CATHOLIC HISTORY.

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OF

LIVERPOOL.

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CHAPTER I.

No city or town in Great Britain, and few in Ireland, contains so many Catholics within its boundaries as the city of Liverpool. This is due to its close proximity to Ireland. Indeed, it may be said with truth that Liverpool would not have risen into prominence at such an early date had not successive English monarchs from Henry the Second to William the Third recognised the great convenience afforded by the Mersey for the conquest of Ireland. In turn the Anglo-Irish difficulty and its consequences filled Liverpool with an enormous Irish population, which carried into an essentially Protestant community the ancient faith, and renewed in some forty churches the ritual and devotions which for many centuries were practised and observed in the pre-Reformation churches of Walton, St. Mary's del Key, and St. Nicholas.

An Anglican weekly, commenting on the pageant festivities of 1907, observed that the Church of England did not figure as prominently as was desirable in the processions and tableaux; that there was too much prominence assigned to events and incidents connected with the Roman Catholic Church in and around Liverpool. The complaint was well founded, though, had it been otherwise, the pageant would have been shorn of much of its beauty, and, what is more important, would have been an untruthful representation of the past history of the town. Why, however, the Benedictine priory of Birkenhead was made so prominent a feature, and the ancient parish church of Walton ignored, puzzled many people who knew local history, to say nothing of no reference to the first church erected in the town, St. Mary of the Quay. Save for the beautiful banner of St. Nicholas,* the "old

* Worked by Mrs. Jacob and presented to St. Nicholas' Pro-Cathedral, Copperas Hill, by Councillor A. E. Jacob, J.P.

church" in Chapel Street was set aside as if it had never existed, unless it be that St. Nicholas' was not regarded as a parish church, as it was subject to Walton until the year 1699.

The church of St. Mary at Walton dates back to Saxon times. Domesday Book records its existence, and the possession by its resident clergy of an endowment of certain lands in Bootle. In the year A.D. 1094 Roger de Poictiers granted the tithes of Walton to the Priory of Lancaster, and a little later the church was added to the endowment of SS. Peter and Paul, Shrewsbury. Up to the reign of King Edward the Fourth, the presentation to the living lay in the hands of the monks of the interesting town on the Severn, elevated by Pope Pius the Ninth into a cathedral city in the year 1850. The head of the Molyneux family bought the right of presentation, and entailed lands in Nottinghamshire on his brother, on condition that there was paid the sum of forty shillings yearly to the priest who served at the high altar of Walton. In the valuation of Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, the value of the living is set down at forty-four pounds. It is related that "Roberte Fizacreley was priste incumbent" there of the foundation of John Mowbray, to sing Masses for the "sowle of him and his antecessors." This is a disputed point. One writer says that the chantry was founded A.D. 1470, by Father John Molyneux, rector of Walton, and third son of Sir Richard Molyneux, who won his knighthood on the well-contested field of Agincourt. The Molyneux family* had an intimate connection with the ancient foundation of Walton. We find a Molyneux rector in 1528, again in 1543, and 1557. Indeed the Molyneuxs remained faithful until well into the nineteenth century. When the dissolution took place, a grant of one pound fourteen shillings was ordered to be paid to the displaced priest, Robert Fazackerley,† and though the chantries were re-established by Queen Mary, the following reign saw them finally diverted from their original purpose.

The first chapel was that attached to the Castle of Liverpool, built early in the thirteenth century on the site now occupied by the Queen Victoria memorial. Sixty years‡ after the granting of the first charter by King John, August 28, 1267, the chapel of St. Mary of the Quay was in existence, and provided for the spiritual wants of the small population which then inhabited the town. It was built close by the water's edge, and the present Chapel Street takes

* Earls of Sefton.

† History of Walton, by John Wilson, St. John's College, Cambridge.

‡ Ramsay Muir.

its name from this ancient chapel, and not from the Church of our Lady and St. Nicholas as is commonly believed, which was not erected until 1355. The first chantry attached to St. Mary's was founded by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in the year 1353. From the rent roll* of John of Gaunt, his successor, we gather that "Lyr'pulle is worth at farme £38, "whereof an allowance of rent was given by Henry, quondam "duke, whom God assoil, to the chapel there, twelve shillings." This was the High Altar of Liverpool so frequently alluded to in documents referring to the town. John of Gaunt followed the example of his predecessor by founding the chantry of St. Nicholas, and Mr. John Crosse added the chantries of St. Katharine and St. John. In 1464, Charles and Elen Gelybrand granted lands in Gerston for the maintenance of a chaplain at this chapel,* and in 1529 Cecilia, widow of Ewan Halghton, bequeathed lands in Wavertree and West Derby for a chaplain "at a certain altar, called Our "Lady's altar." There would appear to have been a special reverence for Our Lady's altar, judging by the various bequests for its support. Rector Crosse, of St. Nicholas', Fleshamble, London, in the year 1515 bequeathed a new common hall to the town, with the condition attached that the arcade beneath should be for the benefit "of the priest "who sings before Our Lady, and shall pray for ye soules "of John Crosse, Avice Crosse, John Crosse, Hugh Botill, "and all theire frendes soules." In the will of William, son of Adam, the first Mayor of Liverpool, an office which he occupied eleven times, we read—"I bequeath my soul to "God and the Blessed Virgin and all saints, and my body to "be buried in the chapel of Liverpool, before the face of the "image of the Virgin, where is my appointed place of "burial."† The worthy mayor died in the year 1383, and was laid to rest as he desired. His will ordered three quarters of wheat made into bread to be distributed to the poor on the day of his funeral, and the payment of fourpence to every priest in the chapel of St. Nicholas. In December, 1459, John Hales, Bishop of Lichfield, granted forty days' indulgence "to the penitents confessed and contrite who "should expend, bequeath or give" towards the restoration of this ancient chapel, the names of the benefactors to be mentioned at every Mass celebrated within its walls.

St. Mary's proved too small to accommodate the increasing population, and the erection of a new building was decided upon by the Corporation, to be wholly maintained by

* Quoted by Mr. John Elton, Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society.

† John Elton.

the burgesses. The Duke of Lancaster was requested to grant a piece of land upon which to erect the new church, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of seamen, in accordance with the Norman custom. A grant of ten pounds from Duke Henry's rental served as an endowment for the "*two* conjoined chapels," or as a document signed by King Edward the Third on the nineteenth day of May, 1355, puts it, "to certain chaplains to celebrate divine service "every day for the souls of all the faithful deceased in the "chapel of the Blessed Mary and St. Nicholas of Liverpool."* A new burial ground was also resolved upon, and on the third day of February, 1361, Robert Stretton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, wrote that he was "favourably inclined and "consented that the church of St. Nicholas of Liverpool, and "the cemetery contiguous to it in the parish of Walton within "our diocese, may be dedicated by any Catholic Bishop "enjoying the grace and union of the Apostolic See."

St. Nicholas' was essentially a Corporation church, as we may see from the directions issued by the local authority for its management. On June 3rd, 1558, the Corporation ordered: "the priest of the altar of St. John shall daily say "one Mass between the hours of five and six in the morning, "to the intent that all labourers and well disposed people may "come at the said hour." This early celebration was in harmony with the general medieval custom known as the Morrow's Mass.

A year later Queen Elizabeth was the reigning monarch, and the two chapels ceased to be part of the Universal Church. The chantry properties were appropriated by the Duchy of Lancaster, and the Corporation purchased the now empty chapel of St. Mary for twenty shillings on the 31st March, 1554. It became the town's warehouse, and so remained until the early years of the eighteenth century, when it was demolished, a piece of vandalism quite in keeping with the commercial spirit of that age. At the dissolution of the religious houses the following priests were attached to the four chantries:—Sir Ralph Howarth, the chantry of St. Nicholas; Sir Richard Frodsham, Our Lady's; Sir Humphrey Crosse, Saint Katherine's; Sir Thomas Rowley, St. John's. The prefix "Sir" is equivalent to the modern title of reverend as applied to a secular priest. For over a century and a half from the Reformation the Catholic history of the town is almost a blank. The Benedictines ceased to enjoy their ancient privilege of ferrying passengers across the river, the modern "Monks Ferry" alone remaining to remind later

*Brooke's translation.

generations of an interesting historical fact. The Prior's house in Water Street, wherein was sold the produce of the lands of the Birkenhead priory, was closed for ever, and except in secret the sons of St. Benedict no longer ministered to the farmers and labourers of the Cheshire side of the Mersey. The accession of James the Second renewed the hopes and stimulated the faith of Lancashire Catholics, but Liverpool was then a Puritan town and disregarded his royal orders for toleration towards his co-religionists.

In 1687, the King interfered on behalf of one Richard Latham, surgeon, and his wife who carried on a school, two professions from which Catholics were excluded. The royal command was disobeyed, and in consequence the deputy-mayor and senior alderman were removed from office.* A few short years later the foreign troops of William of Orange encamped on the shores of the Mersey, en route for the Boyne, to summarily exclude from the throne the would-be defender of his Liverpool Catholic subjects. In 1613, "John "Synett, an Irishman, born in Wexford, master of a barke, "was excommunicated by the Bishop of Chester for being a "Catholic recusant, and so dying at his house in Liverpool, "was deneyed to be buried at Liverpoole church or chapel," and again in 1615, "Anne, ye wyffe of Geo. Webster of "Liverpoole, deyed a Catholicke, and was deneyed burial at "ye chappelle of Liverpoole, by ye Mayor and by Mr. More."

