some the source of happiness, he feels no interest.

In tracing the history of Religious persecution, he is compelled to own, that his church has persecuted, though, theologically speaking, 'persecution may not have been a tenet of his faith,' and that intolerance is the professed doctrine of her decrees.

To the authors of the Reformation, the extent of which he deplures, he does not indiscriminately ascribe unworthy motives.⁵⁰

Berington was asked to retract these and other statements, and did so in a way which Eamon Duffy has described as 'the zenith of his recklessness'.⁵¹ In the December 1799 issue of the same magazine appeared his sarcastic 'retraction':

In mentioning...some religious societies, benevolently fostered in the country, and protected by its laws, if, in direct opposition to the opinions and policy of that country, they aimed to perpetuate themselves by admitting new members, I should have praised the measure, and not have said it deserved severe animadversion.

Viewing in the Roman bishop the first pastor of my church, I should not have acknowledged that any part of the power, at any time claimed by him, was acquired by human means and was lawfully resisted.

Of monastic institutions I should not have said, that to many they were the source of misery, to some the source of happiness; in their foundation and continuance, I should have expressed much interest.

That my church ever persecuted, I should not have conceded; and should have gloried in the intolerance of her professions.

I should have represented every part of the Protestant

⁵⁰Berington, Gentleman's Magazine, LXIX, August 1799, 653-654.

⁵¹Duffy, Joseph Berington, p. 289.

Reformation as schismatical, and to all its authors indiscriminately ascribed unworthy motives.⁵²

Bishop Douglass, who had laboured so long and patiently to work out a reconciliation with Berington in 1797, now suspended him again, and Berington was to disappear from the public eye for the remainder of his life.

His views on the English Government were pacific and reflected his generous attitude toward the reign of Elizabeth. In the same article which resulted in his downfall, Berington wrote:

Not to awaken dormant animosities by contention, not to institute invidious comparisons between the old and present religion of the country, not to justify acts condemned by the legislature, not to vilify characters generally deemed eminent, but on all occasions, to cherish the cause of liberty, civil and religious, cheerfully to obey the laws of the realm, and, in silence, to practise the duties of their religion, is undoubtedly the prudent line of conduct for Catholics to pursue, while they confidently look forward to days of more tranquility, when they may deserve to be admitted to all rights of British subjects.⁵³

It was not his conciliatory approach which caused this censure, however, it was his intolerance of the Catholic position--his insistence that the pope was to blame for everything, and the hint that Catholics didn't yet 'deserve' emancipation. His impatience here could be quite extreme, and there is evidence that he seriously contemplated a schism, abandoning the project only when it became clear that few

⁵²Berington, Gentleman's Magazine, LXIX, December 1799, 1023.

⁵³Berington, Gentleman's Magazine, LXIX, August 1799, 654.

Cisalpinos would support it, and that it simply would not work.⁵⁴

What exasperated the hierarchy even more was his flippant and dissembling manner. The above controversy in the Gentleman's Magazine was the pinnacle of this style, but his whole scholarly life was a series of retractions and relapses. Bishop Douglass worked heroically at reconciling Berington in 1797--warding off spiteful demands by Milner to humble Berington--only to have Berington, a week later, write to John Kirk predicting the imminent extinction of the papacy, saying, 'the sooner this happens the better.'⁵⁵

The Cisalpine torch passed quickly to Charles Butler, a layman and a lawyer, who had served as secretary to the Catholic Committee from its very beginning in 1778. He helped to found the Catholic Board in 1808.⁵⁶

Butler (1750-1832) was ascetic and industrious, and in 1819 wrote his Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics, which summarised the situation of Roman Catholics in Britain from the Reformation onwards. It was an updated version of Berington's State and Behaviour of English Catholics, with more emphasis on history.

Like Berington before him, Butler was primarily concerned with Catholic emancipation, and this coloured his historical

⁵⁴Duffy, Joseph Berington, pp. 244-246. The manuscript detailing this schism is entitled 'Reasons for altering our Church Government, or for withdrawing from it'. It is unsigned, but is written in Berington's hand.

⁵⁵Berington to Kirk, 22 April 1797. ^{AAB}~~EAA~~, c. 1389. C.f. Duffy, Joseph Berington, p. 272. ⁵⁶See Appendix.

narrative. However, Butler possessed two advantages over Berington: he was not a priest and therefore more able to elude official censure;⁵⁷ and he had a lawyer's restraint in controversy, remaining always a gentleman and refusing to brawl with Milner.

He was attracted by the Reformation because it offered a comment on the current difficulties of Catholics, especially those difficulties arising from the Oath of Supremacy. Butler sought to supplement Dodd's Church History which he, like Berington, thought to be poorly arranged. By his book he hoped to bring Catholics and Protestants closer together, and effect some unity within the Catholic Church itself.

He did not say anything new about the Reformation, and indeed he repeats some of the errors found in Dodd and Berington (e.g. blaming Paul IV for reacting harshly to news of Elizabeth's accession), but he incorporated parts of both Catholic historical traditions in his narrative--more so than anyone to date. So while he excused Elizabeth for her misdeeds, and played down her refusal to meet with papal delegates, he at least felt obliged to mention such activity, as well as to enumerate the suffering of the missionary priests, and to call some attention to the role of Elizabeth's ministers in the proceedings.

Still, there was no doubt where his sympathies ^{lay} ~~lie~~. Most of his energy was taken up cataloguing and criticising the papal 'pretensions' to both spiritual and temporal power. He wrote:

⁵⁷ Lord Acton, many years later, would also find this a distinct advantage.

The Popes had been reproachable, not merely for their unwarrantable pretensions to temporal power, and for their attempts, which they had made to establish it;-- but they had also been long blamed, by the wiser and more respectable part of the church, for their undue exercise, even of their spiritual power.⁵⁸

Butler listed the general offences of the papacy first, then moved on to the more specific offences against the English people. Among the former were: extending immunities to the clergy; exempting regulars from the jurisdiction of the local hierarchy; excessive monetary demands; interfering in diocesan courts; nominating to ecclesiastical benefices in foreign states, contrary to common right; and carrying on superciliously and expensively.

In England, where Butler said that the conduct of the Papal See 'had always been more reprehensible, than in any other country',⁵⁹ these encroachments and the reactions they generated had a time-honoured history:

Pope Gregory VII demanded of King Henry II homage to the Apostolic See in exchange for the crown. Henry refused.

Boniface VIII told Edward III to desist from using force in Scotland. Edward refused.

When William of Glastonbury was consecrated bishop, he had committed to his charge the spiritualities and temporalities of his bishopric. Edward III summoned him, whereupon William submitted and asked Edward to bestow on him the temporalities.⁶⁰

Other offences, curtailed by various kings, were the export

⁵⁸ Charles Butler, Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics (London, 1819), I, 39.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 40.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 41-42



of money by religious houses (Edward I); the appointment of men to benefices before they became vacant--known as provisors (Edward III); the misuse of Church courts by trying cases which should have been tried in civil courts (Edward III); contempt in paying obedience to papal processes, which was due to the king alone--known as praemunire (Richard II and Henry IV). From all this Butler concluded:

Such were the provisions, by which, when the popes were in the zenith of their authority, our catholic ancestors disclaimed and resisted their claims to temporal power; and even the undue exercise of their spiritual power, within this imperial realm.⁶¹

Opposition to the popes, in other words, was a long-standing and hallowed tradition in England. The popes had got into the bad habit of giving orders on matters over which they exercised no competent authority, while English rulers had got into the very laudable habit of ignoring those orders or countermanding them in some way. For Butler, these precedents all pointed to the claim by the pope to depose rulers, and to the right of the rulers to resist that claim.

Butler was quite forthright in praising Elizabeth for her leniency, and in placing blame for the enactment of the penal laws on the Bull of Excommunication of Elizabeth, the Mitigation of Gregory XIII, the policy of Sixtus V in support of the Armada, and the provocative actions of the missionary priests.⁶² Yet he

⁶¹Butler, Memoirs, I, 45-46.

⁶²This 'Mitigation' re-inforced the excommunication and deposition, but exempted British citizens from compliance until a 'later date.'

was, at the same time, convinced that these men were not traitors, that Catholics could be loyal and did not deserve punishment, and that Elizabeth's ministers were partly to blame for the nature and extent of the persecution.

When it came to the Oath of Supremacy, Butler's acumen as a lawyer became evident. His interpretation of the Oath focussed on its origin and interpretation in terms of courts of law:

In consequence of [an alliance between Church and State], the state had conferred upon the church the power of enforcing several of her spiritual injunctions, by those acts of temporal power which the civil courts of the king possess for enforcing their sentences. This was done, either by authorizing the ministers of the church to issue process from the civil courts, in aid of the spiritual injunctions; or by erecting courts entirely appropriated to the spiritual concerns of the church, and investing them with the temporal process of the civil courts. The objects, on which such courts exercised their jurisdiction gave them the appellation of spiritual courts; but the process, by which they carried it into execution was temporal. To this extent, therefore, they were temporal, or civil courts of the king; and so far as respected their right to this process, the king was the supreme head of their jurisdiction.

From these circumstances, it has been sometimes contended that the pre-eminence, spiritual authority, and spiritual jurisdiction mentioned in the acts which conferred the supremacy upon Elizabeth, ought to be understood to denote, only that pre-eminence, supremacy, and jurisdiction, which the clergy, or their courts, receive from the state; and the clauses in the acts, which deny the supremacy of the pope, were intended only to deny his right to that temporal power, which the state, in consequence of its alliance with the church, had conferred upon him.⁶³

How, then did Catholics come to understand the Oath in another way? Butler continued:

⁶³Butler, Memoirs, I, 154.

[The various interpretations of the Oath] intimate, that objections to the oath prescribed by the parliament of Elizabeth, were first made by the priests, who came to England from the foreign seminaries. In those schools, say they [the priests who took the Oath], the ultramontane doctrines on papal power were taught in their utmost extent. In conformity with these, the members of those communities believed the pope to be entitled, at least indirectly, to temporal power by divine right, and must therefore object to every oath, which denied the right of the pope to the exercise of temporal power in the administration of spiritual concerns, or the right of the church to enforce the sentences of the church by temporal processes.⁶⁴

Now here was an argument of considerable sophistication, and one which attempted to use history in a critical way, but which was nonetheless flawed. Strictly speaking, the above statement is true--i.e. that objections to Elizabeth's oath were first made by the missionary priests--since Butler places the objections within Elizabeth's reign; but it is misleading because of that very qualification. Opposition to the Oath first surfaced when the Oath of Supremacy was first used as a method of forced compliance to the Act of Supremacy. That was not in Elizabeth's reign at all, but in 1534 under Henry VIII. The opposition was voiced by men such as Thomas More, Bishop John Fisher, as well as the Carthusian priors of the Charterhouse, Belleval, and Shene--whose sympathies were anything but ultramontane, and who predated the arrival of the first missionary priests by nearly thirty-five years.

This Act of Supremacy was repealed by Mary Tudor, but restored by Elizabeth in a revised form--dropping the title 'The only supreme head in earth of the Church of England', and

⁶⁴Butler, Memoirs, I, 157-158.

substituting 'The only supreme governor of the realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal'. Whether this nuance made any appreciable difference cannot be said for certain, but the objections to the new oath remained the same as to the old and, significantly, none of the Marian bishops subscribed to it--again, a full ten years before the arrival of any missionary priests. Neither did Elizabeth or her ministers, knowing the previous objections to the Henrician oath, go out of their way to satisfy those objections or alter the text in any way approaching Butler's understanding of it.

Butler avoided this evidence, I think, because mention of it would have ruined his case. J.B. Code noted this in his work on Elizabethan historiography:

With all this appearance of impartiality, which naturally goes far to create an atmosphere of credibility, Butler was not above the lawyer's device of eliminating such witnesses as might be contrary to the point he wished to make.⁶⁵

And the point he wished to make was that a benign interpretation of the Oath of Supremacy was possible in 1819 and had been possible in Elizabeth's time, and that such a benign interpretation was the key to Catholic emancipation:

Were it quite clear that the interpretation contended for is the true interpretation of the oath, and quite clear also that the oath was and is thus universally interpreted by the nation, then, the author conceives, that there might be strong ground to contend, that it was consistent with catholic principles to take either the oath of supremacy which was prescribed by Elizabeth,

⁶⁵Code, Elizabeth and Catholic Historians, p. 125.

or that, which is used at present.

He also thinks it highly probable, that, if a legislative interpretation could now be obtained, the interpretation suggested would be adopted.⁶⁶

But Butler himself admitted that the actual existence, as opposed to the possibility, of such a benign interpretation in Elizabeth's time was doubtful, and that such an interpretation would ever be attached to it in his own day was equally doubtful. Thus, he was forced back onto Berington's interpretation of history, which had more to do with what should have happened than with what actually did.

[Butler] believed that had the Catholics of Elizabeth's time interpreted the Oath in the way [he] felt it could be interpreted in the time in which he was writing, then they could have taken it without any scruples. He does not deny, however, that the Catholics of England generally looked upon the Oath as against their Faith, and consequently he does not condemn them for refusing to take it.⁶⁷

So why did Butler bring his considerable forces to bear on an interpretation of the Oath which had never existed and which, in all likelihood, never would exist? The answer, admittedly conjectural, can probably be found in Butler's profession as a lawyer. He was concerned that the process of emancipation, which had come to a standstill after the Napoleonic War, would never reach fulfillment until some solution was found to the quandary of divided loyalties, and Butler believed he had found a loophole. That Henry or Elizabeth or the Catholic martyrs

⁶⁶Butler, Memoirs, I, 158.

⁶⁷Code, Elizabeth and Catholic Historians, p. 121.

interpreted it as they did was not important--at least not to the prospects of emancipation in 1819. What mattered was the legislature, which would have to enact an emancipation law, and whether that legislature [as he said] could now obtain his interpretation. What was simpler, and what eventually happened, was for the Government to drop its requirement of the Oath, and what is surprising is that neither Berington nor Butler suggested it as a possibility, though that may have been because events which led to the sudden removal of the Oath seemed far more distant than they really were.

Charles Butler was not an historian, and Joseph Berington was even less so. They both came to their histories as polemicists--by way of contemporary debates on Emancipation. Because the roots of the problem of Catholic disability rested in the Reformation, it seemed to them that the solution rested there as well. Little did they dream that it really rested in the hands of a solitary Irishman.

While Butler and Berington may have had similar purposes in writing, they were clearly different in their approaches to history. Berington was more the philosopher and, as a rationalist, condemned those things at the time of the Reformation which the men of his day condemned in their own: intolerance, autocratic authority, and superstition--judging the past on its approximation to, or alienation from, the Age of Reason. So just as Berington condemned those in his own day who had made it impossible to take the Oath, he also condemned those during the Reformation who did the same.

Charles Butler's training as a lawyer made him much better fitted for the writing of history. He saw in it a vast quarry of precedents, and listed past incursions of papal power and justifiable acts of resistance by English monarchs, with the understanding that they all pointed to the last great confrontation of that kind--the papal excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth, and the Oath of Supremacy. It was important to Butler to establish, if not a precedent for taking the Oath--since there had been no Oath before--then at least a general precedent of disobedience to the pope and the possibility of taking the Oath, the reality of which was avoided only because of the ultramontane interference.

His historical sense was also far superior to Berington's. He did not consider only one side of the evidence, nor did he damn those in the past who acted differently than he would have liked. Berington did not condemn those who refused to take the Oath--not, at least, in so many words--but one cannot avoid feeling that he thought them to have been mistaken. Butler does not leave one with that impression at all, but rather he admitted the historical conditions which caused the refusal. Where he differed from Berington was in saying that times had changed, that a benign view of the Oath was now possible owing to historical research, and that, even though Catholics had once died for refusing to take the Oath, it was now possible for nineteenth-century Catholics to take it without any fear of betraying their ancestors or their consciences.

Butler's history of the Reformation, imperfect as it is, gives hints of what is to come with John Lingard and the next

generation of Catholic historians. He did not throw off the habits of a polemicist, but he was much more willing than any Catholic writer in the past to tell both sides of a controversial story. Much as he disapproved of the pope's diplomatic conduct, he was able to say that the pope conducted himself during Henry's divorce proceedings with 'ever so great moderation and temper', a concession Berington would have found impossible to make. Butler also observed that some of the fault for the breach with Rome lie with Henry and, later, Elizabeth; that the dissolution of the monasteries entailed an irreparable tragedy; that the Jesuits were unjustly tortured. Butler also used Protestant sources with greater care than did Berington--who, one suspects, used them to antagonise his Catholic enemies. Butler used them when he found them to be the best available source, and one which would give him the most sympathetic hearing among non-Catholics. He added sources to those of Dodd, and tested them more thoroughly:

He did not hesitate to reject Catholic evidence and to fall back on Protestant, if the former failed to satisfy this latter [reliability] test. He had the habit, to which Milner referred to [sic] more than once, of taking Protestant evidence in preference to Catholic, or of adducing Protestant sources in support of Catholic as if the latter were not sufficient of itself.⁶⁸

Any treatment of Butler's work is not complete without mention of the reaction it evoked from John Milner. Milner (1752-1826) had long been a foe of the Cisalpines, having been called on by the bishops to articulate their opposition to

⁶⁸Code, Elizabeth and Catholic Historians, p. 124.

proposed clauses within the Relief Bill of 1791. In 1803 he was made Vicar-Apostolic for the Midlands District, a promotion indicative of Rome's cautious approval, which was meant to reward him for his defence of orthodoxy but not grant him too much power. For Milner coveted the London District as the only fitting arena for a proper fight with the Catholic Committee, but he was never to obtain it.

Milner was the most important English Catholic figure in the period spanning the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth. He made his name defending orthodoxy and the rights of the clergy against lay interference--be it from meddling Catholic gentry or manipulative governments. He ensured that the Relief Bill of 1791 affected all Catholics, instead of just the 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters', proposed by the Catholic Committee as a ploy to force conformity to its entire program.

Indeed, Milner did not trust the Committee, and he especially did not trust Charles Butler, whom he thought would sell his soul for emancipation.⁶⁹ When Butler was made King's Counsel, the first Catholic to be so named, Milner's only comment was that it was 'one of the honours and emoluments achieved at the expense of his conscience.'⁷⁰

In a direct response to Butler's Historical Memoirs Milner

⁶⁹He called the Committee's 'protestation' on the proposed oath an 'instrument drawn up in ungrammatical language, with inconclusive reasoning and erroneous theology' (W. Amherst, 'The Minute Book of the Cisalpine Club' Dublin Review, CXII, January 1893, 108).

⁷⁰Martin Haile and Edwin Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard (London, 1913), p. 101.

published Supplementary Memoirs of the English Catholics in the following year (1820) and accused Butler of writing no more than 'a covert apology for the measures in which the author, with a few of his friends, has been engaged, during the thirty years of his direction of Catholic affairs in this country'.⁷¹

In his Supplementary Memoirs Milner wanted to correct the Cisalpine view that Elizabeth had been unnecessarily provoked by the pope and the Jesuits. He claimed that Elizabeth never believed the Catholic martyrs to be guilty of treason, since only one Elizabethan martyr refused to acknowledge her title to the crown, and that Catholics remained loyal to her despite the Marian bishops' refusal to crown her and despite the pope's excommunication. Elizabeth, furthermore, abandoned the ancient Faith in order to keep her kingdom intact; she had overreacted to Catholic 'threats': she was hypocritical, inconstant, arbitrary, and despotic. After 250 years, the voice of Nicolas Sanders was heard again.

In general, Milner suspected Butler of Protestantism, by wondering whether Butler approved or disapproved of the pope's measures on Henry VIII's divorce, and on any other matter where Butler granted some concessions to the non-Catholic position:

What uninformed reader...would not suppose that the learned author meant to vindicate the pretended Reformation?...And finally, would he not hesitate to pronounce whether the author is, in fact, a Catholic or Protestant?⁷²

⁷¹Milner, Supplementary Memoirs of the English Catholics (London, 1820), p. v.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 2,3.

More specifically, Milner was vexed by Butler's attitude towards the deposing power of the pope. He raised the difficulty of deposing princes under any circumstances, and wrote, 'It is hoped...[Butler] will answer the following question: Is the deposing doctrine on the score of religion, so impious and damnable in Catholics alone; or is it equally criminal in Protestants.'⁷³

It was a good question, but the wrong one, because Butler was asking whether the pope had the right to depose another prince; whether the people of England did or not, be they Catholic or Protestant, was another matter altogether, and one which Butler wisely avoided. In any event, Milner thought the pope did have the right to depose, and based that opinion on grounds which were Ultramontane in the extreme: 'Does Mr. C.B. mean seriously to charge the illustrious popes of the sixteenth century with not understanding the nature of their divine commission?'⁷⁴

Milner's statements on this subject bear examining because they are so typical of the man. Philip Hughes said of Milner, 'He lacked accuracy of exposition and, a still more important defect, he not only failed to realise the inaccuracy, but seemed scarcely to understand how it could matter.'⁷⁵ What Hughes was talking about is borne out in this telling paragraph by Milner in defence of the deposition:

⁷³Milner, Supplementary Memoirs, p. 18.

⁷⁴Ibid.p. 4.

⁷⁵Philip Hughes, The Catholic Question, pp. 167-168.

First: then do St. Thomas Aquinas, Turrecremata,⁷⁶ Bellarmin, and other advocates of this [temporal] power represent the Pope as an universal monarch, who has a right to take and give away the kingdoms of the earth?

No. So far from this, they teach that, as Pope, he has no direct power or temporal property whatsoever. Secondly: has any Pope pretended to depose or otherwise molest any of our sovereigns, under pretence that they were Protestants and persecutors of the Catholic religion, since the reign of Elizabeth? No: and if a bull of deposition was issued against her, it was because she was illegitimate; because she was an apostate; because she was the murderer of her royal guest and sister; because she was a general pirate and firebrand among the sovereigns of Europe. Finally: this very bull was of no serious detriment even to her, as her Catholic subjects were universally faithful to her, and this with the consent of the Pope himself.⁷⁷

The problems with this are many, both factual and propositional. Factually Milner placed part of the blame for the papal action on Elizabeth's murder of 'her royal guest and sister', Mary Stuart, which occurred in 1587, seventeen years after the deposition. But the descriptive phrase is even more puzzling. Did Milner really confuse Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, with Mary Tudor, Elizabeth's sister? Even if accidentally done, it shows the magnitude of Milner's carelessness.

But aside from factual errors, Milner's argument runs between contradictory points with some abandon. He begins by saying that Aquinas, Turrecremata, and Bellarmine all opposed the pope's direct right to depose, then says that Elizabeth deserved it (without saying it was carried out directly or indirectly),

⁷⁶Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468), a Spanish Dominican and uncle to the Torquemada (Tomas) of Inquisition fame. He defended the fullness of the pope's spiritual authority, but took a more cautious view of his temporal power.

⁷⁷Milner, Supplementary Memoirs, p. 13.

and ends by saying it did not matter much, anyway, because the deposition was ignored by Catholics. It seems that, for Milner, any stick was good enough to beat the Cisalpines.

First, did Pius V act on the basis of the writings of Aquinas and Turrecremata? We know that he could not have acted with the support of Bellarmine, because Bellarmine was not ordained until 1570, and had no influence in Rome until much later. Besides, what matters here is not what these theologians thought, but what Pius V thought, and of that Milner gives no clue. What is more, by his use of the qualifier 'direct', Milner avoids Butler's point altogether--i.e. that the pope had no right, direct or indirect, to depose rulers.

Secondly, the information that the popes had not deposed any ruler since the time of Elizabeth is hardly pertinent. It clouds the previous appeal to the theologians by appearing to say that the pope had no indirect right to depose because he never employed it, but in Elizabeth's case he would make an exception. Since Elizabeth was the principal concern of this exchange, the appeal to later cases is of little moment. If anything, it places Milner even more firmly in the camp of the Ultramontanists by implying that if the pope enacted certain legislation, he was justified.

Thirdly, why should the pope depose the queen at all if he did not intend to cause her subjects serious detriment and hoped to maintain their loyalty. Milner falls victim to the same conflict of loyalties which trapped the missionary priests. Later on, he would expand on this:

How could they [the martyrs] pronounce that the sentence of Pope Pius was unjust in itself, acting as he did, on behalf of the whole Church and of Christian princes in general? It was sufficient that they disclaimed obedience to it, and engaged to perform and did perform every duty of allegiance to their unnatural Sovereign, however excommunicated.⁷⁸

He assumed, as did the missionaries, that the Pope acted legitimately. Yet he approved of their disobedience to his legitimate exercise of that authority. Hence Butler's charge, that the martyr's answers in the interrogations were unsatisfactory, unfortunate, and provocative, remains poignant.⁷⁹

Later Ultramontane historians condemned Milner's tone, which 'did more to damage his own influence and reputation than he was aware of'.⁸⁰ William Barry said of him, 'The highest compliment we can pay him is that of Talleyrand to Napoleon, "What a pity that so great a man should have been so ill brought up."⁸¹ And, in the same article:

Milner, whom Newman termed... 'the champion of God's ark in an evil time,' was the 'principal luminary' of the period..., was a great man, whether we judge him by the work which he did or by the zeal and energy which he flung into it.... It was his misfortune that, in the everlasting hurly-burly of which he became the centre, no fellow-Catholic bishop, priest, or layman, could persuade him to suspect ever so faintly that he might in some things be mistaken....

⁷⁸Milner, Supplementary Memoirs, p. 20. Milner reinforces this in another passage by calling Pius 'a canonized Pope' (p. 17).

⁷⁹Butler, Memoirs, I, 199-209. Milner carefully avoids saying that their 'unnatural Sovereign' was, according to the sentence of Pius V, also not their Sovereign at all.

⁸⁰Ward, Dawn, I, 48.

⁸¹William Barry, 'Milner and His Age', Dublin Review, CL, April 1912, 237.

Milner was the one man of genius among these Vicars Apostolic, and far superior to any English layman whom he encountered; but he made a desolation about him by acts and words so impetuously misguided that, even in a just cause, our sympathy for his principles is at war with our compassion for those whom he trampled on.⁸²

Among his other faults, Milner was 'congenitally unable to understand, or make allowance for, the light and shade of another's opinion'.⁸³ Every argument became for him a personal feud and was pushed to extremes; with frequent threats of eternal damnation for those who opposed him.⁸⁴

Not even good intentions were acknowledged: when the Catholic Committee chose three priests as representatives of the clergy, Milner said the clergy were not permitted to choose their own representative, and that Bishop James Talbot was chosen, 'only because they could not pass him by, and hoped to hoodwink him'.⁸⁵

Appeals would also be made to deathbed statements which were, in the main, unverifiable and implausible:

When afterwards the Bishop [Talbot] was chosen a member [of the Committee], he assured the writer [Milner], that

⁸²Barry, 'Milner and His Age', 235-236.

⁸³Hughes, The Catholic Question, p. 168. Hughes also reported the comment of a 'typical admiring contemporary' of Milner's who described a Milnerian sermon: 'Dr. Milner in a few sentences then disposed of all the calumnies of our opponents and proved conclusively the chief truths of our Holy Faith' (Ibid., p. 168).

⁸⁴When the troublesome Scottish Cisalpine priest, Alexander Geddes, died without benefit of the sacraments, Milner responded with satisfaction that 'God is not mocked' (Joseph Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History, or Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics [London, 1885-1902], II, 411).

⁸⁵Milner, Supplementary Memoirs, p. 53.

he accepted of the nomination for the sole purpose of restraining the others, and that he had prepared a formal protest against them. Lastly, when he was on his deathbed, he told his spiritual friend, the Rev. Mr. Lindow, that if he recovered, he would write against the Committee.⁸⁶

Two censures were pronounced against Milner, one by the Catholic Board, the other by the Vatican. In the first instance, the Catholic Board held a meeting in 1813 whose intent was to dismiss Milner from its membership. Milner appeared, against the advice of friends, and defended his recent Brief Memorial (which opposed the veto and exequatur concessions for emancipation).⁸⁷ He was then asked whom he meant by 'certain false brethren of the Catholic body', and he pointed to Butler, saying, 'Charles Butler there for one.' The Board then, in a rambunctious mood, immediately passed a resolution thanking Butler for his services, and declaring Milner's charges a gross calumny. A further resolution expelled the bishop, who proceeded to denounce the Board (65 members) for presuming to represent the Catholics of England since 'it does not represent them or any part of them'. As his dramatic finale, he said, 'You may expel me from the Board, but I thank God, gentlemen, that you cannot exclude me

⁸⁶Milner, Supplementary Memoirs, p. 53n.

⁸⁷The Government negotiated for two assurances if it passed an emancipation act: the veto would give the crown power to approve nominations to the English Catholic episcopate; exequatur gave the Government power to examine official correspondence between the bishops and Rome. The Catholic Board recommended the acceptance of these assurances, and the bishops did not. When Emancipation was passed in 1829, these assurances were not included.

from the kingdom of heaven.'⁸⁸

The second censure was more serious, in every sense of the word. The Prefect of Propaganda, at the request of the Pope, ordered Milner to stop contributing to the Orthodox Journal, which had served as Milner's platform, under pain of dismissal from his vicariate. Milner complied, and the Journal died within a month.

It is difficult to defend Philip Hughes' thesis that Milner was 'the leader of a generation that had all but passed away, bred for times that had, in fact, disappeared....Milner was the last great figure of a great time'.⁸⁹ If anything, the reverse is true. Milner was the first great figure of a great time; he was the first great English Ultramontanist, the first English bishop in the nineteenth century to have a high theology of the papacy which combined with an air of triumphalism so characteristic of Ultramontanism for the next one hundred years. He was, in fact, the proto-typical Ultramontane--the son of a tailor where his predecessors had been gentlemen, an eager controversialist where they had been meek and cautious, the unashamed apologist for clerical rights where they had clung

⁸⁸Philip Hughes, The Catholic Question, pp. 270-271. There are different versions of these words. Hughes borrows from Bernard Ward's account (The Eye of Catholic Emancipation [London, 1911-1912], II, 55). Haile and Bonney relate his closing words as 'Gentlemen, you consider me unfit for your company on earth, may God make me fit for your company in heaven' (p. 124). Milner frequently phrased his arguments and questions in terms of God. He once wrote to Bishop Douglass, 'Did you think it would be more for the honour and glory of God that I should not be your Co-adjutor?' Douglass replied, 'I did think so, and I do think so' (Ward, Eve, I, 33).

⁸⁹Philip Hughes, 'The Centenary of Lingard's History', Dublin Review, CLXVII, October-December 1920, 271.

desperately to what little power they had.

J.C.H. Aveling claims that Milner was no triumphalist, but 'the austere voice of traditional Catholicism'.⁹⁰ But his voice was much less akin to that of Joseph Challoner than it was to those of Wiseman and Manning. His achievement was great, but it was a greatness which was yet to develop fully, which indeed transformed the English Catholic Church into a force in which even Joseph Berington would be mistaken by a later author as 'the Pope's vicar-general'.⁹¹

⁹⁰J.C.H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe (London, 1976), p. 342.

⁹¹William Roberts, Memoirs of the Life...of Hannah More (London, 1834), III, 273. Cf. Duffy, Joseph Berington, p. 314.

CHAPTER II, Part 2

THE PAPACY AND THE LATER CISALPINES

The histories written by John Lingard (1771-1851) and Mark Tierney (1795-1862) both broadened the Catholic treatment of the papacy to include its involvement with Henry VIII, and modified the previous Cisalpine opinion about Elizabeth. Both men fell well within the ambit of Cisalpinism--promoting as they did the restoration of the hierarchy,¹ the continued suppression of the Jesuits, the maintenance of an English (as opposed to a Roman) tone in liturgy, the lessening of the pope's temporal power. Both men wrote for different reasons, but their conclusions, insofar as their topics coincided, were nearly identical.

Unlike the histories of Berington and Butler, these latter-day Cisalpines examined the reigns of all the Tudors. Lingard, a secular priest trained as a philosopher at Douay, attempted an Anglo-Saxon history (Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,

¹The Cisalpine call for a restored hierarchy was qualified by their demand that it be an ordinary hierarchy elected by the secular priests. Originally the laity was to have a voice in this election as well, but this consideration faded as the numbers of Irish immigrants increased. Mark Tierney wrote to Bishop Poynter: 'As to future appointments, it is my opinion, that, whatever arrangement may be made, the bishops, be they ordinaries or be they vicars, ought to be elected. The election of their immediate superiors is the privilege of every religious order. Election is the great security against abuse, the great pledge of the subject's attachment to the authority under which he lives' (Tierney to Poynter, 22 April 1838, AAW--Poynter Papers). When it became apparent that the bishops were not going to be elected, Tierney was disconsolate, and wrote, 'The cause of religion, I am convinced, is thrown back at least a century by this proceeding' (Richard Schiefen, Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism [Shepherdstown, W.Va., 1984], p. xii.

1806), which met with so much opposition from fellow-Catholics, especially Milner, that he sought to avoid similar criticism by taking on a more 'secular' subject. Thus he began his History of England--revolutionary for its use of original sources. The first volume appeared in 1819, the eighth and final volume in 1830.²

Mark Tierney was also a secular priest who, after teaching at St. Edmund's and serving in a parish for a few years, was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk in 1824, an important post which he held until his death in 1862. ^e~~His~~_A was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1833 and of the Royal Society in 1841, largely on the merits of his work on the history and antiquities of Arundel.

His major work, the re-edition of Dodd's Church History, while valuable for its wealth of complete original documents, was ill-fated from the beginning, as we shall see in the next chapter.³

Though, like their predecessors, they agreed that

²The work was an immediate success. Five hundred copies of the first edition were sold in eight days, and by 1825 the second and third editions were sold out. The books appeared on the following schedule:

- 1819 - Vols. 1-3.
- 1820 - Vol. 4 (Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary)
- 1823 - Vol. 5 (Elizabeth)
- 1825 - Vol. 6
- 1829 - Vol. 7
- 1830 - Vol. 8

³In the following pages I have maintained a distinction between Dodd, the original, and Tierney, who added copious notes and corrections, and have identified quotations as belonging to one or the other. Where Tierney does not correct or qualify Dodd's statements, we can presume a general agreement between the two historians.

Elizabeth's reign was decisive, the reign of Henry VIII was important to them because Henry completed the Reformation picture and because his relationship with the pope was instructive. The conclusion Lingard and Tierney both reached was that Henry was not an innocent victim.

For Lingard, Henry's gradual separation from Rome had less to do with the pope's intransigence than with Henry's own passion. Lingard sought to demonstrate that Henry's interest in Anne Boleyn, which began on 18 June 1525 and became public at Greenwich on 5 May 1527, predated his pangs of conscience.⁴ There was no question of Henry's real motive. Lingard wrote:

His increasing passion for the daughter of lady Boleyn, induced him to reconsider the subject [of his marriage to Catherine]: and in the company of his confidants he affected to fear, that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother.

[Henry] ventured to ask the opinions of the most eminent canonists and divines: who easily discovered the real wish of their sovereign through the thin disguise with which he affected to cover it, the scruples of a timorous conscience, and the danger of a disputed succession.⁵

Dodd concluded similarly, that Henry's desertion of Catherine had more to do with passion than with any scrupulosity of conscience. He wrote:

Tenderness of conscience is not the only motive for

⁴C.f. Edwin Jones, A Study of John Lingard's Historical Work (M.A. Dissertation, University of Wales [Swansea], 1956, pp. 26-31). Lingard thought Wolsey to be the originator of the conscience motif.

⁵Lingard, History, IV, 121, 126. All references to Lingard's history, unless otherwise noted, are from the first edition.

[husbands] deserting their wives....Let King Henry's life and behaviour speak the rest, whether he was apt to be scrupulous, either in matters of love or revenge.⁶

Lingard looked to another, more subtle reason, to show Henry's real motive. Later sexual behaviour and increasing impetuosity were convincing enough, but Henry's desperate maneuvering for a divorce was even more damning. Any excuse would serve Henry to be rid of his first wife. At first, Sacred Scripture was searched, then abandoned in favour of the original papal dispensation. Objections to the dispensation permitting him to marry Catherine centered on three issues: the dispensation had not been sufficiently ample, it had been obtained under false pretences, and it had been solicited without Henry's consent.⁷

Behind these legal objections to the pope's authority, lay Henry's desire to grant the pope, if necessary, even more power than he already claimed. Henry sent two agents (Sir Francis Bryan and Peter Vannes) to Rome to

retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king; and to require with due secrecy, their opinions on the three following questions: 1) whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity and enter a convent, the pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorize the husband to marry again: 2) whether, if the husband were to enter into a religious order, that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow, and at liberty to marry: 3) and whether, for reasons of state, the pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of royalty.⁸

⁶Mark Tierney, ed., Dodd's Church History of England (London, 1839-1843), I, 177.

⁷Lingard, History, IV, 127.

⁸Ibid., 149-150.

Dodd likewise noticed inconsistencies in Henry's policy which lessened the pope's role in provoking the Reformation. First of all, Henry had demanded payment of annates to the crown, not long after Parliament, at his bidding, had found them 'an exorbitant demand and great oppression when required by the pope'.⁹ Then he had given Cromwell legative powers far in excess of those exercised by Wolsey, who had been denounced because of those powers as guilty of praemunire.

Dodd also charged Henry with having a deliberate policy of overthrowing the papal supremacy, which further cast doubt on his conscience motif:

It was no small piece of policy in King Henry VIII. to proceed gradually in his attacks against the see of Rome. A sudden and total breach would have looked like the result of passion; but, by walking slowly, and stealing, as it were in the dark, out of the pale of the church, the shock was less, when the great point of the supremacy came to be debated.¹⁰

Lingard saw the pope, at least in the beginning of the divorce proceedings, as a sympathetic figure. Having been caught between the two forces of Henry and Charles V, the pope wisely sought delay in finally deciding about a divorce, hoping something would happen one way or the other to make an unpleasant decision unnecessary. Campeggio, the papal representative to Henry, was the perfect choice to effect this delay because he was favoured by the English and, what might seem an irrelevance, was ridden with gout, an illness which covered the real reasons for

⁹Dodd's Church History, I, 246.

¹⁰Ibid., 233.

delay. Lingard wrote:

The legate was instructed to proceed by slow journey; to endeavour to reconcile the parties; to advise the queen to enter a monastery; to conduct the trial with due caution, and according to the established forms; and at all events to abstain from pronouncing judgment till he had consulted the apostolic see.¹¹

Lingard, in a later edition of the history, explicitly approved of this tactic:

Though his holiness was willing to do anything in his power to afford satisfaction to Henry, yet in a cause which had given rise to so many scandalous remarks, and in which one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame, it was necessary for him to proceed with due reflection and caution.¹²

Dodd adds that to accuse the pope of collusion with Charles V is to say too much:

Doubtless, the pope had several politic considerations, as well as those of religion, not to comply with king Henry; but to make a declaration, that he kept off merely upon a temporal view, is a mismanagement that discerning pope can never be thought guilty of.¹³

Neither did Dodd question Clement's power to pronounce against the King, though there are doubts raised about his prudence:

[I] shall only mention what a certain author observes, from St. Augustin, that the prelates of the church ought

¹¹Lingard, History, IV, 142. Ethelred Taunton later wrote that Campeggio suffered from 'diplomatic gout' (Thomas Wolsey: Legate and Reformer [London, 1902], p. 192).

¹²Ibid., (6th edition), IV, 249.

¹³Dodd's Church History, I, 221.

to be cautious in their censures, where there is danger of schism. That Clement VII. usurped not a power which did not belong to him, and that he offended not against justice, in the sentence he pronounced against Henry VIII., all must acknowledge, who own his supremacy in matters of religion.¹⁴

Neither Lingard nor Dodd excuse the pope's conduct throughout. After the executions of John Fisher and Thomas More, the pope reacted rashly. Lingard wrote:

Their blood called on the pontiff to punish their persecutor. Paul [Paul III] had hitherto followed the cautious policy of his predecessor, but his prudence was now denominated cowardice: and a bull against Henry was extorted from him by the violence of his counsellors. In this extraordinary instrument, in which care was taken to embody every prohibitory and vindictive clause invented by the most aspiring of his predecessors, the pontiff...pronounces him and them (his fautors and abettors) excommunicated, deprives him of his crown, declares his children by Anne, and their children by their legitimate wives, incapable of inheriting for several generations, interdicts his and their lands and possessions, requires all clerical and monastic bodies to retire out of Henry's territories, absolves his subjects and their tenants from their oaths of allegiance and fidelity, commands them to take up arms against their former sovereign and lord, dissolves all treaties and alliances between Henry and other powers as far as they may be contradictory to this sentence, forbids all foreign nations to trade with his dominions, and exhorts them to capture the goods, and make prisoners of the persons of all such as still adhere to him in his schism and rebellion.¹⁵

The actions of the popes during the English Reformation drew from Lingard a typically Cisalpine response: temporal power was relative and, when exercised by a man who occupied an essentially spiritual office, was a dangerous thing. He explained papal power in the sixteenth century as a logical extension of the same

¹⁴Dodd's Church History, I, 221.

¹⁵Lingard, History, IV, 222-223.

power exercised in the Middle Ages:

At first, indeed, the popes contented themselves with spiritual censures: but in an age, when all notions of justice were modelled after the feudal jurisprudence, it was soon admitted that princes by their disobedience became traitors to God; that as traitors they ought to forfeit their kingdoms, the fees which they held of God: and that to pronounce such sentence belonged to the pontiff; the viceregent of Christ upon earth. By these means the servant of the servants of God became the sovereign of the sovereigns, and assumed the right of judging them in his court, and of transferring their crowns as he thought proper.¹⁶

What was important to Lingard was that this power, valid perhaps in medieval political conditions, had outlived its time.

Joseph Chinnici notes in his study of Lingard:

In 1813 Lingard argued that the temporal pretensions of the ecclesiastical body grew out of the political state of Europe; they both rose and fell with the prevalence of the feudal system. The time of Christendom, papal or national, has passed.¹⁷

The pope, to his discredit, only recognised this obsolescence of his former power when an attempt to resurrect it failed. Paul III wrote out a vindictive excommunication of Henry VIII, but dared not publish it because of the state of Europe at the time:

When he reflected that Charles and Francis, the only princes who could attempt to carry the bull into execution, were, from their rivalry of each other, more eager to court the friendship, than to risk the enmity of the king of England, he repented of his precipitancy.

¹⁶Lingard, History, II, 231.

¹⁷Joseph Chinnici, The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement 1780-1850 (Shepherdstown, W.Va., 1980), p. 24. C.f. John Lingard, A Review of Certain Anti-Catholic Publications (London, 1813), p. 58.

To publish the bull could only irritate Henry, and bring the papal authority into contempt and derision.¹⁸

Thus Paul III was spared from an embarrassment which would fall to a later pope. Pius V looked on his predecessor's (Paul IV) caution in not condemning Elizabeth as 'dereliction of duty'.¹⁹ While Paul IV (1555-1559) was an octogenarian and, Lingard thought, 'adopted opinions with the credulity...of old age', at least he did not enact any irrevocable or regrettable measures. Pius V, on the other hand, excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her crown, and absolved her subjects of their loyalty to her. Lingard commented:

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from the measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence: among English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority: others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors.²⁰

When it came to Elizabeth, Lingard and Tierney-Dodd again shed new light on an old problem. While Lingard praises Elizabeth as the greatest of English rulers who had brought about domestic tranquility, successful resistance to Spain, and an increase of power and wealth, he also notices that she was

¹⁸Lingard, History, V, 382.

¹⁹Ibid., 298.

²⁰Ibid., 300.

dishonest, indecisive, vain, despotic, and immoral--though Lingard was restrained about the last.

Elizabeth, if anything, served as a check on a Parliament now bent on destroying the Catholic Church. In 1563 Parliament passed laws denying church preferment, university membership, and public office to anyone who had refused to take the Oath of Supremacy; soon after the ban was extended to membership in Commons, and participation in the legal and teaching professions. Elizabeth was, according to Lingard, 'appalled at the prospect before her' and requested lenity and caution in the application of the new laws:

Thus, by the humanity or policy of Elizabeth, were the catholics allowed to breathe from their terrors: but the sword was still suspended over their heads by a single hair, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestion of her enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion.²¹

The queen was also responsible for ensuring that these laws fell short of the House of Lords, on the grounds 'that the queen's majesty was otherwise sufficiently assured of the faith and loyalty of the temporal lords of her high court of parliament'.²²

Dodd's Church History differed from the mainstream Cisalpine belief that Elizabeth was innocent throughout her reign, by qualifying her innocence, criticising her actions, and deflecting criticism of her to other targets: her ministers, the pope, and

²¹Lingard, History, V, 206.

²²Lingard, Documents to Ascertain Sentiments of British Catholics (London, 1812), p. 10.

the Jesuits. The reader would, in fact, be hard pressed to find a single instance where Elizabeth is accused directly. Mary Queen of Scots died because Elizabeth's ministers wanted her out of the way; Campion was executed because Walsingham needed an excuse to prevent a marriage between Elizabeth and the Catholic Duke of Anjou, thus concocting a Catholic plot; the missionary priests were executed because they compromised their loyalty.

Elizabeth reacted cautiously even to overt challenges, such as Northumberland's Rising in the North; it was not until the pope issued his sentence of excommunication and deposition that she asked Parliament to act:

At first, she sought a revocation of the sentence: afterwards, finding that her efforts were unsuccessful, she resolved to adapt other measures, and, if possible, to cut off all communication between her catholic subjects and the see of Rome.²³

For Tierney, the pope played a greater part in the Rising of the North in 157⁶9 than Catholics were hitherto willing to admit. When the original Dodd excuses Northumberland of working independently of the pope, before the excommunication was published, the result of 'personal sentiment', Tierney disagrees:²⁴

The absence of all concert between Rome and the insurgents is by no means certain. During the summer [of 1569], Dr. Nicholas Morton, a near-relative both of the Nortons and of the Markenfields [conspirators with Northumberland]...had arrived from Rome, in the character of an apostolical penitentiary. His ostensible purpose was, to impart spiritual faculties to

²³Dodd's Church History, III, 14 n1.