That Catholicism maintained a vigorous existence in the neighbourhood may be inferred from the sturdy faith of most of the families between Liverpool and Lancaster, and the number of Catholics to whom the devoted sons of St. Ignatius of Loyola ministered at the end of the seventeenth century. No one can ever know the full extent of the labours of the Jesuits in Lancashire for over one hundred years, but from the scanty records handed down to us we may picture for ourselves some idea of the results of the zealous missionary work of the great Society of Jesus. To them, under God, the Catholics of Liverpool and neighbourhood owe a debt which can never be repaid. The story of their heroism, self-sacrifice, courage and tenacity needs the pen of the author of a "Lost Arcadia" to do it full justice,† and even now, under new conditions and happier times, every Catholic Lancastrian feels his heart swelling with admiration at the mere recital of the outlines of the history of the Jesuits in Liverpool. Some light is thrown on the steadfastness of the old families to the Catholic faith by the communications from the Government

* Ramsay Muir.

† See Cunningham Graham, ex M.P., on the Jesuits in Paraguay.

in the year 1701, which warned the Mayor of the "disaffection" of the Harringtons of Huyton, the Blundells of Crosby, and the Scarisbricks of Scarisbrick, and many others, * whose adherence to the Church of their fathers spelled disloyalty to the Crown in the eyes of the English statesmen of that persecuting period, happily long past.

Further light is thrown upon this period by a document in the possession of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. † It relates the story of the exemptions of Catholics in the neighbourhood of Liverpool from certain taxes ordered to be assessed upon property held by them in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed in the ninth year of the reign of George the First. The title ran thus:—"An Act for granting "an aid to His Majesty, by laying a tax upon Papists, and "for making such other persons who shall refuse upon a due "summons, or neglect to take the oath above mentioned, to "contribute towards the said tax for reimbursing to the "public the great expense occasioned by the late conspiracy, "and for discharging the estates of Papists from two-thirds of "the rents and profits thereof for one year, and all arrears "of the same, and from such forfeiture as are therein more "particularly described." The amount to be levied upon the "Papists" is set down at £100,000, but this Act is comparatively lenient when compared with previous legislation, inasmuch as it prescribes certain grounds upon which exemption may be claimed. In the main an oath to preserve the Protestant succession or bona-fide alienation of the property to a Protestant, prior to a certain date, secured exemption from the proposed impost. The alienation of property simply meant that no Catholic could hold property, and in Ireland it was quite a common practice to secure the good offices of a friendly Protestant to whom it was "alienated," but who gave back the rents or profits to the rightful if not legal owner. That this confidence was only too often abused formed one of the greatest sources of Irish "disaffection" under the tyranny of the Penal Laws. The document referred to relates thirteen successful appeals for exemption heard at Prescot on the seventeenth day of September, 1723. One Percival Rice, owner of lands in Speke, Halewood, Fazakerley and West Derby, "takes the "oath and declaration," and so "evades" payment, as does Mr. Thomas Prenton of Garston, who thus saves himself an assessment of six pounds. Mr. John Lancaster, Rainhill, escapes the tax by having alienated his property before

* Picton's Memorials of Liverpool.

† See Volume 18. Paper by Mr. A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.

December 25, 1722, to a Protestant gentleman.* Annuities derived from property were doubly taxed under this Act. Mrs. Mary Harrington, of Liverpool, who had an annuity of two hundred pounds from lands in Huyton, "forming the "property of Mr. Charles Harrington and on his decease "registered by Mr. John Harrington," also managed to successfully claim exemption. Another successful claimant is Mr. Humphrey Carroll, of Windle, whose property is "vested in and belongs to" infants under eighteen years of age. There is abundant evidence that the Molyneuxs, Blundells, Harringtons, Norrises and Scarisbricks definitely refused to conform to the new religion, and cheerfully accepted the grave consequences of their courageous refusals. Nocturnal searches for suspected persons—in other words, the priests who moved in secret from one part of the county to another, to celebrate Mass and perform the other sacred offices of the ministry—were everyday occurrences, and the want of success on the part of the visitors clearly indicates the strong hold which the Faith had over the greater portion of the agricultural population, who must have known the whereabouts of the much-sought-for priest in hiding. For example, we have these entries in the diary of Nicholas Blundell† :— "October 19, 1715. We expected the Hors Militia to come "here." "Oct. 31, 1715. I came not in till dusk expecting "a call." "Nov. 13. This Hous was twice searched by some "Foot as they came from Leverpole." Volumes might be written about such entries as "I sat in a Streat place for a "fat man," referring to the narrow hiding place in which this courageous Catholic gentleman sought to conceal his apparently corpulent body from outside observation during a visit from the "Hors Militia" or "Foot" from Liverpool, or the pathetic story hidden under the plain words: "Nov. 19. "Searched again," or "Nov. 20. I had a Bedfellow."

The bedfellow was no doubt the courageous Jesuit who risked life or liberty in ministering to this worthy family of Blundells who gave shelter for many a decade to the clerical wanderers of Lancashire, as they came in quick succession to carry out the duties of their sacred office. One smiles at the entry under date of August 9, 1704: "I went to Leverpole "with Lady Gerard, my wife, etc. We saw ye new church." It was indeed worth a visit to Liverpool, to see the church of St. Peter in Church Street, the first parish church erected since the Reformation, which has the added interest to this

* Thos. Holland of Sutton, William Leadbetter of Windle, secured exemption on similar grounds.

† See Father Gibson's Lecture, Historic Society. Volume 34.

generation of being the only existing building of the Liverpool of Queen Anne's reign.* It must have presented a strange appearance to the Catholic eyes of the worthy squire. St. Nicholas' had been despoiled of its church furniture, even the vestments being used for theatrical purposes, as we read in the statement of one John Rile, a schoolmaster, who acknowledged having in his possession two copes which he utilised for some children's plays.

The first Jesuit labouring in Liverpool, of whom we have any definite record preserved, was Father William Gillibrand. Belonging to Lancashire, as his surname implies, he returned to his native county after spending some time in the neighbourhood of London. In the year 1701 he served at Crosby, receiving by way of remuneration "two pounds from Mr. "Nicholas Blundell." He did duty also at Ormskirk and Liverpool, as is apparent from his own statement that he received "two pounds from Ormschurch," and "three pounds "from Mr. Eccleston for helpinge at Leverpole." The records† of the Society of Jesus show that the Jesuit Fathers in the early years of the 18th century worked at Ince Blundell, Formby, Lydiate, Croxteth, and some twenty other stations between Liverpool and Preston. On the Cheshire side of the Mersey they held outposts for the Faith at Hooton, the seat of the Stanleys, and in the old cathedral city of St. Werburgh, Chester.

The first resident priest in Liverpool after the Reformation was Father Mannock, S.J. He belonged to a good stock, his father being Sir Francis Mannock, baronet; while his mother was the daughter of Sir George Heneage, baronet, the head of the well-known Lincolnshire family. Here it may be noted that the commercial centre of the present city, Fenwick Street, owes its name to the Catholic wife of Moor of Bankhall, who hailed from Northumberland, as her name plainly tells us had we no other grounds for the assertion.‡ Father Mannock remained in Liverpool for two years. He had previously served at Chester as chaplain to Mr. Fitzherbert, who paid him the sum of ten pounds per annum. The smallness of the stipends paid to the zealous Jesuits provokes a smile when read in these days of trade unions, which have secured for the most casual of labourers a much larger wage than ever lined the pockets of the cultured and learned men who kept alight the lamp of faith in Liverpool, if indeed the smile be not accompanied by eyes brimming

* See Liverpool under Queen Anne. H. Peet, Esq., F.S.A., J.P.

† See Xaverian, Liverpool, 1887.

‡ Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Volume 34.

with tears. Under date of March 26, 1762, Father Tatlock, S.J., writes to his provincial: "For my part, I've worn not "only a turned coat, but also a turned waistcoat, patched "breeches, shoes, stockings and shirts, all patched this whole "year past, on account of my losing a year and a half of my "rent at Lydiate, beside the charge of boarding myself and "house there." Truly a picture of apostolical poverty. In these days he would be arrested not for saying Mass in secret, but for presenting the appearance of a "rogue and vagabond."

By this time the Jesuits had built a chapel in Lumber Street, Old Hall Street, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin under the title of St. Mary. It was in the fitness of things that the site was chosen. Hard by was the pre-Reformation foundation in Chapel Street, while in the immediate neighbourhood was the spot where a well-founded tradition says St. Patrick preached on his way to the Isle of Man.

In Marybone, within a few yards of the present church of Holy Cross, a water fountain marks the place on which stood for centuries St. Patrick's Cross, as marked on old maps of the town, and which was in existence as late as 1775. In an Act of Parliament passed in 1771, to secure the repair of the road between Preston and Liverpool, the cross is specially named, because the street now called Marybone was then "the road to Ormskirk." The neighbourhood possessed other traditions of Ireland's patron saint, the street between Cheapside and Hatton Garden bearing the name of St. Patrick's Hill.* This first Catholic chapel was founded in 1736, by Father John Hardesty, S.J. His real name appears to have been Tempest. From a MS. found by the writer in the archives of St. Mary's, some doubt may be thrown on this statement recorded in the annals of the Society of Jesus. It is so interesting that it deserves a record of more permanent character, especially as it has never been printed before in any book or record.

"Mr. Kirby having promised before the whole "congregation, August ye 4th, this pst year 1734, to "procure a convenient place in this parish for Divine service "to be therein performed every Sunday and Holy Day "throughout ye year, and to be at the sole cost and charges "for all necessaries hereunto, and administer also *gratis*, the "necessary functions of a Pastor, viz., Christenings, &c., "Instructing Children in the knowledge and principles of "holy Religion, and giving all due attendance on the sick; "and to direct his Intention every Sunday throughout the

* See Stonehouse, Streets of Liverpool. Also see note in Mr. Henry Peet's Liverpool in the reign of Queen Anne.

" year for the Prosperity of this Congregation; Provided " however that (since for this Parish, the whole fund being " but £2 6s. 0d., is insufficient to procure a convenient place, " not only, but altho' there were, wou'd scarce defray or " discharge the necessary expenses for Divine Service, and " that not only the Holy Scriptures and Religion, but " Conscience even itself directs that in such cases where there " is no other means to subsist by, a reasonable maintenance " must of necessity be raised out of the members of the " Congregation) Every chief Catholick whether a Man or " Woman in every family within this Parish, shall for himself " or herself and their children included living with them, if it " hath or may please God to bless them with any, shall " contribute or cause to be contributed to him according to " their Circumstances. We, therefore Subscribers to this " present Paper in consequence of the foregoing Reasons and " of the Promises above mentioned the Performance whereof " can not but be exceedingly advantagious to the whole " congregation in general and each member thereof, in " particular do promise to pay to the said Mr. Kirby the first " day or thereabouts of each month the sum of one shilling " per month.

" Witness our hands.

" William Dwarihouse.

" Brigt Dwaryhouse and Isabel Barratt.

" **X** their mark."

This document is written in a fine hand, evidently that of the Jesuit Father who drew it up and also wrote the names of the two women. It will be noticed that he spelt the first surname with a "y," instead of an "i" as "William Dwarihouse" did. The total population of the town was not much more than 7,000, and the Catholics must have formed only a small proportion. The small subscription of less than threepence per week shows their poverty, which is proven by the charming letter written by Father Hardesty* or Tempest many years after quitting St. Mary's:—" While I " lived in the aforesaid town, I receved one year with another " from the people, about one or two and twenty pounds a " year, by way of contributions towards my maintenance, and " no other subscription was ever made for me or for the " buildings. From friends in other places I had part of the " money I built with, but much the greatest part was what I " spared living frugally, and as not many would have been

* This letter was written to Father Molyneux, Viscount, but he never claimed his title.

"content to live."* Still the good priest never regretted having spent the best years of his life "in serving the poor "Catholics of Liverpool," nor can we, who have been privileged to witness the growth and wondrous development of the seed sown in the obscure street, hidden from the gaze of the passers by, by a poor Jesuit who lived "frugally" that God's work might be performed.

Father Tempest began his mission in Liverpool as early as 1715, and we find him serving at Lydiate in 1722, "going there once a month." He was assisted at St. Mary's by Father William Pinnington, S.J., a native of Salford, who worked zealously in the Liverpool area for over twelve years. Father Carpenter, S.J., was in charge of the little mission when the Scots retreated from Derby, after their ill-fated attempt to restore an unworthy prince to the throne of his ancestors. Liverpool was strongly Hanoverian in its sympathies, and to demonstrate the fact, a section of its inhabitants on April 30, 1746, made an attack on the chapel and levelled it to the ground.† The personality of Father Carpenter made a deep impression on the rioters, as he forced his way through their ranks, entered the chapel and reverently removed the Ciborium. His courage probably saved his life; the rioters making way for him as he walked out from the ruined chapel to seek shelter in the house of a Presbyterian friend in St. Paul's Square.‡ It was a severe blow to the small Catholic community to see the results of Father Tempest's sacrifice swept away to gratify the anti-Catholic prejudices of Liverpool's Protestantism, and was an ominous warning that the growing spirit of tolerance had not yet developed into a vigorous tree. The Mayor and Council did not relish such disturbances in their midst, and no doubt believed they were acting in the interests of public peace in refusing permission to Mr. Henry Pippard, a son-in-law of Mr. Blundell of Crosby, to rebuild the church. It did not occur to them that honest folk quietly worshipping their Creator had a stronger claim on the protection which they alone could give than a noisy mob bent on pillage and disorder. Liverpool has ever had a reputation for the ease and facility with which a large portion of its inhabitants can be inflamed into creating "religious" troubles, nor has it quite lost in the twentieth century that unenviable distinction. From a

* Xaverian. Feb. 1886.

† A regiment of 648 men, and five companies of 60 men, were raised for the defence of the town.—Annals of Liverpool,

‡ See John Rosson's speech at laying of foundation stone of St. Mary's, 1844.

MS. preserved in St. Francis Xavier's we learn that for some considerable time Mass was celebrated in the house of a Mr. Green,* who lived in Dale Street. Written by one of the family who witnessed as a boy the destruction of the chapel in Lumber Street, we may assume that his father's residence served the purpose of an inn. "Mass was said, Sundays and "holidays, in the garrets, the whole of which, as well as the "tea and lodging rooms of the two storeys underneath, "and the stairs, were filled by our acquaintances of different "ranks, and admitted singly and cautiously through different "entrances, wholly by candle light, and without the ringing "of a bell at the elevation, etc., but a signal was "communicated from one to another." From this simple but graphic story we may infer that anti-Catholic feeling ran high at this period, while the "different ranks" tells us plainly that the Faith was still preserved among the better off as well as the poorer classes.

They were, however, men of resource, and proceeded to again make provision for the celebration of the Divine mysteries, despite the opposition of the Council. To this end they erected a warehouse on the site of the old chapel, and from the pen of Mr. Green we have a most graphic account of the new building. It was erected on the south side of the upper end of Edmund Street. The front of this street was covered by varying kinds of buildings, and a number of courts with small houses with small backyards opening into the intended chapel yard. The houses were occupied by several Catholic families, one serving as a residence for the Jesuit Fathers. On the east side of the warehouse, which lay behind these court houses, there were two large folding doors, one above the other, surmounted by a teagle rope, block and hook, cupped against the rain, as was then the usual practice in warehouse buildings. The upper storey served as the chapel, its upper folding doors being bricked up from the inside, and the whole of the walls stuccoed. Large beaded windows, with strong outside shutters to be closed on the east alley side for security out of service time, gave an appearance to the building of being used merely for business purposes. Sufficient light for Divine service was obtained from similar windows on the west side, and two large sash windows on the south; these two sides being protected from inquisitive eyes by a small yard with walls encompassing and separating them from another courtyard, in which several Catholic workmen lived. This yard was effectually closed at nightfall by strong

* Uncle of Father West, S.J., who superintended the building of St. Francis Xavier's Church.

double folding gates. The ascent to the chapel was by a broad staircase on each side within a bricked and walled-in space of the lower warehouse storey, the entire space between the two side walls being used as covering in cold or rainy weather, or to avoid any attention caused by the worshippers standing about the street, the remainder of the lower rooms being used for storing lumber. Fathers Stanley, Michael Tichborne, John Rigby and Anthony Carroll served at various periods in this quaint church, hidden away for fear of the angry populace without. Mostly educated at St. Omer's, they returned to England, and by unflagging zeal and energy kept the Catholic spirit alive in Liverpool and Lancashire. Being Jesuits they did not expect a quiet, uneventful life, and they were not disappointed. Protestant Liverpool found them out in the year 1759, when "to the disgrace of the "police and of a small portion of the inhabitants,"* St. Mary's was once again destroyed. Again the irrepressible Jesuits rebuilt the chapel, and this time remained in peaceful possession. Their whereabouts was probably discovered from the fact that one of them attended the French sailors then imprisoned in the Tower, Water Street, "being proficient "in the French language," and as a testimonial of their gratitude, presented him with a model of a fully rigged ship, carved during long hours of captivity.† The priests who laboured in the third chapel of St. Mary's included Fathers Wappeler (a native of Westphalia), Carroll, O'Brien and Hawkins. The most remarkable of the Jesuit priests at this mission was Father John Price. Gore's Directory for 1769 gives the name of John Price, no occupation stated, living in Moor Street. It is a cherished tradition handed down by Liverpool Catholics of the early years of the nineteenth century that a chapel did exist in Moor Street. Very probably Father Price said Mass in his own house for the Irish sailors who arrived every day in the coasting traders. The street is not well known even now, though it can be seen a hundred yards from the site of the Castle of Liverpool, running from Fenwick Street to the Back Goree. In the Directory of 1777, he is described as "gentleman" residing at 21, Queen Street, close by St. Mary's, and later issues of the Directories leave no room for doubt of his priestly character. He built a chapel in Chorley Street, and though some writers on Catholic affairs appear to throw some doubt upon this fact, an examination of the columns of the Liverpool newspapers puts an end to all doubts on this point. On the

* Brook's History of Liverpool.

† "Catholic Times," 23rd March, 1872.