²⁴Ibid., 10.

the catholic clergy: but he mixed continually with the discontented leaders in the north; he assisted in arranging their plans and animating their courage; and though he could not announce the publication of the bull of deposition, which was not yet signed, it is more than probably that he informed them of the measures, already taken to prepare such an instrument.²⁵

Tierney also implicates the pope in the Armada, wherein Dodd had claimed 'neither the English Catholics, nor the see of Rome, did any way concern themselves'.²⁶

Tierney points out that the pope made William Allen a cardinal in time for the expedition, drew up a bull of deposition, ordered Allen to prepare a statement on his arrival in England, and collected a million crowns 'ready to be paid, as soon as the invading army should have landed in England'.²⁷

Lingard felt that Elizabeth was indifferent in matters of religion, but circumstances and papal action forced her to choose sides. A Catholic competitor, Mary Stuart, appeared almost as soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne. And, to exacerbate the matter, the pope declared that she had no 'hereditary' right to the crown. Her ministers, not surprisingly, 'urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne'.²⁸

²⁵Dodd's Church History, III, 12 n1.

²⁶Ibid., 28.

²⁷Ibid., 29n.

²⁸Lingard, History, V, 147. Paul IV's slighting of Elizabeth on the news of her accession had always been cited by Cisalpinians as a typical example of papal imprudence, the beginning of a long list of provocations ending in an Elizabethan reaction. Tierney went along with this opinion for a time,

Missionary priests, whose activity will be examined in more detail in the next chapter, further provoked Elizabeth's Government because of their dissembling. Tierney notes that the thirteen people interrogated with Campion professed their obedience to the queen, 'but they also asserted, either directly or by implication, the power of the pope to deprive her'.²⁹

Lingard adds that their hesitation in denying the pope's deposing power rendered their loyalty 'very problematical',³⁰ and 'furnished a very plausible pretext for the first murderous laws against us'.³¹

Unsatisfactory though these answers were, Lingard and Dodd both agreed that they did not justify what followed. That these Catholics should be watched, was certainly warranted, but that they should be executed on the basis of 'imaginary' offenses was damnable. Dodd felt that the Government erred not so much in

calling Paul IV's action 'imprudent and irritating', but in the Advertisement to Volume IV he retracts this. The account of Paul IV's slight, Tierney says, was based on a false account which had been exposed by a Mr. Howard who 'has distinctly shown that no official notification of the queen's accession was ever conveyed to the pontiff; that the insulting declaration, therefore said to have been made by Paul in the way of reply, could not have been uttered' (Dodd's Church History, IV, v).

Lingard changed his opinion as well. Compare First Edition of his History, V, 146, with the Fourth Edition, VIII, 251. Elizabeth, as a consequence, was seen by Lingard as more blameworthy in the persecution of Catholics.

²⁹Dodd's Church History, III, 13, second note. The only three who answered 'satisfactorily'--the priest Rishton, the Jesuit Bosgrave, and the layman Orton--were 'immediately pardoned', thus providing further evidence of the queen's lenity (Ibid.).

³⁰Lingard, History, V, 384-385.

³¹Lingard to E. Price, 10 Jan 1847, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 26. This latter quotation refers specifically to the conduct of Campion and Persons.

persecuting the Jesuits, but in extending the persecution to include all Catholics:

The case between the pope and queen Elizabeth ought not to make English Catholics suspected, as to their allegiance. They unanimously acknowledged her title. They never were pressed with, nor accepted of, the pope's bull, that pretended to dispense them from their allegiance. They were entertained by her in the army, and now and then in the cabinet, till such times, as the misbehaviour of some particular persons drew a persecution upon the whole body, and occasioned those penal and sanguinary laws, to which their substance and lives have ever since been exposed. From that time, by a strange sort of logic, a catholic and a rebel have passed current for the same thing.³²

John Lingard saw history as a series of lessons for the present, as did Tierney--even more so--but Tierney's 'present' was the Society of Jesus, and thus we leave him for a later chapter. Lingard's very purpose in writing a history of England was to instruct non-Catholics in the political ways of his religion, and to offer comments to his co-religionists on the nature of papal power.

When he began his history, Emancipation was still ten years away, though it probably seemed further off to Catholics at the time. Following the Napoleonic Wars the cry for complete Catholic emancipation died away and, indeed, there was some backlash to what relief legislation had already been passed. Lingard continued the Cisalpine crusade against anti-Catholic prejudice, hoping to create a theoretical basis for emancipation. If Protestants could learn that Catholics had always been loyal and that papal pretensions were inessentials of the Catholic's

³²Dodd's Church History, III, 4-5.

faith, then freedom would not be far away.

Lingard's forte was in his conciliatory approach, knowing that only such an approach would gain him a hearing and give him any influence at all. At first, it took a Protestant publisher to point this out to him. After Lingard had written several tracts against the Bishop of Durham, Shute Barrington, his Protestant publisher told him to write for a wider audience. 'After all,' he wrote, 'what is the use of these pamphlets? Few Protestants read them. If you wish to make an impression, write books that Protestants will read.'³³

Lingard's goal thereafter became a history which Protestants could not ignore. In letters to John Kirk and Robert Gradwell, he expressed this hope:

I have been careful to defend the catholics, but not so as to hurt the feelings of the protestants. Indeed, my object has been to write such a work, if possible, as should be read by protestants: under the idea, that the more it is read by them, the less Hume will be in vogue, and consequently the fewer prejudices against us will be implied from him.³⁴

Through the work I have made it a rule to tell the truth, whether it made for or against us; to avoid all appearance of controversy, that I might not repel protestant readers....In my account of the Reformation I must say much to shock protestant prejudices; and my only chance of being read by them depends on my having the reputation of a temperate writer. The good to be done is by writing a book which protestants will read.³⁵

The only way they would read such a book, especially if it came from the hand of a Catholic priest, was if it could be

³³Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 109.

³⁴Lingard to Gradwell, 1819, *Ibid.*, p. 166.

³⁵Lingard to Kirk, 18 December 1819, *Ibid.*, p. 166.

proved to be objective and free of contentious language. The only way to do that was to pursue sources ruthlessly, print whatever one found, and let the facts speak for themselves:

My object is truth: and in the pursuit of truth, I have made it a religious duty to consult the original historians. Who would draw from the troubled stream, when he may drink at the fountain head?³⁶

This oft-quoted sentiment was nothing new, as anyone knows who has read the introductions to previous histories of England with their protestations of objectivity and fairness. The difference was that, because of the circumstances, Lingard was able to implement his goal, in ways which were beyond the reach of his predecessors.

Archives were slowly and reluctantly being opened to scholars, and Lingard had the advantage of being a priest, which opened to him the Vatican Archives in Rome and the Simancas Archives in Valladolid long before they were accessible to the generality of historians. This did not solve all Lingard's problems, however, because the archives--especially at the Vatican--were largely uncatalogued and in a chaotic state.³⁷ Besides that, entry could be arbitrarily and suddenly denied, or their use so curtailed as to present considerable obstacles to authentic research. Milner sought to have the Vatican Archives closed to Lingard, considering his ^m~~is~~^a danger to the Faith; and Cardinal Litta (the Vatican librarian at the time) refused him

³⁶Lingard, Preface to The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church (London, 1810), p. iv.

³⁷See Owen Chadwick's fascinating account in Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives (Cambridge, 1978).

entry on the grounds that he was a 'notorious Jansenist'.³⁸

Lingard used the Simancas Archives--by way of an agent--as early as 1820, nearly twenty-five years before anyone but a Spaniard could gain access. Even here Lingard had frustrations, and detailed them in a letter to Mawman:

I should observe to you that in quoting the records of Simancas, I do not mention the number, or the page, etc., as in quoting other documents. This arises from the jealousy of the Spaniards, or rather the standing orders of the place. The officials will not allow my friend to take any notes. He can only read them, and write down what he remembers, when he leaves.³⁹

Sometimes Lingard's friend had to be satisfied with transcribing the contents of a document which had been read by someone else. Hardly the stuff of exacting research, but in 1820 these appalling conditions were almost welcomed.

What Lingard found in all this was a history of the Reformation which was truly revolutionary. History in England, and the history of England, would never be the same again.

Lingard, however, may have taken his conciliatory approach a little too far. When his publisher saw the manuscript of the fifth volume--concerned with the reign of Elizabeth--he balked at printing something so contrary to the generally accepted view of

³⁸Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, pp. 152-153. Cardinal Consalvi prevailed, however, and Lingard was eventually admitted.

³⁹Lingard to Mawman, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 195. Macaulay claimed to have been the first to see the Barillon papers in France, and was praised by the Times for this, but Lingard had seen them years before. Gooch said Froude was the first Englishman to use Simancas (History and Historians [London, 1913]. p. 335). See especially Edwin Jones, 'John Lingard and the Simancas Archives,' The Historical Journal, X (1967), 57-76.

the queen, and worried that sales would be affected, so seriously as to jeopardise the entire project. Lingard wrote to re-assure him, in words that betray to what lengths he was willing to go to obtain a hearing from non-Catholics:

You observed in a note some time ago that Elizabeth did not appear a very amiable character. I can assure you, I have not set down ought in malice, nor am I conscious that I have ever exaggerated. On the contrary, I have been careful to soften down what might have appeared too harsh to prejudicial minds: and not to let any severe expressions escape, that I may not be thought a partial writer. I should be sorry to say anything that may hurt the sale of the book, and on that account have been particularly guarded in the conclusion, where I touch upon her character. However, if there be any expression which you may think likely to prove prejudicial, I shall be ready to change it.⁴⁰

This leaves Lingard open to the charge that his history is less than candid and, according to one recent critic, 'cannot be taken to be an honest appraisal of the material'.⁴¹ So concerned was Lingard, according to the same critic, with audience reaction that he 'balances phrases to please the Roman Catholics with those to please the protestants'.⁴²

By this way of thinking, Lingard subordinates everything to an unashamed apologetic on behalf of the Catholic Church--which is to misread Lingard completely. While we must reserve a lengthy evaluation of Lingard's objectivity for another chapter, it is sufficient for our purposes here to remark that the theme

⁴⁰Lingard to Mawman, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 195.

⁴¹Philip Cattermole, John Lingard: the Historian as Apologist (PhD Dissertation, University of Kent, 1984), p. 182.

⁴²Ibid., p. 117.

which runs throughout Lingard's history is not the correctness of Catholicism, but the correctness of toleration.

Everywhere he praises or condemns historical figures on the basis of their proximity to tolerance. Mary Tudor is castigated--not because such a severe critique would appease the Protestants--but because she was intolerant. He writes that the executions during her reign were 'horrors' and 'barbarous exhibitions', inexcusable not only because of their manifest brutality, but also because they were productive of sham conformity, hypocrisy, and perjury.⁴³ Conversely, Philip II's chaplain, Alphonso de Castro is praised by Lingard, because he attacked the Marian persecution in a court sermon.⁴⁴

Any ruler who counselled moderation attracts his positive notice--Mary Tudor and Elizabeth because they began their reigns with such gentleness. The popes do as well--as when Clement VII cautiously stalled the divorce proceedings of Henry, and Paul IV, who did not react effusively to the news of Elizabeth's accession. Popes and groups of religious men (i.e. Jesuits) who were seen to be promoting intolerance, were sharply criticised.

If a generalisation could be made about Lingard's view of the papacy, it is that he saw the papacy as tending too often toward intolerance. Power, once accumulated, was difficult to

⁴³Lingard, History, V, 98-99. 'After every allowance it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is no where liable to the penalties of death (Ibid.).

⁴⁴Lingard, History, V, 86.

disperse. Temporal powers and privileges had come to the popes in the Middle Ages and they seemed chary of letting them go, once a new age had demanded a change. Problems arose precisely because the popes clung to a system which no longer worked, in the hopes of preserving their power. And this bred intolerance.

The message this contained for the English Government was that Catholics could criticise their own Church for its history of intolerance, but might also find the present English Government guilty of similar intolerance, as long as Emancipation continued to be delayed. Emancipation must come, irrespective of the truth or untruth of Catholicism, because toleration was inherently good and a virtue to be practised.⁴⁵

The message to his own Church was vaguer since Lingard did not specify in what ways it could be applied, especially in reference to the debate over the Papal States. He probably meant it as a warning that, as Acton was to say later on, 'power corrupts', and that the pope should not claim too much nor say too much in the exercise of that power. Furthermore, Lingard's message was an assurance that, in days when the papacy's temporal possessions and authority were everywhere threatened, their loss would not involve the spiritual claims of the Church or the Pope.

While Lingard felt that a reduction of papal 'pretensions' could not but help, he did not disparage the papacy as had Berington, and, in fact, regarded one pope with some affection. In one interesting episode, it is thought Pope Leo XII wanted to honour Lingard with a cardinal's hat. In October 1826 Leo held a

⁴⁵Emancipation, in fact, came one year before Lingard's final volume came to press.

consistory and alluded to one of his appointees in petto as a scholar whose writings were drawn from original sources and who had done great service to the Church.⁴⁶ That Leo thought highly of Lingard could not be questioned, for during the Holy Year of 1825 he had given Lingard a gold medal and asked when the History of England would be completed, but whether Leo meant Lingard for the cardinalate is another matter altogether. Cardinal Wiseman wrote later that the Pope intended the honour for Lammenais, whom he was known to call 'the last Father of the Church'.⁴⁷

One thing is certain, Lingard thought the pope meant the honour for him, and was thrilled by the thought. He wrote to John Walker in high spirits, calling Leo XII 'the greatest pontiff that Rome has seen since the days of St. Peter':

Why so? Because the only one who has ever had the sagacity to discover the transcendent merit of J. L. He patronized my work, he defended my character against the slanders of Padre Ventura and the fanatics, he made me a cardinal in petto, he described me in a consistory as

⁴⁶ Appointments reservati in petto are those which are not made public until circumstances permit. Often these circumstances are political, and a public recognition of a priest's work (say, in Communist China today) might jeopardise whatever work he is doing. At other times the appointment is given as an honour pending the completion of a work. The important thing about in petto appointments is that they take effect retroactively on their publication. Thus Lingard, assuming he was made a cardinal in petto in 1826, would have had seniority over other cardinals appointed at the time it was finally made public. Another theory is that Lingard was not made a cardinal at the time because there were no other cardinals in England, and he would have been the ranking ecclesiastic, creating awkwardness all around; so the in petto aspect of the appointment would have had less to do with the completion of his work than with the restoration of the hierarchy, still twenty-four years away. In any case, when the Pope died in 1829, the secret, and the appointment, died with him.

⁴⁷ Ward, Eve, III, 199, and Appendix N (pp. 350-354) for a full account.

not one of the servile pecus of historians, but one who offered the world historiam ex ipsis haustam fontibus. Are not all these feathers in his cap, jewels in his tiara?⁴⁸

Despite his elation at this honour, Lingard would never join in the increasing devotion to the pope, shown by Catholics during the last years of Lingard's life. Influenced as he was by the Enlightenment and by Cisalpine ideals, he had no sympathy for the Ultramontanism of the Irish immigrants and Oxford converts, nor for the Romanising tendencies of the English hierarchy. Even though the later editions of his histories became more outspoken after Emancipation, his attachment to the Roman aspect of Catholicism remained understated, perhaps symbolised best by the fact that to his dying day he refused to wear the Roman collar.

If he had a message for the coming generation, it may best be summed up in his description of the Catholic John Felton, who had taken Pius V's bull excommunicating Elizabeth and set it on the gates of the residence of the Bishop of London: '[Felton's] temper was ungovernable, and his attachment to the creed of his fathers approached to enthusiasm.'⁴⁹ In Lingard's canon, nothing could be more damning than that.

⁴⁸Lingard to Walker, 14 Sept 1840, Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 229.

⁴⁹Lingard, History, V, 299.

CHAPTER III

THE PAPACY AFTER THE CISALPINES

By the 1830's the voices of such as Lingard and Tierney were already beginning to be muted. The English Catholic Church was rushing in the direction of Ultramontanism; Romanticism, with its accompanying Gothic Revival, finally moved into areas of theology. The nostalgic look back to the Middle Ages began to take on more than literary and cultural appearances; churchmen of all creeds began taking a closer look at the 'Age of Faith' to see what had been lost at the Reformation, and to ask how fundamental the loss had been.

The Oxford Movement quickly spread from an exclusively Anglican feud to an all-out war between Anglican and Catholic communions. The papacy may not have been the central issue in either of these movements, but it was never far in the distance, and questions of continuity ultimately became questions about the papacy.

The mass of Irish immigrants also provided their own appeal to the papacy. The Catholic Church gave the Irish an historical identity, a refuge in time of crisis, and a political rallying point, placing, according to Owen Chadwick, 'a high value upon whatever in Roman tradition was neither austere nor restrained'.¹

In the face of this onslaught, Cisalpinism nearly vanished. Its program was partially accomplished--Emancipation was granted

¹0. Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London, 1966-1970), I, 281.

in 1829, the hierarchy restored in 1850--and what was not accomplished, especially Lingard's catechetical and liturgical reforms, was suddenly swept away. Yet something of Cisalpinism remained--in a fear of the pope's temporal power, in the plea for conciliation, and in the quest for honesty and thoroughness in research. Whether Cisalpinism became Liberal Catholicism or not is a difficult question and one which histories of either movement have avoided, yet it seems that if Liberal Catholicism had its roots in anything English, those roots were Cisalpine.

What had changed was the situation of dominance. Once the Catholic laymen had so represented English Catholicism that the Government negotiated with them rather than with the vicars. The best, most daring histories were written by Cisalpines, and Ultramontanes like Milner and Charles Plowden could do but little other than react. By 1850, however, the Cisalpine view of history had receded into the background. Bishops were now in power who could and would silence such irreverence. Catholicism in England had survived the catacombs and was in no mood for self-criticism or fault-finding with former popes; it was elated, optimistic, and ready for a fight. Protestantism was once again the enemy, and Catholics wanted to have a go at it. Catholic doubts about papal supremacy were looked on as disloyalty.

The Dublin Review probably best represents this transformation. Founded in 1836, it had Mark Tierney as its second editor, it quickly became the mouthpiece of Ultramontanism, and remained so until the end of the century. By mid-century it was in a bad state. John Henry Newman described

it as 'a dreary publication..., which wakes up to growl or to lecture, and then goes to sleep again'.² It was particularly dreary in the area of Reformation history. One looks through its pages in vain for a critical statement about the Catholic Church's history.

One writer, C. W. Russell, the most frequent contributor to the Dublin Review in the years between 1836 and 1856, sought to resurrect the good name of Pope Pius V, whom he called enthusiastically, 'The Father of Christendom'. Nowhere in the lengthy article is there a fault to be found with that pope's actions, nor is the possible question of a fault raised.³

Canon Thomas Flanagan, another frequent contributor to the Dublin, brought out a Handbook of Church History and a two-volume History of the Church in England (1857), which are no more than attempts to make Lingard's History more unpalatable to Protestant readers. The latter two volumes have more than their share of distortion. In describing the Benedictine abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester, Flanagan insists that they were all 'uncompromising in their fidelity to the Holy See'.⁴

Flanagan failed to note that all of these men had signed the Oath of Supremacy when it was first tendered, and supported the king in his suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This is not to say that the abbots were disloyal to the pope, or doubted his

²Newman to Capes, 19 Jan 1857, in Gasquet, Lord Acton and His Circle (London, 1906), p. xxiv.

³C.W. Russell, 'St. Pius V, The Father of Christendom', Dublin Review, LIX, October 1866, 273-304.

⁴Thomas Flanagan, History of the Church in England (London, 1857), II, 80.

supremacy; only that their support for the Holy See was pragmatic at best, cowardly ^{at} and worst, and certainly far from ^{un}compromising. Flanagan does not complicate his narrative by introducing such facts; nor does he attempt to reconcile his unqualified admiration for these abbots with his approval of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which the abbots helped to suppress.⁵

Flanagan consistently avoids the complex; any fact which might qualify his conclusion is omitted. A good example is his treatment of Mary Tudor. In a very summary treatment (only fifteen pages) there is no mention at all of her heresy trials and executions. Likewise Flanagan does not discuss the tendency of the missionary priests to duplicity, nor the involvement of the Jesuit Persons in foreign plots. Flanagan defends the Bull deposing Elizabeth by two casual remarks--i.e. 'it was then usual' and 'it had long been usual' for excommunicated princes to be deposed.⁶ Instead we are given a triumphal pronouncement: 'It was time for the warning voice of St. Peter to be heard; it was time to show what the See of Peter thought of the changes in the Church of England.'⁷

Fifty years later Jean Mary Stone, in a series of articles on Mary Tudor and Elizabeth, shows how little this uncritical tone had changed in the Dublin Review. All mention of Mary's persecution is omitted until Stone takes up the Elizabethan persecution, and then only in passing, as a merciful

⁵Flanagan, Church History, II, 77-78.

⁶Ibid., 181.

⁷Ibid., 180.

alternative.⁸

This blindness to Catholic faults involved more than the papacy or the temporal power, or even confessional loyalties--it involved the question of honesty. When Dollinger's history of the Reformation appeared, the Dublin Review attacked it as being 'too candid'. When Froude's History of England appeared, the same reviewer, W.F. Finlason, could not control his rage:

We should have deemed it almost a libel on such a body of gentlemen as the Anglican clergy, to suppose it possible that any one of them could descend to such a degradation. But we are mistaken. We have underrated the depraving power of a false religion.

This most monstrous history...most monstrous, for surely its publication is a moral anomaly, an outrage upon morality, a marvel, a mere prodigy of intellectual perversity.⁹

Froude's history was calumnious in part, but it still contained some true, or at least arguable, charges against the Church. What was frustrating was that Catholic writers of the Dublin Review stamp seemed incapable of admitting any of them. What was alarming was that these Church historians seemed in danger of refusing to admit any of them as a matter of principle, or worse, because they saw nothing wrong in them.

Attitudes towards the papacy had shifted from Cisalpine days. No longer was the temporal authority a block to the

⁸Jean Mary Stone, 'Mary Queen of England', Dublin Review, CVI, April 1890, 324-341; 'Philip and Mary', CVII, July 1890, 110-130; 'Progress of the Revolution under Elizabeth', CIX, October 1891, 311-332; 'Queen Elizabeth and the Revolution II', CXV, October 1894, 358-381.

⁹W.F. Finlason, 'An Anglican Apology for Tyranny', Dublin Review, XLI, December 1856, 307; and Dublin Review, XLIV, June 1858, 445.

political freedom of English Catholics. The temporal authority was understood in a more restricted, but more emphatic sense by mid-century. The Temporal Power, given a fairly wide meaning by the Cisalpines, was coming exclusively to mean sovereignty over the Papal States. Yet, different though the meanings were, this temporal authority was attacked on similar grounds. The Cisalpines, in attacking 'temporal pretensions' in the sense of any papal incursion into the rights of the secular state, and the later Liberal Catholics, in doubting the wisdom of clinging to the Papal States, saw this temporal power in both cases as being ~~in~~essential to the nature of the Church, and damaging to the Church's mission.

Those who supported the notion of the pope's temporal authority restricted their support to the narrower confines of the Papal States, but did so in menacing and almost fanatical tones. Joseph de Maistre's idea was that 'Infallibility in the spiritual order, and Sovereignty in the temporal order, are words perfectly synonomous;'¹⁰ and had so worked their way into the theology of the time that Cardinal Manning thought the temporal sovereignty would be solemnly defined as a doctrine of the Church.¹¹

Ultramontaniam, thus, entailed two notions: the definition of Infallibility and the identification of this supreme spiritual authority with the temporal sovereignty. It saw history as a

¹⁰Wilfrid Ward, W.G. Ward and the Catholic Revival (London, 1893), p. 91.

¹¹Henry Manning, The Temporal Power (London, 1862), pp. xxiv ff., and The Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes (London, 1860).

series of uncomplicated events acting either for or against these notions. One Dublin Review contributor divided the world into 'Catholics and anti-Catholics'.¹² Orestes Brownson, the American philosopher-convert, wrote in his journal:

All the great heresies which have prevailed in modern times began by disregarding the Papacy, or by attempting to deprive the Holy See of the affection due to it, or of some of its prerogatives; and we ought, wherever we meet with a disposition to restrict the Papal power, whether in favour of the Episcopacy or the Presbytery, the secular authority or the brotherhood, to suspect it of an heretical tendency.¹³

For Richard Simpson and Lord Acton, the two most outspoken opponents of this understanding of the papacy, history was more complex and had to be judged on other than confessional grounds; correspondingly, it had to temper extreme statements which had been made in favour of the papacy. The Reformation, once again, proved the main quarry for those opposed to both the definition of Infallibility and the temporal authority of the pope in the guise of retention of the Papal States.

Richard Simpson (1820-1872) used his biography of Edmund Campion to attack the temporal power as intrinsically harmful to Catholicism. He was an Oxford graduate and an Anglican priest before becoming a convert to Catholicism in 1845. He was, along with Acton, the principal light behind the Rambler and its

¹²W.B. McCabe, 'Recent Writers on the Temporal Sovereignty', Dublin Review, XLI, December 1856, 345.

¹³Brownson, 'Luther and the Reformation', Brownson's Quarterly Review, n.s. III, 79.

successor, the Home and Foreign Review.¹⁴ He dearly loved a fight and led both journals into more than a few fights with the Catholic hierarchy, ending in his removal as editor in 1859. Newman, who was his ally, wrote of Simpson, 'I despair of any periodical in which he has a part.'¹⁵ Typical of Simpson's style was his reaction to Newman's forced withdrawal from the Rambler (he had been editor for only two issues): 'It must now come to an open fight, and the sooner and the more acid the better.'¹⁶

In his treatment of Elizabeth, Simpson puts more of the blame for persecution on the Queen than we have seen in histories with an anti-papal bent. She is first of all, identified more closely with her ministers in their dependence on torture in the cruel rooting out of Catholics. When Dr. Storey was put to death, for instance, many Protestants claimed he acted in a manner unbecoming a martyr--boxing the executioner's ears at one point, then roaring like a hell-hound. Simpson responds:

We have a different opinion, namely, that the term 'hell-hound' is rather applicable to those who could...come and gloat their vengeance over the sufferings of a dying man--to Elizabeth and her infamous ministers, and to the Protestant bishops and clergy who were continually urging them on to still further atrocities.¹⁷

¹⁴He contributed as early as 1852, became assistant editor in 1856, acting editor the same year, and editor from 1857 to 1859. After his removal, he worked behind the scenes--eventually resuming his role as unofficial editor.

¹⁵Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition (London, 1937), p. 10.

¹⁶Walter Houghton, ed. The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900 (London, 1972), II, 737.

¹⁷Richard Simpson, Under the Penal Laws (London, 1930), p. 27.

He concluded that 'the torture-chamber was one of the institutions on which Anglicanism seemed to rely most securely'.¹⁸ Yet it wasn't only Anglicanism which was responsible--much of the blame is placed on Tudor 'principles', which went back at least as far as Henry VIII:

If the real culprit could not be caught or could not be punished, punishment must be inflicted on the first substitute that could be found....It is a venerable principle, and one that Henry VIII carried out with inconceivable meanness; he was the sot, who when he began to understand that he was being scorned abroad, would go home and beat his wife. When Emperor, King of France, or Pope, treated him as the ox and the ass that his looks honestly confessed him to be, he would revenge himself on his subjects, hanging a few of his favourites, or repudiating his wife, and beheading her if he dared. Elizabeth refined on her father's example.¹⁹

Elizabeth did this either by putting to death the tools of her own crimes--often hanging her own spies--or by punishing someone vicariously. 'As she could not catch Sanders, or Allen, or the Pope, she was willing to hang Campion instead of them, though she did not believe that he was in the secret of their designs against her.'²⁰

Simpson does not excuse this behaviour, but tries to balance the evidence by showing that Elizabeth 'could plead that great excuse, custom';²¹ that Mary Tudor had made the Protestant

¹⁸Simpson, Edmund Campion (London, 1896), p. 392.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 331.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 331-332.

²¹Ibid., p. 332.

reaction possible;²² and that the pope was guilty of similar leanings.²³

Simpson strikes the familiar note that the Pope was to blame because he had forced Elizabeth's hand. She had been lenient, almost pro-Catholic, and was considering marrying the Catholic Duke of Anjou, when news began to arrive of Sanders' expedition in Ireland (the Desmond Rebellion) and of the landing of Jesuits, Campion and Persons. 'Toleration,' comments Simpson, 'was scarcely possible.'²⁴ Before Campion had written his famous 'Brag' in 1580, Elizabeth had been content to issue proclamations; now, considering the succession of events, 'very different measures seemed necessary'.²⁵ The fears of a conspiracy, he wrote, 'when we consider the state of England and Ireland at the time...do not seem utterly unreasonable'.²⁶

Popes Paul III and Pius V, who had excommunicated and deposed Henry VIII and Elizabeth respectively, were guilty of trying to maintain temporal prerogatives which had been exercised or claimed by their predecessors:

If they had frankly relinquished that temporal suzerainty which was the chief ground of the hesitations of their adherents, they would have given confidence to their friends, and disarmed their merely political foes. As affairs were managed, they rendered simply impossible the coexistence of the government of Henry VIII and Elizabeth with the obedience of their subjects to the

²²Simpson, Campion, p. 334

²³Ibid., p. 332.

²⁴Ibid., p. 281.

²⁵Ibid., p. 233.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 233-234.

supreme authority of the Pope; and those princes had no choice but either to abdicate, with the hope of receiving back their crowns,...or to hold their own in spite of the Popes.²⁷

Campion, in other words, did not have a chance. He, and the rest of the English mission were put in the position of having 'to profess to be true, and yet to be false, to Elizabeth; and at the same time not only to profess, but to be true to the Pope in his action against her'.²⁸ This, Simpson adds, 'was a problem incapable of any moral or rational solution'.²⁹

Elizabeth, [he continues], had she been disposed to tolerate Catholics at all, would only have tolerated them on condition of their abjuring obedience to the Pope in matters which pertained to the state of affected the queen. But Campion could not even deny the validity of the Bull by which the queen was deprived of her crown, and could only show that he and the Catholics were for the present dispensed from attempting to enforce it, and from the penalties of its non-observance.³⁰

The famous mitigation of Pope Gregory XIII (which postponed the act of deposition) amounted to no more than pretending to be at peace with the Queen, while making war on her in Ireland, and preparing to make war on her in England.³¹

Campion, however, is made a hero by Simpson, who sees him as a prophet in refusing to confess any positive belief in the temporal power: 'In refusing their deepest assent to the

²⁷Simpson, Campion, pp. 88-89.

²⁸Ibid., p. 482.

²⁹Ibid., p. 482.

³⁰Ibid., p. 228.

³¹Ibid., p. 145.

medieval views of the temporal prerogatives of the Holy See, [Campion and his followers] were pioneers in the true path of the development of doctrine.³²

But in his haste to ally himself with Campion, Simpson overlooks a significant point. Did Campion refuse to confess his belief in the temporal sovereignty of the pope because he did not believe in it, or because he knew such a refusal was his only escape? Simpson assumes the former--that Campion, in fact, agreed with him about the temporal power. He does not offer any evidence, nor have I discovered any, which would support this assumption. Campion may have been among the first to see difficulties with the maintenance of the temporal power, but that was more than likely due to his own predicament rather than to any theological doubts about the wisdom of temporal sovereignty. Simpson makes the leap from one to the other too easily and without sufficient warrant.

It was necessary, however, for Simpson to do this while distancing Campion from the temporal power if he was to make of Campion the genuine martyr he thought him to be. For the Cisalpines, those who had died 'martyrs to the temporal power', as Lingard had said of Becket, or 'martyrs to the deposing power', as was Campion and the majority of English missionaries, their 'martyrdom' was tainted. Simpson corrected this and claimed Campion as a genuine martyr, not to the deposing power, but to the Catholic faith--a victim of an inherent contradiction in the body of doctrine delivered to the English by the

³²Simpson, Campion, p. 489.

missionary priests, a contradiction which was not of his own making.³³

Simpson, unlike Lingard, was not above making explicit the relevance of Campion's plight to his own day:

Converts, however purely spiritual the motives of their conversion might be, would usually not be contented with being mere Catholics, or with accepting the system reduced to its simple elements....In those days they would have been led to denounce Elizabeth as a usurper of the Pope's rights in England and Ireland; just as we see the same kind of men in the present day denouncing the kingdom of Italy on similar grounds.³⁴

The 'doctrine' of the temporal power was in its death-throes at the time of the Reformation, and became, to Simpson, even more extreme: 'The artificial faith in a dying doctrine becomes fanatical.'³⁵ The reference to present-day Ultramontanes went without saying.

The biography, aside from going too far in making Campion carry out its goal of repudiating the temporal power, has another failing we have seen before in Cisalpine histories--the tendency to downplay the spiritual side of Elizabeth's Oath of Supremacy. There are references to the exaggerated claims of Elizabeth and her ministers in the spiritual realm, but the greater weight is given to detailing the pope's offences. Elizabeth's supremacy, after all, was no longer an issue in the middle of the nineteenth

³³Simpson, Campion, p. 486. 'The eternal truths of Catholicism were made the vehicle for a quantity of speculative and practical opinions about the temporal authority of the Holy See which could not be held by Englishmen loyal to the government' (Ibid.).

³⁴Ibid., p. 281.

³⁵Ibid., p. 489

century and the practice of Catholicism no longer high treason, but the pope was still making claims that bore some resemblance to those of the sixteenth century. No mention is made of Elizabeth's dissembling. As W.G. Ward, in his Ideal of the Christian Church, had condemned Elizabeth's Book of Common Prayer for being deliberately and ingeniously susceptible to any interpretation, be it Catholic or Protestant, so Simpson could have condemned Elizabeth's government on the same grounds--that it cleverly maintained a middle line which was deliberately grey. This merely shows that when it suited him, Simpson was capable of seeing the complexity of issues--such as Campion's dilemma of a double allegiance--but not otherwise. We are to have sympathy for the Queen because of the circumstances she found herself in, the view she took of her role, the pressures brought against her; but we are not to extend the same sympathy to the pope.

Lord Acton (1834-1902), Simpson's confederate, saw the temporal power as part of a larger picture of authoritarian papalism. Everywhere that he saw restrictions on liberty--censorship, harrassment, tyrannical control--he rebelled. At first, in his younger days, he rebelled against Protestantism as the enemy of freedom. The Reformation was evil because it eliminated the sole check on State despotism, i.e. the Catholic Church. Personal freedom of conscience, which had been guaranteed to a far greater degree in a world governed jointly by Church and State, all but disappeared in a world governed by the State alone. In sweeping away the Church (Acton's estimate of Anglicanism must have been very low indeed) the Reformation had

swept away freedom of conscience. As a result, the future was dim with the prospect of dictators and the divine right of the State. Acton had seen the conflict as the early Ultramontanists had seen it--as between Church and State with no possibility of compromise.

As he grew older, he clashed with Catholic authorities and began to look away from Protestantism to his own communion for violations against freedom. His journal, the Rambler, had seen both Simpson and Newman forced to resign by a nervous English hierarchy, which disapproved of their views on the temporal power of the pope, or on the role of lay people in the Church, and Acton himself was forced first to abandon the religious concerns of the Rambler (and change the name to the Home and Foreign Review, promising to restrict it to politics), then cease publishing a journal altogether. These measures were difficult to accept, and there was more. Acton was not permitted to see Vatican documents relating to the Glorious Revolution until the Archivist in Rome had cleared them with (then) Archbishop Manning. His friend and tutor Dollinger was under a cloud in Munich because he had used history to question the ideas of temporal power and Infallibility. The combination of these factors, and the general atmosphere of Roman insecurity, only pushed Acton, who was never one to react calmly to restrictions, to search the past for other occasions of Rome's misuse of authority.³⁶ This only aggravated Church officials further.

³⁶Abbe Duchesne was suspended for two years from the Institut Catholique because his historical research had convinced him that St. Mary Magdalen had never landed in France (Maisie Ward, Insurrection vs. Resurrection [London, 1937], p. 37). In

Mutual recriminations passed between Acton and the most available representatives of this authority--usually Manning and the Dublin Review--but to Acton they were only symptomatic of the greater problem of Rome's tyrannical power. Infallibility was not only the supreme misuse of this authority, but also the symbol of all such irresponsibility in the past.

The Reformation thus became for Acton something different--a conflict between intransigents and conciliators. Protestantism faded into the background, mattering less because it was merely the result of this conflict, about which it had little control.

Victory went to the intransigents, but it had been a close decision. In fact, the conciliators, or reforming party within the Church, looked as though they would win the day. Acton wrote:

The reformers [men like Erasmus, Pole, and Contarini] of the Renaissance seemed about to prevail, and to possess the ear of the Pontiff. Their common policy was reduction of prerogative, concession in discipline, conciliation in doctrine; and it involved the reversal of an established system. As they became powerful, and their purpose clear, another group detached itself from them, under the flag of No Surrender.³⁷

Luther left the Church because Cajetan and the intransigent party 'reverted to the old tradition of indefeasible authority wielding irresistible force'.³⁸ The Catholic response to the

another case, the Vatican imposed a ban on all papers relating to the Council of Trent--including those referring only to the order of business (Owen Chadwick, The Opening of the Vatican Archives, p. 63).

³⁷Acton, 'The Counter-Reformation', in Lectures on Modern History (London, 1906), p. 109.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 109-110 ff.

Reformation was indeed a counter-Reformation, insofar as it was essentially negative, repressive, and reactionary. For Acton, there was no question that it ultimately related to the contemporary conflict between Ultramontanes and Liberal Catholics:

I will show you what Ultramontanism makes of good men by an example very near home. Saint Charles Borromeo, when he was the Pope's nephew and minister, wrote a letter requiring Protestants to be murdered, and complaining that no heretical heads were forwarded to Rome, in spite of the reward that was offered for them....Cardinal Manning not only holds up to the general veneration of mankind the authority that canonised this murderer, but makes him in a special manner his own patron, joins the Congregation of Oblates of St. Charles, and devotes himself to the study of his acts and the propagation of his renown.³⁹

Such men as Borromeo and Manning were in the tradition of the Inquisition, which Acton looked on as the decisive ecclesiastical tragedy and the principal obstacle to conversion:

The Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes. It stands out from all those things in which they co-operated, followed, or assented as the distinctive feature of papal Rome. It was set up, renewed, and perfected by a long series of acts emanating from the supreme authority in the Church. No other institution, no doctrine, no ceremony is so distinctly the individual creation of the Papacy, except the Dispensing power. It is the principal thing with which the papacy is identified, and by which it must be judged.

The principle of the Inquisition is the Pope's sovereign power over life and death....That is to say, the principle of the Inquisition is murderous, and a man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination. If he honestly looks on it as an abomination, he can only accept the Primacy with a drawback, with precaution, suspicion, and

³⁹Acton to Mary Gladstone, 30 March 1884, in The Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone (London, 1904), pp. 186-187.

aversion for its acts. If he accepts the Primacy with confidence, admiration, unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder.⁴⁰

Thus even this champion of objectivity fell victim to an obsession. How it would have affected his actual writing of history is difficult to tell, because he never wrote a book. From the excerpts quoted above, however, even granted that they are taken from candid letters, it is difficult to see how Acton could have harnessed his feelings, and this is possibly why his monumental History of Liberty was never completed. Too many good men, such as Borromeo, were condemned by Acton because they were intolerant about one thing. And intolerant men, such as Savonarola, were praised by him because they were intolerant in the right way.⁴¹

In 1870, the two issues of papal infallibility and temporal sovereignty were solved in very different ways. The Vatican Council declared the pope infallible under certain conditions, and Italian troops captured Rome--eliminating the Papal States in the process. What is surprising about the loss of the Papal States is how quickly their staunchest defenders resigned themselves to the loss, saying, after all, the temporal power of the pope really did not affect his spiritual power, where a few years earlier the same people were saying that the one could not exist without the other, that the temporal power would, indeed,

⁴⁰ Acton to Mary Gladstone, 30 March 1884, in Letters to Mary Gladstone, pp. 185-186.

⁴¹ He wrote to Mary Gladstone that Savonarola 'died for his belief that the way to make men better was to make them free', 20 February 1882, Letters to Mary Gladstone, p. 123.

be defined as doctrine. Suddenly, it was all gone, and just as suddenly, Rome had found the theology to explain it.⁴²

Even in terms of Infallibility, the Ultramontanists lost some ground. The definition of Infallibility has long been looked on as the zenith of Ultramontane defiance. William George Ward, who wanted a fresh papal bull every morning with his eggs and Times, welcomed the definition because, as he said, 'It is accompanied by no single qualifying clause or explanation, which is not most heartily accepted by those who used to be called "the extreme Ultramontanes."' ⁴³

But a closer look shows how far these extreme Ultramontanes were forced to retreat. If one reads Ward's statements before the definition, one finds an understanding of Infallibility so wide as to be laughable. Bishop Dupanloup, an inopportunist (i.e. one who thought a definition to be ill-timed) circulated Ward's article on the subject at the Council as the best argument against the doctrine. Ward had written 'To hold that the Church's (sic) infallibility is confined to her definitions of faith seems to us among the most fatal errors of the day.'⁴⁴ Indeed, the very lack of a definition had been, to Ward, a desirable thing, not because he saw the doctrine as vague, but

⁴²Again, it must be remembered that those who supported the idea of temporal power in mid-nineteenth century meant temporal power only in terms of the Papal States, whereas those who opposed the temporal power (Acton and Simpson) generally opposed both the existence of the Papal States and any papal claim to temporal interference in the non-ecclesiastical world.

⁴³W.G. Ward, 'The Definition of Papal Infallibility', Dublin Review, LXVIII, January 1871, 205.

⁴⁴Ward, 'The Encyclical and the Syllabus', Dublin Review, LVI, April 1865, 443.

because he saw it all too clearly. So long as the doctrine remained undefined, he wrote,

No one can limit her [the Church's] infallibility to her definitions [of faith] without the most preposterous blunder; because that very infallibility is undefined. So long as she refrains from defining it, she testifies most unmistakably her infallibility in things undefined.⁴⁵

So when the doctrine was finally defined, Ward had to retreat--albeit honourably--testifying that the definition had not changed a thing. But the document had placed limits on the occasions of infallible statements. It stated:

We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks ex cathedra, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith and morals: and that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.

Ward could no longer define a vague notion himself, but now had to defend a written document, and one which was phrased so carefully, and placed such limits on infallible statements, that even Newman was satisfied with it, though he still begrudged the need for a definition at all. The grounds of argument simply

⁴⁵Ward, 'Minor Doctrinal Judgements', Dublin Review, LXI, October 1867), 364-365. Ward maintained that infallibility extended to papal condemnations of propositions which were not only heretical, but suspected or savouring of heresy, as well as to statements which were 'temerarious, ill-sounding, scandalous, injurious to holy doctors, and offensive to pious ears'. Tyrell wondered when 'pious ears' would be formally defined.

shifted from the nature of Infallibility to the nature of ex cathedra statements. Richard Simpson wrote to Gladstone to say that the Vatican Council 'simply forbids us to contradict the proposition that the Pope speaking ex cathedra is infallibile. It leaves us perfectly free to form our own ideas as to what is ex cathedra'.⁴⁶

Catholic historians in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reacted variously to this change of status in the temporal power and Infallibility. Some would continue to berate the temporal 'pretensions' of popes in the past, while for most it became a dead issue. Infallibility as such was largely avoided, possibly because it was so delicate a subject and Catholic historians had been chastened by the recent experience of Dollinger, Acton, and Duchesne. Instead they turned the more general notion of spiritual authority outward towards the Protestant world and went on the offensive.

Aidan Gasquet was one who continued to press the Cisalpine attack on temporal power. He was a Benedictine monk of Downside who wrote extensively in the 1890's on the English Reformation, especially, as we shall see, on the dissolution of the monasteries and Anglican liturgy. In terms of the papacy, he was neither a full-fledged Ultramontane, nor a Liberal Catholic--as were those few genuine conciliators, like Wilfrid Ward, who fell roughly in-between.

The Reformation, according to Gasquet, changed the papacy,

⁴⁶Simpson to Gladstone, 28 December 1874, in Joseph Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England 1848-1864 (Montreal, 1962), p. 246.

insofar as the papacy had been 'fully and freely recognized by all' in England.⁴⁷ If anything irritated the English, it was the temporal authority of the pope, an irritation which the reformers 'skilfully turned...into national, if tacit, acquiescence in the rejection of even the spiritual prerogatives of the Roman Pontiffs'.⁴⁸ Gasquet suggests that the reformers deliberately emphasised the abuses of temporalities in the full knowledge that they were after a bigger prize.⁴⁹

Each Sunday, in every parish church throughout the country, [the people] had been invited in the bidding prayer, as their fathers had been for generations, to remember their duty of praying for their common Father, the Pope. When the Pope's authority was finally rejected by the English king and his advisers, it was necessary to justify this serious breach with the past religious practice, and the works of the period prove beyond doubt that this was done in the popular mind by turning men's thought to the temporal aspect of the Papacy, and making them think that it was for the national profit and honour that this foreign yoke should be cast off.⁵⁰

Gasquet is quite prepared to abandon the temporal power and attack its misuse in Tudor England, but not without first suggesting that it was not as evil a power as people believed. He quotes Gairdner and Maitland in their praise of the Roman curia as a court of international and ultimate appeal. The Church was indeed an imperium in imperio throughout the world. Yet this very power and worldliness weakened the Church's

⁴⁷Aidan Gasquet, Eve of the Reformation (London, 1900), p. 81.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 73-74.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 93.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 98.

spiritual hold:

During the last half-century [1450-1500] the popes had reigned in a court of unexampled splendour, but a splendour essentially mundane. It was a dazzling sight, but all this outward show made it difficult to recognize the divinely-ordered spiritual prerogatives which are the enduring heritage of the successor of St. Peter.⁵¹

Only a few men were able to see the distinction and publicly avow it, and only when there was no hope for escape. Thomas More, after hearing his verdict of guilty, stated his belief:

I have, by the grace of God, been always a Catholic, never out of communion with the Roman Pontiff; but I have heard it said at times that the authority of the Roman Pontiff was certainly lawful and to be respected, but still an authority derived from human law, and not standing upon a divine prescription. Then, when I observed that public affairs were so ordered that the sources of the power of the Roman Pontiff would necessarily be examined, I have ^{even} myself up to a most diligent examination of that question for the space of seven years, and found that the authority of the Roman Pontiff, which you rashly--I will not use stronger language--have set aside, is not only lawful, to be respected, and necessary, but also grounded on the divine law and prescription. That is my opinion; that is the belief in which, by the grace of God, I will die.⁵²

Others compromised by taking the Oath of Supremacy with the secret qualification distinguishing in temporalibus from in spiritualibus, or by distinguishing the Church of England from the Church of Rome.⁵³

But he does not entirely excuse the pope and, at least on

⁵¹Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London, 1889), II, 333. For Maitland and Gairdner on Roman Curia, see Gasquet, Eve, pp. 72-73.

⁵²Ibid., 334.

⁵³Ibid., 332-333.

one occasion, draws conclusions which made him suspect of Liberalism. While the English crown used the pope's temporal authority to drive a wedge between itself and Rome, and eventually escalate the conflict into one involving the spiritual authority, the pope was to blame for permitting such an escalation to take place. Gasquet suggested that, had the pope resigned some of his temporal prerogatives in England as he had already done in France in the Gallican Concordat of 1516, trouble might have been averted. Had the pope removed the cause of genuine English grievances over his temporal power, the pretext for the religious change might have been removed.⁵⁴

Such sentiments cast Gasquet as a Liberal Catholic and probably lost him the election to the archbishopric of Westminster. He certainly had friends among the Liberal Catholics, but it would be a mistake to put him uncategorically in their camp. A recent work by William Schoenl has tried to do that, calling Gasquet a 'closet Modernist'.⁵⁵ This is to ignore nearly all of Gasquet's historical work, his work on Anglican Orders, his being made Cardinal by no less than Pius X.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Gasquet, Eye, p. 69.

⁵⁵William Schoenl, The Intellectual Crisis in English Catholicism (New York, 1982).

⁵⁶One story, which I have never seen published anywhere else, has Gasquet presiding over the Eucharist Congress of 1908 at the papal legate, marching through the streets of London with the Eucharist under his cloak (for public exposition was forbidden) and into a hall where waited George Tyrrell, the Modernist who had recently been excommunicated ad vitandis, which meant Catholics could not be in the same room with him. Gasquet, after a few awkward moments, decided that either Tyrrell would have to leave or the procession would have to move on, and prepared a grand exit. Frantic negotiations convinced Tyrrell to leave and the Eucharistic Congress went on.

Gasquet was nearly alone during this period in judging the pope harshly on the matter of temporal power. Most Catholic historians chose, instead, to focus on the pope's spiritual authority in the widest sense, staying away from the specific issue of Infallibility. In this they reversed the Cisalpine position and praised the pope for his moderation during the Reformation while blaming Elizabeth for her excesses. John Hungerford Pollen, the Jesuit historian, held that Pope Paul IV, in initially refusing to excommunicate Elizabeth and her officials which they 'so richly deserved', consistently displayed moderation--'always treating Elizabeth's Government with the greatest possible deference'.⁵⁷ Elizabeth had made a deliberate choice against Roman Catholics, and held to it. Pius V was left with no alternative, such being the pressure the Queen and English Government had put him under, but to excommunicate her.⁵⁸ Pollen left no doubt about his opinion of that Pope: 'Michele Ghislieri, Pope St. Pius V, was beyond question the greatest Pope of the Counter-Reformation period.'⁵⁹

Evelyn Waugh, in his biography of Campion, would echo this adulation:

It was the pride and slight embarrassment of the Church that, as had happened from time to time in her history, the See of Peter was at this moment occupied by a Saint....Had he, perhaps, in those withdrawn, exalted hours before his crucifix, learned something that was hidden from the statesmen of his time and the succeeding

⁵⁷John Hungerford Pollen, English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (London, 1920), p. 38.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 151.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 142.

generations of historians; seen through and beyond the present and the immediate future; understood that there was to be no easy way of reconciliation, but that it was only through blood and hatred and derision that the faith was one day to return to England?⁶⁰

It was a feeble excuse for the excommunication and deposition, to say that the pope who issued it was a saint. Pollen's approach to the Bull made more sense because he relegated the deposition to insignificance and treated only of the excommunication.⁶¹ Seen in this light, the Bull cleared the air.

The Bull made clear the iniquity of attending Protestant churches at her command, which nothing had hitherto been able to bring home to Tudor Catholics, with their miserable proclivity to give up religious liberty at the sovereign's whim.⁶²

The excommunication, disastrous though it was in the political sphere, was, according to Pollen:

successful from the religious point of view, in having given to Catholics a new aspiration to resist the tyranny of the State Church. The Catholic revival, already powerful on the Continent, begins to produce permanent good fruit, especially among the Catholic exiles....Success...comes at last, without the support of any temporal power, with the return from the seminaries of new missionaries, breathing a fresh enthusiasm for the ancient cause.⁶³

⁶⁰Evelyn Waugh, Edmund Campion (London, 1935), pp. 42, 44.

⁶¹It may be asserted with perfect confidence that an enemy so astute and relentless as Cecil would always have found other matters on which to ensnare his victims' (Pollen, English Catholics, p. 157).

⁶²Pollen, English Catholics, p. 156.

⁶³Ibid., p. vii.

The Jesuits Persons and Campion, however, took the shorter view of the excommunication and requested from Rome a qualification, saying:

The Catholics desire it to be understood in this way: that it always obliges her and the heretics; as for Catholics, it obliges them in no way, while affairs stand as they do.⁶⁴

Catholics were now free to call Elizabeth their Queen, a fact which, according to Pollen (and Simpson), should have been welcomed by the Queen. Needless to say, it was not. Cecil's comment was that the qualifying phrase ('while affairs stand as they do') 'means that you are loyal while you cannot resist, and that you will rebel at the first opportunity'.⁶⁵

Pollen condemns Cecil for maliciously misconceiving the facts--i.e. the Catholics were loyal--but says nothing about the pope's blundering into a trap, wherein Catholic loyalty became first impossible, then temporary and conditional.⁶⁶

Robert Hugh Benson, the convert son of the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a series of novels about the English Reformation and in one of them, By What Authority, sums up Pollen's view quite well:

From every point of view the Bull was unfortunate, though it may have been a necessity, for it marked the declaration of war between England and the Catholic Church. A gentle appeal had been tried before: Elizabeth, who had been crowned during mass with Catholic ceremonial, and had received the Blessed

⁶⁴Pollen, English Catholics, p. 293.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 297.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 297-298.

Sacrament, had been entreated by the Pope as his 'dear daughter in Christ' to return to the Fold. Now there seemed to him no possibility left but this ultimatum.

It is indeed difficult to see what else, from his point of view, he could have done. To continue to pretend that Elizabeth was his 'dear daughter' would have discredited his authority in the eyes of the whole Christian world. He had patiently made an advance towards his wayward child, and she had repudiated and scorned him. Nothing was left but to recognise and treat her as an enemy of the Faith, an usurper of spiritual prerogatives, and an apostate spoiler of churches. To do this might certainly bring trouble upon others of his less distinguished but more obedient children who were in her power, but to pretend that the Pope alone was responsible for their persecution, was to be blind to the fact that Elizabeth had already openly defied and repudiated his authority, and had begun to do her utmost to coax and compel his children to be disobedient to their father.⁶⁷

These later Ultramontanes draw attention to an aspect of Elizabeth's reign which Cisalpine historians had ignored--the spiritual nature of the Oath of Supremacy. The choice for Catholics in England, because of this Oath, was between loyalty to their sovereign and loyalty to their God. Henry VIII had created this ultimatum, and Elizabeth acquiesced in it. The pope's deposition, according to this argument, was no more than a formal recognition on his part of what Henry and Elizabeth had done on theirs. This Oath was best understood when reduced to its logical extreme. Benson, in the same novel, has one of his characters (Mr. Buxton) express the nature of that extreme:

As I said to you last time, Christ's Kingdom is not of this world. Can you imagine, for example, St. Peter preaching religious obedience to Nero to be a Christian's duty? I do not say (God forbid) that her Grace is a Nero, but there is no particular reason why

⁶⁷Robert Hugh Benson, By What Authority (London, 1904), p. 47.

some successor of hers should not be. However, Nero or not, the principle is the same. I do not deny that a national church may be immensely powerful, may convert thousands, may number zealous and holy men among her ministers and adherents--but yet her foundation is insecure. What when the tempest of God's searching judgments begins to blow?⁶⁸

The tendency to underline the pope's spiritual authority reached its highest expression in the work of Hilaire Belloc (1870-1953). Born in the year of the definition on Infallibility, Belloc never ceased interpreting history in terms of the centrality of papal authority.

Belloc's work on the Reformation is based on one assumption: Europe is the Catholic Faith. Europe was Roman civilisation made Catholic. The Christian relation to Rome was almost genetic. Where Rome had ruled, Christianity had thrived.⁶⁹ When the Reformation came about, only those countries which had grown up within the boundaries of the Roman Empire remained faithful to the Church. England was the only exception.

England's defection, therefore, became for Belloc the key to the entire Reformation. Without it, the Reformation would simply not have happened. He wrote, 'The defection of Britain from the Faith of Europe three hundred years ago is certainly the most important historical event in the last thousand years.'⁷⁰

The exact nature of the Reformation was disobedience to the

⁶⁸Benson, By What Authority, p. 234.

⁶⁹This was Freeman's thesis, agreed with by Butterfield, Dawson, Latourette.

⁷⁰Hilaire Belloc, Europe and Faith (London, 1920), p. 289.

papal authority.

We must always remember in reading of this period of the English Reformation this main point a neglect of which makes it incomprehensible: that the Papal claims were debated and had been debated for generations within the Catholic Church itself before the breakup of Christendom in the great disaster of the 16th century....What with the political entanglements of temporal power, the Pope's political action as a mere Italian Prince, the very large sums taken by the Papacy in direct taxation from all countries, and the worldly character of too many Popes of the day--some of them an open scandal--it needed the experience of disunion to prove the necessity of union, and to prove in especial that the test of unity was obedience to the See of Peter.⁷¹

The Reformation was, for Belloc, a necessary thing since only by this experience of disunion would Christians learn the grounds for unity. This ultimate test is 'the acceptance of the Pope's authority'.⁷² The Reformation thus became an effort to extinguish that vital principle and the Catholic Church, resulting in the destruction of the unity of both Europe and the Faith.⁷³

This was Ultramontane history with a vengeance. Item after item of the Cisalpine corpus is reversed by Belloc. Judgments on specific characters of the Reformation as well as interpretations of a more general nature are offered by Belloc as counterpoints to Cisalpine doctrine. Specifically, the popes come off much better than they had previously. They are lauded for their strength, their correctness, their sanctity, their defence of the

⁷¹Belloc, Characters of Reformation (London, 1936), pp. 144-145.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 145, 144.

⁷³Belloc, How the Reformation Happened (London, 1928), p. 2.

European thing. Only one pope is criticised, and he, Clement VII, for exactly the same reasons the Cisalpines praised him: he played for time, which, while it had been termed caution and moderation by the Cisalpines, becomes a defect of character under Belloc. This pope lacked straightforwardness, was irresolute, created delay for its own sake, and was cowed by the threat of losing England. If anything, he was too indulgent towards Henry.⁷⁴

Another major difference between Belloc and Cisalpine historians could possibly be that Belloc took the global view while the Cisalpines were concerned with local issues. Belloc was concerned, quite rightly, with the prospect of a ruined Europe, the decay and death of a tradition that had its roots in Rome. God's existence was questioned, the Bible's authenticity was debated. These crises were unknown to the Cisalpines and demanded an interpretation of history that might explain how they came about and how possibly religion and civilisation might yet be saved. Christopher Dawson would write on the same expansive thesis.

But this is only a partial explanation of the difference. What we must also realise is that the Cisalpines were more introspective than the Ultramontanes. Bernard Ward, in trying to emphasise the timidity of Cisalpinism, wrote, 'The old Catholics never reflected on matters of controversy,' and he was quite simply wrong.⁷⁵ There was nothing timid about Joseph Berington or

⁷⁴Belloc, Characters of Reformation, pp. 115-121.

⁷⁵Bernard Ward, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation (London, 1915), I, 5.

Charles Butler or Alexander Geddes or John Lingard or Mark Tierney. If anything, they vexed the official Church because they entered too readily into controversy. They reflected, for the most part, on internal matters, and did not address themselves to Protestants except in the most conciliatory of terms. The Ultramontanes, on the other hand, avoided internal discussion, and wanted to show the outside world a unanimous front. Belloc, perhaps more than any other Catholic historian, personified this Ultramontane approach. Highly skilled as he was in debating, he knew the tactics and benefits of attack, the weaknesses of too much defence. Defects in his own argument or evidence did not concern him; they were for specialists to straighten out, and too much self-examination was a sign of insecurity and possibly disloyalty.

Belloc was, despite his many flaws, the premier English Catholic historian of his day. If he is not taken seriously today, we should not overlook the fact that he was taken very seriously in the early half of this century. Certainly he shaped English Catholic consciousness about the Reformation.⁷⁶ And what he shaped was quite different than Catholic historical writing one hundred years before. Belloc was the culmination of a process which had begun at least as far back as Milner, in some instances as far back as the Exiles--the process of an increasing emphasis on the importance of the papacy.

As this importance grew, the focus changed from one of papal practices in the concrete, to the papacy as an abstract idea.

⁷⁶Chesterton borrowed nearly all of his historical notions from Belloc.

The Cisalpines were more concerned with abuses of papal power in the past because they affected their present situation so dramatically, because an admission of those actions precisely as abuses would help alleviate the current ~~state~~^{state}mate, and because Protestants would better understand Catholicism if they were informed about the distinction between essentials and inessentials of the Faith. Particular acts and events were primary, because the particular act of Emancipation was primary. The papacy was something which seemed to intrude on the very urgent business of Emancipation--and reading backwards--on the urgent business of the divorce or of Elizabeth's deposition. Hence the Cisalpine impatience with the idea of papacy. It was in proceeding from particulars to a general view that they concluded the papacy had to be pared down.

Richard Simpson and especially Lord Acton intensified this argument by starting with the general idea of papal power, and interpreting historical events as specific examples of the abuse of that power. Their conclusion was that events could not but be defiled because the pope was participating.

With the Ultramontanes, the papacy itself, aside from any particular applications of papal power, became the focus. Abuses, if they were admitted at all, were minimised.

Aside from this reversal of a general emphasis, specific issues underwent a re-interpretation as well. From Berington to Belloc we see a focus on Catholic misjudgment change to a focus on Protestant cruelty and error. The excommunication becomes crucial while the deposition is pushed aside. The pope becomes good, moderate, and an innocent victim, attributes previously

ascribed to Elizabeth, while the queen becomes either evil or unimportant. Instead of Elizabeth, it is the pope who is patient and, only under extreme pressure, reverts to the use of strong measures.

Finally, the schismatic nature of the English Reformation, emphasised by Cisalpine historians, gives way, with the Ultramontanes, to an interpretation which sees the Reformation as heretical. No longer is it a break with an individual pope, to be mended by the reduction of papal power, but it is a break with the papacy itself, a fundamental break with the entire Christian tradition, and with the ancient Church.

CHAPTER IV

THE JESUITS

Closely related to the issue of the papacy in the period 1790 to 1940 is that of the Society of Jesus. It follows much the same pattern--derided by Cisalpines, gradually emerging into a favourable interpretation, until, with the guidance of Jesuit historians, the Society becomes something quite heroic. As the papacy fared, so fared the Society of Jesus. Different historians come to the fore, however, as do some issues which are not identical to those dealt with under the heading of papacy. The main lines are the same, but the variations are interesting and significant enough to merit separate treatment.

In 1790 the Society of Jesus existed only in Russia, and there only because the pope's decree suppressing the order was never recognised by Catherine the Great. The Jesuits had been suppressed in 1773, under pressure from the Catholic countries of Spain, Portugal, and France, largely because it was the only order sufficiently influential to challenge the domestic and foreign policies of those countries. The suppression had little effect in England for various reasons: the Government did not recognise the existence of the Jesuits and did not feel threatened by their muted presence in England; the Jesuits were also able to circumvent the pope's decree, the founding of Stonyhurst in 1794 providing a good example of how effective their resistance could be. Jesuit loyalties were strong and would not die overnight. Neither would English resentment

against the Society.

Much of this resentment stemmed from a dislike of religious orders in general--partially an Enlightenment prejudice against monasticism and partially the result of the religious-secular feud. Added to this was a particular dislike of the Jesuits both from inside and outside the Catholic Church. They were the religious order par excellence and were identified especially with the papacy. Joseph Berington, a secular priest, wanted to get rid of all religious orders on the grounds that they promoted a group rather than an individual spirit.¹ He condemned this esprit de corps and 'all behaviour dictated by that spirit, and the individuals that it sways....Men of party, unblushingly do, what, when taken out of that influence, they would reject with horror'.²

Lingard shared this scepticism of religious orders. One Jesuit Provincial (Cobb) had preached a sermon in Preston on how the Blessed Mother delivered Jesus standing up in the presence of a cow (not an ox), which had been purchased by St. Joseph for the purpose of giving milk.³ Lingard's reaction to the news that Cobb was going to preach at the opening of Southwark Cathedral became more than just a swipe at Cobb:

I explain it thus: regulars are obliged daily to spend much time in mental prayer; a new idea strikes them. They pursue it and become habituated to it, unconscious of its indelicacy and absurdity, and at length detail it

¹Berington, Panzani, p. 459.

²Ibid., pp. xvi, xvii.

³Lingard to Mr. Price, 6 July 1848, FSA--Lingard Correspondence.

to others as a great discovery in the economy of religion.⁴

The vicars-apostolic, with the exception of Milner, also disapproved of the Jesuits, though for more practical reasons. They felt that the Jesuits, if restored as a religious order, would team up with Milner and the Irish bishops (who had already connived at several projects) and prove to be contentious and difficult to control--given the confusion already existing over jurisdiction. Their restoration, finally, might inflame the Government and postpone Emancipation indefinitely.⁵ Such was the opposition that the Jesuits, even though restored as a Society in 1814, were not restored in England until 1829.

The fear that the Jesuits would 'take over' was at least as old as the Appellant controversy of the 1590's. Especially annoying was the manner in which they assumed control of the English colleges abroad. Lingard was vigilant in making sure the Jesuits did not return to the English College in Rome, after their suppression had caused them to leave. Even as late as 1840, when there was talk that Wiseman, the present rector of the English College, would be appointed bishop and return to England, Lingard feared a Jesuit move to regain control. Robert Gradwell, Lingard's friend and Wiseman's predecessor as rector, fought as hard as Lingard to keep the English College in secular hands. He

⁴Lingard to Walker, 5 November 1849, UCA--Walker Papers. Cf. Schiefen, Wiseman, p. 136.

⁵William Wilds, a secular priest, wrote to Bishop Bramston (25 November 1814): 'The hope of emancipation may never be realised because we must be forced to have, what is obnoxious to the state, and what is not wanted in the Country--Jesuits.' C.f. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England, p. 133.

had discovered a bundle of papers written by Jesuits which, he said in a long letter to Lingard, were 'evidence against their honesty and fair play; and prove that the Fathers were either rogues or enthusiasts'. Gradwell continues:

I have not room to characterise these papers, but they exhibit such scenes of rascality, such intrepid lying, such mean and wicked policy under the garb of Religion, as really shock the reader. The main argument agt. a bishop was, first that it would displease the King; then that he was useless, ^{than} that he wd. be a tyrant over the Society, then that there was not a secular priest in England fit or capable to be a Bishop; then that he wd. be a disgrace to his dignity.⁶

The Cisalpines in general used history to air their distrust of the Society of Jesus. The notable exception to this was Lingard, who, despite his animosity toward Jesuits, was so pacific about them that he was accused of being a 'disciple of Jesuitry'.⁷ Lingard had no doubt that Campion and the other priests and laymen condemned with him for conspiring to murder the Queen, overthrow the Government, and withdraw subjects from their loyalty, were completely innocent.⁸ He found proof for this in their assertion that religion was their only offence, and

⁶Gradwell to Lingard, 31 July 1819, FSA--Lingard Correspondence.

⁷Lingard's letters, on the other hand, ^{tray} ~~be~~ his dogged hostility towards the regular clergy in general, whom he thought were difficult to regulate (Lingard to Walker, 13 Oct 1843 and 27 Oct 1843, UCA--Lingard Papers, 1358, 1360). His distrust of the Jesuits was more specific. When a new calendar of English martyrs was proposed, Lingard commented: 'Not a Jesuit is omitted; and few secular priests, in proportion to the number, are admitted. Can there be any trick in this?' (Lingard to Walker, 25 Dec 1843, UCA--Lingard Papers, 1365). He opposed their restoration in 1814 while Charles Butler, surprisingly, favoured it.

⁸Lingard, History, V, 382.

that 'liberty had been previously offered to each individual among them, provided he would conform to the established church'.⁹

Joseph Berington and Mark Tierney led the anti-Jesuit crusade, focussing on the supposed disloyalty of the Society, its foreignness, its inclination to intrigue. Berington's bete noire was Robert Persons (or Parsons):

To the intriguing spirit of this man (whose whole life was a series of machinations against the sovereignty of his country, the succession of its crown, and the interests of the secular clergy of his own faith) were I to ascribe more than half the odium, under which the English Catholics laboured through the heavy lapse of two centuries, I should only say what has often been said, and what as often has been said with truth. Devoted to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman court, he strove to give efficacy to those pretensions in propogating, by many efforts, their validity and directing their application: pensioned by the Spanish monarch, whose pecuniary aids he wanted for the success of his various plans, he unremittingly favoured the views of that ambitious prince, in opposition to the welfare of his country, and dared to support, if he did not first suggest, his idle claim or that of his daughter to the English throne: wedded to the society of which he was a member, he fought her glory and preheminance; and to accomplish this it was his incessant endeavour to bring under her jurisdiction all our foreign seminaries, and at home to beat down every interest that could impede the aggrandisement of his order....His writings, which were numerous, are an exact transcript of his mind, dark, imposing, problematical, seditious.¹⁰

Such outbursts are common in the Memoirs of Panzani, and summarise Berington's grievances against Persons. If we could single out the most serious of Berington's charges, it would be that Persons infected the secular clergy with his stratagems of

⁹Lingard, History, V, 382.

¹⁰Berington, Panzani, pp. 27-28.

disloyalty. Persons was seen as designing a Jesuit takeover of Britain, first by persuading the pope to allow his chamberlain Cajetan ('calling himself the protector of the English nation') to pass this authority onto Persons himself.¹¹ It was then a small matter to assume control of the education of the exiled priests and the direction of their missionary efforts in England. Had these missionary priests, Berington commented,

returned actuated by a pure zeal for religion, and with sentiments of an enlightened patriotism and of allegiance to their sovereign, they might have practised the duties of their ministry, unheeded and unmolested.¹²

The man who prevented this from happening was Robert Persons, '[with] the sound of whose name are associated intrigue, device, stratagem, and all the crooked policy of the Machiavellian school'.¹³

Berington faulted the clergy for fleeing in the first place, which flight excited suspicion and eventuated persecution. The schools they sought on the continent could have been established in England after a period of time, thereby avoiding the charge of foreign influence. What was worse than flight was their return in a spirit of confrontation:

Their notions of deposing princes were not just talk, but the 'pabulum' on which that ultramontane spirit fed....And they rendered the men who maintained them obnoxious to the state, exposing them to prosecution and imprisonment, and sometimes even to death.¹⁴

¹¹Berington, Panzani, p. 51.

¹²Ibid., p. 25.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 24.

The missionary priests found themselves caught in the dilemma of professing loyalty to a queen and, simultaneously, to a pope who had excommunicated and deposed her. Their attempt to avoid the problem by claiming a mission which was strictly spiritual proved to be unsuccessful, both because Elizabeth used the pope's excommunication as a tool to rid herself of their opposition, and because their position was inherently contradictory. Berington focussed on their responsibility in the matter, while admitting that the penal laws were harsh. But, he adds:

Let the whole truth be spoken:--the tenets these men adopted, (I mean those regarding the papal prerogative), were...of the most dangerous tendency. These they would not abjure; they maintained them in the interrogatories; and as they had been educated, all of them, I believe, in foreign seminaries, whence books were daily published in support of the same tenets, and in which seminaries, machinations, some real, some fictitious, were incessantly practised (as it was rumoured), against the queen and the religion of the state, it was natural that great alarms should be excited.¹⁵

He rejected the claim that they were simply trying to maintain Catholics in the faith, saying, 'It was not for any tenet of the Catholic faith that they were exposed to persecution.'¹⁶ Lingard found evidence in support of this, namely the records of a Chapter which refused to communicate an oath approved by Charles II because

The Jesuits by the obstinate adherence to the ultramontane doctrines had brought on the English

¹⁵Berington, Panzani, pp. 32-33.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 34.

catholics all the privations they suffered, and had uniformly opposed every attempt to obtain relief.¹⁷

Elizabeth had been provoked, and though she had reacted cruelly in the end, no one could fault her unease at the presence of the Jesuits in England and the missionary priests who had been trained by the Jesuits abroad. Proof for this was found by Berington in her relatively mild treatment of the other priests:

To say, if these men [the Jesuits] had been away, that fewer penal statutes against Catholics would have existed, is a conjecture founded on no light evidence; but to say...that, before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the public odium against us would have ceased, is, perhaps, as obvious a truth as history can reveal. By a proclamation of November 7, 1601, the queen banished the Jesuits and such priests as espoused their principles and party,...but to such clergy as would have a true profession of their allegiance, she signified her wish to shew favour and indulgence.¹⁸

The final drama had to be played out in Wisbech prison, where the Appellants were being held.¹⁹ In the appointment of George Blackwell as archpriest in 1598 with jurisdiction over the Appellants, Berington saw the calculating hand of Robert Persons. Blackwell and the twelve priests who made up his council were 'all of them creatures of jesuits'.²⁰ Blackwell's appointment was sinister, not merely because he was a product of Jesuit

¹⁷Lingard to Charles Butler, 15 March 1818, AAW--Poynter Papers, IV, 5. The italics are Lingard's. He adds, '[This evidence] made a strong impression on my mind when I saw it, and made me believe that much of what protestant writers objected to our forefathers might be true' (Ibid.).

¹⁸Berington, Panzani, pp. 68-69.

¹⁹See above, pp.

²⁰Berington, Panzani, p. 51.

training but also because he was only an archpriest. There was a conscious refusal on the part of Rome to appoint a bishop-in-ordinary which, for Berington, could only point to a desire on the part of the pope and the Jesuits to cling to power and prevent the English Church from running itself. There would not be an ordinary bishop until 1850.

Mark Tierney carried on this assault on Persons and the Exiles who continued to interfere in the political affairs of England:

It is impossible to avoid condemning the conduct of those fugitives abroad, who, by their treasonable writings, and not less treasonable practices, were thus seeking to overturn the government, and alter the succession to the throne....They should have recollected that their ministry was the ministry of peace, their duty, that of preaching, sacrifice, and prayer: in a word, they should have called to mind the suffering state of their persecuted brethren at home, and, placed in security themselves, should have hesitated to exasperate the government against those, who were still within reach of its resentment.²¹

One mistake made by Berington was to accuse Persons of a fear of establishing bishops-in-ordinary, a mistake which is corrected by Tierney, who says that Persons 'had long advocated the appointment of an episcopal superior'.²² As early as 1580, then again in 1591 and 1597, Persons explicitly requested the appointment of a bishop. But there were strings attached, namely that the secular clergy would be subject to the control of a single superior, who would be dependent on the Society of

²¹Dodd's Church History, III, 31, n1 (continued from p. 29).

²²Ibid., p. 47n.

Jesus.²³

Persons, furthermore, represented all that was negative about the Jesuits--an elite club of usurpers which could appeal over the heads of local churches, could come and go as it pleased, move in on all the best territory, and generally try to take control. The Jesuits had gradually assumed control of foreign seminaries and had regarded themselves as indispensable to the English mission. Tierney translates a letter from Persons to the pope, after students at Rome had petitioned for the removal of the Jesuits from England. Persons assured the pope that the Society

was essential to the existence of religion in this country. To the laity its members were necessary, to counsel, to strengthen, and to protect them; to the clergy, to support, correct, and to restrain them....Were the fathers to be removed, the people would be left without advisers, the clergy without guides; the salt would be taken from the earth, and the sun would be blotted from the heavens of the English church.²⁴

Secular priests had always understood the Jesuit presence to be one of assistance, in support of the seculars, rather than an entity unto itself. Even the Benedictine Gasquet, writing many years later, warned that the role of religious orders was to work within the Church, without assuming or appearing to be the Church. Problems arise when groups, and he names the Jesuits, aim consciously or unconsciously at identifying themselves too

²³Dodd's Church History, III, 47n. Tierney saw a strong Chapter as the only workable check on the power of the bishops.

²⁴Ibid., 45n.

exclusively with the Church.²⁵

Tierney saw the restoration of the Jesuits in 1829 as the continuation of the Reformation and post-Reformation feud. Once they were restored in England, the Jesuits naturally wanted missions and these the vicars were reluctant to give. Consequently, the Jesuits tried circumventing this hostility and accepted the offer by two ladies to build them a chapel in St. John's Wood, near London. The vicars, especially Bramston the London vicar, were opposed to the scheme and had Lingard draft a letter of protest, which not only protested against Jesuit foundations, but Benedictine houses in the north as well.²⁶ The vicars won, despite the pope's heated reply, but vigilance was called for. Tierney's response to this 'Jesuit menace' produced one of the more interesting episodes in nineteenth-century Catholic history: he decided to re-edit Dodd's Church History. We have already examined the contents, but Tierney's great work is instructive not so much for what it says, but for the reasons which led to its republication in the first place, and to its abrupt cessation in the second.

Dodd's book was one hundred years old in 1837, when Tierney began to re-edit it. It was outdated in several regards: new documents had come to light, the very writing of history had undergone a revolution, and there was little in Dodd that could not be found either in Appellant accounts or in Lingard. Lingard himself claimed that a re-edition was justified because it was

²⁵Shane Leslie, Cardinal Gasquet: A Memoir (London, 1953), p. 34.

²⁶Ward, Sequel, I, 62.

the only consecutive history of the Catholic Church ever to be written (an odd claim since the book began in the year 1500), it had been regarded as an authoritative source book, and it had become scarce and expensive. A re-edition would save time, saving the editor the effort of writing an entirely new book, and the original would serve as a starting-point for a continuation.²⁷

Several attempts had already been made to resurrect Dodd, the latest by John Kirk, who admitted that the work was beyond him. In a letter to Joseph Berington, printed in Catholic Miscellany in 1826, Kirk explained what he had collected for a continuation of Dodd, how he had organised the material, and how problems had crept in to delay any publication. Kirk was a sensitive man and balked at continuing a history which, as became increasingly evident to him, would only re-excite the bitter feelings created by the original Dodd.²⁸

This first Dodd was Charles Dodd, born Hugh Tootel, who wrote the Church History of England beginning in 1737. Earlier, in 1713, he had brought out an anti-Jesuit tract called The History of Douay College, under the guise of an Anglican chaplain serving the British troops in the area. He said that Robert Persons had become 'banker' to Douay and had put part of its income aside for the foundation of St. Omer, and that Douay had

²⁷Lingard, 'Dodd's Church History of England', Dublin Review, VI, May 1839, 397.

²⁸Kirk to Berington, Catholic Miscellany, VI (1826), 262. Kirk (1760-1851) was a secular priest and friend of Lingard, but even Lingard thought Kirk was 'growing an old woman' (Lingard to Gradwell, 17 October 1831, AAW--Poynter Papers, IV).

become 'Fr. Parson's Nursery'.²⁹ The archpriest Blackwell was 'a Priest by his Order, yet a Bishop by his Jurisdiction, and a Jesuit by his Principles', and thus Persons governed by proxy.³⁰ The Jesuits discovered who wrote the book, and an unpleasant debate ensued. It was, therefore, with some apprehension that Dodd's history was greeted when it first appeared.

Dodd went to great lengths to make the book look scholarly, including a bibliography divided into three major sections: Catholic historians, Protestant historians, and manuscripts. He supported his statements with numerous quotations and references. While this was praiseworthy in principle, it had its practical defects. For one thing, Dodd had to work in secret because of the penal laws and not only had difficulty in obtaining original documents, but could hardly re-check them once he had seen them. In addition to this, Dodd often 'loaded' his Protestant references with Puritan authors, who rendered the history less objective than appears on the surface. Tierney was well aware of this, and wrote in his 'Advertisement' to the new edition:

With all his excellencies, Dodd is sometimes defective, and frequently incorrect. With him, dates and names are too often mistaken, or confounded; transactions of stirring interest, or of lasting importance, are occasionally despatched with the indifference of a passing allusion; and occurrences, that scarcely merit a casual notice, are swollen into consequence....³¹

²⁹Charles Dodd, The History of Douay College (London, 1713), p. 14.

³⁰Ibid., p. 17.

³¹Dodd's Church History, I, viii-ix.

One can readily see that any re-publication of Dodd would have caused concern to the Society, recently re-admitted to England in 1829, and a more reckless man than John Kirk would be needed to pursue the work. Tierney interrupted the Kirk-Berington exchange with a letter of his own, suggesting to Kirk that his work was being needlessly prolonged because it was slavishly following Dodd's original division, which was unwieldy, and because Kirk had transcribed too much unnecessary material, and hurt himself by not trusting to a helper.

Above all, Tierney wrote, one should not worry about the opposition of the Jesuits: 'Such opposition can originate only with that body, whose name you have concealed behind a blank' (Kirk had been discreet enough not to name the Society openly).

Tierney continued:

Your work will be a compilation of original records, and authentic documents. There can be no views, or colouring of your own; consequently, the only manner in which it can be attacked will be, either to show that your authorities are not unimpeachable, or to produce others that will either invalidate, or explain them. If this be ^{re}lected, you will be as glad to correct the error, and the other party may have been anxious to point it out.³²

Tierney went further. He told Kirk that there was an urgency about re-publishing Dodd precisely because it was provocative:

If history is necessary for our instruction; if by it we are able to be guarded against the errors, or taught to emulate the virtues of our ancestors, why is a most instructive, as well as more interesting portion of it,

³²Tierney to Kirk, Catholic Miscellany, VI, October 1826, 332.

to be withheld from us, merely because it may be assailed by the interested clamours of a party, whose intrigues have been worse than tempest in the land, and whose spirit, still unchanged, is ready to cry out against the unveiling of its mysteries. This, in fact, is the very reason, which, in my mind, should hasten the publication of your work....You owe it, I think, in justice to that body of the English clergy, which has too frequently suffered from the machinations of its enemies, to expose the arts by which those enemies have so constantly endeavoured to accomplish their pernicious purposes.³³

Thus Kirk, probably eager to be rid of the work, passed his collection of manuscripts, as well as the entire project, onto Tierney. Tierney's first task was to re-order what Dodd had done, which was a confused tangle of narrative and biography, and set about skilfully combining the narrative passages into a coherent unit, relegating biographical notices to later volumes (which were never published), and the mass of additional documentation to footnotes and appendices. So dense was the collection of manuscripts that Lingard worried that it would injure the sale of the book.³⁴

This pile of documents and the re-edition of Dodd served a purpose in addition to scholarship. They were a wall for Tierney to hide behind. An original work would have made him vulnerable to attack; better to reproduce an old work and deflect whatever criticism might come to the original. In controverted statements, Tierney could claim that it was Dodd, and not he, who was the irritable Jesuit-baiter. When he was charged in 1840 by two members of the Bodenham family with indulging anti-Jesuit

³³Ibid., p. 331.

³⁴Lingard to Tierney, 27 March 1841, FSA--Lingard Correspondence.

prejudice, he replied, 'I can challenge Mr. Bodenham and his son together to discover one word, in any passage bearing on the subject, that breathes anything but respect and veneration for the Society.'³⁵

The Jesuits, at least, felt that they had found some passages which breathed less than respect and veneration, and they refused to send Tierney any more manuscripts. Fr. Lythgoe, the Jesuit superior, wrote to Tierney:

My attention has...been called to certain passages in your new Edition of Dodd, particularly in Vol. IV [concerned largely with the reign of James I], which as it seems to me, cannot be well reconciled with your declaration made to Fr. James Brownbill, in your letter to him dated April 27, 1837, that you would not avail yourself of the Confidence reposed in you for any purpose 'of which the Society should have reason to complain'.³⁶

The Jesuits had lent manuscripts to Tierney on the conditions that he would compile a fair history and also return the manuscripts.³⁷ In the latter case he was certainly delinquent, and the Jesuits stopped cooperating with him as much because Tierney did not return documents as for his anti-Jesuit interpretation of them.³⁸

³⁵AAS--Tierney Papers, 169, 3 September 1840.

³⁶Lythgoe to Tierney, 18 January 1842, FSA, SB/1.

³⁷Lythgoe to Tierney, 23 March 1840, FSA, Package 2/1/2. Lythgoe wrote: 'You may rest assured my Dr Mr Tierney that Fr. Bird, as well as every member of the Society, is most anxious that you should have every means of information that can be put within your reach, respecting the facts, touched upon in Dodd's History, and we all of us sincerely hope that the result of your labours maybe, to secure for you, the Character, of a high minded and honest Historian.'

³⁸FSA, Package 2/1/2.

In a way, Tierney's use of Dodd is reminiscent of Joseph Berington's use of Panzani, i.e. an excuse to air his own ideas. Just as Berington had brought out an anti-Jesuit warhorse, so did Tierney. The state of the art had changed: Berington made a great deal over a single document, blanketing it with a lengthy introduction and afterword, neither of which had much to do with the original Panzani. Tierney, on the other hand, restricted his comments to footnotes (many of them lengthy), which were scholarly and critical, and supplemented Dodd with a massive collection of documents.³⁹ Part of his reason was to prove that Dodd was instinctively right, even if the collection of authentic documents he had to work with was meagre by modern standards; partly to supply historians with those documents which had never before seen the light of day; and partly because he believed that with such a massive array of manuscripts, as he told Kirk, 'there can be no views, no colouring of your own'.⁴⁰ He failed to see, as Kirk saw, that the very publication of his Dodd's Church History was a red flag.

Rome was not in the mood for such things. It was under attack at this time from republicans who threatened the territory of the Papal States, on which was thought to depend the very existence of the spiritual authority of the pope. Rome was therefore prickly about any criticism of its temporal actions,

³⁹The fifth and final volume has an appendix of documents three times longer than the text.

⁴⁰A case could be made here that Tierney was cautioning Kirk not to insert his own views, rather than telling him the documentation precluded such insertion, but the evidence remains that Tierney did not imagine that documents could be accumulated in a partisan way.

and more so if it came from Catholic historians. It was a nervous time, and Rome did not suffer internal dissent gladly. As a result, there was no reason to stifle the growing Jesuit anger over Tierney's work. And thus Tierney went under.

The only people capable of protecting him were the bishops, and they found him as much a nuisance as they did the Society of Jesus. And more easily got rid of. Tierney had, for one thing, led the opposition against Wiseman. For another, the religious-secular debate was by no means settled in 1840, and a book detailing the history of that debate and taking a definite side, was not the kind of clarifying scholarship the bishops (who frequently found themselves in the middle) were looking for. The bishops were therefore just as anxious as Rome and the Jesuits to see Tierney's work halted. The fifth volume, published in 1843, was to be the final one.

How the work was halted has yet to be documented. An obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine mentions that Tierney was forced to abandon the Dodd project because of paralysis in one hand.⁴¹ But there are numerous samples of Tierney's handwriting--some of them running to great length--as late as 1857, more than a decade after he laid aside Dodd's Church History. Joseph Gillow, in his Dictionary of English Catholics, claims that pressure from the Jesuits caused Tierney to quit, an observation which is supported by circumstantial evidence. Lingard wrote to Tierney in 1846 asking, 'Are you labouring at

⁴¹Gentlemen's Magazine, XII, April 1862, p. 509.

your great work? Is the next volume almost ready for press?⁴²
And Lingard repeats these questions in almost every letter to Tierney as late as 1848. He would not have done this had he known Tierney was disabled. Tierney, furthermore, would have informed Lingard of a paralysis, but might not have thought Jesuit pressure would be permanent, and so entertained thoughts of continuing once the pressure eased. He certainly mentions Jesuit interference in the sale of the book and writes bitterly to the pro-Jesuit George Oliver that Lythgoe was trying to ruin his project:⁴³

Mr. Lythgoe is himself the very person who, from the very first moment that he heard I was engaged on my present work, set himself studiously, but of course secretly, to create a feeling against it, and as far as he could to injure its sale. This I can prove.

In earlier life, I expressed myself strongly on the conduct of the Jesuits. I afterwards, felt that I had spoken harshly, and I told you so. I told to you more-- I told you that I wished to be able to prove that I had spoken unsoundly as well as harshly:--but, I grieve to say it, the treatment which I have experienced, and the conducts which I have witnessed have more and more convinced me that however harsh my censure, my judgment was not erroneous.⁴⁴

All things considered, however, Tierney's worst enemy was himself. Had his temperament been more conciliatory, the work may have proceeded despite the opposition. Two instances of his

⁴²Lingard to Tierney, 21 April 1846, FSA--Lingard Correspondence.

⁴³Tierney to Lythgoe, 20 January 1842, FSA, SB/1.

⁴⁴Tierney to Oliver, c.1842, FSA, SB/1. Ironically, Tierney had written to Lythgoe two years earlier complaining that Oliver was planning to attack Dodd (Tierney to Lythgoe, 27 March 1840, FSA, 2/1/2).

extraordinary pettiness may explain the censure far better than any anti-Jesuitism.

The first case involved the Bodenhams, mentioned above. The younger Bodenham, apparently a friend of Tierney, had visited him at Arundel and mentioned to a Jesuit friend the nature of the conversation which took place there. Word of this got back to Tierney, who was incensed that he had been mentioned as having anti-Jesuit feelings, and that private hospitality had been the means by which this slander was derived. He wrote to Bodenham and demanded an apology and retraction, noting, 'I have never spoken...with any asperity, or any hostile feeling whatever, against any body or society, whether of Jesuit or others.'⁴⁵

Bodenham apologised for any misunderstanding he may have inadvertently caused, which left Tierney unsatisfied. When pressed further, Bodenham recalled two incidents at Arundel which, he felt, justified his estimate of Tierney as having anti-Jesuit leanings. One was that Tierney had waded in the direction of some Jesuit manuscripts lent him by Stonyhurst, and said if they were published they would irretrievably ruin the Society in public estimation; the other was a reference Tierney made to some dishonourable transaction the Jesuits had been accused of, remarking 'it was just like them'.⁴⁶

Tierney never denied these stories, but continued to pursue the younger Bodenham so much so that Bodenham's father intervened and requested a halt to the exchange. Tierney persisted, and the

⁴⁵Tierney to Bodenham (son), 14 April 1840, Tierney Papers, AAS, 169.

⁴⁶Bodenham to Tierney, 9 May 1840, AAS--Tierney Papers, 169.

older Bodenham became embroiled in the argument, to such an extent that he threatened to publish pertinent parts of the correspondence. Tierney rejoined by threatening to publish the entire correspondence, which he eventually did (privately), further evidence of his almost blind confidence in printed documents. Given the nature of the letters, it is almost beyond belief that he thought a publication of the entire correspondence would have benefitted his cause.

Why Tierney was in such a state of pique is not easy to figure, since the evidence against him was so overwhelming. There was no secret about his anti-Jesuit leanings, and Bodenham, in only stating the obvious, must have been more than a little bewildered at the reaction. A plausible answer is that pressure was mounting on Tierney to discontinue Dodd's Church History, and he was on the defensive. He may also have suspected Bodenham of a design to discredit his position as a detached historian, and therefore jeopardise his work.

Tierney was intemperate in controversy. He had been admonished once by Lingard for his language, and his friend John Jones asked him to moderate his attack on the Jesuits, writing:

An old friend...observed that unless the religious, and the Jesuits in particular, are handled very tenderly, I should ruin my Hastings concern [?] and make enemies of those I ought to have as friends--for the force of your extract from Dodd's secret policy therefore fell on me heavily....⁴⁷

A second case is even more revealing. Tierney was offended

⁴⁷Jones to Tierney, 1 April 1835, AAS--Tierney-Rock Collection, 153.

when Cardinal Wiseman, writing in his Recollections of the Last Four Popes, mentioned that John Lingard was not the one intended for Pope Leo XII's in petto nomination to the cardinalature--rather it was meant for Lammenais.

Tierney replied with a long article charging Wiseman with malice: 'Every engine is set in motion, and every office in Rome is ransacked, in order to obtain evidence which may assist in depriving the historian of the supposed honour.'⁴⁸ He called Wiseman 'my assailant' and wrote further, 'He is now driven to the painful necessity of either establishing his innocence, or retiring from the office which he holds.'⁴⁹

Wiseman, of course, found it necessary to do neither, and the controversy shows little more than Tierney's peevishness and the distorted view he held of his own power to ^aeffect events.⁵⁰ Wiseman had always held Lingard in high regard, and had even solicited his advice on the matter of Anglican Orders, so there is no reason to suspect Wiseman of an ulterior motive.⁵¹ And Tierney mentions no such motive.

Bernard Ward, who makes the most complete statement about this controversy, says that both sides have a good case. Ward put Tierney's first:

⁴⁸AAS--Tierney Papers--Wiseman Manuscript, p. 1.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁰It also proves, paranthetically, that Tierney did not stop writing his history because of paralysis in the hand, as the Gentleman's Magazine claimed in its obituary (XII, April 1862, 509). The exchange with Wiseman took place in 1857, and there are two drafts of the article, both running to twenty-four pages, written in a faintly trembling, but clear hand.

⁵¹Wilfrid Ward, Life of Wiseman, I, 300.