12th November, 1786, it is announced that Father Price will preach in "his chapel, Chorley Street, for the purpose of the "annual collection on behalf of the Royal Infirmary." The sum of £6 6s. 8d. was handed to the treasurer of the hospital as the result, an amount which compares favourably with the amounts sent in from the Protestant churches. In 1780, Father Price preached a sermon for the same charity, collecting a much larger sum than the Childwall Parish Church. In the "Catholic Annual," in an article written by Father Gibson, it is stated that Father Price opened a new chapel in Sir Thomas Buildings on September 7th, 1788. This date does not appear to be quite accurate, and looks like confusion with St. Peter's chapel, Seel Street, which was undoubtedly opened on that date. It cost the worthy Jesuit* £550 to provide the new chapel, and for twenty-five years he laboured there single-handed. The building remained intact until 1898, when the School Board erected their new offices on the site, now the Education Office of the Liverpool Corporation. A writer in the "Liverpool Daily Post," October, 1888, says:—"In Sir Thomas Buildings, the "well-known thoroughfare from Dale Street to Whitechapel, "there are to be seen at the present time the remains of an "old Catholic chapel, which was erected by the friends of "Father Price, S.J., soon after the year 1780." Another Liverpool writer says "a person walking along from Dale "Street to Whitechapel, by Sir Thomas Buildings, might "easily pass the chapel without notice, only one end or gable "of it reaching to the street, and houses on each side coming "close up to it. Its position is on the right hand, seven or "eight houses from Dale Street."† The cause of the severance of Father Price from St. Mary's was the momentous decision of Pope Clement 14th, in 1773, to suppress the Society of Jesus. This did not mean that the Jesuits departed from St. Mary's at once; on the contrary several priests of the Society remained there until 1783, when Father Williams, S.J., handed over the keys to the monks of Saint Benedict, who have remained in possession ever since. A remarkable figure at St. Mary's during these years of suppression was Father Raymond Harris, S.J., a Spaniard, whose real name was Hermosa or Ormaza. The comments of his Provincial on his eccentricities are very severe, and he secured considerable notoriety by plunging into the great controversy over the morality of the slave trade. Roscoe, the biographer of Pope Leo the Tenth and Lorenzo de Medici, wrote a number of

* Assisted by a Wexford man, named Ryan.

† Churches and Chapels. David Thom.

pamphlets against the horrible traffic in human lives, to which Liverpool merchants owed so much of their prosperity. Father Harris wrote a reply to prove the "licitness of the "slave trade" from Holy Scriptures. Pamphlets on both sides followed each other in quick succession, and so delighted were the merchants with the writings of Father Harris, that having the Town Council in their hands, they passed a special resolution of thanks and awarded him an annual honorarium. It was the first and last occasion that the City Fathers honoured a priest of any rank or degree, and a Jesuit to boot. Be that as it may, to his conduct the Society owed the loss of the parent church. Mr. Herdman says, "the first and "second chapels were the property of the Jesuits, and the "latter continued in possession until the suppression. I have "recently been informed on the best authority, that, although "suppressed by Pope Clement's Bull, the Jesuits for many "years afterwards kept possession of St. Mary's chapel. "Somewhere about 1787 or 1790* the Benedictines, I believe, "obtained possession." On the front page of the "Liverpool Advertiser," of January 1st, 1784, we may read in the advertising columns the following announcement:—"Price "threepence, to be continued in weekly numbers, eight, of "an appeal to the public or a candid narrative of the rise and "progress of the differences now fulfilling in the R——n "C——c congregations in Liverpool, with an appendix "containing a comparative view of Bishop Gibson's letters on "the subject." The Bishop here referred to was Dr. Mathew Gibson, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, Bishop of Comara. "The book," says a Liverpool antiquarian, "was an "octavo of four hundred pages. I am sorry to say it is very "dull indeed." The differences here referred to were serious in the extreme, and gave great scandal.

The eccentric Father Harris was the immediate cause of the quarrel, the echoes of which did not die away for over half a century.

In the year 1758, when two priests were introduced to St. Mary's, an agreement was made between the congregation and the Jesuit Superior, Father Mansell, that the temporal management of the chapel, the collection of bench rents, and the equal division of same between the two "incumbents" should be conducted by trustees, to be chosen by qualified bench holders. This lay management of matters of finance seems to have worked well for about twenty years, but entailed serious consequences later. According to a letter addressed "to the public" by Messrs. Lawrence, Kaye,

* This is an error; 1783 was the actual date.

Butler, Rosson and Billinge, the time came when the senior incumbent "usurped to himself the right of collecting and "disposing of church monies." The result was friction with the lay managers, and the division of the congregation into two parties, one siding with the priest, the other with the managers. In 1779 serious differences manifested themselves between Father Williams and Father Harris, the former having followed the course of some of his predecessors in office by collecting the bench rents and ignoring the claims of the trustees to have the disposal placed in their hands. A meeting of the bench holders was held in the Golden Fleece Hotel, Dale Street, on September 15th, 1779, to discuss the points of difference, when it was found that Father Williams refused to tolerate any interference with his management. The bench holders insisted on the original conditions being complied with, and appointed four of their number to visit the absent members and secure their signatures to a memorial to the Very Rev. Father Walton, "our worthy prelate," requesting him to support their "resolves." We learn from this report that there were one hundred and four benches in the chapel and that sixty of the holders appended their signatures to the petition promoted by Messrs. David Tuohy, Francis Gandy, Henry Billinge and Andrew Rosson. The Bishop appears to have approved of the policy of dividing the income between the resident clergy, but it does not appear that Father Williams adopted that course. In fact, he appears to have disregarded it, with the result that dissensions broke out in the congregation and developed to such an extent that on the 6th of March, 1872, the trustees endeavoured to seize the church by violence. The rioters on this occasion were representative bench holders, and acted without any authority from Mr. Thos. Clifton, of Lytham, who held the property in trust for the remaining members of "a late "certain society," as the Jesuits were styled during the suppression.

This outburst of violence did not last, but from documentary evidence still in existence it is clear that these bench holders claimed the entire management of the chapel. On the 5th October, 1782, they issued a series of regulations, nineteen in number, to re-assert their claim, because, as the preamble puts it, "there is reason to apprehend that the "regulations established for the temporal management of the "R——n C——c c——l, situated in Edmund Street, are not "sufficiently known to the individuals of that persuasion." These extraordinary rules laid it down as a necessary condition of being allowed to serve at the chapel "that every

"new incumbent, before his admission to serve the place, "do sign a written contract, whereby he shall bind himself "to abide by the regulations."

They included a proviso that the clergy should give an account of all monies received by them each quarter; that the bench holders' representatives hold office for three years; and that they sell or let at any rent they think fit, the seats in the chapel, and of dividing the proceeds equally between the two incumbents. They also included the sole right of the trustees to appoint a collector of rent, "to transact all the "temporal affairs of the chapel, both as to necessary repairs, "alterations, or any other unavoidable expenses whatever; "and that the same be deducted from the yearly income of "the two incumbents." To avoid further dispute a "Committee of Repairs" was appointed, half nominated by the "trustees" and half nominated by the incumbents, to decide what were "necessary repairs or disbursements." The arrangement was a total failure. Father Williams and Father Harris failed to agree, and it was alleged by the partisans of the latter, who had a numerous following, that it was the intention of the senior incumbent "to starve him out." It would appear to have been the intention of Father Williams to rid himself of his eccentric colleague; finally the Bishop stepped in and put an end to the unseemly dispute by suspending both priests.

But that the Society of Jesus had been suppressed these differences would never have arisen, and we gather from a letter addressed to Father Archibald MacDonald, O.S.B., July 28th, 1783, by Father N. Sewall, S.J., then residing in Preston, what the intentions of his colleagues were, he having been appointed their "agent."

"It was the intention of the members of a late certain "body to authorise the late Thos. Clifton, Esq., their trustee "for the chapel and house in Edmund Street, Liverpool, to "convey over the trust of the said chapel and one house to "Sir Robert Gerard, Bart., and Henry Blundell, Esq., for "the use of the Roman Catholic congregation in Liverpool; "and at a meeting of the said committee, held in Wigan on "Monday, the 17th day of February, 1783, an agreement "entered into by Thos. Clifton and Henry Blundell, Esqrs., "was acceded to by them, and deeds of conveyance, &c., "ordered accordingly, to be drawn up, the full execution of "which the unexpected death of Thos. Clifton, Esq., alone "prevented." The demise of Mr. Clifton, and the non-execution by him of the conveyance to Messrs. Blundell and Sir Robt. Gerard, was the keynote to many of the further deplorable misunderstandings which ensued. Father Sewall

then goes on to say: "That in consequence of the above "agreement the members of a late certain body* "did not think themselves entitled to interfere, directly "or indirectly, in nominating or removing incumbents "in future at Liverpool, and that, therefore, the said com- "mittee expressly charged the Rev. Mr. Emmett, the "*Bishop's Vicar for that certain body*, immediately to signify "the same to his Lordship, and at the same time particularly "entreated him and the Rev. Mr. Williams, one of the "incumbents (at St. Mary's), not to meddle in the affair in "any shape, but to leave the whole entirely to the Bishop, "the two intended trustees (Blundell and Gerard), and the "congregation at large."