In the controversy of pamphlets, however much we may regret the tone in which Tierney wrote, it must be admitted that he scored more than one point against his opponent. His accurate historical mind fastened on several loose expressions in the Cardinal's writings, and more than once he convicted him of grave inaccuracy.⁵²

But Ward balances this by pointing out that Wiseman's intimate knowledge of Roman affairs and politics forces the observer to take his interpretation of events seriously.⁵³

Tierney, it appears, was a victim of his own zealousness. There always had to be a controversy, the controversy always had to become a personal feud, there had to be a melodramatic expression of innocence and demand for apology, followed by a tiresome marshalling of insignificant facts. In this, as in his use of Dodd, he was a throwback to Joseph Berington. Both had strong feelings and could not keep those feelings out of their work. Both saw matters in black-and-white, winner-and-loser categories. No compromise was possible or even desirable.

What Tierney never learned was that the presentation of history was possibly as important as its truth. It was a lesson which Lingard had learned, in walking his tightrope between Catholic and Protestant criticism. Some compromises were necessary, and he realised when they had to be made. Therein lay his supreme commonsense. What was important was the publication of the whole work; specific instances of de-emphasis could be corrected later. Tactfulness was a property which was needed by the historian, and those who recognised that need were the first

⁵²Ward, Eve, III, 354.

⁵³Ibid.

to benefit. Lingard and Tierney agreed on virtually every issue concerning the English Church, yet Lingard, because of his political sophistication, was respected as a wise counsellor, while Tierney was labelled a firebrand.

Tierney was not a bad historian, but he suffered from a naivete about the nature of history, and about the nature of the Church. The Jesuits were not necessarily innocent victims, either, and Tierney's case against them was, at least, an arguable one. But it was all overdone, at the wrong time, and in the wrong way. Tierney wanted a duel, with history as the weapon, and no doubt felt cheated when he realised that the choice was not his.

The Jesuits found an ally from an unexpected quarter. Richard Simpson, editor of the Rambler, wrote a biography of Edmund Campion which was surprisingly sympathetic to the Society. While he shared the Cisalpine distrust of the papacy, he broke with them over the matter of the Jesuits and called criticism of the Society 'incoherent nonsense'.⁵⁴

His high opinion of Campion stemmed from Campion's 'repudiation' of the pope's temporal power, and from Campion's manifest heroism--part of a wider pattern of Catholic heroism which Simpson was among the first to document.⁵⁵ But it is Simpson's defence of Persons that is so extraordinary. It is best understood as Simpson's apology for active resistance--

⁵⁴Simpson, Campion, p. 469.

⁵⁵C.f. Simpson, Under the Penal Laws (London, 1930).

again, possibly with a view to his own acerbic confrontation with authority. Catholics had become passive, and Simpson describes their situation as demanding more than passivity:

[Catholics] were all waiting for something to turn up...for Burghley to die, or for Elizabeth to die or to marry a Catholic husband, or for the king of Spain to come and depose her; waiting for the fortune to change for them, instead of trying to change their own fortune; and forgetting that fate unresisted overcomes us, but is conquered by resistance.⁵⁶

Persons was the one man who was willing to do something. Had he not failed, he would be regarded differently today:

He is really only one of those great men who only wanted the element of success to rank him among the greatest....If we try to realise his position, to start from his point of departure, and to view his age as he must have viewed it, it is difficult to condemn him.⁵⁷

Simpson sees Persons and Campion as a complementary pair:

Campion, it seems to me, was the quick-tempered man, open, free, generous, hot, enthusiastic, yet withal modest, gentle and fair: Parsons more slow, subtle, cool, calculating, and capable of exhibiting either violence or modesty as the occasion seemed to demand. If Campion had the wisdom, Parsons had the prudence. One knew how to move, the other to guide; one, if I may use offensive terms without offence, had the gifts which make an agitator,⁵⁸ the other those that make a conspirator.

⁵⁶Simpson, Campion, pp. 8-9. Berington comes close to saying the same thing, though not in reference to the Society of Jesus, when he writes that those who urge caution are 'enemies to every species of writing on the business of Catholics'. Later, in the same work, he emphasises this: 'How far, in certain circumstances, it might be adviseable to keep silence, I will not pretend to say. This I know, it is a conduct we practised for many years, but from it was never derived any good' (State and Behaviour of Catholics, pp. vi-viii).

⁵⁷Simpson, Campion, p. 472.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 275.

In some respects, Persons even excels Campion:

[^oParsons] had talents better suited for administration and management. Inferior in eloquence, and in enthusiastic simplicity of purpose, he had a deeper knowledge of men and things, greater versatility, a finer and subtler policy, and as strong a will.⁵⁹

Still, Simpson's high opinion of Persons must remain an enigma, since Persons' entire Catholic life was occupied in restoring those papal powers--even at the cost of political intrigue against Elizabeth's Government--which intrigue and powers Simpson so detested. It could be said that Persons and Simpson worked tirelessly for opposite goals, and Simpson's handling of Persons is either a tribute to the former's magnanimity and sense of justice (which he was never tempted to extend to the pope), or an indication of the extent to which he could go in securing an ally from history.

The Jesuit historians of the late nineteenth century stop short at being embarrassed by Persons. ^{JOHN} James Morris is the most forthright in condemning certain features of Persons' activities, when he regrets the personal attacks made on opponents by Persons, as well as his role in the Armada, saying that Persons may have acted in good faith, but he was plainly not acting 'with the mind of the Society', which had forbidden meddling in politics.⁶⁰

John Hungerford Pollen is probably more typical, writing of the Exiles in general:

⁵⁹Simpson, Campion, p. 150.

⁶⁰John Morris, 'Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Elizabeth', Dublin Review, CVI, April 1890, 253.

Having passed through the fire themselves, they had lost much of the Englishman's usual dread of extreme remedies. In fact we shall find them all through this volume more outspoken in complaint, more earnest in advocating strong measures, than those who were actually in the fiery furnace at home. The latter, one and all, had to practise patience so assiduously that they could hardly break themselves of the habit.⁶¹

There is a hint in the last sentence about the direction Jesuit historians were more likely to go. Pollen, having paid his debt to the opposition, would more often contrast those 'who stood tamely by' unfavourably with the missionaries.⁶²

The Jesuit counterattack on received versions of Jesuit interference and disloyalty thus involved praising the missionaries--generally skirting the issue of Exile maneuvering. The activity of the missionaries was straightforward and could be shown more easily in a favourable light, while the Exiles like Persons had shown themselves elusive of such summary treatment. So much depended on one's view of the papacy, of the right (of anyone) to depose, and of the Society of Jesus. Opinions differed on all of this within the Church, and even within the Society itself. The role of Persons was too involved and controversial to admit of a simple or brief explanation. What was needed to counter the distortions of the Cisalpine historians and the calumnies of Froude was not an intricate defence of questionable practices, but an exposition of uncomplicated activity, coupled with a full-scale assault on Elizabeth. Part of this plan was to document the 'martyrdom' of the English

⁶¹Pollen, English Catholics, p. 76.

⁶²Ibid., p. 348.

missionaries. John Morris (1826-1893) was commissioned to petition the Congregation of Rites to grant a feastday in honour of the English martyrs. This was turned down because the evidence was felt by the Congregation to be insufficient to call them 'martyrs'--meaning that political considerations could have contributed to their deaths. Morris, undeterred, got the cause moving again in 1874 and began publishing articles and books on the martyrs.⁶³

The other part of the plan, related to the first part, called for a re-examination of Elizabeth's Government. If it could be shown that Elizabeth had not been provoked by the Jesuits and that her policy was consistently anti-Catholic from the beginning of her reign, then the Jesuit historians would have achieved their purpose.

Pollen is careful to point out that Elizabeth and her ministers were engaged in persecution years before the Jesuits came to England in 1580. The Privy Council, between the years 1575 to 1580, was as cruel as it would ever be, increasing the persecution in later years only in extent.⁶⁴ Cuthbert Mayne was executed in 1577. A period of relaxation followed from the spring of 1579 to April or May of 1580, when news of the Desmond Rebellion, in which Sanders played so important a part, occasioned further Elizabethan atrocities. The dates are important because the two Jesuits Campion and Persons did not

⁶³John Morris, Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers (London, 1872), and Letter-Book of Sir Amias Poulet, Keeper of Mary Queen of Scots (London, 1874).

⁶⁴Pollen, English Catholics, p. 265.

land in England until early June. They were told of the renewed persecution when they were still in Rheims or St. Omers.⁶⁵

The most important factors leading the renewal of the persecution against Catholics was the threat of a marriage to the Catholic Duke of Anjou, which the ministers seemed keen on preventing; irritation at the Desmond Rebellion; and rumours of a Papal League.⁶⁶ Noticeably missing from Pollen's list is the activity of the Society of Jesus and Campion's 'Brag' in particular, which Persons himself thought had played a part in Elizabeth's strong reaction.⁶⁷ Pollen's point here is that orders against the Jesuits were issued by the Privy Council in 1578, and were not caused by the arrival of Campion and Persons.⁶⁸

Neither, thought Pollen, did the Irish Rebellion cause the 'Elizabethan atrocities', even though there existed a close connection between the uprising and the renewed persecution.⁶⁹ Pope Gregory and his Cardinal Secretary were guilty of 'great imprudence in the matter', but Pollen is quick to point out their irresponsibility served only as an excuse for Elizabeth to do

⁶⁵Pollen, English Catholics, pp. 356-357.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 361. See Malcolm Thorp, 'Catholic Conspiracy in Early Elizabethan Foreign Policy', Sixteenth Century Journal, XV, Winter 1984, 431-448. Thorp maintains that rumours of Catholic conspiracies were founded less on fact than on the designs of Elizabeth's ministers in attempting to unify the country.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 369.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 361.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 229.

what she had desired to do all along.⁷⁰ Her dissembling over promises to her sister Mary to maintain the Faith and over her coronation oath were signs that Elizabeth had no intentions of honouring either one:

It is, indeed, hard for us to qualify Elizabeth's duplicity over this oath with the severity it deserves. Taking it in connection with the new laws,...which were brought into the Houses of Parliament so soon after the service, it reveals to us a mind whose perfidy and cruelty it would be very hard to equal.⁷¹

Elizabeth had gone slowly in promoting the Reformation not because she was pro-Catholic, but because she feared a reaction from Scotland, France, and Spain if matters went ahead too quickly. Once a peace treaty with France was signed and the Marian bishops were neutralised by 1559, things went more quickly.⁷²

Even more revolutionary about Pollen's history was his assigning blame to Elizabeth directly. He agreed with Cisalpine historians that her reign was decisive in terms of solidifying the Reformation in England, but he disagrees that it was her ministers who did the damage.⁷³ The Reformation was her work and

⁷⁰Pollen, English Catholics, pp. 356-357.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 25. See also Joseph Stevenson, S.J., 'Ecclesiastical Policy of Queen Elizabeth', The Month, LXXIX, September 1893, 25.

⁷²Ibid., p. 30. Pollen wrote of the Armada: 'A dispassionate consideration of Elizabeth's early years, when Spain was her best friend, shows that the sailing of the Spanish Armada should really be attributed to the policy which England adopted from the first' (Ibid., p. 88).

⁷³Ibid., p. vi. Pollen wrote: 'Reform and counter-reform under Henry, Edward, and Mary were transitory. The constructive work of each was immediately undone by their successor. But the

she, out of necessity (because she was a woman), worked through them to obtain her goals.

Not only was there eventually very little which she did not either know of beforehand, or authorise or support when done; but she deliberately, and from first to last, trusted her fortunes to the hands of these men.⁷⁴

Of Elizabeth's ministers, Pollen is lavish in his praise of Cecil as an administrator, saying he was a 'Genius of a very high order',⁷⁵ and 'had a knowledge and mastery over all the details of government which is truly astonishing'.⁷⁶ Cecil was even 'virtuous' compared to Walsingham and Leicester,⁷⁷ but was a 'heretic who stopped at nothing to destroy the Church'.⁷⁸

Violence was needed, otherwise the English people would never have become Anglican. Pollen writes: 'It was, at all events, made clear that she [the English Church] only yielded to violence; that if liberty of choice had been permitted, the ancient order would certainly have been retained.'⁷⁹

The unpopularity of the Reformation is a theme taken up by Robert Hugh Benson in his fictional work. In By What Authority

work done under Queen Elizabeth whether by Catholic or Protestant, lasted a long time. There have, of course, been many developments since, but they have proceeded on the lines then laid down.'

⁷⁴Pollen, English Catholics, p. 12.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 13.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 2.

he describes aristocratic Catholic houses being searched and ransacked, but at night so as 'not to raise the populace'. The villagers then seek revenge on the newly-arrived Anglican minister and his wife, the latter of whom had instigated the search of the Catholic house. The attack, in which the parson's house is looted and his wife dragged through mud, was not carried out by a 'few blackguards, but by the solid fathers and sons with the applause of the wives and daughters'.⁸⁰ Later, in the same novel, Campion's popularity is emphasised, especially during the public debate held in St. John's Chapel in the Tower, when the Protestant disputants decided after the first day to prohibit the public from hearing any more--so compelling was Campion's argument.⁸¹

Benson adds a human, and probably realistic, touch in treating family divisions resulting from the break with Rome--thus contributing to Reformation historiography a social dimension which had hitherto been neglected. In every one of his Reformation novels there is an agonising split in the family of the protagonist--something Benson knew at first-hand since his own conversion to Rome and alienation from his father, the archbishop of Canterbury. In Come Rack! Come Rope! the juring father unwittingly arrests his own son, who had become a priest on the continent and returned a missionary. In The King's Achievement, the son apostacises and becomes a government visitator, eventually closing down his sister's and brother's

⁸⁰Benson, By What Authority, p. 87.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 157-165.

respective monasteries. In By What Authority, Hubert, the son of a Catholic nobleman, apostacises², while his best friend and fiancée become Catholic; again, the friend becomes a priest and is unintentionally captured by his old friend Hubert.

Another novelist, Evelyn Waugh, whose biography of Campion is based mainly on Simpson, also downplays Jesuit provocation by emphasising Tudor cruelty. His implication throughout, albeit an illogical one, is that any government so inhumanly cruel--he mentions Cecil and chief ministers standing close by while Dr. Storey was being disemboweled--was certainly capable of killing opponents quite indiscriminately.⁸² The Desmond Rebellion, he adds, was more of a farce than a genuine uprising involving 'the preposterous and richly comic figure of Thomas Stukely', and could hardly be regarded as a threat to the government.⁸³

The Jesuits, how^ever, did not have everything their own way. The annoying Appellant controversy would continue to haunt them. Even as Catholics seemed to be closing ranks, the secular-religious feud refused to go away. Cardinal Manning bore a special resentment against the Jesuits, whom he regarded, in the best Appellant and Cisalpine tradition, as meddlers who schemed for control and privileges against his own authority. He saw the Society of Jesus as hindering the work of the Church and wrote, 'It is not everything....It cannot take the place of the

⁸²Waugh, Campion, p. 48.

⁸³Ibid., p. 45. Similarly in the Introduction to the re-published edition of Sanders Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, David Lewis says only that Sanders died while being hunted by the agents of Elizabeth, while failing to make any mention of a Rebellion (p. xx).

Universal Church, nor of the hierarchy, nor of the Holy See.⁸⁴ So unwelcome were the Jesuits ^{to} by Manning that he tried to prevent their opening schools and missions in his diocese and he successfully kept them out of the Kensington University plan for a national Roman Catholic university.⁸⁵

He founded the Oblates of St. Charles in order to raise the tone of the secular clergy, and hopefully to supplant the Society of Jesus. The most interesting historical product of this group was Ethelred Taunton (1857-1907), who seems to have combined in one person all the bad qualities of Joseph Berington and Mark Tierney together. Significantly, Taunton came from Staffordshire, scene of a priests' revolt against Milner (1798-1800). He joined the Oblates in 1883, left them in 1886 and moved to Belgium. His History of the Jesuits in England (1901) borrows heavily from Simpson, but does not share Simpson's rather benign view of the Society.

Like Simpson, he distinguished Campion and Persons not by showing their complementarity but by showing the dominance of Persons. Campion and those like him, namely Southwell, 'did the better and more fitting work' by attending solely to their spiritual duties.⁸⁶ They were, unfortunately, neither numerous nor typical of their order. Persons, 'the ever restless plotter

⁸⁴Francis Edwards, The Jesuits in England, p. 300.

⁸⁵Robert Gray writes: 'So jealously did Manning guard his college against any contact with the religious orders that Father Bernard Vaughan, as a young Jesuit, was refused permission even to attend chemistry lectures' (Gray, Cardinal Manning [London, 1985], p. 257).

⁸⁶Ethelred Taunton, History of the Jesuits in England (London, 1901), p. ix.

and director of affairs', along with Garnet and Gerard, was far more representative.⁸⁷ The arrival of Persons defied a government proclamation already issued against the Jesuits, ordering their apprehension on the score of treason. 'Looking at the matter from Elizabeth's point of view,' Taunton adds, 'it is difficult to see what else the Government could have done.'⁸⁸

The Marian priests, whom Taunton always sets off against the missionaries, suspected Persons' arrival as a political maneuver, and forced him to withdraw from England:

What they had feared had come to pass. The Jesuits had brought more persecutions, and blood was about to be shed. While some urged Parsons to withdraw, in prudence, for awhile to the Continent, others plainly said, if he did not leave the country at once, they themselves would give him up to the Government as the cause, by his political practices, of all their undoing.⁸⁹

The secular clergy, in fact, were contented with the cause of religion, while the Jesuits, as a body, stood not only for the Catholic Reaction as a political expedient, but for mindlessness as well:⁹⁰

The Jesuit's life of obedience would be a blessed relief from the sense of personal responsibility. What were

⁸⁷Taunton, Jesuits, p. 13. Taunton adds, unfairly, 'It is remarkable that many of those Jesuits who followed Campion in his life and virtues were sharers in his crown, while the followers of Parsons, as a rule, escaped. The loyal suffered in place of the politicians, who took care to reap the credit of the heroism of their victims' (Ibid., p. 170).

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 65.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 84. Taunton proposes that Persons did not admit this because it would have undermined his reputation.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. vii.

freedom, wealth, family ties in comparison with that repose said to come to him who gives up judgement and will, and follows simply and blindly the judgement and will of a superior?⁹¹

Taunton made much of St. Ignatius's military upbringing, claiming he had imbued his order with the same spirit. Unthinking obedience to authority was the Society's vital principle: 'No room was left for self-will. A General, who alone was the Living Rule, directed all things, and his soldiers, mere functionaries, had only to do and die.'⁹²

Spain was the crucial influence, contributing to the Society its characteristics of extreme centralisation, supremacy, and intolerance--not to mention the preoccupation with direct military intervention. Persons wanted young Jesuits educated in Spain so that they could not only become good Jesuits, but good Spanish soldiers:

The one hope of regaining England was, in Parson's eyes, not the patient toil and blood of missionaries, but the armed intervention of Spain. The zealous young men who offered themselves to the seminaries as soldiers of Christ, found that they were also required to be soldiers of Philip.⁹³

Philip II was motivated in the Armada affair, only by personal gain, and used religion as a cloak for his own malice and Persons was party to this.⁹⁴

⁹¹Taunton, Jesuits, p. 28. Could this reflect Taunton's own bitterness against superiors? He remained in the Oblates only three years after ordination.

⁹²Ibid., p. 7.

⁹³Ibid., p. 133.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 113.

Taunton is certainly a throwback. His is the only historian's voice raised against the Jesuits in the Ultramontane period, and it is unfortunate that it is so extreme. No one, in the Catholic historiography of the nineteenth century is as determinedly one-sided as Taunton. By the time he is writing, given the number of documents then accessible, his avoidance of opposing arguments and evidence is appalling. His is the classic case of a man with a grudge, and it would be unfair to describe him as typical of the secular clergy of the late nineteenth century. Yet there are elements in his writings which bear a resemblance to strong anti-Jesuit undercurrents still existing at the time. His bitterness is only a difference of degree, not of kind, from that of a considerable portion of the secular clergy. Interestingly, it is a feeling which has never quite died out. As late as 1984, J.J. Scarisbrick would write:

What exactly had the Society of Jesus to contribute? What special qualities had this new brand of regular clergy to bring to the English scene? There was no easy answer. To put it bluntly, there was no obvious pastoral or missionary reason why the Jesuits should have been there at all.⁹⁵

However, by the late nineteenth century, someone like Taunton is an exception, a lone voice in the wilderness, easily discredited, even more easily ignored. Taunton's History of the Jesuits, which would have raised a fury had it been written one hundred years earlier, and drawn reactions from Charles Plowden and John Milner, received hardly any notice at all. Times,

⁹⁵J.J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, p. 160.

indeed, had changed.

By 1900 the standard Catholic view of the Jesuits and Elizabeth was exactly the reverse of what it had been one hundred years earlier. While the Cisalpines regarded Elizabeth as the greatest monarch in England's history, forced to make an unpleasant choice by a grasping pope and the meddling Jesuits, Ultramontanes saw her, somewhat inconsistently, as either personally responsible for the horror of the penal laws or, as Belloc would propose, as totally unimportant.

Pollen had called her 'that strange woman', but it was left to Belloc to give the details.⁹⁶ On the very first page of his Elizabethan Commentary he states that Elizabeth 'was sexually abnormal', and 'clearly she would never bear children'.⁹⁷ The only interest Elizabeth held, in fact, was as a pathological case and an example of a warped temperament--so insignificant was her effect on the history of the times.⁹⁸

She was completely under the sway of her ministers:

She was the puppet or figurehead of the group of new millionaires established upon the loot of religion begun in her father's time....Throughout her life Elizabeth was thwarted in each political effort she make; she felt the check of her masters and especially of Cecil as a horse feels the bridle. She never had her will in matters of State.⁹⁹

Belloc so downplayed Elizabeth's role that he contradicted

⁹⁶Pollen, 'The Alleged Papal Sanction of the Anglican Liturgy', The Month, C, September 1902, 276.

⁹⁷Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary (London, 1942), p. 1.

⁹⁸Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 166.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 169.

the case carefully built up by the Jesuits--i.e. She was directly to blame. In support of this, Belloc cites the numerous times when she was overruled by these ministers, especially Cecil: Spanish treasure ships were seized in English harbours at Cecil's orders, despite her will and guarantee of safe passage; the Duke of Norfolk and Mary Queen of Scots were both executed despite her; she was unable to recall Francis Drake before he forced a declaration of war with Spain.¹⁰⁰

Belloc was not one to restrain himself once an argument gained momentum, so he went on to declare Elizabeth's reign an unprincipled disaster of the greatest magnitude. Wealth declined, towns shrank, land passed out of cultivation, brave sea captains were little more than thugs and slave dealers, her only military episode--in Holland--was a ridiculous failure, and her only colonial venture--in Virginia, (named, no doubt, for her sexual abnormality)--was equally ridiculous. Under her the monarchy went to pieces 'so rapidly that within half a lifetime after her death the rich taxpayers not only rose in rebellion successfully against the crown but put their monarch, her second successor, to death'.¹⁰¹

Belloc made sure that his argument was ironclad: Elizabeth was unimportant, but if one was so bold as to ascribe importance to her, then she was responsible only for the near-destruction of the English nation.

What is interesting about Belloc's writing on Elizabeth,

¹⁰⁰Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, pp. 174-175.

¹⁰¹Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, pp. 171-172, 177.

besides the sheer virulence of his attack, is that he hardly mentions the Society of Jesus. I think it is fair to suggest that by Belloc's time the Jesuits had so entrenched themselves in the English church, that they were taken for granted. Belloc saw no need to defend them--especially since it was the Catholic 'thing' which was threatened, and not any specific manifestation of Catholicism.

The pattern of Catholic historiography between 1790 and 1940 is that the Jesuits are treated with increasing sympathy. From being accused of causing the penal legislation and, very possibly, the English Reformation itself, they become the innocent victims, confessors of the faith, and eventually martyrs. By the time Belloc writes, the pattern has become so set that he gives it hardly a thought. Their role in the English Reformation is hardly mentioned, let alone criticised.

This pattern follows very closely the pattern of writing about the papacy. From a precarious position in need of constant defence, both the papacy and the Jesuits, who so closely identified themselves with the papacy, came to a position of relative strength, described by some as triumphant.

The pattern, while it is generally consistent, reveals some important exceptions. Richard Simpson drew a clear distinction between the English Jesuits and the pope, doing so unpredictably, perhaps provocatively. The Jesuits for him were an ally so tantalisingly controversial, that he could not resist using them in support of his argument against the temporal power, no matter what evidence had to be overlooked or distorted. Manning drew a similar distinction--between Jesuits and papacy--but for

different reasons and with different results. Manning, always the indefatigable defender of Rome, broke with the Jesuits (he had been received into the Church at Farm Street) over his efforts to protect and promote the secular clergy. His Oblates attracted men like Taunton, who were obsessed with Jesuit oppression. Thus allegiance to the papacy did not necessarily mean allegiance to the Jesuits, nor vice versa.

But the tide was against Manning and the seculars. Though there would be grumbling and resentment against the Society--bred of jealousy, historical antipathies, and genuine complaints--the Jesuit view of the Reformation ultimately triumphed. Pollen's enthusiasm for his Society becomes excessive at times, and he gives emotional descriptions of the events surrounding the English College in Rome. When the Pope (Gregory XIII) dismissed those students who had demanded the reassignment of their Welsh rector and the appointment of a Jesuit, they wandered through the streets, begging for money to take them to Rheims. Pollen writes, 'There was no lack of sympathy, and many the tear that started to the eye at the sight of these earnest young faces.'¹⁰² Even the Pope who had dismissed them, 'was no more able than the rest to control his emotions'.¹⁰³ He reinstated them the next day, and established the Jesuits as their superiors. On 23 April 1579 an oath of mission was given by the Society to these students, a day which 'was ever after considered the foundation day of the college'.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Pollen, English Catholics, p. 280.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 281.

The upheaval at the English College was a complex affair involving unfortunate nationalistic loyalties, and the Jesuits were called in to sort the matter out. Their involvement in the original dispute seems to have been, therefore, rather peripheral. It became, however, a source of contention later on, when it was seen as part of a wider Jesuit takeover of seminaries and colleges. And Pollen takes little note of the contemporary and later complications, assuming as he does that Jesuit control was both normal and salutary. When one Jesuit teaching at the college was assigned elsewhere, Pollen says that questions immediately arose: "Why should the Fathers be sent elsewhere?" it was asked; "surely it would be better to give them the entire charge of the college." Pollen adds, 'It is impossible to say where the idea originated.'¹⁰⁵

Berington, Lingard and Tierney would have made a few suggestions in answer; but their voices, such was the current of Catholic thought in the nineteenth century, would no longer be raised.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 276. For Jesuit bewilderment at secular opposition to Jesuit restoration and Jesuit control of seminaries, see Bernard Basset, The English Jesuits, pp. 377-382.

CHAPTER V
MONASTICISM

The transition from condemning the Jesuits to condemning all religious orders was not, for the Cisalpines, a long step to take. An underlying anticlericalism born of the Enlightenment merged easily with their distrust of religious orders and disdain for the Middle Ages.

Jose Sanchez, in his study of anticlericalism, distinguishes pragmatic anti-clericals, those who attack clerical power because it happens to interfere with their aims at the moment, from ideological anti-clericals, who object to the right of the clergy to possess any power.¹ The Cisalpines fell into both categories, to an extent. The question of Emancipation seemed soluble only if the clergy were to be kept out of the negotiations. So Cisalpine anticlericalism depended partly on the immediate issue of Emancipation, but there was also an element of the ideological about their anticlericalism, though this was extended only to religious orders. Sanchez notices this phenomenon as well:

Ideological anticlericals object to the right of the clergy to power. Much like Acton's aphorism that power corrupts, the premise for the ideological anticlerical is that clerical power corrupts, no matter how little it is used. Nevertheless, his notion need not be applied to all clergy. For instance, an ideological anticlerical may be anti-Jesuit, convinced that the Jesuits are an inherently destructive congregation and that, no matter how lightly the Jesuits wield their

¹Jose Sanchez, Anticlericalism: A Brief History (Notre Dame, 1972), pp. 8-9.

power, in the long run this use of power will corrupt not only the Jesuits but society or the Church as well; but the same anticlerical may have no objection to the right or use of other clergy's power.²

Cisalpine disparagement of the Middle Ages betrayed this selectivity. The clergy as such were not vicious, but monks were. Ever since Thomas Cromwell had re-interpreted the canonical and historical acts of the Medieval period, the prevailing Protestant view was that Cromwell was correct, and less and less attention was devoted to the Middle Ages, until Gilbert Burnet could boast that he knew almost nothing about the period.³

This attitude carried along into the Enlightenment. Gooch observes that Enlightenment historians practically ignored the Middle Ages:

Hume dismissed the Anglo-Saxon centuries, ^{the} ~~the~~ time of the making of England, as a battle of kites and crows. Voltaire declared that the early Middle Ages deserved as little study as the doings of wolves and bears.⁴

Monasticism bore the brunt of this anti-medieval sentiment. While Jesuits exported their brand of oppression, monastic institutions were faulted for building walls around theirs. Monks not only believed in a god, which was bad enough, but closed themselves against the world so that they could neither

²Sanchez, Anticlericalism, p. 8.

³Edwin Jones, English Historical Writing on the English Reformation, 1680-1730 (PhD Dissertation, Cambridge, 1959) pp. 20, 113. C.f. Gilbert Burnet, Letter...to the Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1693, pp. 15-16.

⁴Gooch, History and Historians, p. 11.

see nor hear the truth. To the Rationalists, the monastery stood as a metaphorical monument to ignorance. Voltaire's notion that monks could not possibly be happy was borne not so much from facts as from ideological arrogance. Most 'official' historians shared this prejudice. Edward Gibbon, as Christopher Dawson has pointed out, had

no understanding of religious values...the fundamental concepts of religious faith and divine revelation--in short the idea of what Christianity was about....The real explanation [for Gibbon's antagonism to Christianity] is to be found in the intellectual discomfort caused by the constant intervention in his history of a factor which he had eliminated from his philosophy and which is essentially inexplicable.⁵

Joseph Berington certainly imbibed this anti-medieval spirit. In his History of the Reign of Henry II he praises medieval architecture, but finds medieval sculpture, painting, poetry, and music to be contemptible.⁶ As we have already seen, he proposed the abolition of all religious orders and their consolidation into one body of secular clergy--this in order to end division, jealousy, party spirit and (he failed to mention) dependence on Rome.⁷

He did not think too highly of his fellow seculars either, saying they were poorly educated, unsophisticated, and

⁵Christopher Dawson, 'Edward Gibbon and the Fall of Rome' in Dynamics of World History, ed. John J. Mulloy (New York, 1956), pp. 333-334.

⁶Berington, History of the Reign of Henry II (Birmingham, 1790), pp. 603-646.

⁷Berington, Panzani, p. 459.

prejudiced--eventually becoming sullenly contented and lazy.⁸

In framing the Relief Bill of 1791, the Cisalpines made sure that certain disabilities remained, such as the prohibition against founding, establishing, or endowing any religious order composed of persons bound by vows.⁹

Lingard shared this low opinion of monks, though his tendency was to avoid discussion of monastic corruption.¹⁰ When he was asked why he did not defend the monks of Henry VIII's England, he replied:

I will answer w. Cardinal Pole, that the monks of that period were men of little reputation, and had entirely degenerated from the spirit of their original institute. The only exceptions which he allows are in favour of the Brigittines, a single house, and the Carthusians and Observatines, the least numerous of all the orders. The rest were a degenerate, time-serving class of men.¹¹

When Lingard read the Compendium Compertorum, he took them at their face value (David Knowles notes that he did not have the means of evaluating them), and must have been shocked--thinking, 'No wonder the monks were swept away.'¹²

⁸Berington, State and Behaviours of English Catholics, p. 162. Part of the reason for this, Berington points out, was the attitude of the gentry, who in the pride, ignorance, and imperiousness, desired to keep the clergy as they were (Ward, Dawn, I, 14).

⁹Berington, State and Behaviour, p. 160.

¹⁰See Brian Wormald, 'The Historiography of the English Reformation', in T. Desmond Williams, ed., Historical Studies (London, 1958), I, 55.

¹¹Lingard to John Kirk, 25 November 1820, in Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion (Cambridge, 1923-1950), II, 458-459.

¹²David Knowles, Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1959), III, 294.

Both Lingard and Berington thought Protestant historians had gone too far, however, and Berington defended the Church somewhat hollowly on the grounds that the Church's medieval policies were not always due to pride and priestly domination.¹³

Lingard approached the dissolution of the monasteries from the point of view of greed and power, a point Gasquet would elaborate on much later. Thomas Cromwell, the mastermind of the dissolution, had in one stroke resolved the two very different and difficult questions of how to secure Anne Boleyn as Henry's wife and how to increase Henry's revenues. That one stroke was to make Henry the supreme head of the Church in England.

To Lingard, there was not the least question of 'reforming' the monasteries--neither Henry nor Cromwell envisioned any such reform:

[Cromwell's idea of dissolution] was received with welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils; and by archbishop Cranmer, whose approbation of the new doctrines taught him to seek the ruin of those establishments, which proved the firmest supports of the ancient faith. The conduct of the business was entrusted to the superior cunning and experience of the favourite, who undertook to throw over the injustice of the proceedings the mask of religious zeal.¹⁴

The implications of this were many. The king carried out the dissolution for money and power; the Parliament approved the dissolution for money and power, and not for any motive of reform; Cromwell participated for power and money--his zeal for

¹³Berington, Henry II, p. 70.

¹⁴Lingard, History, IV, 228.

reform was a sham; Cranmer's religion was new and not the ancient faith; and the monasteries were in no systematic need of reform.

On this last point Lingard maintained that complaints of immorality were individual, and could not be assigned to monasticism as an institution. Even at that, the complaints seemed to be exaggerated. An example which was decisive to Lingard was that of the monks at Christchurch, Canterbury:

[They] have suffered the most in reputation: they are charged with habitually indulging the most immoral and shameful propensities. Yet, when archbishop Cranmer named the clergy for the service of his cathedral, he selected from these very men no fewer than eight prebendaries, ten minor canons, nine scholars, and two choristers.¹⁵

What Lingard's controversial fourth volume failed to take into account was the ideological foundation of the dissolution--an affair no doubt carried out by ambitious men for materialistic reasons, but certainly thought out and approved theologically by men of quite a different stamp.¹⁶ It would have been fair, of course, to disagree with these genuine 'reformers', and even to question to what extent they affected the events, but Lingard again took almost no notice of them. His concern was with what happened, and what happened was, immediately at least, the result of grasping and hypocritical acts. It was as though he had condemned the destruction caused by the French Revolution without considering the ideological consent given to some of the

¹⁵Lingard, History, IV, 261.

¹⁶A.G. Dickens has given a convincing case that even Cromwell was, in some sense, motivated by religious concerns (The English Reformation, pp. 135-138).

destruction. The destruction of the monasteries was seen as an evil because it was carried out by evil men--what Lingard failed to mention was that it was approved of by some very good men who had nothing material to gain.

But Lingard's sympathies were by no means with the monks whom, he wrote, had become by the time of the Reformation, 'men of little reputation...a degenerate, time-serving class'.¹⁷

John Milner agreed with Tierney and Lingard over their estimate that the Reformation had been pursued out of greed, and that families who had been enriched by the plunder of monastic lands had a vested interest in supporting Elizabeth's quarrel with Rome.¹⁸

Milner develops this by claiming that government officials, such as Dudley 'and others of his junto (sic)', were secretly partial to Catholicism but were driven by avarice and ambition to push for further Reformation.¹⁹

It is with the ubiquitous Milner that we begin to see the first break with a Catholic embarrassment at the monasteries. Milner was in the forefront of the British re-assessment of the Middle Ages, mostly in regard to Gothic architecture. No less a critic than Kenneth Clark credits Milner with building the first Gothic church structure during this revival of romanticism (St. Peter's Chapel in Winchester) and says that Milner was no

¹⁷Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, pp. 183-184.

¹⁸Dodd's Church History, II, 154.

¹⁹John Milner, The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester (Winchester, 1798), I, 342.

charlatan; in his History of Winchester, Milner displayed 'some real architectural learning'.²⁰

The building was not a success; as Clark notes, however much Milner may have admired its beauties, it was built in 'the most completely unattractive architectural style ever employed'. 'Unfortunately,' Clark adds, 'St. Peter's Chapel still stands.'²¹

J.C.H. Aveling sees the building as fulfilling a more devious purpose--not as a concession to medievalist romanticism, but a 'typically restrained hint that the Catholics might not possess the old English churches, but that the English past was theirs by right'.²²

If this is true, the hint would not remain typically restrained much longer. William Cobbett, a non-Catholic, concentrated his attack on the Established Church on economic matters. In his popular History of the Protestant Reformation, Cobbett said the Reformation was 'engendered in beastly lust, brought forth in hypocrisy and perfidy, and cherished and fed by plunder, devastation, and by rivers of innocent English and Irish blood'.²³ His grievance was against Anglican claims to possessions and privileges which were borrowed from the pre-Reformation Church, and were thus, in his mind, fraudulent.

²⁰Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London, 1928), p. 86. The first popular book on Gothic architecture, Essays on Gothic Architecture (London, 1802), appeared with an introduction and one of the four essays by Milner.

²¹Clark, The Gothic Revival, pp. 127-128.

²²J.C.H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe, (London, 1976), p. 340.

²³William Cobbett, History of the Protestant Reformation (London, 1824), p. 2.

Cobbett was regarded as an ally by Catholics; the Dublin Review called him 'the first honest Protestant historian',²⁴ and Cardinal Gasquet would re-publish the Protestant Reformation in 1897. But his work was essentially areligious. Using Lingard's History as a quarry for his own, Cobbett sought only to dismantle the establishment, which was relatively unchanged since pre-Reformation days. Geoffrey Rowell points out the cause of Cobbett's complaint:

Ancient endowments did not often go hand in hand with the places of greatest pastoral need....Little had been done to change the medieval structure of the Church at the time of the Reformation. The king had replaced the Pope, the gentry had replaced the great monastic houses....The changing society of the England of the industrial revolution did not fit easily into a Church meshed into an earlier, agrarian society.²⁵

Theological concerns did not enter his mind, and it is an interesting question to ask whose side he would have been on in the 1530's, when many of his most abusive remarks could have been just as easily directed against the Catholic Church.

Catholic writers were soon to move this question of the Reformation versus the Middle Ages into deeper waters. Kenelm Digby in his Broad Stone of Honour (1822) began this process by drawing a relation between chivalry and the Catholic Church and showing how chivalry had declined as a result of the Reformation.²⁶ Digby was not a Catholic when he wrote the book,

²⁴Dublin Review, XXIII, September 1847, 523.

²⁵Geoffrey Rowell, The Vision Glorious (Oxford, 1983), p. 2.

²⁶Edward Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1984), p. 236.

but he became a convert three years later. It was left to another convert, Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852) to draw out the full implications of this incipient Gothic enthusiasm. Born in 1812, Pugin had become a Catholic in 1834, far in advance of his Oxford counterparts. By 1840 he was building seventeen Catholic churches. More than anyone else, he embodied both the best and worst of the Gothic Revival. His Contrasts, published in 1840, not only established his reputation, but underlined the uncompromising quality of his work. Bernard Ward later said of this work, 'To call it an attack on Protestantism would be ridiculously understating the terms of contempt which he poured forth on the Anglican establishment.'²⁷

Pugin identified good art with good religion: 'Everything grand, edifying, and noble in art is the result of feelings produced by the Catholic religion on the human mind.'²⁸ Pugin's logic led him, first of all, to assume that the Middle Ages were the zenith of religion, and then to deduce that pointed architecture, which was the expression of that religion, was the zenith of art. That the two--religion and architecture--had become perfected at the same time was no accident, but rather an indication of the close relation between religion and art:

When Christianity had overspread the whole of western Europe, and infused her salutary and ennobling influence in the hearts of the converted nations, art arose purified and glorious;...Exalted by the grandeur of the Christian mysteries, ennobled by its sublime virtues, it

²⁷Ward, Sequel, I, 87.

²⁸Pugin, Apology for the Contrasts, in Ward, Sequel, I, 87.

reached a point of excellence far beyond any it had previously attained.²⁹

Attendant on this achievement of medieval building was a gradual decline due to the decay of religion:

Christian art was the natural result of the progress of Catholic feeling and devotion; and its decay was consequent on that of the faith itself; and all revived classic buildings, whether erected in Catholic or Protestant countries, are evidences of a lamentable departure from true Catholic principles and feelings....³⁰

These sentiments came from his book Contrasts, and were defended by a later book called An Apology for the Contrasts:

That destruction of art, irreverence towards religion, contempt of ecclesiastical persons and authority, and a complete loss of all the nobler perception of mankind have been the results of Protestantism, wherever it has been established....

That the degraded state of the arts in this country is purely owing to the absence of Catholic feeling among its professors, the loss of ecclesiastical patronage, and apathy with which a Protestant Nation must necessarily treat the higher branches of Art.³¹

Contrasts took its name from a series of drawings contrasting medieval art with 'pagan', or Renaissance and neo-Classical, art. The drawings were executed in such a way as to leave the reader in no doubt about which art form was superior:

²⁹Pugin, Contrasts (London, 1841), p. 7.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Pugin, Apology for the Contrasts, in Ward, Sequel, I, 87. He retracted this statement in a later (1841) edition of Contrasts, admitting he overstated his opinion that Protestantism was the primary cause of this degraded condition, while he should have said that Protestantism was the effect of some more powerful agency, i.e. Catholic degeneracy (p. 111).

The skill with which Pugin has made Gothic appear rich and solid--the lavish shading and well-contrived detail, and the nineteenth-century architecture, skimped and preposterous, is irresistible. We are won over by every unfair artifice at his command....The central doctrine of the Contrasts...is the direct connection between art and morality. Good men build good buildings.³² (See illustration on next page.)

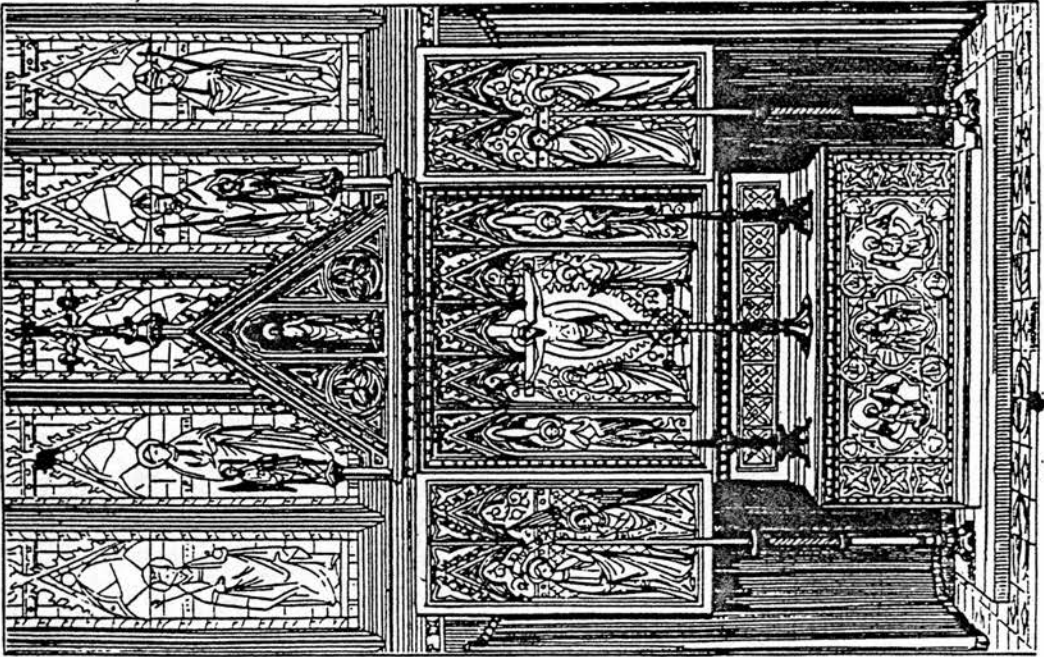
Pugin took up Cobbett's cry and placed the blame for the destruction of Christian architecture (which to him was co-equal to Gothic architecture) squarely on the Reformation, which represented paganism and the destructive principle. Because Pugin's focus was entirely on the destruction of medieval buildings, his attention was directed back to the time of Henry VIII. One chapter is devoted to 'The Pillage and Destruction of the Churches under Henry VIII'. As for Edward VI and Elizabeth, the former completed the destruction by ruining the interiors of the buildings which remained, while the latter merely codified what was a fait accompli.

Focussing as he does on Henry, Pugin introduces an entirely new theme in the Reformation debate--namely, the conclusiveness of the Henrician Reformation. The destruction of the medieval monasteries was both symbolic and effective of this Reformation and, as a result, the role of Edward and Elizabeth diminished considerably.

One particular theme of Cobbett's which Pugin was to make his own was the influence of avarice in the dissolution of the monasteries. Henry destroyed them primarily because of greed, and Edward--because of the greed of his ministers--completed what

³²Clark, The Gothic Revival, p. 188.

No. I.



No. II.



Contrasted Altars.

his father had left undone. Matters of genuine reformation were secondary at best, though they were more probably rationalisations for what had been done. The only churches which were left standing were preserved not from any aesthetic or religious reasons, but from utilitarian ones; their preservation secured lands and oblations which otherwise would have been impossible to claim.³³ Proof of this can be found in the reformers' preservation of popish titles--such as dean, canon, or prebend--'because good incomes were attached to them'.³⁴

Pugin did not really change the Catholic historical view of the Henrician monasteries, however. His identification of Gothic art with religious truth met with fierce resistance, especially from that group within the Catholic body known as 'Oratory Catholics', led by Fr. Frederick Faber, which appealed much more to the popular imagination than did the Gothic elite.³⁵

Pugin, even more importantly, did not defend the state of the monasteries at the time of the dissolution--thinking, along with almost everyone else, that they were degenerate. What was wrong about the Reformation was not the expulsion of bad monks, but the wanton destruction of good art. There was something symbolic about that destruction which went beyond a repudiation of the cultural past to the theological past as well. This would be developed in the dispute over continuity, which we will treat in the next chapter.

³³Pugin, Contrasts (1841 ed.), p. 29.

³⁴Ibid., p. 30.

³⁵See Ward, Sequel, I, 115 ff.