It would appear from these resolutions adopted by the members of a "late certain body" at the meeting in Wigan, that they did seriously desire to leave the matter in the Bishop's hands, and prevent either Fathers Williams or Harris from interfering in the choice of the priests who were to serve the old chapel, but dated, as they were, the 17th day of February, the following letter written by the "Bishop's "Vicar for that certain body," fourteen days earlier, must be taken into account:

"Honored Sir.—I make no doubt you have heard of the "scandalous disputes that have subsisted for some years past "at Liverpool. Though by a sort of patched up accommoda- "tion they are coming to a conclusion, still it is the general "opinion of all that there cannot be a sincere and lasting "peace in your congregation whilst either of the present "incumbents do duty in your town or neighbourhood of "Liverpool. The Bishop, therefore, in his last, dated 23rd of "January, desires me to look out for two others, who may be "ready to succeed when Mr. Williams and Mr. Harris have "settled their accounts and paid their debts. As there are "none of our Body out of Place or prepared for the post, I "take the liberty of applying to you to be so good as to "appoint two of your Order. Your religious Vow of "Obedience will be an efficacious means of preventing for the "future any dispute rising to a head. I spoke to Mr. Gregson "and Mr. Brewer on the subject. Mr. Brewer said he "believed there was one at liberty at present, and that he "would be willing to supply until another could be had, and "that he would write to you about it. As Mr. Brewer is a "proper person for the place, I could wish he could stay "there, at least for some time. I have received an answer

* The Society of Jesus.

"from our agent,* Mr. Sewall; he tells me that the proposal "is much approved of, and that it is the only means of "establishing peace and reuniting the congregation. He says "we shall be willing to let you have the Chapel and a House "for two priests on condition of paying a small acknow- "ledgment annually. He thinks in order to render yourselves "more independent of the congregation it would be very "proper to have a long lease from Mr. Clifton, who is trustee "for the same, on condition of paying to him the above "annual acknowledgment only. The House has lately been "put in full repair, part of which is not as yet paid for. I "dare say you would not be against discharging that debt; "I can't well tell what it is. This I can say, that everything "shall be made as easy and agreeable as possible and lays in "my power. Be so good as to give me an answer as soon as "you conveniently can, which I hope will be a favourable "one, for the sake of the peace in God's Church, which is the "wish and prayer of all good men, and of your obedt. "honble. servt.,

"Jos. Emmett.

"Gill-Moss, the 3rd of Feb., '83.

"P.S.—Direct from me, at No. 9, Edmund Street, "Liverpool."

This letter is addressed to "Mr. Bolas, Warwic Bridge, "Carlisle," Provincial of the Benedictines.

The result of this appeal was that Father Archibald Benet MacDonald, O.S.B., and Father Brewer, O.S.B., of Woolton, proceeded to take charge of the mission, and on the 3rd April, 1783, Father Williams handed over the keys to the first-named Benedictine. A hostile reception met them at the very moment of their arrival. From a MS. in the handwriting of Father MacDonald we are told that, within twenty-four hours of his arrival in Liverpool he was summoned to appear before "a committee of persons calling themselves "trustees," who forbade him to officiate. His intention, owing to former disputes, being "so to comport himself as to "give umbrage to no man," he was much pained at the feeling displayed. The authority of Father Emmett, S.J., and of the Bishop, were produced, but to no avail. The bench holders sought to obtain possession of St. Mary's by force, and scenes of gross disorder prevailed in the sacred edifice, which were unfortunately repeated on other occasions. Father MacDonald wrote to Mr. Henry Blundell on the 9th April, 1783, that the Bishop having suspended "Messrs. Williams

* Rev. N. Sewall, S.J.

Note.—The wax seal to this remains still intact.

"and Harris, by his (the Bishop's) desire and the consent of "the Jesuits, two of our people took possession of the chapel "and house on the 3rd inst. Should have been very glad you "were in the country to have waited upon you as we did upon "Sir Robert Gerard, for his approbation on the occasion; "doubt not, however, but you will concur in giving quiet and "peace to that distracted congregation. There are yet great "appearances of discontent, which, as Trustee, it is hoped "you, Sir, will endeavour to dissipate."

The nominees of the bench-holders appear to have been much enraged at Father MacDonald's appeal to Messrs. Blundell and Gerard, and especially at his action in summoning the following meeting:

"April 2nd, 1783. Your company is desired at the great "room of the Angel Inn, at six o'clock to-morrow evening, "3rd inst., in order to chuse chapel wardens or managers for "the R—m C—k C—l, Edmund Street, conformably to an "agreement lately made between Thos. Clifton, of Lytham, "and Henry Blundell, of Ince, Esquires." The ill-received incumbent informed the dissentients that "the meeting was "called in order that the world might know who those were "that really composed the greatest and most respectable part "of the congregation." Violence was offered to him in the Church, and the following handbill was distributed to the members of the congregation, dated April 5th, 1783:

"Whereas two strange Gentlemen are lately come to "this Town, with Intent to *Impose* themselves as Incumbents "on the Congregation of the R—n C—c C—l, Edmund "Street, saying they have been ordered to settle here, and "they have *supposed* that the Rev. Mr. Emmott must have "authority for so doing; and at the same time owned that "they could not produce any authority for such Pretensions. "And whereas some anonymous letters, dated the 2nd instant, "have circulated in this Town, inviting some of the Bench-"holders in said Chapel to meet at the Angel Inn, on the "3rd Instant, at Six o'clock that Evening, in order to chuse "Chapel Wardens or managers for the said Chapel, con-"formably to an agreement lately made between Thomas "Clifton, of Lytham, and Henry Blundell, of Ince, Esqrs. "In Consequence of such Anonymous Letters, some Bench-"holders of different Denominations did meet, and it now "appears sundry Persons were at that illegal Meeting Chosen, "notwithstanding they declared they were unacquainted "with the Old Rules, that the above Agreement specifies "shall be the mode of election. This is therefore to inform "all Bench-holders that no Men, or any set of Men whatever, "can be authorised in the capacity of Trustees or Chapel

" Wardens without the concurrence of Henry Blundell, Esq., " and Sir Robert Gerrard, excepting those that have been " chosen upwards of a year ago, who have been authorised " by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of this District, to " appoint a Collector to receive Rents of Benchers.

" The Trustees think it their Duty to forewarn all persons " from paying regard to any authority such Persons " so illegally chosen may pretend to claim from so " unwarrantable a Nomination, and hope that every Bench- " holder will pay their Rents unto Mr. Richard Eltonhead, " and no other person, and the Trustees do hereby promise to " indemnify them for so doing. Signed: Robert Lawrence, " John Kaye, Christopher Butler, Andrew Rosson, Henry " Billinge, Trustees.

" . . . By the aforesaid Regulations, no person can serve " this Congregation, as an Incumbent, without the appro- " bation of the Qualified Bench-holders. It being therefore " unwarrantable for any person to act in that Capacity, " without such an Approbation first obtained, it is hoped the " Congregation will never suffer any innovation to take Place, " in a Matter of such Importance to themselves and Posterity, " as the choice of their own Pastors."

This extraordinary claim to select their own pastors was no doubt seriously put forth, and illustrates the ill-tempered manner in which the entire negotiations were conducted. The Bishop's authority was flouted, and a newspaper controversy ensued which was characterised by such abusive language and accusations of deliberate " duplicity," one against the other, that to the Protestant population of Liverpool the letters were anything but " dull reading." Father MacDonald wielded a trenchant pen; shafts laden with satire and ridicule poured into the ranks of his hostile flock, or rather the bench-holders, who in turn assailed him with vituperation and the grossest calumnies. One sample will suffice to illustrate this incredible battle of pens. " The " flowers of your rhetoric," writes one critic of the poor Benedictine, " are all gathered from the luxuriant gardens of " Billinsgate and St. Giles," and his letters as " masterpieces " of bad grammar, abusive language and nonsense," which made the writer of this choice production believe he had " rashly engaged with a veteran soldier lately arrived from the " garrison of Gibraltar, and accustomed to fiery engines of " Elliott's Red Hot Balls. (" Alluding to a Christian oration " lately delivered from the altar by Mr. Arch. McDonald, " wherein, in the true spirit of Christian meekness and " charity, he wished no greater harm to his opponents than

" a fiery destruction similar to that which the brave General " Elliott's red-hot balls effected on the French and " Spaniards)."*

Father MacDonald, with characteristic courage, boldly deprived six of the " brawlers " in his chapel of their benches, one of the six being a member of the weaker sex. In the confusion which prevailed as the result of the claims of the miscalled trustees under the regulations of 1782, the misinterpretation of Father Emmett's clear and unequivocal appeal to the Benedictines to serve the chapel, the apparent neglect on the other hand of Father Williams to follow the advice of Father Sewall to take no part in the selection of an incumbent, and the claim of Mr. Clifton (son of the deceased gentleman of the same name) to be consulted, the gravest scandal was given to the whole population of the town. Mr. Clifton resolved to carry the whole matter into the courts of law, a most reprehensible proceeding in face of the Bishop's decision and the " resolve " of the Jesuits themselves not to interfere with the selection of the new priests to serve at St. Mary's. A document is still in existence which demonstrates how Father MacDonald was dragged into the courts. It is an estimate of the expenses which he would incur in defending the case against him, and amounts to two hundred and twenty pounds, with the prospect of having to pay a much larger amount should Mr. Clifton's cause prove successful. The Bishop intervened by addressing a special pastoral letter " To the Catholics of Liverpool," dated October 8, 1783 :

" It is with inexpressible concern we have found the most " zealous endeavour, hitherto ineffectual, towards suppressing " those discussions which not only dishonour your holy " religion, but strike at the very being of ecclesiastical " authority and subordination. . . . The enemy of our " souls, jealous of these spiritual blessings with which " indulgent Providence has blessed them, and endeavouring " to defeat the benevolent designs of Heaven in your regard, " has prevailed so far with some as to make them not only " lay aside the decency and submission due to superior power, " but obstruct and impede the most active exertions to restore " the comforts of peace and promote your spiritual welfare. " To this desirable end we have long directed our prayers and " labours, yet, is there not reason to fear that we have " laboured in vain. Lenity, dictated by the most weighty " motives, has been *stiled* timidity, an indecent surrender of " ecclesiastical power. On the other hand, measures not more

* *Advertiser*, August, 1783.