It is not until Aidan Gasquet begins writing that the Henrician monasteries are defended on their own merits. Previously Catholics had defended them obliquely, because their loss symbolised the loss of the ancient faith, because they were dissolved by avaricious men; no one had ever bothered to question whether the dissolution was justified as an act of reform. When Pugin died in 1852, Gasquet was six years old, and he would not begin investigating the monasteries for another forty years, which shows how late in the day Catholics came to the defence of their monasteries.

Gasquet (1846-1929) was prior of Downside when he resigned in 1885 due to ill health. After moving to London to live as an invalid with his mother, he began to read Tudor history. As his health improved, he began to research Tudor monasticism at the British Museum, influenced in this, no doubt, by Edmund Bishop, who claimed to have 'pulled Gasquet out of his coffin'.³⁶ Bishop's claim was probably true, but Gasquet had friends besides Bishop. Cardinal Manning became his staunch, and unlikely, patron. Manning disliked religious, but he protected Gasquet when an unsympathetic superior began to pressure Gasquet into returning to parish work; Manning proved to be a shelter as well as an encouragement. Gasquet's brief autobiography explains why Manning's decision was so remarkable, given his prejudices against monks and the Middle Ages, and reveals, perhaps, one reason why Manning has come to be regarded as so outstanding a

³⁶David Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as an Historian', originally given as the Creighton Lecture in History at the University of London in 1956, reprinted in The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963), p. 244.

personality:

I told [Manning] the state of the Religious Houses on their suppression in the reign of Henry VIII. What I felt was that the story as it was generally told and believed against the moral character of the Monastic Houses was a most powerful argument in the hands of non-Catholics. But was the picture true or libel? This seemed to me the question which wanted examination. The Cardinal held firmly that it was probably true and used to say that Lingard had left a tradition that the less stirred up the better.³⁷

After Manning read Gasquet's first volume on the dissolution of the monasteries, he admitted that he had been wrong about the medieval Church, an admission he did not often make.³⁸

What Gasquet attempted to overturn was the prevailing judgment that the monks had been corrupt and the monasteries in a decayed state. That he succeeded, at least immediately, is attested to by the historian James Gairdner, who wrote that non-Catholics would 'be forced to hold the same view [as Gasquet] if they are honest men'.³⁹ Gairdner would later qualify this praise, David Knowles would correct Gasquet in detail, and there were enough mistakes to provide G.G. Coulton with a lifetime's work in tracking them down; but the general effect of Gasquet's work was to make the scholarly world re-examine its prejudices.⁴⁰

³⁷Gasquet, 'Autobiography', in Leslie, Gasquet, p. 35.

³⁸Leslie, Gasquet, p. 13. Manning had been 'convinced' that scandal was endemic to monastic life (Ibid.).

³⁹Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁰Another tribute to this effect is that, even recently, A.G. Dickens and G.R. Elton have had to go out of their way to defend the good name of Cromwell. C.f. Dickens, The English Reformation, pp. 179-182; Thomas Cromwell and the English Reformation (London, 1959); and G.R. Elton, Reform and Renewal (Cambridge, 1973).

If there is a general fault with Gasquet's work, it is his defensive posture, a common Catholic malaise at the time. Maisie Ward cites a twentieth-century Jesuit who explained to her that Jesuit teaching in the nineteenth century was too concerned with combatting the Reformers. Those Catholic doctrines which had been denied by them were the ones which were particularly stressed. She commented, 'Theology came to be looked on rather as a weapon against the heretic than as food for the Catholic mind and soul.'⁴¹

Granted, Gasquet tried to break away from the pattern of defence, but he succeeded only partially, and too often he is the apologist, descending to polemic and facile conclusions. He admits this one-sidedness, but insists there is a rationale for it:

If I have insisted more on the facts which tell in favour of the monasteries than on those which tell against them, it is because the latter are well known and have been repeated, improved on and emphasized for three centuries and a half, whilst that there is anything to say on the other hand for the monks, has been little recognized even by those who would be naturally predisposed in their favour.⁴²

This statement is a good indication of one thing that went wrong with Gasquet's history--there was too much emphasis on confrontation. He tried to let the facts speak for themselves, but they quickly became our facts and their accusations. In his book The Eve of the Reformation (1900) Gasquet tried to present a

⁴¹Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, pp. 211, 213.

⁴²Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, xi.

positive picture of the pre-Reformation period, but even here he was occupied with Protestant (and even Catholic) assumptions. So instead of building a comprehensive report, he ends up with a collection of evidence contradicting the assumptions.

Gasquet's great rival, James Anthony Froude, had recently completed a History of England (1856-1870) which became in some ways a very easy target. Froude's History gave expression to, much more than it formed, the popular prejudices against Catholicism, but it was still a monumental statement, and to leave it unanswered was to consent to its conclusions.

Froude's volumes on the Reformation were, according to Gooch, 'the most brilliant historical work produced in England in the middle of the century, with the single exception of Macaulay'.⁴³ The more Froude worked on Tudor history, the less he liked Elizabeth and the more Henry VIII. Henry was much better than had been believed: he was less cruel, less selfish, less sensual. The dissolution was necessary because the monasteries were a garrison of Rome and thoroughly immoral. Their spoils went to education and national defence.⁴⁴ The visitors were 'as upright and plain-dealing as they were assuredly able and efficient'.⁴⁵

In defending the monks from Froude, Gasquet also conceived an attack upon Anglicanism. If Froude was wrong, then it was quite possible the Anglican Church could be shown to be wrong as

⁴³Gooch, History and Historians, p. 334.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Froude, History of England (London, 1856-1870), II, 413.

well.

While Gasquet did not equate the English Reformation with the dissolution of the monasteries, he recognised that there was more to the dissolution than just monasteries. The dissolution was a considerable part of the reform program; the reform could not have gone on without the dissolution, and the reform was given a certain direction and a certain finality because of the dissolution. If this part of the reform could be discredited, the entire program might fall as well.

For Gasquet, the dissolution did not necessarily equal the Reformation, but it certainly symbolised and indeed seemed to be the very body of it. And without the body, what was the soul? Gasquet knew his limits, and did not attempt to challenge reform theories or generic charges against monasticism as such; he wanted only to show that the dissolution was effected by evil men in an evil way, and let anyone who wanted draw what he thought were the necessary conclusions.

It is the thesis of Gasquet's book, Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, that the monastic houses were dissolved on the grounds that they were corrupt, and that these grounds amounted to no more than an enormous lie--drawn up deliberately to hide the real reasons for dissolving them: the greed for money and power of the king and his ministers.

It is a straightforward thesis, and faulty because of its very straightforwardness. The dissolution was a complicated amalgam of several forces, a great part of which may very well have been those of power and avarice. And in exposing these for what they were, Gasquet provides a great service to the student

of the Reformation; but in providing a comprehensive discussion of why the dissolution and the Reformation took place, his book is painfully inadequate.

Two somewhat distant and disconnected events prepared the way for the dissolution: the Black Death and the feud between the Houses of Lancaster and York.

The Black Death was not merely a drastic loss of population, which was catastrophic enough, it meant the loss of an entire economic and political system. Permanent retainers disappeared from farms, to be replaced by fewer people who leased the land. More farmland was turned to pasture. As a result, fewer people owed their allegiance to landowners and those that still did owed little more than the rent. So the principal de-centralising forces within England, the gentry and the monastic houses, began to lose their influence on the people. Their place was taken by an emerging group of nobility, not tied to the land, who depended more on the king and royal policy for their advancement. Therefore, the power of the king increased, while the prestige of his traditional rivals decreased.

The Church in England never really recovered from the Black Death. Numbers of clerics shrank so rapidly and institutions were so slow to adapt to the changed climate, that some cataclysm was inevitable. Gasquet mentions some of this--absenteeism, plurality of benefices, small religious communities with large holdings, an uneducated clergy--but treads rather lightly on them. That the monastic houses could not, in the two hundred years following the Black Death, find a solution to reduced numbers and the ongoing accumulation of land and wealth, may

point to the necessity of outside interference in their affairs. Gasquet does not consider the point. Nowhere does he try to assess the wealth of the monasteries which may have given rise to a simmering resentment; he only says that the wealth of the monasteries was better distributed than the same wealth in the hands of the State.

He is probably right in that judgment, but for someone who is trying to delineate the reasons for the Reformation, which would have known nothing of how the wealth would subsequently be spent, or even by whom, it is quite off the mark to argue that this wealth was subsequently spent very poorly. And it is irresponsible for an historian to disregard this wealth altogether.

The work of the Black Death was abetted by the feud, about a hundred years later, between the Houses of York and Lancaster. This feud did not decrease the population in any spectacular way, but it took its toll by so wearying the people and exhausting the nobility, that any future internal struggle was unthinkable. To a generation which had a personal knowledge of this feud, or knew about it from parents, retreat and compromise at any cost seemed preferable to a repetition of hostilities. The War of the Roses, according to Gasquet, produced a generation which betrayed 'a willingness to hazard everthing rather than recur to such a period of distress and bloodshed'.⁴⁶

The unstated consequence is that the Reformation succeeded not because the people were strong and dynamic, but because they

⁴⁶Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 9.

were exhausted, beaten down, submissive, and pliant. The Reformation could not possibly come from such a people; it had to come from some other source.

That other source was the Government. There were already precedents for 'thinning-out' the monasteries. Wolsey had carried out a less ambitious dissolution in his early years. Monasteries had been dissolved in the past because they were 'alien' monasteries--i.e. their revenues went to motherhouses outside the country--or because they had few members. As Henry found himself more in need of money, the activity increased. The line between reforming monasteries and gathering money could often be unclear; was Wolsey acting out of motives of reform, of appeasing his master, or both? Gasquet thinks that Wolsey and Henry were thinking of extensive suppressions as early as 1521, when two houses were suppressed with the approval of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. The note from the king to the Bishop of Salisbury, in whose diocese the suppression was to take place, was an omen, claiming that the suppression would put an end to the 'enormities, misgovernances, and slanderous living' of the convents.⁴⁷ However extensive this early dissolution would have become, and it could have been considerable when we realise what little regard the reforming Cardinal Pole had for the monks, it is almost certain Wolsey did not contemplate the complete destruction of the religious houses in England. His fault, rather, lie in creating a mechanism by which that destruction could come about.

⁴⁷Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 63.

Ethelred Taunton, whom we have already seen in his connection with the Society of Jesus, was a contemporary of Gasquet, and thought Cardinal Wolsey could do no wrong. Everything Wolsey did, even his grasping for the papacy, was to bring about a genuine reformation of the English Church.⁴⁸

However Taunton may have misjudged Wolsey (never, for example, allowing himself to say one negative thing against Wolsey), he inadvertently put his finger on a key issue. He wrote, 'The attempt to combine the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Pope is the whole case in a nutshell, and is the turning-point in the whole problem of the Reformation.'⁴⁹ Taunton did not associate this attempt with Wolsey, but Gasquet did:

In the hands of one man was grasped the two swords of Church and State. One mind directed the policy of secular and ecclesiastical administration in England. Had that man been a saint the danger of such a combination would have been considerable. But when it was a worldly and ambitious man like Wolsey it was fatal. In him the vast authority already obtained only sharpened an unlimited yearning for power. For the first time the English people experienced supreme secular and spiritual authority exercised by one individual. It was an unfortunate precedent. In the minds of the people at large it made little difference that the person was an ecclesiastic. Not discriminating, they were taught to regard it only as a slight change, when a few years later, Henry assumed the spiritual headship to himself.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Taunton, Wolsey, p. 57. Taunton never explains why Wolsey's craving for reform did not include himself. Scarisbrick thinks Wolsey did not seek election to the papacy, except possibly in 1523, and then only to appease the king. Pollard, on the other hand, contends that Wolsey continually connived at becoming pope (Wolsey [London, 1929], pp. 126-127, 174-176).

⁴⁹Taunton, Wolsey, p. 140.

⁵⁰Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 72.

Wolsey, in other words, had created a monster.

This combination of temporal and spiritual authority began to affect the monasteries, and then only indirectly, in the matter of the divorce. For Gasquet, this divorce was not an incident along the inevitable road to Reformation; it was the one crucial act which led to everything else. Here Gasquet calls on James Gairdner for support: '[What] we call the Reformation in England...was the result of Henry VIII's quarrel with the Court of Rome on the subject of his divorce, and the same results could not possibly have come about in any other way.'⁵¹

The monasteries stood in the way of this divorce, if not by their active campaigning against it, then by their unease. Monasteries were independent of Henry's usually agreeable bishops, they housed the best and most popular preachers, they were less easy to intimidate with threats. They presented Henry with the only serious opposition en bloc to his power, his desire for a divorce, and his eventual demand for an Oath of Supremacy. Knowing what we know about the psychology of the Tudor princes, their feelings of inferiority and of sensitivity to criticism of their usurped rule, the monasteries had to go--regardless of their wealth. More and Fisher had gone, irrespective of their financial prospects, and the monasteries would go, too. The fact that they owned so much property and wealth only hastened the day.

Whether or not Gasquet is correct in his estimate is debateable. No less an authority than J.J. Scarisbrick thinks

⁵¹Gasquet, Eve, pp. 184-185.

Henry was heading in the direction of spiritual supremacy quite apart from the divorce.⁵² But Gasquet is accurate at least in recognising that the divorce question caused the immediate dissolution of at least one house--the Observant Franciscans at Greenwich. In addition, he correctly noticed that the aggrandisement of temporal and spiritual power, of which the divorce played an important part, made easier the destruction of the monasteries.⁵³

The question which Gasquet set out to answer was: how guilty were the monks of corruption? Their vice was an important reason given for the dissolution and has often been pictured by historians and seen by the popular mind in that light. Gasquet suspected that monastic vice was no more than an excuse used by evil men to further their own selfish ends. But how to prove that was more difficult. There was very little direct evidence that religious houses were observant, and it was the kind of position which was difficult to prove in the best of circumstances. Gasquet, therefore, relied heavily on indirect evidence: What was the character of the visitors who made the charges? What were their motives? How did they compile their evidence? Another route sent Gasquet looking for logical flaws in the charge of vice: why had some clearly observant houses fallen? Why was the dissolution not popular? Why were greater

⁵²Scarisbrick writes: 'The Royal Supremacy,...grew from the divorce campaign, but was distinct from it. Had there been no divorce, or had Clement yielded, there would probably still have been a clash between the clerical estate and a prince who, in the name of reform, was beginning to claim new spiritual jurisdiction' (Henry VIII, p. 248).

⁵³Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 248.

houses left till later?

A wealth of information was open to Gasquet which had not been available before. As David Knowles tells us, Gasquet was

the first to explore methodically not only the whole of the relevant Cromwell papers, but also the accounts and particulars and pensions of the Court of Augmentations, and the pension list of Cardinal Pole.⁵⁴

That the character of the visitors discredited their reports, Gasquet has no doubt. He writes, 'It is absolutely upon the testimony of these men, unsupported by other evidence, that the monks have been condemned.'⁵⁵ What was their character? Layton, the most important of them, was the worst:

His letters, which are the most numerous and the most full of detail, abound in the most filthy accusations, general and particular. They manifest the prurient imaginations of one, who was familiar with vice in its worst forms. His letters, on the face of them, are the outpourings of a thoroughly brutal and depraved nature; even still, they actually soil the hand that touches them. He tells his stories in a way to allow no doubt that evil was for him a zest, and that he believes his master will appreciate and approve.⁵⁶

Layton had a notable lack of principle, the most celebrated instance of which was his report on Abbot Whiting of Glastonbury. After his first visit to Glastonbury, he reported that all was in good order, and Whiting a virtuous man. Cromwell replied sharply that Layton's job was not to find virtue in the monasteries, but evil. Layton apologised, writing of the Abbot of Glastonbury,

⁵⁴Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 245.

⁵⁵Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 437.

⁵⁶Ibid.

[he] appeareth not, neither then nor now, to have known God, nor his prince, nor any part of a good Christian man's religion, [his monks were] all false, feigned, flattering hypocritical knaves.⁵⁷

The visitors, however, could be no better than their master, whom they unscrupulously sought to serve, and whose style they copied. The record of Cromwell's degenerate life begins, for Gasquet's purposes at least, with his theft of Wolsey' royal license for legatine powers--at one stroke depriving Wolsey of any legal defence against praemunire charges and ensuring Cromwell's own safety.⁵⁸ His career, moreover, was one of unabashed debauchery. Quoting Maitland, Gasquet points this out:

He was the great patron of ribaldry, and the protector of the ribalds, of the low jester, the filthy ballad-monger, the ale-house singers, and 'hypocritical mockers in feasts', in short, of all the blasphemous mocking and scoffing which disgraced the protestant party at the time of the reformation.⁵⁹

In addition to this, Cromwell was a free spender who accepted bribes as easily and often as he offered them, making liberal use of monastic lands or the lands confiscated from the gentry to reward himself and his lackeys.

The evidence found by Gasquet was as remarkable as it was unknown and it was his tendency to pass this evidence on without sifting the contradictions. Thus, in his haste to convict Cromwell of un-Reformation-like sentiments, he proposed that Cromwell was both an infidel and a closet Catholic, positions

⁵⁷Gasquet, Henry VIII, II, 439-440.

⁵⁸Ibid., I, 391-392.

⁵⁹Ibid., I, 423.

which Gasquet simply placed side-by-side without explanation.

As evidence that Cromwell was an infidel, Gasquet draws once again on Maitland:

That Cromwell had before that time [1 November 1529] avowed infidel principles is beyond a doubt. Cardinal Pole asserts that he openly told him that he considered vice and virtue were but names, fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the man who seeks to rise in the courts of princes.⁶⁰

Yet, in spite of this, there were Cromwell's Catholic leanings to be considered. He had, for example, been 'caught' by Cavendish saying Our Lady Matins to the point of tears.⁶¹ In his will of July 1529 he leaves twenty shillings to five orders of friars within London to pray for his soul. He directs his executors to engage a priest at £20 per year to say Mass for his soul for three years.⁶² Even more pertinent was Cromwell's speech from the scaffold in 1540:

And now I pray that be here to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith; no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church....But I confess, that like as God, by his holy spirit, doth instruct us in truth--so the devil is ready to seduce us--and I have been seduced.⁶³

⁶⁰Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 387n.

⁶¹Ibid., I, 387-388.

⁶²Ibid., I, 384. Even more bizarre was the case of Robert Burgoyne, cited in Scarisbrick's The Reformation and the English People, pp. 8-9. Burgoyne was an auditor of the Court of Augmentations, the government agency in charge of the dissolution, yet he, just a few weeks before the first act for dissolution of chantries, provided for a chantry to be set up in his native parish, 'with a priest who could sing "playne songe and deskante well", and teach grammar.'

⁶³Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 430.

Many years later, Belloc would hold the same position as Gasquet did on this matter, but make an attempt to reconcile the seeming contradiction; writing that Cromwell was indifferent to religion or at least 'let his sense of religion sink out of his consciousness', until he was faced with certain death, at which time his act of contrition was genuine.⁶⁴ J.J. Scarisbrick provides a third alternative in his authoritative Henry VIII in claiming that Cromwell was merely defending himself against the lies of his enemies, among them the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner, who were denouncing him as an extreme Calvinist. He was possibly grovelling as well, in a desperate attempt at pardon; but his denial of association with any extreme sect was certainly justified, however short it may have fallen of an assertion of a resurrected Catholicism.⁶⁵

What were the motives behind the visitations? For Gasquet, the word to describe them was 'robbery'. The visitors were Machiavellian opportunists who co-operated with Cromwell in reporting evil in the hopes of furthering their own political and financial prospects. They were robbers, in other words, and robbers make good liars. In this regard, Gasquet quotes Burke, writing on the French Revolution: 'I rather suspect [wrote Burke] that vices are feigned or exaggerated when profit is looked for in the punishment. An enemy is a bad witness, a robber is worse.'⁶⁶ Gasquet applies this to the dissolution in a

⁶⁴Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, pp. 123, 96.

⁶⁵Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, p. 380.

⁶⁶Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 469-470.

similar statement:

The fact that the avowed object of the visitors was plunder, and that the charges made against the religious were only means to attain that end, will be to most minds the most conclusive evidence of the untrustworthiness of their testimony.⁶⁷

'The truth is,' Gasquet writes, 'that money was the object, which Henry and his ministers had in view.'⁶⁸ Henry was desperately short of money due to his indulgence in foreign wars as well as personal habits of gambling and lavishness. Even cooks who pleased his palate could be given estates.⁶⁹ His visitors were called by Gasquet, 'Our English Ahab commissioned to slander the Naboth whose fair vineyard he coveted.'⁷⁰ What was not passed on to the king was set aside for the visitors themselves, or for those whom Cromwell wished to reward. One register, in Cromwell's hand, read:

Item to remember Warran for one monastery,
Mr. Gostwyke for a monastery,
John Freeman for Spalding,
Mr. Kingmill for Wherwell,
myself for Laund.⁷¹

Further evidence that the dissolution was carried out principally for financial gain is drawn from a number of sources, among them the haste with which the monasteries were visited and

⁶⁷Gasquet, *Henry VIII*, I, 469.

⁶⁸Ibid., I, 378.

⁶⁹Ibid., II, 446.

⁷⁰Ibid., II, 491.

⁷¹Ibid., I, 420. Italics are Gasquet's.

their wealth carried away--leaving the monks no time to put in effect any recommended reforms, or to correct abuses.

Other arguments include the sudden destruction of two rigidly observant houses--the Observants at Greenwich and the Carthusians of the London Charterhouse; the division of lesser from greater houses made in the first act of dissolution, a division based on income rather than vice or virtue; and the pensioning-off of monks from houses reported to be irreformably immoral.

While these latter arguments do not point directly to a financial concern, they help to eliminate the motive of reform from the process of dissolution. Gasquet then implies that the only conceivable alternative is financial.

The manner in which the visitations were conducted lends support to the financial thesis--again, indirectly, by exposing the fraudulent way in which evidence was gathered. Intimidation seems to have been a common ploy used against the religious; and evidence counted only when it weighed against the monasteries. Silence or contrary reports (favourable to a particular house) were discounted as a conspiracy to conceal. No attempt was made to measure the value of negative reports, or the veracity of certain witnesses.⁷²

Cromwell's attempt to model his visitation on that of the former episcopal visitation was for appearances only--more an attempt to give credibility to his findings than to be fair. Episcopal visits, according to Gasquet, were qualitatively

⁷²Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, ch. IX.

different from the Cromwellian version. Episcopal visits attended to temporal and spiritual issues, included an 'injunction' or summary which estimated the worth of complaints, and made suggestions about the better ordering of the house and the correction of individual offenders. It was a solemn occasion. Cromwell's visitors, on the other hand, gave it the atmosphere of a police raid. The only temporal matter attended to was the financial worth of the house. Future spoliation was intended, not reform. The difference is best exemplified in the diocese of Norwich where the bishop made regular visits to the monasteries in his diocese between 1514 and 1532 and was scrupulous in noting and correcting faults. Often, he registered 'all is well' in places where, just a few years later, the visitors found serious evil.⁷³ The royal visitations, in short, were charades.

Reactions to Gasquet's work on the monasteries remain mixed today. Non-Catholic historians and historiographers are generally dismissive of the work, while Catholics are highly critical, but maintain a degree of respect for his achievement. G.R. Elton, an example of the former, says of Gasquet's work in his England under the Tudors that it is 'best ignored',⁷⁴ and Gooch describes him cryptically as one who 'related the dissolution of the English Monasteries'.⁷⁵

Non-Catholic complaints stem from Gasquet's lack of sympathy

⁷³Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 355.

⁷⁴G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors (London, 1974), p. 484.

⁷⁵Gooch, History and Historians, p. 569.

with the Reform tradition. Elton writes:

Of late, the inwardness of the Dissolution has always been studied from the point of view of the monks; surprising things might emerge if that of the reformers were substituted and the matter considered in the light of social renewal.⁷⁶

This focus on monks leads, Elton thinks, to 'rash moralising about greed and acquisitiveness'.⁷⁷ Elton's point of reference is very much the same as Froude's--the social renewal made possible by the dissolution--so that his criticism of Gasquet (or Knowles) concerns his approach, claiming that the particular judgments made by him are unbalanced from the start. If Gasquet errs by this way of thinking, it is in making too much of the dissolution--and too much of governmental responsibility in the dissolution.

David Knowles, because he focusses on monks in much the same way as Gasquet, has much more to say about Gasquet's particular judgments, commenting that, despite his obvious flaws, 'it is foolish utterly to neglect or despise him'.⁷⁸ No Catholic historian would have a greater critic than Gasquet had in Knowles.

He agrees with much of what Gasquet has to say: that the monks had been blamed too severely in the past (Religious Orders in England, III, ix.); that the dissolution was carried out too hastily to be aimed at any religious reform (Ibid., 318); that

⁷⁶Elton, Reform and Renewal (Cambridge, 1973), p. 159.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet as an Historian', p. 262.

money was the main object of the dissolution (Ibid., 294, 414); that the notorious Black Book (a compilation of monkish crimes said to have swayed Parliament into passing the first Act of Dissolution) never existed (Ibid., 291); and that the Pilgrimage of Grace was primarily religious (Ibid., 321-322).⁷⁹

On the other hand, many of Gasquet's conclusions had to be qualified, softened, or rejected. That the division created between lesser and greater houses in the Preamble to the Act of Dissolution, in no way implied all the greater houses were observant; the Preamble was a piece of propaganda and cannot be taken as a statement of fact.⁸⁰ Secondly the pensioning of monks who were allegedly immoral does not point to government duplicity (i.e. the Government never really thought they were immoral), but only to a practical policy at Augmentations, which required speed and had no time to separate sheep from goats.⁸¹

In the matter of the visitors' character, Knowles thinks Gasquet relies on an ad hominem argument, where he should be

⁷⁹On the Pilgrimage, J.J. Scarisbrick has recently written that the dominating purpose was religion ('England's Catholic Revolt', Tablet, 4 October 1986, p. 1038). See also M.E. James, 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion, 1536', Past and Present, XLVIII (August 1970), 3-78; C.S.L. Davies, 'The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered', Past and Present, XLI (December 1968), 54-76. Davies says that economic reasons (e.g. bad harvest) helped to prepare the way for the Pilgrimage, but are 'insufficient explanation' for the timing and manner of the Pilgrimage (p. 58). He also says that while the rallying ideology of the Pilgrimage was religious, it was not necessarily 'spiritual' (p. 62). C.f. A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation, pp. 122-128. Dickens writes, 'The roots of the movement [Pilgrimage] were decidedly economic, its demands predominantly secular, its interest in Rome almost negligible.'

⁸⁰Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, III, 304.

⁸¹The question remains, however, 'Why was there such a need for haste?'

criticising the visitors' reports instead. The Comperta, taken uncritically, are a staggering indictment of the monks. Lingard was shocked when he read them, and Knowles himself was quite prepared to believe, after reading them, 'that the decay which episcopal visitors had long been deploring and exposing had spread at last to almost every member of the monastic body'.⁸²

What changed his mind was a careful examination of the Comperta, and ^scommissions' reports taken as a whole. Homosexuality in the monasteries, on Knowles' re-evaluation of the Comperta, was surprisingly low (Ibid., 296-297), while fornication and adultery were lower than the figures suggest (Ibid., 298), though higher than Gasquet wanted to admit.⁸³

The main evidence cited by Knowles to temper the Comperta is reports of Augmentations, given, he writes, 'by men who were unlikely to criticise the reports of the visitors'. These reports 'are surprisingly and almost unanimously favourable to the monks' (Ibid., 302-303).

What is to the point here is that Gasquet changed his mind about the Comperta without applying any of the critical apparatus thought so necessary by Knowles. He did not trust the Comperta because they were composed by vicious men, not because the Comperta were intrinsically misleading, and he underestimated the value of Augmentations reports. Like Gairdner, Gasquet thought they were written by 'country gentlemen' and possessed little

⁸²Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, III, 302.

⁸³The figure given for nuns' pregnancies, for example, is misleading because it includes pregnancies of women before they entered the convent, and makes no distinction between past and present culpability.

value. It was here that Gasquet had a stronger hand than he played, since Augmentations appointments were official and their reports an essential counterweight to the Comperta. But Gasquet had made up his mind without employing these essential historical balances, and reveals, in the process, his prejudice.

In his Creighton lecture at the University of Cambridge, Knowles commented on Gasquet's one-sidedness:

He rarely approached an historical topic with an open mind; in other words he rarely approached it as an historian. Either he wrote to convince others of what he believed to be the truth, or he set out a discovery which he held to be significant. In other words, he started with a conviction or a fact, and went to other documents to find confirmation. He had little or no sense of history as a stream of eddying currents or a web of many threads, nor did he think of his craft as an exercise of patient and passionless mental discipline.⁸⁴

Gasquet too often assumed the role of an advocate, and this sparked a serious disagreement between himself and Lord Acton, who had invited the former to write a chapter of the Cambridge Modern History. Acton had a high regard for Gasquet's historical work, and was disappointed at what Gasquet submitted--what eventually would become The Eve of the Reformation.⁸⁵

Acton wrote sternly to Gasquet:

⁸⁴Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 260.

⁸⁵Knowles claims that Acton put Gasquet in the same category as Stubbs and Liebermann, but the sense of Acton's letter is more of a hope for what the history would achieve. In this proposed history, Acton wrote, no one would be able to tell, 'without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford [Stubbs] laid down his pen, and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison took it up' (Lectures on Modern History, p. 318). To be mentioned in such company showed not so much what Acton thought of Gasquet, but what he wanted him (and the others) to do.

I do not allow my friends to manifest their own views and standpoint. Sometimes you seem to adapt an attitude of contention and argument, which I entreat you to discard in the interest of the whole. I want you to make your points clear without thinking of contradiction or of people who have written otherwise.⁸⁶

Gasquet replied that a Protestant or Catholic view of history was as repugnant to him as to Acton, but that the truth could nevertheless favour one side or the other.

It is in my opinion impossible to write on Catholic England without at present seeming to be more Catholic than people would like--that is, if I am to write what I hold to be the truth and set down what in time people will have to come to, whether they like it or not. Still I quite believe at present people are not prepared for this view and would look on it probably as Catholic special pleading. This from your point of view would be a mistake.⁸⁷

Even granting that this could be true, Gasquet went too far. Not only did he judge a question before he began to investigate it, but he deliberately suppressed or ignored evidence contrary to his predisposition once his research was underway. Knowles writes: 'There was a root of something in Gasquet which led him to ignore even the most cogent evidence against anything he had written.'⁸⁸

One characteristic case involved the historian James Gairdner, a friend of Gasquet's, who produced documents which disproved Gasquet's contention that the last abbot of Colchester (Abbot Marshall) was a martyr. Gasquet refused to budge on the

⁸⁶ Acton to Gasquet, 12 June 1890, in Leslie, Gasquet, p. 113.

⁸⁷ Leslie, Gasquet, p. 113.

⁸⁸ Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 256.

matter. 'Instead,' writes Knowles, 'he persisted to the end in a suppressio veri which in the circumstances (Abbot Marshall was being considered for canonisation) carried with it more than a trace of suggestio falsi.'⁸⁹

Gairdner was involved in another case when he wrote to correct Gasquet's statement that John Morton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had made 'vague charges' against Abbot Wallingford. Gairdner says the charges were 'very specific and particularly abominable':

It is another thing [than a vague charge] to tell an Abbot that he has promoted a married woman (whose name is given) to be head of a nunnery and allowed his monks to carry on intrigues with her, and turn the nunnery into a brothel....Could any of your monastic visitors now venture to insinuate such things without something like plausible evidence to go upon in the first instance?⁹⁰

Gasquet's advocacy led him to defend the monasteries en bloc, just as they had been attacked en bloc. Those who had argued against the monasteries, proceeding from particular instances of corruption to a general condemnation, were answered by Gasquet in kind. This would serve him well in debate, but as history it fell sadly short of the ideal. Some monasteries were in a pitiable state at the time of the Reformation, and Gasquet was painfully incapable of admitting it. Again, concession became weakness.

Another debater's device was the use of non-Catholic authors

⁸⁹Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 257.

⁹⁰Gairdner to Gasquet, 23 October 1908, DA--Gasquet Papers, No. 964.

whom Gasquet cited whenever possible. He quotes Maitland, Gairdner, Rogers, and even Froude, not only because they were brilliant historians, but because they were non-Catholic. If he could cite Thorold Rogers on the contribution of the monks, there was little need to say more:

The monks were the men of letters in the Middle Ages, the historians, the jurists, the philosophers, the physicians, the students of nature, the founders of schools, authors of chronicles, teachers of agriculture, fairly indulgent landlords, and advocates of genuine dealing towards the peasantry.⁹¹

The concern for overturning the Protestant view of the dissolution led Gasquet to a carelessness in relating facts which, after 1900, when the restraining hand of Edmund Bishop was withdrawn from his work, 'amounted almost to genius'.⁹²

Exaggeration was also the result of Gasquet's romantic view of the Middle Ages. The monasteries were pictured in idyllic terms, thus heightening the extent of the catastrophe when they were dissolved. Gasquet's book The Eve of the Reformation suggests that the Renaissance developed largely from monastic scholarship. The revival of Greek studies had begun in Canterbury with the monks Selling and Hadley, who taught Linacre (also a cleric), who in turn taught More and Erasmus. The monastic houses of Reading, Ramsay, Canterbury, and Glastonbury were well-known for their scholarship. Gasquet mentions this,

⁹¹C.f. Gasquet, Henry VIII, II, 497.

⁹²Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 254. Other duties--i.e. Abbot-President (1900-1914), member of Commission on Anglican Orders, member of Commission on Vulgate (1907), Prefect of Vatican Archives (1917), Vatican Librarian (1919), etc.--also called him away from serious historical work.

not only to emphasise the difference between the Renaissance, which was conservative, and the New Learning, which was innovative, but to assert the destructiveness of the Reformation, which effectively brought the Renaissance and scholarship to an end. All monastic studies ended overnight, the number of Oxford graduates (many of them monks) fell dramatically, Greek studies disappeared, libraries were destroyed or dispersed, foreign education (hitherto held in high regard) fell into disrepute. 'The fears of Erasmus,' Gasquet wrote, 'that the rise of Lutheranism would prove the death-blow of solid scholarship were literally fulfilled.'⁹³

Knowles felt this emphasis on the monks' role in learning was overdone. Selling is a good example; he may have taught Linacre as a boy, but Linacre 'learnt most of what he knew at Oxford and Florence'. Selling, Knowles continues, 'had the fortune to be the patron of Linacre, and to introduce Greek to Canterbury, but he holds no important place in the development of the Renaissance'.⁹⁴

Socially, according to Gasquet the Reformation was equally disastrous. It did more than stop the upward movement of lower classes by depriving them of education and advancement in the Church; it also increased the numbers of the poor and made their lot more abject than it had ever been. What is worse, this catastrophe was planned:

⁹³Gasquet, Eve, p. 8.

⁹⁴Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, III, 90.

However satisfactory it might be to believe that this robbery of the poor and sick by the Crown was accidental and unpremeditated, the historian is bound by the evidence to hold that the pillage was fully premeditated and deliberately and consciously carried out.⁹⁵

The removal of the nation's largest (and, arguably, the only) charitable institution, combined as it was with the turning out of 8,000 religious into the world, and the release of 80,000 others from their dependence on the monasteries, resulted in an economic crisis of grave proportions. Knowles thinks that the plight of the religious was exaggerated by Gasquet and that the number 80,000 is 'stupendous', since, by Knowles' figuring, the number of servants could not have exceeded the number of religious.⁹⁶

The picture complete, Gasquet added his own 'tear-stained' touch. On the destruction of St. Peter's in Gloucester, he writes:

Having existed for more than eight centuries under different forms, in poverty and in wealth, in meanness and in magnificence, in misfortune and in success, it finally succumbed to the royal will; the day came, and that a drear winter day, when its last Mass was sung, its last censer waved, its last congregation bent in rapt and lowly adoration before the altar there, and doubtless as the last tones of that day's evensong died away in the vaulted roof, there were not wanting those who lingered in the solemn stillness of the old massive pile, and who, as the lights disappeared one by one, felt that for them there was now a void which could never be filled, because their old abbey, with its beautiful services, its frequent means of grace, its hospitality to strangers and its loving care for God's

⁹⁵Gasquet, Eve, p. 337.

⁹⁶Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, III, 260-263. Gasquet means by the 80,000, the total number of people dependent on the monasteries: craftsmen, villagers, servants, etc.

poor, had passed away like an early morning dream, and was gone forever.⁹⁷

Gasquet's message was quite simple: the Reformation destroyed nearly all that was good in both Church and society, and (as we shall see in the next chapter) had caused a complete break with ancient Christianity. The destruction of the monastic houses was more than just symbolic of this process--in some ways the Reformation could not have happened without the dissolution, and even took on the very aspect of dissolution. The Reformation was a destructive principle--destroying art, architecture, scholarship, religious life, and replacing them with a void. The pulling-down of rood screens did not bring about the Reformation, but it boded ill for the entire movement. Knowles agrees:

Visible beauty of form and line and hue is as nothing in comparison with the eternal beauty of things unseen, but those who wantonly destroy the one will not readily be supposed to value the other.⁹⁸

On the whole, Gasquet's achievement is as underestimated today as it was overestimated when his books began to appear. He may not have said anything especially new, since there had always been a tradition in favour of the monks, but he is responsible for making this tradition accessible to more than just a few scholars. He interpreted the dissolution of the monasteries in a systematic (though not exhaustive) way, and thus added a new dimension to Reformation studies. No subsequent historians could ignore him, Elton notwithstanding. Many of his conclusions were

⁹⁷Gasquet, Henry VIII, II, 324.

⁹⁸Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, III, 387.

later held by people who were infinitely better historians than he. He was aided by his style as much as by anything, but, as Knowles points out, his powers of research were considerable and he had a knack for introducing crucial documents into his argument.

Without a doubt he transformed Catholic opinion about the monasteries. Whereas Catholics had observed an embarrassed silence on the subject, they now discovered that something could be said on behalf of the monks. If he was irresponsible, he at least guaranteed that future Protestant historians were less so.

Unfortunately, Gasquet's immediate effect on Catholic historians was to make them even more irresponsible. Belloc took up Gasquet's (and Cobbett's) charge of robbery and made it the basis of his whole approach to the Reformation.

Belloc was fairly obsessed with money. He wrote once, 'money corrupts, and I wish it would have a good shot at corrupting me,' and in a letter to Basil Blackwood, described a silver-spoon he had given to a friend's new-born daughter:

I had engraved on it the words in Greek, 'Nothing is anything like so important as silver,' the point of which quotation is that, as in French so in Greek, the word for silver and money is the same.⁹⁹

However he may have joked about money, there was a serious edge to what he said. He saw the rich everywhere, both in history and in the present, attempting to usurp the rights of the common man. The Reformation was only one more example:

⁹⁹Belloc to Basil Blackwood, 22 May 1908, BC--Belloc Collection.

The Reformation as a whole was not a new religion, for it had no unity of structure or purpose; but in England it had one strong foundation which determined all its fortunes, and that foundation has been described in the simple form of two words: the 'Abbey Lands'. Such was the title given by contemporaries to what was altogether the most important feature of the great change.¹⁰⁰

The 'rapine' and 'robbery' had as their effect 'the firm establishment of a permanent motive for confirming the success of the Religious Revolution'.¹⁰¹

Belloc thought that the 'new nobility' were areligious--not caring which religion predominated so long as their possession of stolen property was guaranteed. He even defines 'Protestant' in those terms:

'Protestant' stood in the main for those who would accept pretty well any new arrangement of religious doctrine, so long as it did not upset the fundamental economic revolution, which had put the squires, large and small, in the possession of the Abbey lands.¹⁰²

Yet, Belloc saw something more in Protestantism than mere indifference. He saw in it, at least in Calvinism, the cost of all evil--the love of wealth. Calvin's Institutes, in emphasising the will of God and the 'immutable decrees of God' actually 'bred an appetite for material wealth as the only available good'.¹⁰³

Belloc does not say why Calvinism bred this appetite, just that it did. Nor does he say how Calvin's Institutes affected

¹⁰⁰Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 64.

¹⁰¹Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 6.

¹⁰²Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 44.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 70.

the dissolution of the monasteries, since it was first published in 1536, roughly at the same time as the first Act of Suppression. He leaves the reader to believe, however, that the temptation to loot Church property and the appearance of Calvinism were more than coincidental, but the exact nature and extent of the relation he left nebulous.¹⁰⁴ There is even the faintly-disguised hint that Calvinism was the worship of wealth when he uses a quotation from Aquinas, which reads, 'If men abandon the worship of God, they will fall to the worship of wealth.'¹⁰⁵ It was the kind of innuendo that drove Belloc's Protestant enemies to rage, and even his Catholic friends to despair.

Belloc did not accept all of Gasquet's conclusions, however, and shows no particular affection for the monks at the time of the dissolution. He lists these reasons why the monks were in such a weakened condition. First, they had only one-half their former numbers, an effect as much as it was a cause of weakness. Secondly, there was a diminution in respect for the monks: 'Men had come to think of monks and the monastic institution not exactly as an anachronism but as something not fully in tune with the general life and becoming rapidly less consonant with it.' And finally, the monks suffered from their failure to reform abuses. Immorality aside, a charge which Belloc dismisses as grossly exaggerated, the monks trafficked in false relics and false miracles, failed to defend the Faith by any appeal to

¹⁰⁴Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 70.

reason and common sense, and by their ignorance obtained the reputation of being enemies of classical learning.¹⁰⁶

Thus Belloc agrees with Gasquet in assigning blame for the dissolution to greed, but has surprisingly little to say about the need for some government action. What little he does say implicates the monks.

The study of monasticism during the reign of Henry VIII was something entirely different in 1940, when Belloc wrote his last book on the Reformation (Elizabethan Commentary), than it had been in 1790, when Joseph Berington nearly ignored the monks altogether. The Romantic revival alerted the English world to a past which had been put aside, and eventually this found a theological expression of sorts in Pugin's equation of perfect art and perfect faith. The monks and monastic life, however, found slight support even during this period of interest in their achievements. Pugin and his fellow-Romantics were not interested in religious life as such, only in its outward expressions: Gregorian chant, Gothic vestments and buildings. Consequently, their defence of the monasteries did not concern their inner life, but rather the loss of their inessential ambience. Whether the monks came or went seemed rather unimportant compared to whether they kept up the singing and the buildings.

Only with Gasquet, himself a monk, do we get any sense of their inner lives. Only then do we begin to get a true idea of what, besides property, was really lost. Gasquet is the first

¹⁰⁶Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, pp. 66-68.

Catholic in the nineteenth century to talk about the dissolution in its own right and not, like the divorce from Catherine, some incident on the way to Reformation, nor like a symbol of something else. It becomes the incident. For Gasquet it is undeserved, a calamity. For Belloc, it is undeserved, not because the monks were virtuous, but because the rich benefitted. For him it was the most important incident as well--at least in terms of the English Reformation. He wrote:

Here in England one event more than any other--overwhelmingly more than any other--decided the issue and had canalised the tumultuous flood of change into a fixed channel. That event was the sudden rapid and complete confiscation of monastic property.¹⁰⁷

Yet Belloc reverted to seeing it as an incident on the way to the general enslavement of the poor by the rich. Both men would change their minds on the importance of the dissolution--Belloc because he saw, in whatever book he happened to be writing on the Reformation, a single key issue which was responsible for the upheaval, and Gasquet because he began to turn his attention to the Reformation liturgy. Belloc, always the teacher, simplified whatever subject he was writing about--saying in one book that greed caused the Reformation, in another that the liturgical changes caused the Reformation.¹⁰⁸ Simplicity, in fact, got the best of him.

Gasquet changed his mind, probably, because of Edmund Bishop, a supreme liturgist and scholar, who collaborated with

¹⁰⁷Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 65.

¹⁰⁸Belloc, Cranmer (London, 1931), p. 233.

Gasquet on a book called Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer. To show Bishop's effect, when Gasquet gave an Advent series in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York (1920) on the subject of the English Reformation, he hardly mentioned the dissolution of the monasteries.

The dissolution, then, becomes an episode, ignored at first by Catholics, later blown out of proportion by advocates of the monks, yet interesting and crucial in its own right, but pointing to something more substantial--the issues of doctrine and continuity.

CHAPTER VI

CONTINUITY

The nineteenth-century debate over continuity did not originate within the Catholic Church, but rather came to it from the outside. Catholics did not question their own continuity with the ancient Church, but Anglicans did, and the storm they made for themselves soon involved the Catholics as well. Or rather, the Catholics could not keep themselves out of the fight.

The Oxford Movement questioned the direction the Established Church was taking. Not only was the Church becoming dangerously subordinated to the State, but the Church seemed to be disassociating itself from the early Church. The Reformation became the battleground. The Tractarians (or Puseyites), who led this Movement, found their strength in antiquity. Their translations of and commentaries on the Fathers of the Church quickly became problematical, as the claims they made in reference to the Fathers came in direct conflict with the events of the Reformation. The closer the Tractarians came to the early Church, the further they went from the Reformation. They saw the Reformation as a barrier which had prevented the spirit of the early Church, with all its institutions and liturgy, from becoming an essential part of the reformed Church. The Reformation, then, rather than reforming the ancient Church, had cast it aside and set up something new in its place. This realisation led William George Ward, while still an Anglican, to call the Reformation, 'that miserable event', and add, 'I know no

single movement in the Church, except Arianism in the fourth century, which seems to me so wholly destitute of all claims on our sympathy and regard, as the English Reformation.'¹

The worry about appearing too much like the early heretics also bothered Newman, who wrote in his Apologia:

My stronghold was Antiquity; now, here, in the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I ~~was~~^{saw} a Monophysite.²

Theologically, of course, Newman was no Monophysite, but his difficulty lay in his awareness that the same Church of Rome which had condemned the Monophysite had also condemned the Anglicans. William Palmer, a Tractarian historian, held that 'the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself, and fell from the Catholic Church of England.'³ This may have been the classical apology for Anglicanism, but it no longer satisfied Newman. Neither did Dr. Hook's claim that the Church of England was not founded in the sixteenth century, but had simply reformed the Catholic Church and watched as the Romish wing separated itself from the main body.⁴ Newman held on for awhile, interpreting the Thirty-Nine Articles rather acrobatically in a Catholic sense, but soon admitted to himself

¹W.G. Ward, The Ideal of a Christian Church (London, 1844), pp. 44, 45n.