"severe than necessary have been termed animosity, "obstinacy, an undue stretching of prerogative. Can, then, "this discordancy of sentiments be a standard of rectitude, a "rule of acting? No! not even to him who would wish to be "all things to all men, that he might save all. Some of the "most uninstructed characters, in terms equally illiberal and "unjust, arraign and condemn the decrees of that authority "which they ought to respect and implicitly obey: read "lectures on the object, the nature, the extent of ecclesiastical "jurisdiction; on the sacred and till this day uncontroverted "rules of Church discipline, invading the prerogative of that "tribunal which has an exclusive right to censure and punish "any violation of the sacred trust with which we are "invested. To this ecclesiastical tribunal inferior Church-"men are to look for redress and protection, when aggrieved "and oppressed by the superior. The measure is clearly "proper, warranted by the Canons, due to an injured "character, and so easily adapted that a peaceful and silent "acquiescence under the weight of dishonourable and criminal "imputations will be interpreted the effect either of conscious "guilt or unseasonable compassion for a Prelate who wishes "not for extraordinary tenderness but that the merits of his "conduct be discussed by that tribunal to which he is "amenable.* But are you still ignorant to such a degree as "to want information that an appeal to the public to "determine the validity and justice of ecclesiastical censures "is an irreligious encroachment upon the rights of the "sanctuary, a most preposterous attempt to exalt the sheep "above the pastor, to direct your teacher, lead your guide, "and over awe your Prelate, a sacrilegious effort to invert "the order established by our Blessed Redeemer and disturb "the system of Infinite Wisdom. Obey your Prelates and be "subject to them, with whom it is a very small thing to be "judged of you and of man's judgment. A vindication of "their conduct to a tribunal so unprecedented and repugnant "to their dignity would be a tacit and disgraceful acknow-"ledgment of its usurped jurisdiction. . . . We, therefore, "beseech you, dearly beloved, by the bowels of our Lord Jesus "Christ, not to interfere with the prerogative of His repre-"sentative. We are ambassadors for Christ; God, as it were, "exhorting by us. When exhortations prove insufficient, we "are invested with authority, not only to teach and rebuke, "but to chastise; not only to build and to plant, but to root "up and pull down, and to destroy. Wherefore, we strictly "forbid, under pain of excommunication, any person to

* An appeal to Rome.

"insult, in the Catholic Chapel, Edmund Street, by any ill-"usage, abuse, reproaches by word of mouth or in writing, or, "in the aforesaid chapel designedly to impede or disturb in the "exercise of his spiritual functions the Rev. Mr. McDonald "or the Rev. Mr. Kennedy. In terminating a debate "concerning temporal concerns, follow the advice of the "Apostle, 1 Cor., c. 6, v. 5, &c.: 'If you have judgment of "'things pertaining to the world, I speak to your shame, is "'it not so? that there is not among you any one wise man "'that is able to judge between his brethren; already, "'indeed there is plainly a fault among you that you have "'law suits one with another! Why do you not rather take "'wrong? Why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be "'defrauded?'"

The pastoral concludes with a most eloquent and beautiful appeal for peace.

At the Lancaster Assizes the question was settled. The presiding judge decided that Father Williams, in handing over the keys to Father MacDonald had "inducted" him as his lawful successor. A patched up peace prevailed at length; the disorders ceased, but many years passed away before the storm which accompanied the entry of the Benedictines into Liverpool was forgotten by the Catholics of the town and neighbourhood.

It was in the fitness of things that the Benedictines should have succeeded the Jesuits. On the confiscation of the Birkenhead Priory, the monks lost their hold on the banks of the Mersey. In the intervening ages they, too, worked secretly in Lancashire to preserve the ancient faith. From 1697 to 1717 they served the family of Lord Molyneux at Sefton, until they were superseded by the "friars," again resuming their work in the year 1742.* On the apostacy of the ninth Viscount and first Earl (due to a mixed marriage), the Chaplain, Father Vincent Gregson, lived in the end portion of the buildings at present adjoining the church, called the "cockloft." He obtained a piece of land at Netherton,† close by, and built a chapel and house in which the faithful Catholics who did not follow the example of their lord worshipped God in the ancient fashion. The Benedictines had also served for some years at St. Swithin's, Gillmoss. Now that they were established at St. Mary's, they could see from the western boundary of the parish their dismantled priory on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, with its tower lifted high above the intervening forest of masts.

* Catholic Directory.

† Still served by the Benedictine Fathers.

By a curious coincidence the Sovereign Pontiff who cancelled the Decree of Suppression, and restored most of the privileges of the Society of Jesus, was himself a monk of the Order of St. Benedict.

The Benedictines followed up their work at St. Mary's by founding a new mission at the south end of the town, where the increasing Catholic population called for church extension. It was opened on September 7th, 1788, and dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles. This church is better known as the Seel Street chapel, and is the only building of an ecclesiastical character which has familiarised the name of the street in which it is situate. This may have arisen originally from a desire to avoid confusion with the parish church of St. Peter in Church Street, and it is therefore not strange that in the lease granted by the Corporation, "Seel Street Chapel," and not St. Peter, is the official description of the building.

The original founder was the rector of St. Mary's, Father MacDonald, who was a native of Lochaber, Scotland. He appears to have created a good impression on the Protestant population, being referred to by one writer as "a kind-hearted and much respected man."* On the walls of the church a mural tablet perpetuates his memory in these words: "In the vaults of this church are deposited the "remains of Father Archibald MacDonald; died July 29, "1814. The founder of this chapel, and for a period of "26 years its liberal, intelligent, and revered pastor, to "whose memory the Catholicks of Liverpool erected this "monument." These two opinions must be read in conjunction with the acts of the Benedictine chapter held in the year 1785, when he was censured for his somewhat violent polemical writings in connection with the disputes at St. Mary's. His sermon on the opening day was described by a local paper in flattering terms: "One can truly say that "a better discourse has not been heard in any place of "worship."† The musical part of the service attracted considerable attention. It was organised by two Protestant musicians whose name constantly appear on concert programmes of that day; the organ which was provided, and the "choice chorus," forming a happy omen of the celebrated organists, choirmasters and singers who made the musical services at the Seel Street chapel renowned for one hundred and seventeen years.

* Smither's History of Liverpool.

† *Williamson's Advertiser*, 8th September, 1788.

Judging by a drawing of the church preserved in the Corporation Library, the outlines of the church were pretty much the same as now: a plain, square, brick building devoid of external ornament, though of smaller dimensions than the present church. "A quadrangular room, good solid work, "with as much gallery room as possible, and a priest's house "at the altar end, was all he (Father MacDonald) aimed "at."* His portrait in oils is one of the treasures of the Priory of St. Peter's, and hangs in the dining room side by side with similar portraits of successive rectors of this notable church. He was appointed Cathedral Prior of Rochester shortly before his death.

The Town Council records relate that on the first day of April, 1789, it was resolved that "a new lease be granted to "the Rev. Archibald MacDonald, of the Roman Catholic "chapel lately erected by him, and situate in Seel Street, for "three lives of his own nomination, and for twenty-one years "afterwards, at a ground rent of twelve pence per yard, and "for the above purpose only, a perpetual lease shall be "granted of the chapel, and on the death of any life, on the "persons entitled applying for the renewal within six months "after such death." The resolution goes on to declare that the lease will lapse if the building ceases to be used as a chapel. A separate lease was also granted for the house and schools on payment of a fine of £3 3s. 0d., and an annual ground rent of twelve pence.

This decision indicates that cordial relations then prevailed between the local authorities and the Catholic body, and the annual collection in the three Catholic chapels for the Infirmary points to the conclusion that the chapels were recognised as duly authorised places of worship. Collections are also recorded in the local journals from the priests at Farnworth, Appleton and Upholland.

The first public reference to the founder of St. Peter's occurs in reference to his sermon at St. Mary's, or as it was termed "the Roman Catholic chapel in Lumber Street."† We have seen that poor Father Tempest had only an income of one or two and twenty pounds per annum in 1750, and in 1799 we find that in the same church after a sermon by Father Talbot, O.S.B.—a most excellent sermon "‡—for the Poor School, he secured an offering of £20 14s. 6d., from which may be inferred that the Catholics had increased considerably in number. It is difficult to estimate how many

* Centenary Sketch, 1888.

† Gore's General Advertiser.

‡ Liverpool Phoenix, 1799.

Catholics were in Liverpool in the first half of the 18th century, certain it is that the Faith had not disappeared.

Mr. Henry Peet, in his most interesting book on Liverpool in the reign of Queen Anne estimates the population of the town at seven thousand. A close examination of the list of ratepayers in every street of the town reveals but half a dozen Irish surnames. There are, however, numerous characteristic Catholic names, such as Scarisbrick, Molyneux, and Blundell.