²Newman, Apologia pro Vita Sua (London, 1913), p. 217.

³William Palmer, Treatise on the Church of Christ (London, 1838), I, 455.

⁴Walter Farquhar Hook, Hear the Church (London, 1838).

that his Via Media, ingenious as it was, was only a paper Church with a very few followers. He converted to Roman Catholicism in 1845.

Catholics did not stand by idly while the Anglicans were arguing among themselves, but entered the fray as early as 1838, when Wiseman published an article in the Dublin Review on the Apostolic Succession, and suggested that Catholics had something to say about the issue as well. He wrote, comparing the Catholic Reformation unfavourably with the Anglican:

Ours was a conservative reform; we pruned away the decayed part; we placed the vessel in the furnace, and, the dross being melted off, we drew it out bright and pure. Yours was radical to the extreme; you tore up entire plants by the roots, because you said there was a blight on some one branch; you threw the whole vessel into the fire, and made merry at its blaze.⁵

This would become a constant theme, taken up by Lingard in the same journal, and reinforced by the converts themselves, once they actually began going over to Rome in any numbers.⁶ Lingard's reaction to the Anglican debate, while not part of his formal history, is important because it shows his interpretation of history and the uses to which history could be put in solving contemporary problems.

Lingard may have had a low opinion of the Middle Ages, but he had an even lower opinion of Anglicanism. In this he provides

⁵Nicholas Wiseman, 'The Apostolic Succession', Dublin Review, IV, April 1838, 327.

⁶Lingard, 'Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself?', Dublin Review, VIII, May 1840, 334-373; 'The Ancient Church of England, and the Liturgy of the Anglican Church', Dublin Review, IX, August 1841, 167-196.

an important key to nineteenth-century Catholicism: as contentious as Catholics could be within their own ranks, as severely as they criticised the medieval Church, the popes, and the religious orders, when pricked by Anglicanism their reaction was swift and unequivocal.

Lingard saw the Anglican Church as discontinuous in three principal areas: ministry, worship, and doctrine. Under the heading of ministers and government, certain changes had occurred in the reign of Edward VI which Lingard regarded as decisive. When Henry VIII acceded to the throne, the Church recognised the Bishop of Rome as having primacy of jurisdiction in spiritual matters. The bishops inherited from Christ their spiritual authority. Under Edward VI this changed, for the crown now assumed spiritual primacy and the bishops depended on the crown for their authority, a fact which was made manifest by Cranmer's pointed refusal to function as Archbishop of Canterbury after Henry died, until he had been re-appointed by the new king.

The mere mention of Cranmer's name was enough to arouse Lingard's ire. The whole manner of Cranmer's consecration eliminated him from serious consideration as a link between the present bishops and the apostles--coming as it did in the midst of secret oath-taking. 'If it be simony to purchase a spiritual office with money,' Lingard wrote, 'what is it to purchase the same with perjury?'⁷ In another place, Lingard tried to show the fallacy of Cranmer's position:

⁷Lingard, 'Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself?', 343.

When I noticed Cranmer's sermon to prove that the pope was antichrist, I observed that 'a new light had lately burst on the archbishop'....A little before, in the judgements by which he dissolved the marriage of Henry and Catherine, and confirmed the marriage of Henry and Anne, he was careful to style himself the legate of the very man, whom now he branded with the title of antichrist.⁸

Bishop Matthew Parker, much more than Cranmer, was the hinge on which apostolic succession swung, and Lingard tersely stated in a letter to John Walker, 'How he [Parker] could be connected with Cardinal Pole and the Catholic bishops under Mary, I know not.'⁹ In another letter he explained this at greater length:

With respect to Parker there was imposition and a prayer: but nothing to denote that it was to make him a bishop. Therefore the form was wanting in that particular. It is implied that the intention was sufficient, and that the request of the Archdeacon that the bishops would ordain Parker archbishop was sufficient to determine the sense of the prayer. But even allowing as much as can be demanded as this, the matter remains uncertain, and on that account bishops-converts have to be re-ordained.¹⁰

This led easily to the question of the validity of Anglican Orders, which question would re-appear more acrimoniously later in the century. Lingard's objections were significant because they presaged all later objections, from lack of due form to lack of proper intention:

⁸Lingard, A Vindication of Certain Passages in the Fourth and Fifth Volumes of the History of England (London, 1826), p. 83.

⁹Lingard to Walker, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 282.

¹⁰Lingard to Rock, Ibid. Cf. Lingard, History, VI, (Sixth edition), note DD, 326-330.

Every bishop but Kitchen (and he died soon after) was deprived, and new men, whom they had esteemed heretics, put in their places--men who were called bishops, but were consecrated in a new form, and who exercised episcopal jurisdiction, but derived it from a new source. In what, then, was this new Church the same as the old? In this merely, that its ministers took on the same names as the ministers of the old, and performed the new service in the old buildings.¹¹

Worship was another area which seemed to point to a break with the past, and the single most important change brought about by the English Reformation here was the shift on the Eucharist. As the Reformation progressed, the Mass and the notion of transubstantiation both disappeared from the Anglican service. One thing was clear to everyone: the pre-Reformation Church believed in transubstantiation and the sacrificial nature of the Mass; the Anglican Church of Edward VI did not. If nothing else, this made attempts by Tractarians intent on tactile continuity somewhat awkward, because it entailed the rejection of what had been universally-accepted Catholic doctrine as far back, at the very least, as the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, creating a gap of several centuries between the primary liturgical event of the Catholic Church and the understanding (and practice) of the reformers. The Tractarian dilemma was choosing between the two: rejecting the Catholic understanding meant rejecting continuity; rejecting the reformers' understanding meant rejecting their own communion.

The final area singled out by Lingard as particularly illustrative of discontinuity was the area of doctrine. The

¹¹Lingard to Walker, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, pp. 280-281.

question here was over Edward's Forty-Two Articles, which later became the Thirty-Nine Articles, and not so much about the relative theological merits of the articles, as to the claim made by the Oxford scholars that they could be interpreted in a Catholic sense. Lingard wrote:

Compare the two [the creed of Pius IV and the Forty-Two Articles], and you will find, that if they agree in several points, they also contradict each other in several, and that religious opinions are sanctioned in the latter, which would have subjected their advocates to the penalties of heresy during the prevalence of the former.¹²

The former Church, therefore, taught as doctrine matters which the latter Church condemned as errors. The accumulation of legislation attempt^Ping to enforce these varying opinions, from Henry VIII's Six Articles to Edward's Forty-Two, from Mary's attempt at restoration to Elizabeth's Thirty-Nine Articles, each negating its predecessor, hardly betokened continuity.

Catholics greatly resented Anglicans who were now laying claim to practices for which Roman Catholics had suffered for three hundred years. Far more logical, to Catholics at least, was the evangelical claim of a return to the spirit of the early Church. Robert Hugh Benson, in his novel By What Authority, summarises this Catholic annoyance with 'pretend Catholics'. [Mr. Buxton, a Catholic nobleman, speaks]:

'If you insist, I will point to the Supremacy Act of 1559 and the Uniformity Act of the same year as very clear evidences of a breach with the ancient order. In the former the governance is shifted from its original owner, the Vicar of Christ, and placed on Elizabeth; it

¹²Lingard, 'Did the Anglican Church Reform Herself?', p. 359.

was that that the Carthusian Fathers and Sir Thomas More and many others died sooner than allow. The latter Act sweeps away all the ancient forms of worship in favour of a modern one. But I am not careful to insist upon these points; if you deny or disprove them--though I do not envy any who attempts that--yet even then my principle remains, that all that to which the Church of England has succeeded is the edifices and the endowments; her spirit is wholly new. If a highwayman knocks me down to-morrow, strips me, clothes himself with my clothes, and rides my horse, he is certainly my successor in one sense. Yet he will be rash if he presents himself to my wife and sons--though I have none, by the way--as the proper owner of my house and name.'

'But there is no knocking down in the question,' said Anthony. 'The bishops and clergy, or the greater part of them, consented to the change.'

Mr. Buxton smiled.

'Very well,' he said. 'Yet the case is not greatly different if the gentleman threatens me with torture instead, if I do not voluntarily give him my clothes and my horse. If I were weak and yielded to him, yes, and made promises of all kinds in my cowardice--yet he would be no nearer being the true successor of my name and fortune. And if you read her Grace's Acts, and King Henry's too, you will find that that was precisely what took place. My dear sir,' Mr. Buxton went on, 'if you will pardon my saying it, I am astounded at the effrontery of your authorities who claim that there was no breach. Your Puritans are wiser; they at least frankly say that the old was Anti-Christian; that His Holiness...was an usurper; and that the new Genevan theology is the old gospel brought to light again. That I can understand. Indeed, most of your churchmen think so too, that there was a new beginning made with Protestantism. But when her Grace calls herself a Catholic, and tells the poor Frenchmen that it is the old religion here still; and your bishops, or one or two of them rather, say so too--then I am rendered dumb--if that were possible. If it is the same, then why, a-God's name, were the altars dragged down and the screens burned and the vestments and the images and the stoups and the pictures and the ornaments all swept out? Why, a-God's name, was the old mass blotted out and this new mingle-mangle brought in, if it be all one? And for the last time, a-God's name, why is it death to say mass now, if it be all one? Such talk is foolishness, and worse.'¹³

The Catholic assault, combined with the reaction of

¹³Benson, By What Authority, p. 235.

Protestant authorities, drove the Oxford Movement to the breaking-point. Newman began to think he had stretched the Thirty-Nine Articles further than they could be reasonably stretched, and concluded, 'No one can maintain the Anglican Church from history.'¹⁴

Newman had interpreted the Articles as denying only the excesses of the sacrifice of the Mass and the doctrine of purgatory, but this ^ebegan to look more like wishful thinking than the actual fact. One of his disciples, William George Ward, agreed with Newman that the Articles were susceptible to a Catholic interpretation, but went further and said that they had been deliberately worded so as to be susceptible to any interpretation whatsoever.¹⁵

The Anglicans turned out to be not so susceptible to any interpretation, after all, and condemned both Newman and Ward. Newman was censured by the bishops after publication of his Tract 90 (1841) and retired in seclusion to Littlemore; Ward was declared a heretic and stripped of his degrees after publishing his Ideal of a Christian Church in 1845. Both men entered the Catholic Church that same year.

The converts, in general, kept up the attack on Anglicanism and gave to Catholic historical writing a particularly aggressive tone. Richard Simpson, who converted to Catholicism in 1846, made Edmund Campion's dilemma his own. Campion, like Simpson,

¹⁴Newman to Henry Wilberforce, March 1849, Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, ed. Charles Stephen Dessain (London, 1963), XIII, 79.

¹⁵Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, p. 4.

had been an Anglican with good prospects in the Anglican Church. But Campion, again like Simpson, found his position incompatible with his understanding of the Church Fathers, and his conversion could be directly attributable to this incompatibility.

Campion's good friend, Bishop Cheney of Gloucester, had told him never to waver from the study of the Fathers and 'ever to put full faith in their consent'. Simpson continues:

Campion saw the inconsistency of this advice, yet he allowed himself to be persuaded. He saw that the weapons which Cheney wielded against Puritans might be better used by Catholics against Cheney.¹⁶

Evelyn Waugh, a twentieth-century convert and novelist, was similarly taken by Campion, and wrote a biography of the Jesuit based heavily on Simpson's earlier work. Waugh noticed a similar dilemma between another Anglican friend of Campion's and this attraction to the Fathers. When Campion asked Tobie Mathew how he, knowing as much as he did about the Fathers of the Church, could take the side he did, Mathew replied, 'If I believed them as well as read them, you would have good reason to ask.'¹⁷

The most complete and systematic assault on Anglican claims to continuity was launched by another convert, Edmund Bishop, in conjunction with a Benedictine monk, Dom Aidan Gasquet. Bishop (1846-1917) was a liturgical specialist who had already established his reputation on the continent with his discovery, transcription, and annotation of some three hundred papal letters of the fifth to the eleventh centuries. He converted to

¹⁶Simpson, Campion, p. 27.

¹⁷Waugh, Campion, p. 22.

Catholicism in 1867, and attempted to become a monk at Downside in 1885, but ill-health prevented him from persevering.¹⁸

Gasquet has been accused of serving as no more than a secretary for Bishop in the writing of their joint work, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (1890), taking dictation from him as he strode up and down the room; but this charge is apparently false. Gasquet later wrote, 'There is not a single portion of the whole, not a single line of the whole book, which is not his as much as it is mine,' and Nigel Abercrombie, Bishop's biographer, supports Gasquet in this.¹⁹

Bishop's influence, however, which had already shown its effect in Gasquet's Henry VIII in serving as a check on Gasquet's propensity for polemic and exaggeration, was much more pronounced in Edward VI where 'all the discovery and creative part of it was Bishop's'.²⁰ Gasquet freely admitted that Bishop's presence was 'like having a living Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia always to refer to'.²¹

The two made a complementary pair. Gasquet was able to communicate what Bishop would have found difficult to put down on paper. Bishop's mind, according to David Knowles, worked inwards, and, recognising that fact, he 'gave freely what he

¹⁸For details of his life, see Cuthbert Butler's article in the Dictionary of National Biography, 1912-1921 (London, 1927), p. 47.

¹⁹Nigel Abercrombie, The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop (London, 1959), p. 156.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Leslie, Gasquet, p. 43.

would never have used himself'.²² Without either man, Edward VI could not have been written.

Edward VI is concerned with one thing: the continuity between the Book of Common Prayer and the ancient liturgy, both theologically and liturgically. The conclusion of the book was equally straightforward: there was no continuity. From first to last, in intention and realisation, the Book of Common Prayer was innovatory and revolutionary (bad words to a liturgist) and 'displaced the traditional liturgy of England'.²³

Edward VI begins by listing questions to be answered: What position did the first Prayer Book hold in regard to the ancient service books or to contemporary documents? Was it conservative or innovatory? To what degree was it conservative? How did it arise? What were its sources? The authors add the disclaimer that no judgment on the Prayer Book is attempted, but only a statement of fact about the Prayer Book's ancestry.

When Henry VIII was still on the throne, some attempts were being made to reform the liturgy. As early as 1535 Cardinal Quignones had published a breviary which proved so popular that it promised to become the common breviary of the West.²⁴ Gasquet and Bishop waste no time in showing the difference between Quignones' book and the Prayer Book. The former was used as a starting-point for the latter, thanks probably to the influence of Tunstall who would have wanted to keep some point of contact

²²Knowles, 'Gasquet', p. 252.

²³Gasquet and Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer (London, 1890), p. 182.

²⁴Ibid., p. 28.

with Rome as far as possible,²⁵ but the conservative features were abandoned already by Cranmer's time.²⁶

What Cranmer had produced was a revolution in two areas:

Local and diocesan usage of every sort was swept away and an absolute uniformity was prescribed for the whole realm,--a thing unheard of in the ancient Catholic church in England no less than in France and Germany....Secondly, a book was introduced, the form and disposition of which was unlike any hitherto in use for public worship in England.²⁷

The old breviary had a superabundance of variety; Cranmer's ran to the opposite extreme. Every church was to have the exact same service, which was 'as nearly as possible the same for every day throughout the year'.²⁸ But the heart of the matter was not uniformity, but conformity: was the Prayer Book 'to be ranked with the ancient liturgies of the Christian church or with the group of church services created by the Reformation in the sixteenth century'?²⁹

The two contemporary liturgies mentioned in Edward VI are the Lutheran liturgy, which removed the sacrificial aspect of the Roman Mass, and the Reformed liturgy, which removed as far as was possible, 'every trace of the ancient Mass'.³⁰ In Luther's Mass, gone were the confiteor, that 'abominable canon', the offertory,

²⁵Gasquet, Edward VI, pp. 28-29.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 37-38.

²⁷Ibid., pp.2-3.

²⁸Ibid., p.36. Subsequent revisions corrected this, adding 'a breadth or even a certain dignity' (Ibid.).

²⁹Ibid., p. 217.

³⁰Ibid.

the postcommunion. It conformed to the 1549 Anglican Service almost exactly, a resemblance which the Edward VI claims 'cannot be accidental'.³¹

The removal of the offertory was crucial: 'The ancient ritual oblation, with the whole of which the idea of sacrifice was so intimately associated, was just swept away....This ritual oblation had a place in all liturgies.'³² Furthermore, the chasuble was made optional because it was a sacrificial vestment.

The difference between the first and second Prayer Books could be said simply to be the difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism. The Catholic party had opposed the Prayer Book on various grounds, and Stephen Gardiner, meaning to embarrass Cranmer, cleverly gave to the Prayer Book a Catholic interpretation, using Cranmer's own teaching on communion from his Lutheran catechism. Consequently, the second Prayer Book left no room for ambiguity. Whatever Gardiner found acceptable was swept away:

It seems hardly possible to doubt that in making [the changes] the revisers were actuated by a determination to leave no room in the second Book of Common Prayer for those Catholic glosses which Gardiner had endeavoured to put on certain passages in the first.³³

Edward VI regards the progressive change in the books as

³¹Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 228. Furthermore, the Book of Common Prayer (1549) and Luther's Book correspond almost identically in their baptismal and confirmation liturgies.

³²Ibid., p. 196. Gasquet and Bishop add, mischievously, 'Only the collection remained.'

³³Ibid., p. 290.

calculated. Cranmer had become a Calvinist by 1548 and had begun to regard the Prayer Book as a 'temporary stage in the development of the reformation'.³⁴ A damaging letter is quoted from Bucer and Paul Fagius to colleagues in Strasbourg as evidence that Cranmer was not simply changing his mind, or progressing in the Reformation himself:

As soon as the description of the ceremonies now in use shall have been translated into latin, we will send it to you. We hear that some concessions have been made both to a respect for antiquity and to the infirmity of the present age; such, for instance, as the vestments commonly used in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the use of candles: so also in the commemoration of the dead and the use of chrisms....They affirm that there is no superstition in these things, and that they are only to be retained for a time, lest the people, not yet having learned Christ, should be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing his religion, and that rather they may be won over.³⁵

The overall tone of the book Edward VI is accusatory. Cranmer was changing the nature of the Mass deliberately, deceitfully, progressively. Even during his Lutheran days, Cranmer exhibited Calvinist tendencies, as in his Lutheran catechism, when he left out the words 'When He calls and names a thing which was not before, then at once that very thing comes into being as He names it.'³⁶ The authors are equally suspicious of what Cranmer leaves in:

³⁴Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 234.

³⁵Ibid., p. 235.

³⁶Ibid., p. 130.

LUTHER
When He takes bread and says:
'this is my body', then immedi-
ately there is the body of our
Lord.

CRANMER
When Christ takes bread and
saith: 'Take, eat, this is my
body', we ought not to doubt
but we eat His very body...³⁷

It comes as no surprise, then, to hear the authors accuse Cranmer of having a 'shifting mind', and make the suggestion that Cranmer was a coward as well.³⁸ Where Canon Dixon had previously written of Cranmer's loyalty in desiring to renew his episcopal commission under Edward, and Lingard had mentioned Cranmer's need to do this because of his low theology of priesthood, Gasquet and Bishop claim that Cranmer was forced to submit by law, because on 6 February 1547 the council had required such submission from all the bishops.³⁹

This accusation was not apropos of anything, except to heap more abuse on Cranmer. Not only was he deceitful, he was a coward as well, who blew with the wind. As a contrast, the authors present Tunstall and Gardiner, who objected to the above submission, and the rest of the Catholic party of bishops, who stood firm against the Prayer Book. Not only were their objections important, but the way in which their objections were overcome (i.e. imprisonment) was significant. When the second

³⁷Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 130. Yet, all the while, it is admitted that Cranmer followed the letter of the law. Gasquet writes: 'Whilst it is impossible not to feel with a certain sense of disquiet the innovating spirit which runs through the whole, or to overlook the definite manifestation of uncatholic intent which here and there betrays itself, it may be said that the prayers...contain little to which definite objection can be taken' (Eye, pp. 92-93).

³⁸Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 129.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 42-43.

Prayer Book came to a vote in 1552, four of the Catholic party had been deprived of their sees, and Tunstall was already in prison. Only four remained to oppose the changes.⁴⁰ Without force, in other words--the same force needed to bully the Parliament into passing the Act of Dissolution--there would have been no approval.

The unpopularity of the new order of prayer went beyond the Catholic party of bishops to the priests and people as well. In a letter to Bishop Scory in 1583 or 1584, the canons of Hereford complained:

It is lamentable to...see the blind zeal in darkness so observed, and now the true light and pathway to salvation neglected. Then were there tapers, torches and lamps great plenty, with censing to idols most costly...; but now not scarce one little candle is allowed or maintained to read a chapter in the dark evening in the choir. And as for resorting to hear the truth of the gospel, it is little regarded.⁴¹

The conclusion of the book is that the Prayer Book, and not Henry VIII, had 'swept away ruthlessly the ancient and popular practices of religion and substituted others that were strange, bare and novel,' and, what is more, had to be imposed by force.⁴²

The clergy were more easily coerced than the bishops, because Cranmer had obtained sole power of granting permission to preach in 1548. He used this licensing power to get rid of the opposition, and the first to go was Gardiner. In one incident,

⁴⁰Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath had been imprisoned earlier for refusing either to assent to or implement the first Prayer Book or Ordinal (Heath).

⁴¹Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 12.

⁴²Ibid., p. 252.

treated as symbolic by the authors of Edward VI, a preacher licensed by Cranmer came to Christ Church in Hampshire and mocked the Eucharist as an idol. 'In the circumstances,' Gasquet and Bishop ask, 'what could the Catholic clergy, powerless to prevent one sent with authority from speaking, do, but leave the church as they actually did.'⁴³

For the most part, the clergy were simply overlooked. Parliament approved the first Prayer Book without ever having submitted it to the convocation of bishops for approval, and finally submitting it to the body of clergy as an afterthought, when it became apparent their approval could help to overcome popular opposition.⁴⁴

Interestingly, Anglican Orders is hardly mentioned in Edward VI. When later events pushed it back into the spotlight, Bishop was quite proud of the fact that the book had largely ignored the issue, thus relieving him and Gasquet from the charge of special pleading. Bishop was one of the first to see the controversy coming, and, knowing how it would ultimately end, warned Lord Halifax not to raise the issue.

Halifax charged ahead regardless--out of a false optimism for the prospects of reunion. He was encouraged in this by the French Abbe Portal, who had little idea of what the Anglican Church was like, and by his own sheltered opinion that the Anglican Church consisted exclusively of High Church types eager for reunion.

⁴³Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 106.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 155.

Gasquet reacted swiftly, once the matter was brought up again. He wanted Anglican Orders condemned unequivocally, leaving no room for further confusion. He wrote:

I hear that some parsons in this neighbourhood [Ditcham] are very pleased with the Portal incident. We have always said that priests all taught one and the same thing and that if any one tried to lay down the law for himself he was soon shut up by authority. Here they think they have found a man who can do and say what he likes. Unless he is disowned and sat-upon we shall have grave difficulties ahead. However his *raison d'etre* will be gone if there be a practical decision on the Ang. Orders question.⁴⁵

Gasquet was not the first person to take up the Anglican Orders question. Lingard and Tierney had both addressed it at mid-century, when Anglican pique at the re-ordination of convert clerics caused a flurry of debate. In that debate, Lingard advised Wiseman to avoid placing too much emphasis on the defect of form (i.e. that the words themselves in the Ordinal were insufficient to convey ordination), thinking that, for both canonical and historical reasons, the defective-form argument by itself could be refuted. Instead, he urged Wiseman to focus on the more general grounds that Anglicanism was in the most complete sense schismatical.⁴⁶ Lingard wrote to Wiseman:

I do not see in that form [of Anglican ordination] any difficulty, which is not also found in the ordination of the Greeks. I would rather dispute their claim of succession, which must come through Parker; and he can claim only through Barlowe, a deprived bishop, who had

⁴⁵Gasquet, Memorandum 14 August 1896, DA--Gasquet Papers, 2942.

⁴⁶Wilfrid Ward, The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman (London, 1899), I, 300.

no authority by the ecclesiastical law, none by the civil law...none but what he derived from the pettycoats of the Queen.⁴⁷

Mark Tierney, on the other hand, saw form as decisive, and defective-form as sufficient to nullify Anglican Orders:

The question is, not as to what the [consecrating] Bishops intend or profess to convey, but what the Ordinal itself actually enables them to convey. Catholics object to the belief and intention of those who framed, not of those who afterwards used the Ordinal. They show that, in every ancient form of ordination, in the East no less than in the West, the power of offering Sacrifice was invariably expressed: on the other hand they find that in the Ordinal of Edward every allusion to this peculiar Sacerdotal function is omitted...purposely to exclude the Sacrificial Office.⁴⁸

Intention, furthermore, was insufficient to supply the defect:

An intention to do what the Church does--even a false Church, if you please--may give effect to a form that is already valid, but it can neither impart validity where it is wanting, nor enable an imperfect form to convey a power which it was specially framed to desecrate.⁴⁹

When the controversy arose again in the 1880's, Lingard's approach was adopted. Gasquet was motivated by the larger issue of Anglican liturgy, and saw Anglican Orders in the context of a more general break with the past. His task was to apply the principles of Edward VI to the issue and arrive at predictable results: Anglican Orders were null and void on the general

⁴⁷Lingard to Wiseman, 25 Feb. 1840, UCA--Lingard Papers, 350.

⁴⁸AAS--Tierney Papers, no date.

⁴⁹AAS--Tierney Papers, no date, c. 1857.

grounds that the whole spirit and wording of the new liturgy deliberately excluded the notion of sacrifice.⁵⁰

Bishop's feeling was important, since he was in a large sense the brains behind Gasquet's operation. A forthright letter to a lay friend reveals Bishop's candid feelings on the subject and bears quoting at length:

1) The Book of Common Prayer, including its Ordinal, was drawn up on purpose to abolish the sacrifice of the Mass and to substitute therefore a Calvinist sort of communion service.

2) On the subject of the Eucharist, with the most explicit and indignant rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, these men professed as their own a teaching which was not even Lutheran in type, but precisely Calvin's....They profess and believe in the persistence of the bread and the wine, but deny the permanence of the 'Body and Blood'...

3) Such was the universal belief of clergy and laity in the Church of England from the Elizabethan settlement until the beginning of the Tracts about 1835. The doctrinal changes of view, relative to the Eucharist, that have affected the main body of Tractarians, are due to Dr. Pusey, and really date from the 'fifties of the last century. He introduced a kind of Lutheran system; this has since been dropped...in favour of a bastard kind of Transubstantiationism.

4) The notion of sacrifice in the celebration of the Eucharist has been categorically denied by everyone and in all senses.

...Is it credible that the Anglican clergy has kept the priesthood while rejecting and repudiating it, both in itself and its ordinary effects--the consecration of the Body and Blood of our Lord and the celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass?

⁵⁰Bishop's biographer states that while Edward VI hardly mentions Anglican Orders, 'yet the whole book demonstrates incidentally the historical fact that Cranmer and his associates were moved by the single impulse to eradicate from the formularies of the Church of England, as foreign to the very basis of her doctrinal structures and essence, the idea of the Mass' (Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop, p. 154).

1a. No one has ever been able to find any proof or record of the consecration of the bishop from whom the clergy of the Church of England derives 'succession' [i.e. Parker]; but he is known to have declared without ambiguity that the king could make him a bishop just as effectively as any bishop in Christendom.

2a. It is now known that from the very first, from the re-establishment of Catholicism in Mary Tudor's reign, Rome has consistently refused to recognise these protestant (Anglican) ^{deeds} in England, and has always, then and ever since, acted in practical conformity with this negative opinion....⁵¹

In some respects, the last-enumerated argument was Bishop's most original contribution to the controversy. Years before the Anglican Orders question had arisen, he mentioned to Abbot Ethelbert Horne that he could solve the whole problem in five minutes if he were shown certain documents. Those documents, he intuitively reasoned, were letters from Rome to Cardinal Pole. Horne writes:

When Cardinal Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury, under Mary Tudor, Bishop saw that he must have been in a most difficult position with old valid priests and the new/Reformed parsons under him. He would not have dared to settle such a question as the validity of these Reformed Orders himself, but would have sent to Rome for instructions. It was those papers that would really settle the question and Gasquet carried out the idea.⁵²

The papal document produced as a result of these efforts, Apostolicae Curae (1896), declared Anglican Orders invalid and read suspiciously like Gasquet throughout. It states:

Hence not only is there in the whole Ordinal no clear mention of sacrifice, of consecration, of priesthood, of

⁵¹Bishop to De Mely, in Abercrombie, Edmund Bishop, pp.228-229.

⁵²Bishop to De Mely, in Leslie, Gasquet, pp. 50-51.

the power to consecrate and offer sacrifice, but, as We have already indicated, every trace of these and similar things remaining in such prayers of the Catholic rite as were not completely rejected, was purposely removed and obliterated. The native character and spirit of the Ordinal, as one might say, is thus objectively evident.⁵³

What stands out in Apostolicae Curae is not the argument over defective form and intention, even though the document gives due attention to both; it is the condemnation of the overriding character and spirit of Reformation Anglicanism, the total significance of the Anglican rite of ordination, and its unmistakable protest against the Catholic priesthood.⁵⁴ What stands out is not so much the canonical argument, in other words, as the historical argument. More than any other encyclical written in the nineteenth century, Apostolicae Curae depended on history and historians for its conclusions.⁵⁵

Though the question of liturgy became muted in the twentieth century, the theme that the Reformation was a break with the past continued to be stressed. Robert Hugh Benson's novels focussed on the sufferings of Catholics testifying for the ancient Faith

⁵³Francis Clark, Anglican Orders (London, 1960), p. 5.

⁵⁴The pope never said whose intention was defective, nor what was specifically defective about it!

⁵⁵It also depended on the argument from authority, though this was not so much stated in the document itself as given expression by later theologians in defence of the document. Francis Clark has written, 'When the sufficiency or insufficiency of a rite is in question, the decisive norm is the acceptance or rejection of it by the Catholic Church' (Anglican Orders, p. 10). Edward Schillebeeckx, in a similar vein, wrote to Clark: 'It belongs to the true Church to determine whether a rite performed in given circumstances is an "exteriorisation" of her own faith, that is, whether it is her own act; or whether it is, on the contrary, an act expressing the faith of another, separated church, qua separated. In the latter case the rite is not valid' (Anglican Orders, p. 10).

(Come Rack! Come Rope!), the dissolution of the monasteries (The King's Achievement), and the question of continuity in the widest sense (By What Authority). In this last regard, he quotes Campion:

In condemning us, you condemn all your ancestors, all the ancient priests, bishops, and kings--all that was once the glory of England, the island of saints, and the most devoted child of the See of Peter....For what have we taught, however you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach?⁵⁶

Belloc agreed. Protestant England was cut off from her past: 'When England became Protestant she became a new thing and the old Catholic England of the thousand years before the Reformation is, to the Englishman after the Reformation, a foreign country.'⁵⁷

Belloc, while certain about the effect of the Reformation, is not very specific about the cause. As was pointed out in Chapter Five, it depended on whom he was writing about. In his biography of Cranmer, he writes, 'To get rid of the Mass was the soul of the whole affair.'⁵⁸ Then, in the same book, he suggests that the new translation of the Bible was crucial, being the means by which the reformers disseminated their heretical views.⁵⁹ But in his Characters of the Reformation he claims that the 'true artisan of that prodigious change was William Cecil',

⁵⁶Robert Hugh Benson, By What Authority, p. 172.

⁵⁷Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 193.

⁵⁸Belloc, Cranmer, p. 233.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 163-192. Belloc contends that Henry VIII was duped by Cranmer and Cromwell into approving the new translation because they knew he would never read it (Ibid.).

who changed England from a Catholic country to a Protestant one.⁶⁰ These claims, while related in the loosest sense in the very complicated question of how the English Reformation came about, are hardly reconcilable. To say that one thing was the most important cause in one book, and another thing was the most important cause in another book, bespoke the tactics of a debater rather than the methods of an historian, to whom an integrated view of details is so necessary.

Belloc seemed similarly unclear on the significance of doctrine in the break with Rome and the past. In Characters of the Reformation heresy looms large, as Gardiner is shown approving the schism, but balking when the schism begins to turn into heresy. Belloc comments:

That which he [Gardiner] had never thought possible, the presence of an anti-Catholic government in England--the destruction of the Mass--the unscrupulous despoiling of Guild property--the oversetting of all Shrines--the wanton destruction of Churches--had proved to him what the fruits of disunion might be. But for the schism, which he had approved, such things could not have come to pass.⁶¹

Yet, years later, Belloc plays down the importance of doctrinal and liturgical changes in effecting the Reformation.

He writes:

[The English Reformation] was doctrinally imperfect and vague, having but one fixed principle behind it--the loot of religious endowment--so it was slow to the extreme in developing and was never completed....Certain

⁶⁰Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 193.

⁶¹Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 147.

doctrinal formulae were attempted, as in the Thirty-Nine Articles,...but they were never actively enforced.⁶²

Whatever the details, the main idea remained: the Reformation was a negative thing--it destroyed: 'There has never been a fixed Protestant creed. The common factor has been, and is, reaction against the traditions of Europe.'⁶³

The continuity debate drew from Catholic historians an interesting range of opinion. There was universal agreement among them that Anglicanism was discontinuous with the ancient Church, but the focus of that discontinuity changed as the century wore on. For converts in the aftermath of the Oxford Movement, the Reformation severed the Anglican Church from the Fathers of the Church, from the first councils, and from the early Church, where they had hoped to find a safe refuge.

With Gasquet and Bishop, the Reformation cut the ties to the medieval Church. They, like the Tractarians, read forward from their area of concern, interpreting the Reformation from the vantage point of the Middle Ages, rather than from the other way round, as Protestant historians had done.⁶⁴

Belloc saw discontinuity more in terms of a break with Rome.

The Reformation is simply the turning-back of that tide of Roman culture, which, for seven hundred years, had set steadily forward and had progressively dominated the

⁶²Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 73.

⁶³Belloc, Europe and the Faith, p. 294.

⁶⁴David Knowles would do the same. The Reformation, by this method, would be shorn of its tendency to provide its own 'historical defence mechanisms' by creating its own history of the pre-Reformation (Edwin Jones, English Historical Writing, p. 5, and Brian Wormald, 'Historiography', p. 50).

insufficient by the sufficient, the slower by the quicker, the confused by the clear-headed. It was a sort of protest by the conquered against a moral and intellectual superiority which offended them.⁶⁵

This was in some conflict with John Hungerford Pollen's opinion that the Reformation was a break precisely because it was determined by the Renaissance, which was a Roman and therefore a pagan thing:

The Renaissance had led to disrespect for canon law, on the plea of its being Gothic and out of fashion; while enthusiasm for the classics had led to the veneration of Roman law, with its idea of the State and secular ruler being absolute.⁶⁶

Notwithstanding the disagreement over the exact placement of the break, Catholics agreed that there was a break, and that the break was more than schismatic. Even Gasquet, who had put so much weight on the dissolution of the monasteries, came to admit that something more was needed to bring about the Reformation than the dissolution, which had deprived the Church of 'some dignity and strength', but had left the essentials of the Faith unchanged.⁶⁷ The system of public worship, as long as Henry remained alive, continued as it had in the Middle Ages. Henry had effected only a clumsy and cosmetic change in dissolving the monasteries; it was left to Edward VI and his ministers ('that gang' as Belloc calls them⁶⁸) to sweep away the ancient liturgy

⁶⁵Belloc, Europe and the Faith, p. 294.

⁶⁶Pollen, English Catholics, p. 51.

⁶⁷Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 4.

⁶⁸Belloc, Characters of the Reformation, p. 146.

and, in the process, the ancient religion.

How completely Gasquet adopted this attitude can be shown in his Advent series of lectures, given at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City in 1913, where he spoke on the English Reformation. He described the Reformation as a break with the past in liturgy, priesthood, and authority. There is virtually no mention of the dissolution of the monasteries.⁶⁹

⁶⁹Gasquet, England's Break with Rome (London, 1920).

CHAPTER VII

CHARACTERS OF THE REFORMATION

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, biography became more and more important in historical writing, and Catholics were anxious to put this relatively new literary form to use in defence of their Church. Thus several Catholic biographers appear who have had only slight mention in this study until now. Their importance is negligible for two reasons. First, there were so many more writers of history in the late nineteenth century, that these recent arrivals tended to get lost in the crowd. Joseph Berington and Charles Butler were hardly better historians, but they were the only ones producing Catholic history at the time, and so stand out in greater relief. They were also the leaders of an influential group within the Catholic body, while later Catholic biographers were relatively insignificant members of a large and unified body. Only Wilfrid Ward stands out during this time as a Catholic biographer commanding respect, and his attention was not turned towards characters of the Reformation. Secondly, history had advanced to such a state that these later writers would be safely ignored. Very little in Catholic biography by Jean Mary Stone or Martin Haile or Ethelred Taunton approximated the work being done at the same time by non-Catholics such as Pollard and Maitland. Yet, this Catholic biography, unimportant though it may be in shedding light on historical characters, is interesting for the light it sheds on the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century. Several

important patterns can be seen, and several trends develop from the biographical notes of historians concerned with larger histories (e.g. the Cisalpines) to the specific biographies of later Ultramontanes.

One such pattern is the treatment Catholic historians gave to Catholic and non-Catholic characters in the Reformation--agreeing, on the whole, about non-Catholic characters, and disagreeing to a considerable degree over the Catholic ones.

Lingard's disdain for Martin Luther and John Knox is typical. Ordinarily temperate in his handling of Protestant issues, Lingard could not conceal his contempt for either reformer. Luther was portrayed as a bright, impetuous, and fanatical youth, who dissembled when confronted by authority, and who could be abusive. 'Whatever knowledge the German reformer might possess of doctrines,' Lingard wrote, 'his writings displayed little of the mild spirit of the gospel.'¹

Lingard saw in Luther's choice of the Ninety-Five Theses the same equivocation that the Oxford reformers noted in the Thirty-Nine Articles: 'There were few among them which could not claim the patronage of some orthodox writer.'² Luther had inspired the growth of preachers who copied his style, if not his theology:

The country curate, who was unknown beyond the precincts of his village, the friar who had hitherto vegetated in the obscurity of his convent, saw the way to riches and celebrity suddenly opened before them. They had only to ascend their pulpits, to display the new light, which had lately burst upon them, to declaim against the wealth of the clergy and the tyranny of the popes; and

¹Lingard, History, IV, 112.

²Ibid., 98.

they were immediately followed by crowds of disciples....These teachers soon discovered that they had as good a claim to infallibility as Luther...³

Lingard could be equally curt when it came to the Oath of Supremacy. 'The king,' he wrote, 'like all other reformers, made his own judgment the standard of orthodoxy.'⁴ John Knox was dismissed just as sarcastically. Lingard quoted a letter from Knox to Mrs. Anne Locke, which read:

At length they [the Government] were content to take assurance for eight days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black monkes, distant from St. Andrewis twelve miles, we reformed; their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits.

To this, Lingard added, 'This was what he interpreted to be freedom of religion!'⁵ Such asides were rare in Lingard's History, but belie his pro-Catholic leanings. They also express a feeling common to Catholic historians throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that no matter how much they may have disagreed with each other about the merits of Catholic figures in the Reformation, they almost always agreed that the non-Catholics were always in the wrong. If Lingard, who was reputedly sensitive to the non-Catholics on this score, could so fail to conceal his feelings about them, there would be little hope for the later, more outspoken, Ultramontanes.

³Lingard, History, IV, 114-115.

⁴Ibid., 273.

⁵Ibid., V, 165, n. 40.

Sometimes the view that non-Catholics were in the wrong could be taken to interesting lengths. When Catholics rushed to defend Mary Tudor from the charge of persecuting the Protestants cruelly, one of the arguments they used was that Protestants had persecuted with equal severity, had defended the use of religious persecution and were now suffering because their very principles were being applied to themselves.⁶ This could only be maintained by establishing a double standard, i.e. what was right for Catholics was not necessarily right for Protestants. The persecution conceived and carried out by the Protestants was undeniably inhuman, and would be dwelt on by Catholic writers bent on showing the injustice of Protestant rulers, but it could also be called forth as a precedent for Marian cruelty. If Protestants had no right to criticise Mary for the severity of her persecution, on the grounds that Protestant authorities had also persecuted, then Catholics had slim grounds on which to base their disgust of the persecution under the other Tudors (see below, pp. 252-255).

Nor was Mary's persecution the only occasion in which this double-standard was employed. In another example, Lingard compares the deaths of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn, attempting to show the genuine grief expressed by Henry at the death of the former, and his utter joy at the death of the latter, his purpose being to show the goodness of Catherine, which permeated even the thick skin of a Henry VIII. Such is Lingard's preoccupation with the contrast, most of which is

⁶Jean Mary Stone, Mary I. Queen of England (London, 1901), pp. 357-360.

inaccurate to begin with,⁷ that he could be fairly laid open to the charge of gloating. There is as much here to condemn Henry as Anne, and what later undermines Lingard's case is his handling of Henry's 'grief' at the death of Jane Seymour: 'His grief for her loss, *if he were capable of feeling such grief*, seemed to be absorbed in his joy for the birth of a son.'⁸ One wonders where this leaves Henry's supposed grief at the death of Catherine of Aragon.

Archbishop Cranmer was the one non-Roman to attract the most concentrated and unanimous abuse from Catholic historians, and it was precisely because he was non-Roman by principle that he attracted such a sustained assault. Other characters were non-Roman by accident: Henry broke with the Roman Church because of passion, Cromwell because of power and greed, Elizabeth because of her desire for political stability, etc. But certain reformers broke with the Roman Church because of principle: they wanted to destroy the Church for no other reason than that it stood in the way of reform. For Cromwell and the others, the break with Rome was an unfortunate, but inessential part of their design. Had the Church not stood in the way of their designs, it would, in all likelihood, have remained untouched. For the reformers, destroying the Church as it was then constituted was at the very heart of the design. And no one personified that

⁷Professor Scarisbrick claims Henry did not mourn for Catherine. In fact, his actual response to news of her death seems to have been quite the opposite. Scarisbrick writes, 'When news of her death at Kimbolton reached London, Henry--dressed from head to toe in exultant yellow--celebrated the event with Mass, a banquet, dancing and jousting' (*Henry VIII*, p. 335).

⁸Lingard, *History*, IV, 293. The italics are mine.

destruction better than Cranmer. He had fashioned the break with Rome and then had acted to bring the break about. Thus he symbolised the Anglican Church for many Catholics, especially since the Oxford Movement, so that, in many ways, to attack Cranmer was to attack the Anglican Church itself. His weaknesses were its weaknesses.

The weakness most often cited by Catholics was Cranmer's dissembling--in qualifying his episcopal oath in secret, in declaring Catherine's marriage invalid, and in dissolving the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn. Lingard writes:

It must have been a most unwelcome and painful task. He [Cranmer] had examined the marriage juridically; and had pronounced it good and valid; and had confirmed it by his authority as metropolitan and judge. But to hesitate might have cost him his head. He acceded to the proposal [of annulment] with all the zeal of a proselyte.⁹

Cranmer was, for Lingard, a type of Anglican bishop who made of dissembling a way of life. These Henrician bishops were divided between supporters of the 'Old Learning' and the 'New Learning', the common denominator being that they were all dishonest. Those who supported the Old Learning 'consented to renounce the papal supremacy, and to subscribe to every successive innovation in the established creed'. Supporters of the New Learning, says Lingard,

submitted with equal weakness to teach doctrines which they disapproved, to practise a worship which they deemed idolatrous or superstitious, and to consign men

⁹Lingard, History, IV, 242-243.

to the stake for the open profession of tenets, which,...they themselves inwardly believed.¹⁰

Belloc agreed with Lingard's assessment in his brief portrait of the Archbishop in Characters of the Reformation. Cranmer was a weak cleric, a 'time-server and a coward', who was 'crapulous and would do anything he was told'.¹¹ Furthermore, writes Belloc:

[Cranmer] showed little intelligence or foresight, was devoid of all initiative, accepted through fear the various tasks thrust upon him, was always subservient, and by nature hypocritical and wavering.¹²

Belloc also agreed with Lingard's judgment that Cranmer's treatment of Anne Boleyn, once she was threatened, was a 'betrayal'. But Belloc saw, in one respect, more to condemn than had Lingard, namely Cranmer's pattern of 'gentle deceptiveness',¹³ applied first to the Maid of Kent, then Anne Boleyn, and later Catherine Howard, feigning sympathy with them all, then turning informer:

When Henry got tired of Anne Boleyn, Cranmer speedily turned against this woman to whom he owed all his promotion and position and in whose household he had been nourished; wormed out of her by feigned friendship some sort of admission of guilt, and betrayed her to

¹⁰Lingard, History, IV, 263. Lingard adds, 'Henry's infallibility continually oscillated between the two parties' (Ibid.).

¹¹Belloc, Characters, pp. 139, 143.

¹²Ibid., p. 125.

¹³Knowles, Religious Orders in England, III, 187.

Henry. His miserable weakness and subservience was thus guilty of her blood.¹⁴

Belloc extended his revulsion of Cranmer into book length with the only biography of Cranmer to be produced by a Catholic in this period. The note of dissembling is prominent throughout the work. The fact that Cranmer had escaped so often from almost certain death--first in the case of Anne Boleyn, then in the downfall of Cromwell, and for a time during the reign of Mary Tudor--led Belloc to suspect Cranmer of cowardice and deceit. Cranmer, however, had never grovelled more than at the trial of Lambert (or Nicholson) in 1538, when the presiding Henry VIII forced the bishops (including Cranmer) to defend the doctrine of the Eucharist.¹⁵ In 1540 Cranmer similarly voted for the Six Articles on all three readings, thus defending yet again the Real Presence, communion in one kind, and celibacy as a law of God.¹⁶ Furthermore, a John Frith was condemned by Cranmer, then burned for denying what Cranmer himself denied.¹⁷

¹⁴Belloc, Characters, pp. 131-132. For Cranmer's conduct in reference to Catherine Howard, see Ibid., pp. 132, 207.