Owing to the close commercial intercourse between Ireland and Liverpool during the eighteenth century there must have been a colony of Irishmen in the town. The campaigns of Henry the Second and Richard the Second in Ireland brought Liverpool considerable reputation. Irish merchants came regularly to Liverpool to sell yarn and linen on its quays to Manchester merchants.* They attended, no doubt, the old church of St. Nicholas, and on its seizure by the State for the reformed religion one can only conjecture where they received the spiritual consolation of their Faith. Certain, however, it is that political blunders in the government of Ireland largely increased the number of Irish Catholics in Liverpool towards the middle of the century, and created the demand for chapels, which gave rise to the foundation of St. Peter's and Sir Thomas Street, in addition to the mother church of St. Mary's.

Unfortunately, one is not able to give any estimate of the number of native Catholics who held steadfast to the Faith during the long years of persecution and deprivation of citizenship. Gore's Directory for 1766 contains the names of some twelve hundred householders. Of these only fifteen bear distinctive Irish names, such as Coyle, Doran, Dougherty, Dowdall, Finigan, Fearns, Molloy, Ryan, MacCormac, Finglass and Staunton. There were two Kellys, not necessarily an Irish surname, there being many in Lancashire who are not Irish by birth or descent. As might be expected, on account of the coasting trade, five of these Irish names represent captains of vessels. Doran and Finnigan are described as merchants; the remainder being apparently dealers in clothes, or as they were called in those days, slopmen. In the Directory for 1769 twenty-two names appear, seven being captains, and there also appears for the first time the relation of Irish connection with the drink trade; a much too prominent feature of Irish life in Liverpool at a later stage. By 1774 there is a further increase to forty householders, and in 1781 eighty Irish names are recorded, eleven being captains and twelve victuallers. The first

* Mrs. J. R. Green's—The making of Ireland and its undoing.

mention of the surname Burke is in connection with a woman who kept a public-house in Litherland Alley in 1777, and in 1781 we have the first record in print of Irish association with the hard work of the Dock side in the case of Thomas Burke, living by the Old Dock, and described as a porter. Wexford names are prominent: Byrne, Dwyer and Ryan, the last named being a ship broker. In this year, 1781, the Celtic prefix O appears for the first time: Captain O'Mara and Francis O'Neale, provision dealer. From the public advertisements, it would appear that the means of locomotion were to some extent under the direction of Irishmen, most probably Catholics. The coaches of Mr. James Maguire set out every morning, except Saturday, from the Horse and Rainbow, High Street, for Warrington and Manchester, and the local resident superintendent of the Dublin packets was a Captain O'Connor. It was asserted that a large number of Wexford people came to Liverpool during the year 1798 on account of the rebellion of that year, and it was further stated that they were "loyal" Irishmen.* As the Wexford struggle was confined to a small area of the country, and only lasted a very short period, the grounds for this assertion are not very strong. It is much more likely that the immigration was due to the increase in the trade between both ports, a trade so important that Liverpool freemen were exempted from the dues payable on Wexford produce. The tonnage returns for Liverpool shew that in 1798, no less than 988 vessels arrived from the Irish ports, a number which went on increasing until 1820, when 2,162 ships entered the Mersey laden with agricultural products. To this must be attributed the increasing numbers of the Irish population and we have evidence that in 1788, the year which saw the opening of Father Price's chapel and St. Peter's, 367 children were baptised in the three chapels, representing a fair proportion of the total population of all creeds.† Catholics must have been growing prosperous, comparatively speaking, as from the records of the treasurer of the Infirmary as early as 1789 and 1790 the amount sent to him from St. Peter's alone amounted to £18 9s. 11d. and £23 2s. 10d. respectively. The main streets of that parish had been constructed for some years, and in the Directory for 1790‡ about 120 Irish householders' names are given, irrespective of the numerous English Catholics who cannot be identified by name. No less than sixty-eight bear the Irish prefix, 'Mac,' though a few are

* Troughton's Liverpool.

† Canon O'Toole's tables.

‡ Wosencroft's Directory.

clearly of Scottish or Ulster origin. From the record of burials in St. Peter's vaults and churchyard we find such striking English surnames as Baynes, Parr, Dickinson, Skelton, Formby, Stubbs, Bridge, &c. The name of Peter Byrne, deputy-master of the George's dock, 1790, also occurs in the registers, and Geo. Marsh, who founded the chapel at Portico, near St. Helens, was interred in St. Peter's in 1826. The baptismal register* gives the names of fifty children born in the parish in 1799, one year after the opening of the chapel.

Before the close of the century the clergy who served in St. Mary's were Father Edmund Pennington, O.S.B., who succeeded Father MacDonald in 1788, and served as incumbent until 1794, when he died; Father Joseph Collins, O.S.B., who enlarged the chapel, and Father Alexius Pope, O.S.B., the latter remaining in charge until 1802.†

* St. Peter, Centenary record, 1888.

† St. Mary's, by Father Bede Cox, O.S.B.

CHAPTER II.

The opening year of the nineteenth century witnessed a large influx of poor Irish people into Liverpool. One writer attributed the immigration to the passage into law of the Act of Union* which abolished the Irish Houses of Parliament, and provided for the future government of Ireland from Westminster. It is difficult to see how such an Act was directly responsible for sending the Irish of 1801 in large numbers to Liverpool, though it is certain that the result which ensued therefrom created the Irish Liverpool of a later date. The statement was made however by a responsible, impartial local historian and deserves to be recorded. "Few "Irish of any class, high or low, until after the rebellion "of 1798; but afterwards, the Union caused a considerable "change in that respect."* The immediate reason would appear to have been due to an old and oft repeated cause, set forth by another Liverpool author,† who wrote in 1825 a most impartial, painstaking work. "In 1801 the state of "Ireland caused numbers to flock over to Liverpool in such "a distressed state that a violent dysentery ensued, followed "by numerous deaths." It is a significant political fact that at the moment when Ireland's outward sign of its distinct nationhood was taken away, five thousand "stalwart, well-set" Irish militiamen responded to the call of England to fight her battles against Napoleon, and arrived in the Mersey en route for an expedition against the French, who, but two short years before had sent ships of war to fight for Ireland. Irish soldiers were constantly arriving in Liverpool, and no doubt threw much additional work on the shoulders of the few Benedictines and one Jesuit who were in charge of the three small chapels. At the same time that the Irish militia were in town, five thousand French and Spanish prisoners of war arrived and found a temporary resting place pending their transfer to their respective countries, as the exigencies of warfare‡ permitted. The municipal records shew that the

* Brook's History of Liverpool.

† Smither's Commerce.

‡ Liverpool Phoenix, March, 1800.

town was progressing rapidly. By the year 1800 the principal streets in the present parish of St. Mary's had been completed; Bevington Bush was also constructed and the streets south of the Custom House, now constituting the parishes of St. Peter's and St. Vincent de Paul's were rapidly approaching completion. The site of the present Custom House was then a dock, and Irish immigrants coming to a strange town sought shelter in the immediate vicinity as far as was possible, which accounts for the dense Irish population which within living memory was to be seen in and around Whitechapel, Paradise and South John Streets on the north, and flowing south on the other hand compelled the provision of St. Patrick's Church twenty years later. The north end developments necessitated the provision of another church, and St. Anthony's came into existence to supply the need. It was the first church in Liverpool in the charge of a secular priest and was destined to become the fruitful mother of many churches and schools and the rallying centre of great Catholic effort for over half a century. The original church stood at the corner of Dryden Street, and was known as the French chapel for two reasons. It was built by a Protestant gentleman* to testify his sympathy with the French nobility expelled from their native country during the French revolution, and its first resident priest was Father Jean Baptiste Antoine Gerardot, Canon, Dignitary, and treasurer of the Metropolitan Church of Rheims, as he was described in a book dealing with that period.† He was driven from France during the last years of the eighteenth century and helped considerably to minister to the French prisoners located in Liverpool to the conclusion of the long drawn out struggle which terminated on the field of Waterloo. He became the first popular priest in Protestant Liverpool. Every sympathy and consideration was shewn to him by all classes of citizens; Churchmen and Dissenters alike rallied to his support, even going the extreme length of attending his chapel on special occasions, and on one notable Sunday he collected at Mass the sum of one hundred pounds, the largest offertory made to that time in a Catholic chapel. The dedication to St. Anthony was due to Father Gerardot's name. From a contemporary we learn the dimensions of the chapel; fifty-five feet long by thirty-two in width, and that the services were carried out with great dignity and good taste. The prejudices against the Catholic population were rapidly declining, and Father Gerardot was enabled in consequence to announce that he would celebrate Midnight Mass

* Father P. Murphy's sermon in St. Anthony's, August, 1815.