¹⁵Belloc, Cranmer (London, 1931), p. 157.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 109-114. Even defenders of Cranmer have difficulty with his dissembling. Maria Dowling, in a recent article entitled 'Anne Boleyn and Reform', writes: 'Cranmer made a courageous attempt to save [Anne], telling Henry of his amazement at the guilt imputed to her but carefully hedging his bets in an attempt, so to speak, to save the child [himself or Elizabeth?] if not the mother.' Dowling then cites a letter from Cranmer to Henry VIII in May 1536: 'If she proved culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his gospel that ever will favour her...for then there was never creature in our time that hath so much slandered the gospel' (Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXXV, January 1984, p. 45).

There are, of course, problems with Belloc's presentation--namely, that it lacks balance. The charges he makes against Cranmer may be true, but Belloc fails to say anything more. No complicating facts are introduced (in Frith's case, that he was condemned more for his threat to public order than for any heretical views), and few, if any, alternative conclusions are proposed.

There is, after all, the hint of genuine human sympathy in Cranmer's conduct, even in the case of Anne Boleyn. He visits her the day after her condemnation--whether out of guilt, or to maintain appearances, or because he genuinely felt wretched at the prospect of her death (which certainly would have taken place regardless of Cranmer's role)--the visit is a mitigating fact, because it does not benefit Cranmer in any detectable way, and needs explanation.

Secondly, the king appears to have borne an affection for Cranmer which went beyond the latter's subservience and prevarication. This affection, difficult as Henry's personality is to explain, might account for Cranmer's two 'escapes' better than does Belloc, who never says how Cranmer escaped Cromwell's fate.¹⁸ It is possible that Cranmer was an amiable sort of pawn--whose only ambition was to bring about a reformation. Finding himself hopelessly enmeshed in the political intrigues of the time, he extricated himself only at the cost of his integrity. This suggestion deserves at least a hearing in a book

¹⁸Neither, significantly, does he mention Gardiner's role in the conspiracy to undo the Chief Minister (Cranmer, Chapter XI, 'The Second Peril').

purporting to be a biography. Cranmer certainly deserves a measure of censure--as, for example, when he annulled the marriage between Henry and Anne rather incredibly on the grounds of affinity. But he also deserves a fairer hearing than he received from Catholic historians.

One thing which Belloc does grant to Cranmer, in addition to his 'limited' artistry in phrasing short passages of English prose, is the fact that Cranmer suffered an unjust death. There had always been an 'implied contract' that if a heretic recanted, he should be spared. Cranmer had recanted several times, and at length--of course, another example of his dissembling and cowardice--but Belloc says the charade was not entirely his fault:

It seems to me unjust to have accepted these numerous recantations and to have obviously favoured their repetition and increasing emphasis, if they [Mary and her ministers] had not intended to spare him.¹⁸

Catholic historians had not always been so critical. When it came to Catholic historical characters, a number of Catholic historians could brook no criticism whatsoever. Cranmer's execution, and the larger Marian persecution, are cases in point. To Jean Mary Stone, there is not the least question that Cranmer's execution was the fault of anyone besides Cranmer himself. She writes:

[Cranmer] had proved himself so base a dissembler, that no confidence could be placed in any of his recantations, even if he had stuck to them....He suffered according to the notions of his day, according

¹⁸Belloc, Characters, p. 137.

to his own principles in dealing with others, and for causes which he had himself once considered sufficient for death.¹⁹

Oftentimes Catholic authors felt free to call names, or make remarks which went beyond not only good history but good manners as well. Thomas Bridgett, a Redemptorist priest who wrote at the end of the nineteenth century begins one paragraph about Cranmer with the following words: 'Caiphas, then, now being high priest...'²⁰ When Cranmer testified that the Maid of Kent confessed to him that she never had a vision, Bridgett comments, 'This can only be decisive to those who have some trust in Cranmer's truthfulness.'²¹

Neither Mary Tudor nor Cardinal Pole were to blame for Cranmer's death; he was treasonous--quite apart from his heresy--and had been given every opportunity to recant and flee. Cardinal Pole is exonerated by Martin Haile on the grounds that he treated Cranmer with 'ineffable tenderness and compassion'.²²

Mary's persecution is explained in a number of ways. In several works, including Stone's articles in the Dublin Review, it is mentioned only as a merciful alternative to Elizabeth's

¹⁹Jean Mary Stone, The Church in English History (Edinburgh: 1907), p. 199.

²⁰Thomas Bridgett, The Life of Blessed John Fisher (London, 1890), p. 227.

²¹Ibid., p. 239. What highlights Bridgett's disdain for Cranmer is that he himself was no supporter of the Maid of Kent. In the same biography of Fisher, he writes, 'The Maid of Kent may have been a weak visionary or a cunning imposter, and, in truth, when we compare the evidence of the various witnesses, it is hard to refrain from the opinion that she was a little of both' (Ibid., p. 238).

²²Martin Haile, Life of Reginald Pole (London, 1910), p. 485.

persecution. Dodd does not mention the persecution at all. In those books which do admit the event of the heresy burnings, opinions vary. Several polemical arguments surface. That the times were responsible receives considerable support from a wide selection of Catholic historians. Mary Jean Stone says that in an age when forgers and coiners were put to death, 'It would have seemed incongruous that apostates and heretics should fare more softly.'²³ Martin Haile reinforces this by claiming that burnings for heresy were 'the almost inevitable consequences in that day.'²⁴

Lingard, in supporting this theory, brings up a related one: no one else was any better. He writes that it was Mary's 'misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries'.²⁵ Berington had already pointed out that Protestants had little ground on which to base a criticism of Catholic persecution, given their own practices, and Stone underlined this by saying Protestants put heretics to death as eagerly as had Catholics.²⁶

But even Catholics were unenlightened, especially those on Mary's council, which Stone used as another argument to excuse Mary from blame. Mary had authorised their actions, but those actions were primarily their responsibility, and not hers. She

²³Stone, Mary I, p. 361.

²⁴Haile, Life of Pole, p. 531.

²⁵Lingard, History, V, (6th edition), 259. This fails to notice that several of her contemporaries--from Philip II to Pole to the pope) urged her not to persecute for heresy.

²⁶Stone, Mary I, pp. 357-360.

quotes the historian Reeves in this regard:

She [Mary] rather yielded to their advice, and desired the execution of the measure not only to be moderated, but to be directed rather against popular agitators than against private holders of heretical opinions.²⁷

That it went wrong, Stone does not admit; nor does she hazard a guess as to why it went wrong. Belloc places the blame squarely on Paget.²⁸

Other Catholics went further in singling out Mary as partially responsible. John Milner, surprisingly, calls Mary's persecution 'odious' and says that she 'too hastily inferred [from numerous provocations] that the existence of the Protestant religion was incompatible with the security of the government'.²⁹ His point, however, is not without its apologetic value since he makes this concession on the way to condemning Elizabeth for similar haste, thus providing another argument for Catholic Emancipation. A further interest of Milner's is to clear the Church from any complicity in the burnings. Mary, he insisted, did not punish heretics out of any tenet of her religion, especially since the pope and Cardinal Pole were averse to violence.³⁰ Regardless of Milner's motives, the note he struck was entirely new. He even describes the heroic deaths of two Protestants in admiring tones.³¹

²⁷Stone, The Church in English History, p. 196. C.f. John Reeves, History of the English Law (London: 1787-1829).

²⁸Belloc, Characters, p. 163.

²⁹Milner, The History of Winchester, pp. 355-356.

³⁰Ibid., p. 355.

³¹Ibid., p. 359.

Lingard took this a step further and said intolerance was not only a Marian characteristic, but a family trait as well:

I am inclined to believe that the queen herself...had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward: 'that as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of the Christian prince, and more so one, who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the gangrene, that it might not spread to sounder parts'. In this principle both parties seem to have agreed.³²

Later Catholics, namely Belloc and Pollen, saw the single most important flaw in Mary's otherwise outstanding character as her disregard for public opinion. The marriage to Philip was an error, according to Belloc, only because it was so universally unpopular.³³ Similarly, the decision to persecute for heresy rather than for treason was a mistake because it made the Church unpopular at a time when its popularity was crucial.³⁴ And Belloc blames Mary more for failing to recognise the unpopularity of the burnings, rather than for the burnings themselves. Their great evil was that they gave the Protestants a cause.³⁵

Even so, uncritical praise continued to haunt Catholic writing on Mary, culminating in Jean Mary Stone's hagiography in 1901.

³²Lingard, History, V, 102.

³³Belloc, Characters, pp. 160-161.

³⁴Pollen, English Catholics, pp. 6-8. See also Haile, Life of Pole, p. 488.

³⁵Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 36. Philip's advice not to prosecute for heresy was 'one of the wisest pieces of advice ever given by one government to another' (Ibid.). C.f. Belloc, Characters, p. 162.

In this book even Mary's physical beauty is the subject of extended praise. Stone calls her 'the desire of all eyes', and quotes Marillac, who describes Mary as

Twenty-four years of age, of medium height, with well-proportioned features, and a perfect complexion, which makes her look as if she were but eighteen. Her voice is full and deep, and rather more masculine in tone than her father's.³⁶

Belloc, who seemed interested in deformities, disagreed, and drew an entirely different picture of Mary's appearance:

She was...of bad health, she was short, prematurely aged (in her thirty-eighth year but looking fifteen years older), she had a rough deep voice almost like a man's, a head too big for her body, and altogether an unimpressive presence.³⁷

The difference in these two descriptions had less to do with the difference between the twenty-four-year old and the thirty-eight year-old Mary, but with the writing of Catholic history, which was much more willing in Belloc's time to admit defects of personality and policy in Catholics than it had been not long before.

Not surprisingly, Mary's Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Pole, received a similar hagiographical treatment from the hands of Martin Haile at about the same time Stone was writing so glowingly of Mary I. Haile, who was really Maria Halle, sets the tone of her book on the first page:

³⁶Stone, Mary I, p. 156.

³⁷Belloc, Characters, p. 159.

Few figures stand out from among the shadows of the past more clearly, or with a friendlier aspect, than does that of Reginald Pole--learned, simple-minded, pious, endowed with intellectual gifts of the highest order, wise and prudent in counsel, ardently zealous, and yet patient and long-suffering in the extreme, and with a rectitude of mind as true to its conscience as the needle to the pole. Of a jocund humour, which many waters could not quench, and delightful in conversation, he was endeared by his contemporaries by qualities that have left a memory and a fragrance which time does not stale, but carries on from age to age.³⁸

Haile explains Pole's attempt to form an alliance of foreign powers to enforce the excommunication against Henry as a very modest effort at urging an embargo without the use of force.³⁹ This assessment was an elaboration of Lingard's opinion, which held that Pole was moderate in procuring several respites for Crammer and in stopping persecution for heresy in his diocese. So tolerant was Pole, in fact, that he was considered unorthodox by his more zealous co-religionists.⁴⁰

Whether Pole's activity against Henry amounted to 'fire-breathing calls for popular revolt', as Thomas Mayer has recently written,⁴¹ there certainly is a second opinion which found very little sympathy from Catholics. Only Cardinal Gasquet offers an objection, however, at least in reference to the innocence of

³⁸Haile, Life of Pole, p. 1. Later on in the same book, Haile writes: 'His modest bearing, united to his dauntless courage, had won him the affection and respect of the College of Cardinals; it was said of him that in consistory he expressed his opinions with so much grace that he never offended those whom he contradicted' (Ibid., p. 285).

³⁹Ibid., pp. 252-253.

⁴⁰Lingard, History, V, 97-98.

⁴¹Thomas Mayer, 'Reginald Pole', English Historical Journal, CVII, August 1984, p. 439.

the Cardinal's role in negotiating with Henry VIII. He says that Pole, in writing his De Unitate Ecclesiastica, ended what chance there was for Henry's return to Rome, sacrificing 'solid good...to the vainglory of style'. For Pole to call Henry 'worse than the Turk...was hardly', Gasquet continues, 'the kind of argument to convince him of the error of his ways'.⁴²

As much as these criticisms of Mary Tudor and Cardinal Pole differed, one judgment was common to all of them, i.e. the Protestant assessment was wrong. Even when Catholics disagreed about the responsibility of Mary, or the extent of her or Pole's involvement, they agreed that Protestant historians, if they had not misjudged the events and characters completely, had certainly exaggerated their respective roles.

The assessment of Cardinal Wolsey follows the same pattern. Some attempt was made to clear his name completely, though the impossibility of this led to one of the most bizarre of Catholic biographies, by Ethelred Taunton, who thought himself equal to the task. Most Catholics admitted Wolsey's weaknesses, but placed them favourably in the context of what was to follow. Lingard notices Wolsey as the one Henrician minister who had any redeeming qualities. As long as Wolsey was in power, Henry's excesses were held in check:

The best eulogy on [Wolsey's] character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before, and after the cardinal's fall. As long as Wolsey continued in favour, the royal passions were confined within certain bounds; the moment his influence was extinguished, they burst through every restraint, and by

⁴²Gasquet, Henry VIII, II, 7.

their caprice and violence alarmed his subjects, and astonished the other nations of Europe.⁴³

Ethelred Taunton mentions this moderating hand only in terms of Protestantism. As long as Wolsey was Chancellor, the advent of Protestantism was delayed, but as soon as he fell, 'the floodgates were opened'.⁴⁴

Taunton sees Wolsey in the same light that Haile saw Pole and Bridgett saw John Fisher: if only the rulers had listened to these Churchmen, things would probably have worked out much better. Taunton, however, has far less grounds for enthusiasm. He writes of Wolsey, 'It is clear that the Cardinal is the only one who comes out of the proceedings with clean hands.'⁴⁵

Wolsey, though he did not originate the idea of a divorce, was on solid ground in his contention that the original dispensation was defective.⁴⁶ It was, after all, a legal document. 'Was that document drawn up,' Taunton asks, 'in due legal form? This was the whole point.'⁴⁷ His answer is that no legal document of the time was without its loopholes:

⁴³Lingard, History, IV, 165. David Knowles notices this as well, writing, 'Certainly, no one who studies the policy and administrative acts of the two decades from 1520 to 1540 can fail to note the very great change, not only in external aims, but in mental climate, between the essentially traditional, orthodox, unbloody rule of the cardinal, and the revolutionary, secular and ruthlessly bloodstained decade of his successor' (Religious Orders, III, 205).

⁴⁴Taunton, Wolsey, p. 135.

⁴⁵Ibid. pp. vii-viii. This includes Catherine and Fisher. The former, Taunton implied, lied about the consummation of her marriage to Henry; about the latter he says nothing.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 174, 189.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 180.

Canonists in the course of ages had succeeded, by means of various impediments, in raising the marriage contract into such a highly artificial state, that it was by no means difficult for one with a nice legal sense to find out flaws or quibbles in documents that were not without value to the lawyers of Rome. We venture to surmise that these lawyers, often laymen, were not altogether adverse to methods of drawing up documents in such a manner as would provide for more business in the future.⁴⁸

This is not only a cynical statement, it is too simple. It is a far different thing to say that canon lawyers searched for loopholes and exploited them when possible, than to suggest that they deliberately created loopholes in original documents. Professor Scarisbrick, in his authoritative discussion of the annulment, puzzles over Rome's oversight in not dispensing from the impediment of public honesty while it was dispensing from affinity. Taunton thinks that the omission was deliberate, while Scarisbrick assumes that it was either an unintentional oversight, in which case Wolsey would have an argument, or that the dispensation from public honesty was assumed, which would explain why only Wolsey was making the argument. Scarisbrick writes:

If it is right to contend that Julius's bull was insufficient, why was this fact not quickly pounced upon in 1527, and thereafter, when the king's "great matter" was afoot? Why did not the scores of nimble doctors, the international team of theologians and canonists whom Henry called up to cut his Gordian knot leap upon this point?...In short, if the argument is sound, why did no one advance it when it was worth not just a horse, but, indeed, a kingdom?⁴⁹

⁴⁸Taunton, Wolsey, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁹Scarisbrick, Henry VII, p. 193.

The point is that Taunton, consistent with Catholic historiography of the time, refused to see the complications, such as his eagerness to praise the achievement of his hero. Taunton held that had Henry only been patient and not sought other means of obtaining the annulment, 'there is but little doubt...the Marriage, according to Canon Law, would have been declared null and void'.⁵⁰ Again, Taunton illogically saw too close a relation between his fact and his supposition. Henry had been stubborn and impatient, and had, perhaps foolishly, ignored the advice of his cardinal in this matter, but this does not mean that the dispensation, given sufficient quantities of patience, would have been forthcoming.

Taunton justifies his beliefs by saying that, since there was no canonical reason to grant Henry his annulment, the real reasons were 'Italian shiftiness and Spanish terrorism',⁵¹ a leap made necessary by the simplicity of Taunton's argument, but not warranted by the evidence. There is quite simply too much that goes unmentioned: the canonical arguments suggested by Scarisbrick (that the dispensation was implied or that the principle supplet ecclesia could have been applied);⁵² the silence of canonical experts on the public honesty issue; the unscrupulous activities of the English (including Wolsey) in

⁵⁰Taunton, Wolsey, p. 189.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 202.

⁵²Scarisbrick, Henry VIII, Chapter 7 ('The Canon Law of the Divorce.') Scarisbrick retracted his argument on public honesty in 1986: 'I used to think that Catherine's claim that her first marriage was not consummated gave Henry a chance: though there would have been no affinity between him and Catherine there would still have been the impediment of public honesty. But I now think that the principle of supplet Ecclesia would have made good the defect in Julius's bull' (Tablet, 25 January 1986, p. 86.)

trying to obtain the annulment; the refusal of the pope, even while under English protection (and considerable English pressure) in Orvieto, to grant the annulment.

Taunton's purpose becomes clearer when his biography of Wolsey is taken as a whole. Wolsey's lust for power is interpreted as a zealous desire to reform the Church. 'The power was asked for,' writes Taunton, 'not for extorting money, but for effecting reforms among the clergy and doing some good in the Lord's vineyard.'⁵³

Not only did Wolsey seek to regulate the English Church more effectively and to reform the monasteries, but he selflessly sought to become pope in order to bring about in the entire world what he aspired to do in England.⁵⁴ 'He stands,' in Taunton's assessment, 'head and shoulders above all his ecclesiastical contemporaries.'⁵⁵

Taunton is, of course, a caricature of bad historical writing. A comparison between Taunton's biography of Wolsey and Pollard's biography (1929) can only be embarrassing to Catholics. But even though most Catholic biography at the time approximated Taunton's work far more than it did Pollard's, it did not always compare so unfavourably with contemporary or later work. Thomas Bridgett was probably the best of the Catholic biographers of the late nineteenth century, and his biography of Thomas More (1891)

⁵³Taunton, Wolsey, p. 58.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 66.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 227. This is surpassed by Haile, who claims that Cardinal Pole was 'The greatest Englishman of his time' (Life of Pole, p. 2.).

stands up relatively well to the later biography by Chambers. Richard Marius, in the latest biography of Henry's Chancellor, gives Bridgett credit for reading everything available, though he did not read as critically as he should have^{done.} Nevertheless, Bridgett, knew theology and 'was the first modern scholar to see how varied More's life was and how that variety makes him much more interesting as a figure caught between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance'.⁵⁶

Chambers, on the other hand, by ignoring theology, leaves out all consideration of More's theological views, his hatred of heretics, his fear of hell, and thus writes a book which becomes, at times, 'simply silly'.⁵⁷

This is not to say that Bridgett was the last word in objectivity. His works could be 'venomous and censorious',⁵⁸ and often used events of the sixteenth century to defend Catholic doctrines of the nineteenth, especially in regard to the papacy. According to Bridgett, More, after being properly instructed on the issue by Bishop Fisher, 'not only held the Divine institution of that [spiritual] supremacy, but...he held also the deposing power of the pope to be of Divine institution'.⁵⁹ He supports this with a quotation by More which says no such thing.⁶⁰

⁵⁶Richard Marius, Thomas More (London, 1985), p. xix.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. xx.

⁵⁸English Historical Review, V, April 1890, p. 399.

⁵⁹Bridgett, Life of Fisher, p. 138.

⁶⁰C.f. More, Opera, Cap. X. 52.

Bridgett also suffered from the habit common to most Catholic biographers at the time of being carried away with praise for their subject, and his description of More or Fisher could just as easily be Haile's description of Pole. In regard to a poem More wrote in which the word 'Block' occurs, Bridgett writes: 'Did any shadow pass over the bright and handsome face of young More when he wrote that terrible word--the Block? Or was it rather a halo that played for a moment around his brow?'⁶¹

When seen against this background of uncritical adulation, the work of Belloc takes on a more positive aspect. In regard to Wolsey, Belloc had the advantage of Pollard's Wolsey, which he admired, and freely admitted Wolsey's many vices--from his great wealth, to his multiple benefices, intrigues, and the interesting item that the brother of his mistress was also his chaplain.⁶² One can only wonder what Taunton made of any of these facts, or what he would have made of David Knowles's remark that 'Wolsey had none of the spiritual qualities of a reformer'.⁶³ The inconsistency of maintaining Wolsey's reforming spirit in the midst of his own conduct in ecclesiastical and moral concerns, is an act of blindness, prejudice, or dishonesty, which unfortunately had too large a role in the writing of history by Catholics, and which helps to explain why Catholic history was so little regarded in Taunton's day.

⁶¹Bridgett, Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More (London, 1891), p. 15.

⁶²Belloc, Wolsey, pp. 45, 61.

⁶³Knowles, Religious Orders, III, 158.

Anne Boleyn did not fare much better than Cranmer from treatment by Catholic historians. Seen by them as a rather indifferent character religiously, Anne had either stood or fallen with her daughter Elizabeth, in Cisalpine accounts, or had been ignored altogether. Later accounts could not overlook the role she played in effecting the English Reformation, however accidental that role may have been. Lingard was really the first to assess her character in its own right, separating Anne from Elizabeth and judging her conduct on its own merits or demerits. This tended to soften criticism of Anne, but made what criticism there was that much more cogent. Lingard recognised that religion had coloured previous accounts of Anne's character, and had made an accurate understanding of her role somewhat elusive:

The question [of Anne's guilt] soon became one of religious feeling, rather than of historical disquisition....As her marriage with Henry led to the separation from the communion with Rome, the catholic writers were eager to condemn, the protestant to exculpate her memory.⁶⁴

Lingard recognised that the contradictory cycle of praise and blame began as early as the reigns of Henry and Elizabeth. 'To have expressed a doubt of [Anne's] guilt during the reign of Henry, or of her innocence during that of Elizabeth, would have been deemed proof of disaffection.'⁶⁵

In addition to Lingard's curiosity about Henry's different reactions to the deaths of Catherine and Anne (see Lingard, History, IV, 234-235, 246), there is the suggestion that Anne

⁶⁴Lingard, History, IV, 245.

⁶⁵Ibid., 245.

must have been somehow guilty of the charges of adultery. Only her guilt, Lingard reasoned, would explain Henry's 'insatiable hatred' towards her.

Lingard was guessing, and admitted that he could not support his argument with documentation, yet he remained intrigued enough by her cruel death to include his opinion about it in his history. He claimed that a divorce would have been sufficient in the case of Anne, but that Henry was not satisfied with this punishment and 'must have been impelled by some more powerful motive to exercise against her such extraordinary, and, in one supposition, such superfluous rigour'.⁶⁶ That motive, if indeed there was one, would have been Anne's unfaithfulness.

There are other explanations. Anne Boleyn was executed in 1536, at a time when opposition to Henry was being systematically rooted out. Examples abound of those who were faithful subjects and even renowned for their virtue, but who opposed the king in one or two particulars--sometimes even silently. Their deaths were overly dramatic--such as the hanging of the Observant Friars (1535) in their religious habits--as a warning to others, but also as a way of stating that they had done something significantly wrong, even if they had not. The cruelty of the punishment was, in some sense, a way of justifying the verdict on the victims. If the eighty-year old abbot of Glastonbury, who had signed the Oath of Supremacy and had sent money for the defeat of the Northern Uprisings, could be dragged to his place of execution, then hanged, drawn, and quartered, Anne Boleyn

⁶⁶Lingard, History, IV, 245-246.

could conceivably have been treated unfairly. Lingard's error is that he does not offer another explanation, or even suggest that there is one. For one pledged to objectivity, this must be seen as a shortcoming.⁶⁷

There were worse things to come. In 1877 David Lewis re-edited Sanders' Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism and found it necessary to defend Sanders' attack on Anne, by bringing up all the old material, e.g. that she was Henry's daughter, as well as this unusual item, which had been sent to the French Ambassador in Venice:

It is said that more than seven weeks ago a mob of from seven to eight thousand women of London went out of the town to seize Boleyn's daughter, the sweetheart of the king of England, who was supping at a villa--in una casa di piacere--on a river; the king not being with her; and having received notice of this she escaped by crossing the river in a boat. The women had intended to kill her, and amongst the mob were many men disguised as women.⁶⁸

Catholics could not even agree on Anne's physical appearance. While Martin Haile was inclined to think Anne was an Irish beauty, with dark hair and piercing eyes,⁶⁹ Belloc says her appearance was 'singular'. He continues:

She carried herself rather badly, was flat-chested and round-shouldered. She had a very thin neck, with the Adam's apple prominent and large--to which it was thought she owed her really fine contralto voice....Beautiful in

⁶⁷See E.W. Ives, Anne Boleyn (Oxford, 1986), pp. 383-408. Ives contends that Thomas Cromwell masterminded the adultery charges in order to save his own career.

⁶⁸David Lewis, Introduction to Sanders, The Anglican Schism, p. xxvii.

⁶⁹Haile, Life of Pole, p. 49.

any ordinary sense of the word she certainly was not....She was slightly deformed.⁷⁰

Much of the opinion about Anne Boleyn depended on what the writer wanted to make of another character. Haile attempts to highlight the patience and charity of Pope Clement VII, who was constantly thwarted by the machinations of Boleyn. She was not only immoral ('one of the most ill-reputed women of the English court'), but she was calculating as well--deceiving the pope and Wolsey and the king.⁷¹

Most Ultramontanes judged her severely, since they proposed to ruin the name of Elizabeth, partly by ruining the name of her mother. Belloc, on the other hand, had as his object the ruin of Elizabeth's reputation, but not by way of Anne. In his Elizabethan Commentary he proposes that Elizabeth's personality is better explained by looking at Henry VIII. 'Her father was undoubtedly the diseased, violent and unstable Henry Tudor.'⁷² Just as Henry was a great liar, a weakling, given to impulse, easily managed, and extremely selfish, so, almost inevitably, was the daughter.⁷³ Thus Anne receives a gentler handling from Belloc, who sees her as an almost tragic figure.

Catholic character portrayal of Reformation figures resembled Protestant character portrayal in one sense. The admission of defects in characters of their own communion was

⁷⁰Belloc, Characters, pp. 72-73.

⁷¹Haile, Life of Pole, pp. 50, 48.

⁷²Belloc, Elizabethan Commentary, p. 2.

⁷³Belloc, Characters, pp. 36, 43, 61).

was often qualified by the recognition that they were not as bad as had once been thought, or that other characters were much worse by comparison. There was a display of honesty in conceding a defect, but one suspects it was to give more credence to later assertions, and always with an eye toward defending one's own creed if it was threatened in any way. Catholics might argue with each other about the relative worth of particular historical persons, but tended to be unified whenever Protestants appeared.

The Ultramontane period witnessed a particularly bad spell of Catholic biography--especially those favourable to Catholic characters. While Stone's, Haile's, and Bridgett's biographies are better researched, there is hardly a critical line in any book, whether in regard to the sources or to the conclusions. Taunton's Wolsey may be the pinnacle of this abuse. So bent was he on clearing Wolsey's name that he ignored almost everything that may have provided a dissenting opinion.

As bad as Belloc was, he was a refreshing improvement on these biographers. While being fully conversant with the scholarship being published at the time, if not with the sources themselves, he accepted certain findings on Reformation characters, and included those findings in his books, if only by acknowledging the work of a certain scholar, say Pollard. His tendency to interpret these findings in a sweeping manner can only be seen as a defect when we realise that he usually began with his theory first, and then went on to the facts (as will be explained in the following chapter). Still, there are occasional admissions by Belloc that are welcome, as when he says that he is 'inclined' to accept the guilt of Anne Boleyn in the matter of

adultery, but adds, importantly, that the reasons against her guilt are compelling.⁷⁴ It was a small step, but it[†] was in the right direction.

⁷⁵Belloc, Characters, p. 81.

CHAPTER VIII
FOUR CATHOLIC HISTORIANS

During the period 1790-1940 four Catholic historians stand out as more important than their fellows, principally because of the influence they had on the Catholic and non-Catholic world alike. They are John Lingard, Lord Acton, Cardinal Gasquet, and Hilaire Belloc. Any criticism of their historical writing should reflect the state of Catholic historiography in the nineteenth century, and, to a degree, the state of Catholicism during the same period. Did these historians advance our knowledge of the English Reformation? Did they advance the discipline of history in general? How 'objective' was their history?

Catholic historians in this period were never able to escape the consequences of belonging to a minority religion. The rapid growth of the Catholic body demanded a response which was mission-oriented, which in turn required the barest of intellectual essentials. The disappearance of Cisalpine theology and the impatience with (and suspicion of) later theological speculation, from Newman to the Liberal Catholics to the Modernists, is in part testimony to the re-orientation of the English Catholic Church at this time.

In addition, prejudice weighed so heavily against Catholics that they seemed scarcely able to write without being overcome by it. Some, like the Cisalpines, responded by walking softly; others, like the Ultramontanes, by carrying a big stick. Either way, they were damned.

Lingard broke away from previous Cisalpine narrowness in its obsession with Emancipation, its fixture on Elizabeth, and its uncritical dependence on past historians. Berington, in his State and Behaviour of English Catholics, had said his sources were Burnet, Hume, Clarendon, and Dodd, and never questioned their authority.¹ As we have seen, he introduced a document into the debate, and Charles Butler also found some new material (namely, the transcript of Campion's interrogation), but these were by way of exception, and in Berington's case the introduction of the controversial Panzani Memoirs was incidental to his larger purpose.

With Lingard, all of this changed. Not only did he deal with the entire English Reformation, but he treated manuscripts in a more comprehensive way--their accumulation and evaluation had become the a priori condition without which conclusions could not be formed.

Research at this level was, however, in a very primitive state. Scholars, rather than searching out manuscripts, were content to let the manuscripts come to them.² In this regard, some scholars were more happily-circumstanced in their placement of friends than others, but it was a haphazard business regardless, and much important material was missed.³ Of those archives which were being opened, most put intolerable or

¹Berington, State and Behaviour, p. iii.

²John Kenyon, The History Men (London, 1983), p. 89.

³Lingard, whose Catholicism gave him access to the Duke of Norfolk's papers as well as to both the Vatican and Simancas Archives, missed the Austrian Archives and their important Chapuys papers.

impossible conditions on entry. We have already seen Lingard's frustration with Simancas (pp. 64-65 above), and he was able to gain access to the Vatican only because of his political influence. Froude did not even try to get into the Vatican Archives, so great was his confidence that he would be denied entry.⁴

Even if one managed to get into these archives, they could be in a chaotic, and sometimes unusable, state. The Vatican Archives were just recently returned from Paris, minus one-third of their contents, and were either crudely catalogued and not catalogued at all.⁵ Some collections could only be loosely called archives. When Robert Gradwell, Lingard's agent in Rome, went to Propaganda he found a 'cartload of dusty and rotting papers' on the floor, with letters of Pole, Garnet, and Persons among them. He wrote to Lingard:

I selected all the valuable papers and carried them carefully to my room, where I filled three drawers with them....Unfortunately two of my drawers did not lock. A superannuated servant had used these valuable treasures as waste paper before I found it out. Of about 120 papers, scarcely thirty valuable ones remain.⁶

In spite of these limitations, Lingard managed to render previous history obsolete and, at the same time, raise the level of historical debate from one of ideology to one of documentation

⁴Religion was no guarantee of entry. Even Catholics like Aidan Gasquet were denied permission to enter the Vatican Archives from time to time.

⁵Owen Chadwick, Catholicism and History: The Opening of the Vatican Archives, p. 17.

⁶Gradwell to Lingard, 31 July 1819, FSA--Lingard Correspondence.

and interpretation. Previously, all that was needed to discredit a historical work was to discredit the philosophy that lay behind it. With Lingard, that was no longer sufficient. If a critic was going to attack his history, it was necessary to attack the factual evidence of the book rather than the religious belief of the author. This was a momentous change, and it meant that thereafter the best historians would be those who amassed the best documents.

Momentous as this change was, however, it was also overrated. The Dublin Review waxed ecstatic about Lingard's achievement:

As Greece has her Thucydides, and Rome her Tacitus, so England will have her Lingard....For writing the history of his country up to the epoch of the Revolution, he had all the materials that are now likely to be ever discovered....No man, in any age, can throw a better or a brighter light on the annals of England, up to that period, than he has thrown. His work, therefore, will be so far the standard record in all coming ages, from the closing chapter of which, as a starting point, future historians of the subsequent periods will commence their labours....This work is the best history of any country that it has ever been our fortune to peruse; and that it is our deliberate conviction, that a combination of all the literary men in the universe could not produce a better....⁷

Mark Tierney, a friend of Lingard's and a fellow-historian, fell prey, perhaps more than any English Catholic historian then or since, to the notion that documents could tell their own tale.

⁷Patrick McMahon, 'Lingard's History of England', Dublin Review, XII, May 1842, 361-362. The Dublin Review might be excused its enthusiasm if we realise Lord Acton wrote something not unlike the above: 'In a few years, all these publications will be completed, and all will be known that ever can be known. In that golden age our historians will be sincere, and our history certain' (Lectures on the French Revolution, p. 373).

His excitement over Lingard's History was unbounded:

Berington and Potts, Milner, and many others, had in vain employed the arms supplied by history for the defence of their own Church, and in opposition to the favourite prejudices of Protestantism. Lingard, therefore, came to pursue a different course from that of his predecessors. They had appeared as advocates--he was an unimpassioned narrator; they had avowedly argued for a victory--he simply stated the case that was before him; they had drawn their own conclusions, and exhibited their own views--he allowed the narrative to tell its own tale, and to make its own impression, and to suggest the inferences that would naturally arise from it.⁸

Cardinal Wiseman called Lingard 'the only impartial historian of our country,'⁹ and as late as 1950 Shane Leslie said Lingard was 'simply a transcriber of records.'¹⁰

To what extent Lingard had fooled himself is difficult to tell, though it seems probable that he was as excited by his 'objectivity' as the next man. At least he knew what he was attempting not to do:

It is long since I disclaimed any pretensions to that which has been called the philosophy of history, but might with more propriety be called the philosophy of romance....If they indulge in fanciful conjectures, if they profess to detect the hidden springs of every event, they may display acuteness of investigation, profound knowledge of the human heart, and great ingenuity of invention; but no reliance can be placed on the fidelity of their statements....They come before us as philosophers who undertake to teach from the records

⁸Mark Tierney, 'Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Lingard', in Lingard's History, 6th edition (1854), I, 33-34.

⁹Philip Hughes, 'Centenary of John Lingard's History', Dublin Review, CLXVII, October-December 1920, 274. This praise did not stop Wiseman from asking Lingard, in 1839, to suppress an extract on Thomas Becket from a review of Tierney's Dodd's Church History, on the grounds that it was not pleasing to Wiseman nor, obliquely, to the Jesuits.

¹⁰Leslie, Gasquet, p. 7.

of history: they are in reality literary empirics who disfigure history to make it accord with their philosophy. Nor do I hesitate to proclaim my belief that no writers have proved more successful in the perversion of historic truth than speculative and philosophic historians.¹¹

This meant Hume, of course, despite Lingard's protestations that he was not trying to overthrow Hume. John Allen, writing in the Edinburgh Review, stated that Lingard's work was harmed by this transparent pre-occupation with Hume:

If a person of note is praised by Hume, he has a good chance of being presented in an odious light by Dr. Lingard; and, if censured by Hume, Dr. Lingard generally contrives to say a word in his commendation.¹²

On the surface at least, Lingard was annoyed with such criticism and defended himself by claiming not to have read Hume at all during the composition of his history, writing to his publisher, 'I have on almost every subject forgotten his statements.' Lingard's annoyance, however, may have had more to do with being detected in the act of refuting Hume. He wrote to Gradwell:

For even where I acknowledge the exactions of the Court of Rome, on examination it will be found that my narrative is a refutation of the more exaggerated accounts of Hume, etc., though it is so told as not to appear designed for that purpose....My object has been to write such a work, if possible, as should be read by protestants: under the idea, that the more it is read by them, the less Hume will be in vogue, and consequently

¹¹Lingard, History, I, xvii-xviii.

¹²John Allen, Edinburgh Review, XLII (1825), 27.

the fewer prejudices against us will be imbibed from him.¹³

The Oxford and Cambridge Review thought Lingard had succeeded:

Dr. Lingard is as free from the perils of metaphysical flights, which he thus condemns, as he is uninfluenced by a religious or political bias. He never evinces partiality; he may be accused of it by those whose eyes are distorted by the blemish they deprecate, but by none others....[His] description of the Reformation, and of the causes that led to it, is, to our thinking, so faithful in narrative, so candid in confession, so liberal in spirit, so free from party feeling, so discriminating in perception, and so just in review, that we cannot sufficiently wonder at the charge which is preferred against him.¹⁴

But was he successful? Lingard correctly identified the problem as putting philosophy before history, but to have identified the errors of the philosophers was not a guarantee against committing similar ones. There are several instances where Lingard confessed he was guessing 'in opposition to our historians', such as when he suspected Mary Tudor of choosing Philip II as her husband against the wishes of Stephen Gardiner; or Elizabeth of being a sincere Catholic, at least in appearance, before her accession; or Elizabeth and Courtenay being privy to the conspiracy of Wyatt.

There is at least one example when his guessing was not much more than prejudice. Lingard began his research into Dr. Allen's famous 'Admonition' firmly believing that Allen did not write it,

¹³Lingard to Gradwell, 3 June 1819, in Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 2.

¹⁴Oxford and Cambridge Review, II (1846), 39, 41.

and based his reasons on solid grounds: the style of the Admonition was unlike anything Allen had written before; the signature 'the Cardinal' was uncharacteristic of the way Allen or any other cardinal signed documents; it is dated from the 'Palace of St. Peter's', an appellation which the Vatican Palace was never called; Allen was not in Rome until 1591, a full three years after the document appeared; all of Allen's other works had been transcribed into Latin, and the Admonition had not; the Appellants claimed it was written under the scrutiny of Persons, whose evasions when faced with the charge seemed to acknowledge his involvement.

This is a good evaluation of the data and shows Lingard's historical judgement at work. But it is limited because the data is limited, and it only clears Allen from the actual writing of the document. What Lingard would have liked to demonstrate--and did not--was that Allen was altogether free from complicity in the matter. The implication is there, but the facts are not. Why, for example, had Allen's name come to be attached to the document? Did Allen approve of the document, lend his name to it, or did he know nothing and have his name forged by a zealous Jesuit? Allen, we know, never wrote a disclaimer of the Admonition, of the ideas contained therein, or of the use of his name--evidence which Lingard fails to mention.

It is, then, a fairly straightforward case of prejudice. It is not the only one. As we have already seen, when Lingard related the death of Anne Boleyn, having established the irrationality and brutality of Henry VIII, he still maintained that Anne must have done 'something' to deserve her irrational

and brutal death. This was prejudicial for two reasons: Lingard did not have a scrap of evidence to support his inclination, and the same logic which brought him to suspect Anne was not applied to the deaths of Thomas More and John Fisher.¹⁵

There were other pitfalls ahead for Lingard which he neither foresaw, nor thought himself in danger of falling into. One was that the reproduction of a manuscript was regarded as equivalent to the exhibition of its truth--a common fault and one we see Gasquet committing when he assumes that the Comperta had to be taken at face value. The other pitfall was the notion that the assembling of documents was a process free from interpretation. Mark Tierney was the first to fall headlong into the trap, but Lingard and even historians of the stature of Ranke and Acton were liable to be seduced by the 'objectivity' of their document-centred approach.

Lingard's debate with John Allen of the Edinburgh Review over the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre is a case in point, and illustrates both the possibilities and limits of documentary history. While it is refreshing to see Lingard and Allen scrambling to produce new and better documents, it is significant and sobering to realise that, given all the new documentation, the St. Bartholomew is still argued about today.

¹⁵Interestingly, the Eclectic Review, in criticising Lingard for his treatment of More and Fisher, fell into the same fallacy. It claimed that since refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy 'had not been made high treason by the statute', and hence 'could not alone have made them liable to the loss of life', More and Fisher must have done something else to deserve death, though the reviewer does not suggest what (Eclectic Review, XXVII, March 1827, 250). Froude, also, thought Anne was guilty only because the alternative was too unthinkable in terms of his hero-king.

The most serious charge today against Lingard is not his over-optimism about sources, but rather his disingenuousness. John Kenyon writes, 'There is something repugnant in his willingness initially to pander to Protestant prejudice, then alter his work in subsequent editions, when the "enemy" was off his guard.'¹⁶ Philip Cattermole, more shrilly, repeats this (see above p. 65) and sees Lingard as a calculating apologist, '[balancing] phrases to please the Roman Catholics with those to please the protestants'.¹⁷

Admittedly, Lingard was guilty of some prevarication here, since he was preoccupied with getting into print and being read. When his Protestant publisher suggested that the fifth volume include a 'dissertation on the consequences of the Reformation', Lingard balked:

Were I to write such a dissertation ex professo and to say what I think, I should probably displease the majority of my readers, both protestants and catholics, and rather injure than promote the sale of the book.¹⁸

However much Lingard may have been moved by this desire to be read by other than Roman Catholics, it is unfair to conclude that this affected his history so profoundly as Cattermole and Kenyon think. Edwin Jones suggests that there was a positive side to this desire and that Lingard benefitted from 'audience reaction': 'The fact is that finding himself opposed to a

¹⁶Kenyon, The History Men, p. 86.

¹⁷Cattermole, Lingard as Apologist, p. 117. Cattermole is referring here to Lingard's treatment of Becket.

¹⁸Haile and Bonney, Life of Lingard, p. 186.

conventional framework of thought, the historian can gain a positive benefit from being faced with an unsympathetic, critical, or even hostile audience.¹⁹

All Lingard wanted was a hearing. He was not trying to prove that the Catholic Church was the true Church, nor was he trying to proselytise; he simply wanted to present a side of history that people had not seen before in the hopes that it would lead to better understanding and eventual reconciliation, which immediately meant Emancipation. Newman saw the same problem thirty years later when he gave a series of lectures on the position of Catholics in England. He said:

I am neither assuming, nor intending to prove, that the Catholic Church comes from above...; but here I am only investigating how it is she comes to be so despised and hated among us; since a religion need not incur scorn and animosity simply because it is not recognised as true....She is considered too absurd to be inquired into, and too corrupt to be defended, and too dangerous to be treated with equity and fair dealing. She is the victim of a prejudice which perpetuates itself, and gives birth to what it feeds upon.²⁰

The fact remains, however, that Lingard added material in his later editions which he had previously withheld out of concern for Protestant sensibilities, and commented more explicitly on material he had previously let speak for itself. This can be explained by his having gained an audience, a reputation for moderation, confidence in his abilities as an historian, as well as by the climate of the post-Emancipation

¹⁹Edwin Jones, John Lingard, p. 11.

²⁰John Henry Newman, The Present Position of Catholics in England (London, 1908), pp. 11-12.

Church.

If English Catholics were not especially timid about criticising their own Church before Catholic Emancipation, they were certainly cautious about criticising those outside their Church. The lessons of the penal laws had not been lost, and there remained some cause for fear in the years to come, whether real or imagined,²¹ but generally the atmosphere of caution dissipated after passage of the Act, and Lingard shared in the jubilation. His fourth edition, published between 1837-1839, was the first to carry any noticeable changes. In explaining these, we hope to discover the true nature of Lingard's intentions.²²

There are several examples of additions. In the later editions Henry VIII is accused by Lingard of deserting Mary Boleyn, whereas there is no mention of this in the first.²³ Nor is anything said in the first edition about Henry's visitors, except that their instructions 'breathed a spirit of piety and reformation...so that to men, not intrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared not the abolition, but the support and improvement of the monastic institute'.²⁴ The later Lingard added a note about the character of the visitors:

²¹The Vicars-Apostolic, for instance, delayed re-establishing the hierarchy out of fear of governmental and popular reaction.

²²Lingard's editions appeared on the following schedule:

2d edition -- 1823-1831
3d edition -- 1825
4th edition -- 1837-1839
5th edition -- 1839-1851
6th edition -- 1854

²³6th edition, IV, 232: 1st edition, IV, 119.

²⁴1st edition, IV, 229.

The visitors themselves were not men of high standing or reputation in the church. They were clerical adventurers of very equivocal character, who...had pledged themselves to effect...the extinction of the establishments they should visit. They proceeded at first to the lesser houses only. There they endeavoured by intimidation to extort from the inmates surrender of their property to the king; and, when intimidation failed, were careful to collect all such defamatory reports and information as might afterwards serve to justify the suppression of the refractory brotherhood.²⁵

The reign of Elizabeth was also dealt with more harshly in the later editions, and Lingard was more apt to dwell on her illegitimacy,²⁶ the sins of her ministers,²⁷ and the invalidity of Anglican Orders.²⁸ While Lingard did not change his mind on any of these matters, there is a significant shift of emphasis from a Lingard mildly sympathetic to the Queen to a Lingard openly hostile.

The reason for this shift can be explained by the discovery that the pope did not respond harshly to the news of Elizabeth's accession, which, if true, threw her subsequent activity into a completely different light. Cisalpines could no longer defend her as a victim of the pope's intransigence. That Lingard's qualified support for the Queen evaporated in his later editions is thus due not to a conscious adjustment of his views, once he had duped his unsuspecting audience, but rather to the introduction of new (and if Lingard's opinion of the pope is to

²⁵6th edition, V, 26-27. The 6th edition is important because it is the last that Lingard had a hand in revising.

²⁶1st edition, V, 152: 4th edition, VII, 259.

²⁷6th edition, V, 137.

²⁸1st edition V, p. 155: 4th edition VII, p. 261: 6th edition, VI, Note DD, 326-330.

be believed, somewhat unwelcome) evidence.²⁹

Thus Lingard's letters to Mawman, offering adjustments in the work, are far less alarming than his critics fear, since the proposed adjustments involve expression far more than they do factual content.

There is other evidence in Lingard's favour. He remained concerned about Protestant sensibilities long after he had gained his hearing, and long after Emancipation: when the title 'Westminster' was proposed for the about-to-be formed London Catholic diocese, Lingard recoiled, and on the sole grounds that such a title would offend Protestants unnecessarily, and suspected that it had been chosen partially with that end in mind. In addition, he found triumphalistic expressions, such as the wearing of religious habits in public, to be provocative and deserving of the abuse they attracted. If Lingard's true colours were displayed after the success of his History, they are the colours of moderation (when this was becoming unpopular among Catholics) and integrity.

²⁹Cattermole, in fact, is far more guilty of apologetic than Lingard. In exposing Lingard's attempt to establish a continuity between the Anglo-Saxon Church and modern Catholicism, Cattermole finds Lingard ipso facto condemned (p. 37). Nowhere does Cattermole discuss Anglo-Saxon beliefs on the Real Presence, on the equation of the natural and Eucharistic body of Christ, or, for that matter, on much of anything. Amazingly, he seeks refuge in the Quarterly Review of 1815 which states, essentially, we do not know about these matters, and we do not care about them: 'Here again [in the Anglo-Saxon doctrine of the Real Presence] we are compelled to assert our perfect indifference to the matter in controversy, farther than as a subject of speculation. Englishmen in the nineteenth century will scarcely lend their understandings to the cloudy metaphysics of Paschasius, Radbert, Hincmar, Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus' (Quarterly Review, VII [1812], 93, quoted in Cattermole, p. 38). Even more damning is that Cattermole appears to be totally unaware of the Cisalpine view of the temporal power of the pope.

Neither did Lingard substantially alter those comments which he had introduced, supposedly, to please the Protestants. On the subject of Becket, he had removed his comment from the first edition that Joan of Arc was the victim of 'an enthusiasm which, while it deluded yet moved and elevated the mind of this young and interesting female', but in his sixth edition still maintained of her childhood that 'in those day dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creation of her own fancy', and of her trial that 'an impartial observer would have pitied and respected the mental delusion with which she was afflicted'.³⁰

When we realise the great diversity of Catholic opinion in the nineteenth century, we can see that to say Lingard wrote 'to appease the Catholics' is a gross oversimplification. His History had been spurned by two Catholic publishers who were nervous about his views and about official reaction. Milner had already denounced Lingard as a heretic on the subject of the Eucharist, and other critics found dangerous tendencies in his Anglo-Saxon Church, where Lingard called priests 'presbyters' and popes 'pontiffs'. The moderation shown in the History of England was regarded as a vice. Milner, who led the opposition to Lingard, felt that any praise of an opponent was a sign of weakness, and thus his condemnation of Lingard's History was absolute. When the Reformation volumes appeared, Milner did not bother to address Lingard directly, but instead wrote to Propaganda and asked to have the work censured. He also

³⁰1st edition, IV, 26: 6th edition, IV, 14: 6th edition, IV, 21.

attempted to prevent Lingard from using the Vatican Archives.

Part of this reaction was caused by what Milner felt to be ingratitude on Lingard's part. Milner had sponsored Lingard at Douay, and imagined that this patronage--a token patronage at that--kept Lingard in his debt and under his strict control. Lingard, he wrote, 'is acquainted with some of my objections, and behaves with a haughtiness on the occasion unbecoming his situation and his great obligations to me'.³¹

Milner simply did not understand Lingard's policy of appeasement, which he took to be timidity and the granting of too many concessions to the Protestants.³² Lingard was both disrespectful of ecclesiastical authority, not treating it with sufficient deference, and too agreeable to the Protestant world, traits too undeniably Cisalpine for Milner to ignore.

Milner used the pages of the Orthodox Review as his forum, provoking a lively exchange after the publication of Lingard's first three volumes. Milner had the support of several anonymous authors and the editor, William Eusebius Andrews. Lingard's defender signed his name 'Candidus' and could have been Lingard himself, though his identity remains a matter of speculation to this day.³³

Lingard was not unaffected by this debate and even

³¹Ward, Dawn, I, 50.

³²Milner, for instance, thought Lingard had praised Cranmer for his arguments against the Mass.

³³Chinnici thinks it was Lingard (English Catholic Enlightenment, p. 211, n. 3), though others have suggested Charles Butler or John Kirk. I think Joseph Berington, who had used that pseudonym before, must also be considered a possibility.

considered breaking off the remainder of the project. Charles Butler, in fact, was partly responsible for the continuation, since he wrote Lingard a fatherly letter, explaining that such acrimony was the price many of the great ecclesiastical authors had to pay. As time went on, Lingard gained enough confidence to take on the imposing Milner himself. When he heard that Milner threatened to attack him again in 1823, Lingard wrote to Bishop Poynter:

I suspected I frightened him before: and I hope to do so again by spreading a report that I mean to retaliate. Perhaps he will be silent: if he is not, the nature of his censure must decide my conduct. I am aware that my book must displease: for I have never quoted him or even referred to him. In truth, I considered the matter, and determined not to do so, because I found his works so full of historical errors that I am sure, in the course of a few years, they will be considered of no authority whatever. The influence of his imagination over his judgment is wonderful.³⁴

By 1824 Lingard's reputation was so secure in Rome, and Milner's outbursts so commonplace, that the former had nothing to fear from Church authorities. In fact, the only response from the Roman court was from Cardinal Mai, the Vatican librarian, who ordered a copy of the book for the papal library.³⁵

Other Catholics who attacked Lingard included the Earl of Shrewsbury (John Talbot) and Msgr. George Talbot. The former thought Lingard's Reformation volumes conceded too much to Protestant prejudice by implying the decadence of the monasteries

³⁴Lingard to Poynter, 26 May 1823, AAW--Poynter Papers, IV, 5.

³⁵It is possible that Milner's complaining cost Lingard the co-adjutorship of the Northern District, a post he probably did not want.

and the abuse of image worship, by approving a married clergy, by questioning the faith of the poor, and by failing to explain the Roman doctrine on indulgences, private judgment, and papal supremacy.³⁶

Msgr. George Talbot, writing in 1866, attacked Lingard in an article about Newman: 'It is simply absurd in Dr. Newman to quote Lingard, Rock, and Tierney as authorities. Lingard has used expressions in his History which one can hardly understand how a Catholic could use them.'³⁷

Protestant criticisms of Lingard's History are revealing in what they concede. John Allen went so far as to recommend Lingard's work as the best general history of England to date, though he warned readers that it was replete with bias, since Lingard's 'passions are warmed' whenever the honour of his Church is at stake.³⁸

The Eclectic Review took exception to Lingard's treatment of Anne Boleyn, towards whom Lingard had exhibited 'a spirit of determined hostility' in accusing her of previous concubinage and of her marrying Henry incestuously. 'This rancorous accusation...is but a specimen (and by no means the worst) of the spirit in which Dr. Lingard's volumes are written.'³⁹ Mary Tudor, 'bigotted and disgusting as she was', came from his hand

³⁶John Talbot to Kirk, 21 February 1820 and 16 November 1820, AAW--Poynter Papers, A-67; 28 November 1820, UCA--Lingard Correspondence 24: 1595.

³⁷Purcell, Life of Cardinal Manning, II, 322.

³⁸John Allen, Edinburgh Review, XLII (1825), 6.

³⁹Eclectic Review, XXVII, March 1827, 240-241.

'a very amiable sort of monster'.⁴⁰

But the Eclectic, much as it disliked Lingard's book, made a few concessions which showed the strength of Lingard's assault. The first was a virtual disavowal of Henry VIII and other ministers whose effectiveness in bringing about the Reformation had long been mistaken for their virtue in doing so:

The cause of the Reformation cannot be identified with Henry, for, though he rejected the tyranny of Rome, he retained the absurdities of Popery; nor with Cranmer, for he was deficient in firmness and decision; nor with Cromwell, since, although he gave an enlightened protection to the professors of the new doctrines, it is yet doubtful how far he had himself embraced them.⁴¹

The second was an admission that some of the reformers were guilty of misdeeds:

We ought not...to be surprised that some of the Reformers...degraded themselves, and betrayed their cause, by retaining a portion of that spirit of persecution which they had imbibed from their 'working mother', the Church of Rome.⁴²

Lingard had backed the Eclectic into a corner, where it lashed out desperately, preaching that the righteousness of the Reformation could never be affected by the immorality of its promoters: '[Our antagonists] prove...only that a higher power than man's was dictating events; they carry us onward from the instrument to the operator,--from ignorant and powerless man, to almighty and omniscient God.'⁴³

⁴⁰Eclectic Review, XXVII, March 1827, 251.

⁴¹Ibid., XVI, July 1821, 11.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., XXVII, March 1827, 239.

Such reactions could not long survive in a world of critical history. Lingard's achievement is that he introduced that new world to England. He was not without his flaws, and was more a product of the Enlightenment and Roman Catholicism than he admitted or realised. His beliefs became apparent by the way he selected details, commented on various events, emphasised certain facts, and omitted others--an exposure which not even his moderate language was able to disguise. If he was blind to these forces, he must not be excused. But at the same time we must recognise that his contribution lay in the fact that he was not as blind as the next man.

Unfortunately, Catholic history took its time improving on Lingard. Satisfied, perhaps, that his was the last word, it degenerated quickly into what Wilfrid Ward described as 'optimistic self-glorifying gush',⁴⁴ led by the Dublin Review. Even those sympathetic to Lingard's ideal--even to the point of agreeing with his nervousness about the triumphalist Church--were slow to effect any real improvement. Richard Simpson managed only to create Edmund Campion in his own image and call him good. Lord Acton, while generally regarded as the greatest Catholic historian of the century, never wrote a book of history--the combination of which facts will forever be a source of wry pleasure to Protestant observers of the nineteenth century.

Any value Acton had lay in his influence, which, however difficult to estimate, had little effect on the Catholic world he

⁴⁴Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, p. 254.

wanted so badly to improve. Only Lingard had been a success by Acton's standards: 'Lingard's History of England has been of more use to us than any thing that has since been written....All educated men were obliged to use it....It is to this day a tower of strength to us.'⁴⁵

But Acton realised that Catholics could not rely on Lingard forever, and no one was coming forward to take his place. Even Gasquet, on whom Acton had placed such high hopes, was a disappointment.⁴⁶

Acton believed along with Leibniz, whom he quoted, that 'History is the true demonstration of Religion.'⁴⁷ Since he was a convinced Roman Catholic, there is little doubt he believed history to be the true demonstration of Catholicism. Certainly, his confidence in both history and his religion were unbounded. 'I rest unshaken in the belief,' he stated in a letter to the Times, 'that nothing which the inmost depths of history shall disclose in time can ever bring to Catholics just cause of shame or fear.'⁴⁸

He wanted to show the Protestant world, as Douglas Woodruff pointed out, that 'Catholic authors were, and delighted to be, in the very forefront of scientific history'.⁴⁹ But Catholics

⁴⁵Lord Acton, 'The Catholic Press', Rambler, XL, February 1859, 75-76.

⁴⁶See above Chapter V, 203-204.

⁴⁷Acton, The Study of History (London, 1896), p. 32.

⁴⁸Acton, Letter to Times, 24 November 1874.

⁴⁹Douglas Woodruff, Introduction to Essays on Church and State (London, 1952), p. 5.

were not, and did not delight to be, in such a position--a continual source of frustration to Acton. In his famous article on 'The Catholic Press', he gave vent to his feelings about the 'deplorable state' of Catholic writing:

There is hardly anything serious or durable in the productions of the Catholic literature of the day....We have not half a dozen books which will bear critical examination, or which we are not ashamed of before Protestants and foreigners.⁵⁰

He wrote a letter to Richard Simpson along similar lines: 'It is the absence of scientific method and original learning in nearly all even of our best writers that makes it impossible for me to be interested in their writing.'⁵¹

This lack of permanence, while unobjectionable in itself, could prove to be counter-productive:

[Popular literature] encourages people to forget that something else is wanted, and promotes a superficial self-contented way of looking at all things, of despising difficulties, and overlooking the force of objections. It nourishes the delusion that we have only to communicate truths, not to discover them; that our knowledge needs no increase except in the number of those who participate in it.⁵²

One-sidedness must be abandoned because it made the religion of such authors who indulged in it as shallow as their science:

[The bad historian] writes not judicially but polemically; and though he seeks to dispel error, he uses those arts of advocacy which are the very

⁵⁰Acton, 'The Catholic Press', 75.

⁵¹Acton to Simpson, no date given, in Essays on Church and State, p. 12.

⁵²Acton, 'The Catholic Press', 75.

instrument by which it has been spread. He desires the advancement of historical science, but he promotes it in the spirit of a partisan. Now it is better for science that men should acquire the methods of impartial learning than that they should defend the most respectable thesis by that sort of unfair dealing which conceals one side of the question.⁵³

The Protestant attitude to history was not much better, according to Acton, and was worse inasmuch as it was ideologically inclined 'to cling to a mendacious tradition on matters of fact'.⁵⁴ History was the subject which suffered most from the perversions of the Protestants:

Whilst we are content to rely on the laws of historical evidence applied with utmost rigour, the Protestant must make them bend to the exigencies of his case. His facts must be as false as his theory; he is obliged to be consistent in his perversion of truth.⁵⁵

His main interest, however, was less in the Protestant mistake than it was in the Catholic, which he explained in a letter to Newman:

I cannot bear that Protestants should say the Church cannot be reconciled with the truths or precepts of science, or that Catholics should fear the legitimate and natural progress of the scientific spirit. These two errors seem to me almost identical and if one is more dangerous than the other, I think it is the last, and that it comes more naturally to me to be zealous against the Catholic mistake than against the Protestant. But the weapon against both is the same,

⁵³Acton, Essays on Church and State, p. 425. Originally published in Home and Foreign Review, III, October 1863.

⁵⁴Acton, 'The Catholic Press', 73.

⁵⁵Ibid., 74. Acton's 'we' is probably the same exclusive 'ourselves' that he placed against both Old Catholics and Ultramontanes.

the encouragement of the true scientific spirit and disinterested love of truth.⁵⁶

Catholic writers were not solely to blame. The official Church was little inclined to discourage them, both by its fear of 'secular' education and by its authoritarian approach to learning. That Catholic historians had consistently fallen short of the canons of critical history could be blamed largely on the Catholic educational system, which was insular, fearful of any real university education, and guaranteed to produce second-rate scholars.

Cambridge had opened its doors to Catholics in 1854, but Roman suspicion of the ancient universities effectively prevented Catholics from attending until the 1890's. Alternative schemes were tried--a Catholic University of Ireland and an English Catholic university at Kensington--both of which failed. Other suggestions, such as opening a Catholic house or college at Oxford, were resisted on the grounds that such schemes would only encourage undergraduates to go to such places. In 1867 Propaganda declared, 'A youth can scarcely, or not scarcely even, go to Oxford without throwing himself into a proximate occasion of mortal sin.'⁵⁷ Cardinal Manning was the primary obstacle, however, and it was not until his death that Catholics were officially permitted to attend Oxford and Cambridge, with a chaplain assigned to each university.

In the area of research, Rome also worked to obstruct the

⁵⁶Acton to Newman, 8 July 1861, in Essays on Church and State, p. 25.

⁵⁷Gray, Manning, p. 214.

progress of science. Dollinger had given historians a bad name by using history to question the temporal power of the pope and his Infallibility. As a result, the Vatican Archives were arbitrarily opened and (mostly) closed to interested scholars. At times, restrictions extended to the most orthodox of Churchmen--Aidan Gasquet found access to the Vatican Archives more difficult after he had written his defence of the English monasteries.

The extent of Roman paranoia can hardly be exaggerated. Abbe Duchesne was suspended for two years from teaching at the Institut Catholique because his historical research had led him to propose that Mary Magdalen had never landed in France.⁵⁸ In another case, the Vatican imposed a ban on all papers relating to the Council of Trent--including those papers that referred merely to the order of business at Trent.⁵⁹

The two decades after the Vatican Council were uneventful as far as English Catholic historiography was concerned. The principal issue which had inspired it--the temporal power of the pope, either in regard to the obstacle it presented to Emancipation or in regard to its use in the defence of the Papal States--was removed altogether. Some of the other forces we have seen in this paper, such as the Gothic Revival, were just beginning to have their effect. The only real historical scholar, Lord Acton, seemed unable to write--either from personal work habits or from an aggravation with Roman censorship and

⁵⁸Maisie Ward, Insurrection versus Resurrection, p. 37.

⁵⁹Owen Chadwick, The Opening of the Vatican Archives, p. 63.

harassment. Catholic historical scholarship consequently remained in the doldrums for almost twenty years. Some work went forward by the Society of Jesus in clearing the names of their martyrs and in promoting their canonisation, but this was specialised work and in no way compared with the sweeping histories appearing from the hands of Protestants.

Those writers, like Edmund Bishop, who might have been drawn to historical scholarship, were sullen and defeated. Bishop wrote to Maud Petre in 1913, still affected by this sense of oppression: 'I neither resist nor rebel...but one word has seemed to me to describe the situation for the individual--inter mortuos liber.'⁶⁰

Lord Acton was himself partially to blame for the state of affairs. He saw himself and his followers as occupying an exclusive role within the Church, and this exclusivity he carried over into his view of history. History, he wrote, is 'the final arbiter of truth',⁶¹ and the history he was assembling was going to be the last word. He failed because he had deluded himself into thinking 'purposeless history' was possible.⁶² What he did not see was that he could be as intolerant as the ages or people he condemned. The optimism he showed over the capacities of science was a philosophy in itself, and failed because it did not see the plank of presupposition and prejudice in its own eye.

⁶⁰Bishop to Maud Petre, 12 March 1913, in Maud Petre, My Way of Faith (London, 1935), p. 213.

⁶¹English Historical Review, III, October 1888, 788.

⁶²Acton to Simpson, 22 January 1859, in Gasquet, Lord Acton and His Circle, p. 57.

When he wrote of the role of the historian--'Our business is to know what contemporaries could not tell us because they did not see it'⁶³--he was unwittingly passing a stern judgement on himself. Had he written one substantial history, he could have shown by example how the thing was to be done, rather than by petulant theorising. Belloc's theorising is just as solid, in some ways, as Acton's and shows that between theory and practice there was a wide gulf.

Still, Acton had brought at least the ideal of impartial history to Cambridge, and communicated it convincingly enough to earn him the gratitude of several generations of brilliant historians.⁶⁴ And if Catholic historians failed in his day, it was because they did not heed his warnings or advice about partisan writing.

Aidan Gasquet was both an exception to the general run of historians condemned by Acton, and not an exception. James Gairdner was among those overwhelmed by Gasquet's achievement in writing Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, and said Gasquet had dispelled the charges against the monks forever.⁶⁵ Cardinal Manning made a similar misjudgment by claiming, in his review of the first volume, that Gasquet had 'made history tell its own

⁶³Acton, in Herbert Butterfield, 'Acton: His Training, Methods and Intellectual System, in A.O. Sarkissian (ed.), Studies in Diplomatic History and Historiography (London, 1961), p. 196.

⁶⁴Owen Chadwick, in the Preface to his The Popes and European Revolution (1981), writes of Acton, 'I could not have done this work without his frequent assistance.'

⁶⁵Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet', p. 262.

tale'. He continued, '[The last] excellence of the book is the disappearance of the author. The History speaks for itself in clear, simple, and good English.'⁶⁶

But flaws appeared which were typical of Catholic history at the time. One was advocacy. His quotation of non-Catholic historians, sometimes even Froude, in support of his case began to look more and more like the lawyer's device of disarming an opponent. It gave his word more authority--especially when, by itself, it might have been taken as prejudice--but one cannot avoid feeling at times that Gasquet is building a legal brief rather than an historical argument.

In addition, Gasquet admitted to a one-sidedness, which ruined whatever balance or completeness his work could have had. When monks, under intimidation by zealous visitors, confessed to monastic vice, he dismissed their testimony as invalid. Yet, when monks, under similar threats after the Pilgrimage of Grace, testified to their non-involvement, Gasquet found this sufficient proof that the monasteries were not directly involved. In another instance, Gasquet cited the lack of popular anti-papal literature before the Reformation as evidence that the pope was well-respected, his assumption being that the absence of Reform literature implied a lack of Reformed sympathy. On the other hand, he failed to discuss the existence of popular literature of any kind before the Reformation, against which the amount of Reformed literature could be gauged. Furthermore, in his Edward

⁶⁶Henry Manning, 'Henry VIII and the English Monasteries,' Dublin Review, CII, April 1888, 244.

VI he takes similar information--though this time a lack of Catholic literature--and comes to an opposite conclusion, namely that Edward's government was censoring popular literature and interfering with the true feelings of the people.⁶⁷

Perhaps more offensive (because more extensive) was Gasquet's insistence on treating all the monasteries as a unit. When we recall that David Knowles thought roughly one-third were in need of suppression, one-third in a mediocre state of observance, and one-third in an acceptable condition, we begin to see the enormity of Gasquet's approach. By clearing the name of one house, in his way of thinking, you have cleared them all. Likewise the visitors; if one could be shown to be dishonest, all would be suspect, as well as their reports. If the Black Book of legend could be shown never to have existed, then the things it allegedly recorded could be implied never to have existed.⁶⁸ Gasquet, by this method, never had to analyse the Comperta; he simply attacked its authors and was done with it.

The conclusions arrived at by Gasquet were thus not always warranted by the evidence he produced. Having demolished a lesser argument (e.g. the veracity of the visitors, the existence of the Black Book), he assumed that he had demolished the larger argument (the corruption of the monasteries) as well. Unfortunately, the two did not necessarily follow.

Gasquet also suffered from an incurable inaccuracy in details. G.G. Coulton attributed this inaccuracy to a deliberate

⁶⁷Gasquet, Edward VI, p. 118.

⁶⁸Gasquet, Henry VIII, I, 305-307.

policy of untruth, which was not surprising in light of the fact that Gasquet was a Roman Catholic priest.⁶⁹ Whatever Coulton's own particular problems, he was correct in his charge that Gasquet was often inaccurate, so inaccurate that even Gasquet's friends were embarrassed for him.

G.R. Elton's critique of Gasquet is even more formidable. He contends that Gasquet's (and Knowles's) concentration on monasticism distorted the real nature of the Reformation because it made religion the central issue and thus something more than it really was. Rather, the political revolution must be seen as the centrepiece, thereby putting incidental events like the dissolution into a proper perspective. If Gasquet's emphasis on the dissolution is accepted, Cromwell comes across as a villain, since he was the one who effected it, and the danger is in seeing the dissolution as the most important thing Cromwell did. If Elton's insistence--that Cromwell was a political genius whose revolutionary program encompassed much more than the dissolution--is correct, then Cromwell has a case.⁷⁰ At least he has a better case than Gasquet granted him.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate Elton's dislike of Reformation history which is centred on the monasteries, but what should be noted is that the accumulation of

⁶⁹Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet', p. 261. Knowles says that Coulton 'on more than one occasion implied that modern religious were only respectable because they were closely observed by the Press and the police' (Ibid., p. 258, n. 3).

⁷⁰G.R. Elton, Reform and Renewal, pp. 158-166. A.G. Dickens also has tried resurrecting the good name of Cromwell, though in the religious sphere as well as the political (The English Reformation, pp. 167-181).

the above criticisms point out the absurdity of thinking that Gasquet the author had 'disappeared'. On the contrary, he and his prejudices were all too present. The dissolution, and the dissolution's place in the Reformation, were far more complicated than he made them out to be.

Within certain limits, however, his work proved to be a success, and even a lasting success:

He certainly put the Tudor Monasteries on the map [wrote David Knowles] and killed what was certainly the popular opinion that they were merely abodes of vice and rich living. Over and beyond this, Gasquet...discovered and in part exploited more original documents than many a faultless academic historian.⁷¹

If Gasquet came to history relatively late in life and untrained in the discipline, Hilaire Belloc came to it early and with impressive credentials. Highly regarded as a debater, he was elected president of the Oxford Union in 1894, and in June of the following year took a First in History at Balliol. His official biographer, Robert Speaight, says of his historical ability: 'A glance at Belloc's history notes for the Oxford History Schools reveals the width of his reading, his power of analysis, his quickness of assimilation, the extreme precision of his method.'⁷²

His first two biographies, Danton (1899) and Robespierre (1901), have been highly praised, and represent the results of

⁷¹Knowles, 'Cardinal Gasquet,' p. 262.

⁷²Robert Speaight, The Life of Hilaire Belloc (New York, 1957), p. 94.

his recent Oxford training.⁷³ However compelling these first two works, they betrayed one fault which would haunt Belloc the remainder of his writing career: they include no authorities and no documentation. This is not to say Belloc did not appreciate the need for detail. He could sound like Acton on the subject: 'The external actions of men, the sequence in dates and hours of such actions, and their material conditions and environment must be strictly and accurately acquired.'⁷⁴ But the accumulation of detail was only a starting point, to which other qualities had to be applied:

The difference between the good and bad historian is not so much the difference between a wide, regular, well-ordered and a narrow, irregular, and ill-ordered reading of record. It lies much more in the two qualities of proportion and imagination. Two men, for instance, may sit down to write as historians the events of an ancient battle. The one, by the use of a strong memory applied to industrious reading, may make himself acquainted with a thousand points where his rival is acquainted with ten. But the space of each is limited, and even if each had an unlimited canvas on which to paint, the truth of the result would still depend upon proportion--upon the discovery of the essential movements and the essential moments in the action; and upon imagination, the power of seeing the thing as it was; landscape, the weather, the gestures and the faces of the men; yes, and their thoughts within.⁷⁵

The difficulty was not that Belloc failed to supply details; it was that he refused to say where he had got them from. This

⁷³Douglas Woodruff, 'Belloc, The Man of Integrity', The Month CCIX, July 1970, 19; Hugh Kelly, 'Centenary of Hilaire Belloc', Studies, LIX (Winter 1970), 398; Renee Haynes, Hilaire Belloc (London, 1953), p. 14.

⁷⁴Belloc, 'On the Method of History', in Selected Essays, ed. J. B. Morton (New York, 1957), p. 135.

⁷⁵Belloc, 'The Character of the Historical Novel,' in One Thing and Another, ed. Patrick Cahill (London, 1955), p. 25.

made his details suspect. H.G. Wells could not resist having fun in noticing this mistake: '[Belloc] does not quote [his source]; it does not exist for him to quote; but he believes that it exists. He waves his hand impressively in the direction in which it is supposed to exist.'⁷⁶ Wells continued:

I have shown sufficiently that Mr. Belloc is incapable of evidence or discussion, that he imagines his authorities, that he is careless and ignorant as to his facts and slovenly and tricky in his logic.

There is a placard in one corner of my study which could be rather amusingly covered with the backs of dummy books. I propose to devote that to a collection of Mr. Belloc's authorities.⁷⁷

G.G. Coulton catalogued the errors of one of Belloc's histories (How the Reformation Happened) in one telling paragraph:

Let me specify a few [errors] from among more than twenty serious mis-statements, far-reaching in their implication, which I have marked. [Belloc] builds his argument upon a ludicrously mythical assertion as to the effect of the Black Death on Oxford's University (p. 48). His account of the Indulgence system is grossly misleading (p. 67). His version of Zwingli's attitude to Church art is, in one most important point, the very opposite of the truth (p. 76). Again, it is quite false to represent the early Reformation movement as simply destructive (p. 79); Mr. Belloc evidently knows scarcely anything of Luther and Zwingli at first hand. His attempt to separate Henry VIII's antipapalism from heresy is pure nonsense (p. 97)...There is far less difference between Calvinism and St. Thomas Aquinas, on the question of Election and Reprobation, than he imagines (p. 124). Still greater is the ignorance he displays with regard to Calvin and hell. His reference

⁷⁶H.G. Wells, Mr. Belloc Objects to 'The Outline of History' (London, 1926), p. 8.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 55, 10.

to chapter and verse on that point is so inaccurate as to suggest unverified second-hand copying (p. 128).⁷⁸

The quarrel with Belloc's negligence was by no means limited to non-Catholics. E.E. Reynolds, the Catholic biographer of Thomas More, found an example of Belloc's recklessness in The Servile State, where Belloc states that in the England of Henry VIII, 'the great mass of men owned the land they tilled and the houses in which they dwelt'. Reynolds comments, 'Such a statement (unsupported by evidence) makes the student of Tudor England gasp. It simply isn't true.'⁷⁹

Herbert Thurston S.J., a contemporary of Belloc's, was especially exasperated by Belloc's sloppiness, since he thought Belloc's admirable attempt to correct Protestant history undermined by his failure to face facts. In his review of Belloc's History of England, Thurston states, 'Mr. Belloc is chary of references, but many, I think, would like to know the evidence on which these statements are based.' He adds that Belloc tries to convince the reader less by evidence than by 'emphatic assertion and persistent reiterations,' concluding, 'It seems a pity that Mr. Belloc...should have no indication that anything worthy of attention has been written on the subject in the past forty years.'⁸⁰

According to Robert Speaight, Belloc refused to let a friend

⁷⁸G.G. Coulton, 'Mr. Hilaire Belloc as Historian', Medieval Studies, 19 (London, 1930), p. 6.

⁷⁹E.E. Reynolds, 'The Chesterbelloc', The Tablet (21 October 1978), p. 1016.

⁸⁰Herbert Thurston S.J., 'Celt, Roman or Teuton?', The Month, CXLVI, July 1925, 23, 24, 35.

look at the proofs of his History of England because he 'was afraid that niggling criticism would spoil the sweep of his work'.⁸¹

Belloc, at least, knew he was not writing very good history, which gave him a certain advantage over Cardinal Gasquet. When Philip Hughes asked him why he refused to give references, Belloc replied, 'I am not an historian, I am a publicist.'⁸² He wrote to a friend to tell him of his Richelieu, 'It is a bad book. I would not be seen dead in a field with it.'⁸³ And A.N. Wilson repeats the story, which he says he has heard from several sources but has never been able to verify, of Belloc's reaction to a man he had discovered in a railway carriage reading a volume of his History of England:

Belloc leaned forward and asked the man how much he had paid for the volume, and, being informed of the price, fished the sum out of his pocket. He then gave the money to his companion, snatched the book from his hand, and tossed it out of the carriage window.⁸⁴

One thing which must be remembered is that even academic historians were reacting to over-documentation in a way similar to Belloc's. When J.E. Neale came out with his Queen Elizabeth in 1934, he shocked the scholarly world by including neither

⁸¹Speaight, Life of Belloc, p. 410. Chesterton, whose sense of history depended almost entirely on Belloc, was no better. He prided himself that his Short History of England did not include one date.

⁸²Speaight, Life of Belloc, p. 392.

⁸³Belloc to Duff Cooper, 17 January 1930, BC--Belloc Collection.

⁸⁴A.N. Wilson, Belloc, p. 318.

footnotes nor bibliography. The difference was, of course, that Neale consciously eschewed references; Belloc often did not have them to begin with. As time went on, he did less and less research, and his biographies take on the aspect of reactions or re-interpretations of other people's work.⁸⁵ He once said, 'Pay me twice as much and I'll do twice as much research.'⁸⁶

Belloc's excuses were many. Having neither a university job nor the money that went with it, he complained that he did not have the leisure to produce a first-rate history. He told Mrs. Raymond Asquith in 1929, 'Shall I before I die have strength or leisure to write real history all aflame with life? I could do it, but I haven't yet and probably never shall.'⁸⁷ A.N. Wilson suspects that, 'with sufficient leisure and incentive, he could have written some supremely great biographies'.⁸⁸

The fact is Belloc did not have the leisure because he did not have the incentive. He was temperamentally incapable of sustained scholarship; he did not have the disposition to stay in one place and write books. Did the Oxford Fellows and Tutors recognise this when they passed him over for a fellowship in 1895? E.E. Reynolds thinks so, though it seems more probable that they were reacting more to his irritating manner than to any

⁸⁵His biographies of Wolsey and Elizabeth appeared suspiciously soon after those of Pollard and Neale.

⁸⁶Wilfrid Sheed, Frank and Maisie (New York, 1985), p. 68.

⁸⁷Speaight, Belloc, p. 429.

⁸⁸Wilson, Belloc, p. 321.

incipient wanderlust.⁸⁹

Belloc always maintained that his poverty forced him to travel, lecture, and write newspaper articles or hack biographies, simply to support his family. But the reality is probably that Belloc travelled so much in order to satisfy his own restlessness rather than to provide a living for his family. One of the extraordinary points of Wilson's biography of Belloc is that for all his protestations of love for his wife and his land, Belloc was hardly ever at home to enjoy either one. In 1912, Wilson has figured that Belloc cannot have spent more than five weeks at home, a figure which was rather typical of a man he calls 'one of the most restless being who ever crashed about the surface of the earth'.⁹⁰

Belloc's contribution to Catholic historiography, on the whole, appears to be negligible, perhaps even counter-productive. One cannot write a biography of James II in eight days in a hut at the edge of the Sahara Desert and expect to be taken seriously. But he was taken seriously when he wrote, at least by Catholics. Granted, he was known for much more than his history, but his history and historical biographies were a significant part of his total impact. To ignore them, as do most historiographers of the English Reformation today, is a great mistake.⁹¹

⁸⁹The Fellows and Tutors must have detected that he did not have the qualifications for real scholarship' (Reynolds to the author, 7 February 1979).

⁹⁰Wilson, Belloc, p. 203.

⁹¹Rosemary O'Day's The Debate on the English Reformation (London, 1986) does not mention Belloc or any Catholic historians

Edward Hutton wrote of Belloc in 1950:

His work in popular historical studies and essays, indeed in all departments of literature, is among the least insular of our time and though he may not have reached directly a really large audience, he has probably influenced those who in journalism and books do reach a very large number of readers. It is his pen which might seem thus to have had in this country the widest and surest influence in our day on the side of Catholicism.⁹²

Christopher Hollis suggests that Catholic historians who came after Belloc may owe him much:

Whether or not we approve of his methods it is necessary to understand the purpose of them. The purpose of them was to break down by battering a brick wall of prejudice. And, if today history is taught in the English universities fairly and without bias, in a vastly different fashion from that in which it was taught in the last century, we must remember that a large part of the credit is due to Belloc; and that if the well-mannered moderate-minded Catholic of our day can receive courteous treatment and fair-minded criticism, to a large extent he is able without encumbrance to walk through the gap in the wall largely because Belloc opened the gap for him.⁹³

Belloc's message was as simple as it was all-encompassing, and could be reduced to the theme of his most controversial book: Europe is the Faith and the Faith is Europe. Like Acton, he saw religion as the main determining force of society, and the Catholic religion as the main determining force of Europe:

between Lingard and Scarisbrick. Such avoidance of the Catholic contribution to the Reformation debate seems, at times, to amount to method.

⁹²Edward Hutton, 'Catholic Literature 1850-1950', in The English Catholics, ed. George Andrew Beck (London, 1950), p. 541.

⁹³Christopher Hollis, The Mind of Chesterton, p. 20.

My thesis in other words is this: That the culture and civilisation of Christendom--what was called for centuries in general terms 'Europe', was made by the Catholic Church gathering up the social traditions of the Graeco-Roman Empire, inspiring them and giving the whole of that great body a new life. It was the Catholic Church which made us, gave us our unity and our whole philosophy of life, and formed the nature of the white world....⁹⁴

All Belloc's obsessions, from his hatred of the rich, his distrust of politicians, his disdain for academics, to his fear of the Prussians, all fit into this grand defence of the Church. His view of the Reformation was an essential element in this scheme, since he saw it as the beginning of the breakup of Europe. Likewise, the impending destruction of Europe could be avoided only by a return to the Faith, i.e. by a reversal of the Reformation process.

Better historians than Belloc engaged in this sort of moralising. Christopher Dawson's thesis is surprisingly similar. And both Acton and Froude saw the historian as a moral judge. Froude saw the Reformation in exactly the opposite terms from Belloc--as the revival of the creative civilising element rather than the destruction of that element.⁹⁵ But Froude approximated to Belloc in one particular, namely in the notion that history was accidental. J.R. Burrow writes of Froude: 'History, for him, was essentially spasmodic, unpredictable in a fashion which went beyond a commonplace rejection of determinism.'⁹⁶ 'The temper of

⁹⁴Belloc, The Crisis of Civilisation (New York, 1937), pp. 1-2.

⁹⁵J.R. Burrow, A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 254-255.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 251.

each generation,' Froude had written, 'is a continual surprise.'⁹⁷

Belloc wrote, in Europe and the Faith: 'The breakdown of our civilisation in the sixteenth century, with its difficult saving of what could be saved, and the loss of all the rest, was an accident.'⁹⁸ Coulton ridiculed this, saying, 'Real Catholic history at last is being written, upon an impregnable basis; there is no god but accident, and Mr. Belloc is its prophet,' perhaps not realising that Mr. Froude had established Protestant history on a similar basis long before the bigotted Belloc.⁹⁹

Belloc's single message contained both his attraction as a theorist and stylist (All the best historical stylists have been authors who have written to a grand thesis.), but also the seeds of his own destruction as a historian. As he was always the teacher attempting to simplify the material ('Now there are three points about Cromwell which you must remember.') and aphorist tossing out memorable phrases ('No Calvin, no Cromwell.'), these qualities often got the better of him. The sweeping judgments so necessary to the grand and readable style too often failed to take in disturbing precisions.

Furthermore, Belloc knew how things had to happen. Accident became inevitability. Elizabeth must have been a weak character because she was the daughter of a weak king. Her ministers must

⁹⁷Froude, Short Studies on Great Themes (London, 1882), I, 27.

⁹⁸Belloc, Europe and the Faith, p. 4. Italics are Belloc's.

⁹⁹G.G. Coulton, Mr. Belloc as Historian, p. 3. Froude saw the accumulation of accident as adding up to 'Providence'.

have acted as they did because they were Calvinists, or rich. They must have been avaricious because Calvinism, by its very nature, is avaricious. Added to this--almost complementary to this attitude--was Belloc's defiance. The manner of his books is almost always accusatory, bullying, threatening. Basil Blackwell addressed Belloc once as 'Dear Mr. Hilaire Bullock,'¹⁰⁰ a statement fairly descriptive of his pose. When Belloc replied to an opponent's argument with a particularly devastating remark, Douglas Woodruff asked him if it were true. 'Oh, not at all,' replied Belloc, 'but won't it annoy Coulton?'¹⁰¹ Belloc was a creature of the Church of the early twentieth century, and the Church, in turn, needed his bluster at the time. That it no longer does is perhaps a tribute to the effect he had.

¹⁰⁰Basil Blackwell to Belloc, c. 1895, BC--Belloc Collection.

¹⁰¹Wilson, Belloc, p. 350.

CONCLUSION

G.R. Elton has written disparagingly of historiography, saying that it is becoming 'unfortunately' popular, though he spares it his severest rebuke--that it is being practised in the United States. He writes:

All those booklets and pamphlets which treat historical problems by collecting extracts from historians writing about them give off a clear light only when a match is put to them.¹

We have attempted to avoid this criticism by focussing our attention not on the problems these historians were writing about, but on what their writings reveal about their own situation and the situation of their Church at the time of writing.

There were three major changes in Catholic historiography during this period--changes in the subjects which were addressed, changes in the focus of their histories, and changes in tone.

When Joseph Berington, Charles Butler, and John Lingard wrote their histories of the Reformation, their major concern was Catholic Emancipation. They saw the Reformation as the origin of the penal legislation, and hence looked on the Reformation principally in terms of a movement which deprived them of their civil liberties. It is no surprise, then, that they concentrated on those events which involved the development of the penal laws, with a view towards legislative relief.

Attention turned to other matters, not only because

¹G.R. Elton, The Practice of History (London, 1969), p. 192.

Emancipation was enacted, but because of the combination of several unrelated factors. The Romantic Movement brought about a re-evaluation of the Middle Ages, with the result that, first, the loss of the monasteries was considered mainly from the aspect of art, and then from the aspect of monasticism itself. The Oxford Movement, with its concentration on continuity, raised the Reformation debate onto an entirely different plane, bringing about an assessment of the Reformation as a heresy rather than a mere schism. All of a sudden, if we are allowed to use Aristotelian terms, the debate became one about the 'substance' of the Reformation rather than about its 'accidents'. Attention turned away from how the Reformation happened, to its essential meaning.

As a result, the focus of the earlier works frequently changed as the century wore on. The pope's temporal 'pretensions', so much the centre of Berington's and Butler's work, were left aside in the consideration of his spiritual power. Papal authority, instead of being regarded as an embarrassment, eventually came to be looked on as fundamental.

Attention also shifted from the reign of Elizabeth to the reigns of Henry and Edward. Elizabeth, who had been regarded by the Cisalpines as a good and moderate Queen, came to be regarded as a tyrannical despot or, alternatively, as a non-entity. In this new configuration Henry, by dissolving the monasteries and grasping at spiritual power, became more decisive in the progress of the Reformation. The liturgical changes under Edward VI saw a hardening of the Calvinist resolve, while Elizabeth merely continued these changes and ensured that they would be lasting.

Her persecution, because it did not bring about these changes and consequently was not necessary, became all the more contemptible. The popes, in addition to having their office enhanced by Ultramontanes, were judged as individuals much more favourably than they had been by the Cisalpines.'

The Jesuits underwent a similar re-evaluation, as the Exile-Appellant quarrel re-appeared, and the Exile (or pro-Jesuit) version of the Reformation became dominant by the end of the nineteenth century. Jesuits, who had been seen as political intruders and meddlers by the Cisalpines, were once again revered as martyrs for the Faith.

The tone of Catholic historical writing underwent perhaps the greatest transformation of all. Initially critical of papal power and Catholic behaviour during the sixteenth century, these histories became aggressively outward-directed--whatever fault is found in the Reformation is found almost invariably to lie in the Protestant camp. The Cisalpine tone of conciliation and co-operation gave way to a determined tone of hostility and confrontation.

All of these changes reflected the transformation of Catholicism during the period under consideration. It would be wrong to see this transformation as a simple thing. The Cisalpine influence is still a highly debatable quantity, and Cisalpines were not the only ones writing Catholic history in the early part of the nineteenth century. Nor were the Ultramontanes alone in writing history in the latter part of the century. Yet, it is fair to say that the Cisalpine opinion was far more widely held among the gentry and a few bishops, and found far more

frequent expression and sympathetic hearing in the early nineteenth century than was the case by the end of the century, when it had virtually disappeared. Conversely, the Ultramontane opinion, so tenaciously held by Milner and Plowden, had easily become the dominant voice by Belloc's time.

These new issues, new emphases, and new tone, all found their expression in a re-interpretation of the English Reformation. If anything, such a study should sober the modern historian who might be tempted, like Acton, to think that his is the last word. If we learn anything from these historians, it is Maisie Ward's injunction that 'Our age is only an age; it is not the day of judgement'.²

²Maisie Ward, The Wilfrid Wards and the Transition, p. 9.

Appendix

Catholic Organisations, 1778-1829

First Catholic Committee. The first Catholic Committee was formed in April 1778 and consisted of five members; Charles Butler was secretary. Its effective working period was only a few weeks, but it was never officially dissolved.

Second Catholic Committee. On 3 June 1782, a second Catholic Committee was elected by a general meeting of English Catholics (i.e. gentry), on which there served five *ex officio* members (Lord Petre, Mr. Hornyold, Mr. Stapleton, Lord Stourton, and Mr. Throckmorton) and five representatives from each of the vicariates, with the Northern District receiving double membership. Henry Englefield represented the London District, Mr. William Fermor the Midland, Lord Clifford the Western, Sir Carnaby Haggerston the Northern, and Mr. John Townley that of Lancashire and Cheshire. Charles Butler was again the secretary, and the Committee was to serve a term of five years.

Third Catholic Committee. On 3 May 1787, the third Catholic Committee was elected by the same procedure as the second. Those members elected at the meeting were Lord Petre, Lord Stourton, Sir John Throckmorton, Sir Henry Englefield, and Mr. Fermor; those elected later to represent the districts were Mr. Hornyold (London), Sir William Jerningham (Midland), Lord Clifford (Western), Sir John Lawson (Northern), and Mr. John Townley (Lancashire and Cheshire). Charles Butler was secretary. In May 1788 Bishops James Talbot and Charles Berington were added to the committee, along with Joseph Wilkes, a Benedictine monk.

The Cisalpine Club. On 12 April 1792, the Catholic Committee was radically reorganised into a less-structured 'club', which quickly devolved into a social body, rather than a religious or political one. It had forty-two members and was to meet five times every year, with each meeting chaired by a different member of the club. Lord Clifford was secretary. The organisation lasted until Emancipation, and then was re-formed into the Emancipation Club and continued for another seventeen years. However, by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, it had ceased to be a force with the Catholic Church, its place being taken by the Catholic Board.

The Catholic Board. This Board was begun in 1808 at the instigation of Charles Butler. Its purposes were to monitor anti-Catholic literature and counter such efforts with propaganda of its own. Its membership was much wider and more representative than that of the old Catholic Committee, and included all four Vicars-Apostolic, the Presidents of the Catholic colleges, sixteen missionary priests, ten peers, ten baronets, and members of almost every Catholic family of note. But it retained the rowdiness of the former Committee, as evidenced by its vote to dismiss Bishop Milner in 1813.

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Archival sources:

Archives of the Archdiocese of Southwark--Tierney Collection.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster--Poynter Papers, Wiseman Papers.

Archives of Downside Abbey--Gasquet Papers, Bishop Papers.

Boston College Library--Belloc Collection.

Jesuit Archives at Farm Street--Tierney Papers. These archives also contain many of Lingard's letters on subjects unrelated to the Society of Jesus. Fr. Francis Edwards thinks these letters came to Farm Street in the confusion following Tierney's death. Tierney had not returned several collections and it was uncertain who the rightful owners were. Westminster, in order to compensate those religious orders who were missing material, may have given them whatever material was at hand.

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