† Smither's Commerce.

at the Christmas of 1813. The front of the chapel was illuminated by candles arranged in the shape of a star, and the initial letters 'J.S.' Even the musical programme has been preserved. The music of the Mass was taken from the compositions of Webbe and Cassuli; Novello's harmonised version of the Adeste Fideles was sung at the offertory; Handel's Pastoral Symphony from the Messiah was rendered and the Te Deum was sung at the conclusion of that eventful ceremony which set Liverpool talking about the beautiful services of the Church.* Another Liverpool author writing of the Catholic chapels, four in number in the year 1810, says "they are numerously attended."† We have it recorded on the testimony of the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Smith, that he and his coadjutor, Bishop Gibson,‡ in the month of June, 1813, confirmed 621 persons in St. Mary's, Lumber Street, and 571 in St. Peter's, Seel Street. The poverty of the working people made the provision of school accommodation almost impossible; a serious drawback to the full development of the work of the Clergy. St. Peter's has the distinction of providing the first permanent school of any importance, though there is no doubt that St. Mary's clergy provided the first Catholic school in Liverpool. As was only to be expected from an Order celebrated for its pursuit of learning, the monks of St. Benedict were the pioneers of elementary education in Liverpool. If an unusually well informed Protestant writer is to be believed, he saw in the year 1806, the *twentieth* annual report of the Charity School in Copperas Hill, which implies that a Catholic school was in existence there as early as 1786. This is clearly an error, as the school was founded at a much later date. At the opening of the Holy Cross Schools, Fontenoy Street, in 1853, Mr. Allan Kaye, sub-sheriff of Lancashire, stated that the original Catholic school of Liverpool was opened in 1803, in Gerard Street, off Byrom Street, the accommodation being for thirty children. There is nothing in this statement inconsistent with St. Mary's claim for priority, as Gerard Street would come within the purview of the clergy of that church. That there was a crying need for school accommodation is proven by an organisation which came into existence in the year 1807; and its title clearly establishes the nationality of the children for whom the schools were needed. It was called the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, and had for its sole aim "the educating and apprenticing of Irish children of all denominations." The

* Williamson's Advertiser, 1813.

† Troughton's Liverpool.

‡ Brother of the Dr. Gibson, Vicar Apostolic, 1788.

school was built in Pleasant Street, within a few hundred yards of the future Pro-Cathedral of St. Nicholas, and it continued its work for sixty-three years. Curiously enough this school had the full sympathy and co-operation of the clergy and the leading Catholic laymen, and through its doors passed thousands of Catholic children. The Liberals of that interesting period, assisted by the great William Rathbone, afterwards M.P. for the town, whose statue stands in Sefton Park, devoted themselves with great enthusiasm to this excellent work. No religious difficulty prevailed, as the clergy were admitted to give religious instruction. By the year 1824 there were 504 children in average attendance, all Irish. The headmaster bore the name of Patrick Brennan. Up to the year of Catholic emancipation no less than 5,744 boys and girls had passed through the schools, which had also the distinction of educating the children on industrial as well as literary lines, and it was claimed in the annual report that after strict enquiries only five boys who had been educated in the Hibernian Schools had committed any breach of the law, imperial or local. In a schedule attached to Brougham's Education Bill, introduced into Parliament in the year 1821, it is stated that 300 children were in average attendance at the Catholic Charity Schools, Copperas Hill, which read in conjunction with the 500 attending the neighbouring schools, goes to prove that a large Catholic population had grown up in the neighbourhood between St. Peter's and the late Father Price's chapel in Sir Thomas Street.* The death of this priest in 1813 paved the way for the formation of a new parish; the foundation of St. Nicholas' Church, Copperas Hill. As the suppression of the Jesuits brought about the coming of the Benedictines to Liverpool, so the decease of the late Jesuit made easy the erection of the future Pro-Cathedral. It is a sad reflection that this fine old priest, founder of three chapels, and zealously working for the preservation of the faith for 30 years, found his last resting place in the graveyard of the Protestant Church of St. James, Toxteth Park; one would have expected to find his earthly remains interred at Lydiate or in the vaults of Seel Street, but such was not the case.

Lengthy negotiations passed between the lay committee which undertook the foundation of St. Nicholas and the Jesuits before the chapel in Sir Thomas Street was finally closed. Father Randal Lythgoe, S.J., in a letter dated October 26, 1841, to Father Glover, English assistant to the General of the Jesuits at Rome, wrote "Father Price's church "was closed to facilitate the erection of St. Nicholas, and

* Better known as Sir Thomas' Buildings.

"it was to this end, and with a distinct understanding with "Mr. John Leigh and the members of the committee of St. "Nicholas, that when the latter was completed they should "exert themselves and raise another chapel to be served by "priests connected with Stonyhurst."* The fulfilment of this understanding was delayed twenty-six years, but the laity who made it were not to blame. The new church was opened on the 17th August, 1815, by the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Smith; Father Thomas Penswick, the first rector, preaching the inaugural sermon. On the Sunday previous Father Murphy, who had crossed over from Dublin to preach at the "French Chapel," St. Anthony's, pronounced a eulogium on the Liverpool Town Council for their liberality towards St. Nicholas', they having presented the site on which the church was built. The opening day was remarkable from the fact that for the first time in the history of Liverpool, from the Reformation, a Mayor of the town attended a High Mass. In the evening eighty Catholic gentlemen sat down to a public dinner in honour of the joyful event of a new church being opened. Mr. P. W. Whitnall presided, supported in particular by Messrs. Kaye, Gore, Leigh, Smith, Billinge, Merrit, Wright and Scarisbrick. The English nationality of these gentlemen is well testified by their surnames. In a report of the School Committee eight years after this event, it is recorded that they spent £537 13s. 5d. on the maintenance of the school, an amount which was certainly very creditable to them in view of the poverty of the working people, with an attendance of 480 children. We have already noted the average attendance. The head master was Mr. Edward Brennan; Mr. H. F. Leigh, who lived in Colquitt Street, was one of the founders of the school, and another member of the same family acted as treasurer. A tablet on the west wall of the Pro-Cathedral perpetuates the memory of this excellent layman. "Henry Faithwaite Leigh, "of Colquitt Street, formerly of Bark Hill, near Wigan, died "April 21, 1833, aged 77 years. He was one of the chief "founders of this place of Divine worship and the adjoining "school. Firm in faith, confident in hope, full of charity "both for God and man. He set aside this world for Heaven. "Stranger drop not one single tear, a simple prayer is all "I ask." The tablet also records the name of his son, George Leigh, and of Mrs. Catherine Pulford, his mother-in-law.

In the year 1821, the Catholic population, estimated by the numbers attending Mass on the Sunday mornings, was

* *Xaverian*, June, 1887.

12,000,* as compared with a total seating accommodation of 56,200 in all the Anglican and Dissenting places of worship in the town. From a census taken in this same year we learn that the total number of houses occupied were 19,007, the average number of dwellers therein amounting to 5·84. A distinguished Liverpool Irishman,† whose name will frequently occur in these pages because of his great service to the church and his single-minded devotion to his country's cause, in a comment upon Canon O'Toole's tables of baptisms, calculated that ten years earlier (1811) there were 21,359 Catholics living inside the town boundaries. As corroborating this opinion, a priest attached to St. Nicholas' speaking at a public meeting in the schools in 1830, declared that the Catholics numbered not less than one-third or one-fourth of the entire population, and called special attention to the definitely ascertained fact that in the course of twenty-three years the number of Catholic baptisms had increased 340 per cent.‡ The next extension of church accommodation took place at St. Peter's, Seel Street, the extended church being opened on November 27, 1817. The preacher on this interesting occasion was Father Baines, O.S.B., of Bath, who was regarded as the principal pulpit orator of his day. Mozart's twelfth Mass, with full orchestral accompaniment, was rendered. Here we may pause to note that the newspapers of the day and for many years later devoted much attention to the musical portion of the services, and only in rare instances made any reference to the text selected by the preacher or any of his observations. In the Liverpool Mercury of November, 1817, one reads with amazement the following extraordinary advertisement, which happily has not appeared since. "On Monday, December "the first, the whole of the unsold pews will be *publicly let* "*in the chapel*, at the hour of eleven in the forenoon." This announcement refers to the extended accommodation provided in Seel Street. It is extremely probable that a great number of Irish labourers found work in the year 1819, in excavating the Prince's Dock. Most of the docks were constructed by Irish labourers, and other works of a similar character requiring muscle were so carried out by them. The Orangemen of the town appear to have had their political passions inflamed by the presence of a large Catholic and Irish population in their midst, and the development of church buildings as well as the marked tolerance of the Liberal party

* Smither's Commerce.

† Mr. John Denvir, author of "The Irish Library; The Irish in Great Britain."

‡ *Mercury*, 21st May, 1830.

aggravated the situation. They began a series of attacks both wordy and physical on the Catholic Church and Ireland, which to them as to more enlightened persons were regarded quite erroneously as synonymous terms. Retaliation was inevitable. On the 12th July, 1819, when the Orange body celebrated the famous scrimmage "'twixt a Dutchman and "a Scot,"* they were waylaid at the corner of Dale Street† and Byrom Street by a host of Irish labourers who made a desperate onslaught on them. Stones, sticks and other weapons were freely used, and both sides sustained severe injuries. It was the beginning of that wretched race quarrel on false issues which was assiduously kept alive by one political party in the city for the most unworthy ends, and continued to disturb the harmony of the citizens for half a century. When the learned Roscoe contested Liverpool in the Liberal interest in the year 1807, the real issue was the abolition of slavery. Catholic Emancipation was a minor point in that struggle. His opponents carried both their candidates to victory by issuing the following squib. "This day, about two o'clock, "His Holiness Pope Leo Tenth made his long expected entry. "He bore two banners; Catholic Emancipation and Abolition "of the Slave Trade." After six days' polling the author of the Life of Pope Leo was badly beaten, receiving only 379 votes against 1,277 and 1,461 given to his Tory rivals. The Irish Catholics of the early years of the nineteenth century were accused by interested politicians of disloyalty, an accusation which has not yet been discontinued. Strangely enough it was their loyalty to the unfortunate Queen Caroline which accounted for their first appearance in the political arena of Liverpool, the prelude to effective interference in much more important matters both of religion and politics. The sympathies of the great bulk of the Liberal party lay with the persecuted consort of a worthless Hanoverian, and when the news reached Liverpool that she had triumphantly vindicated her honour, they organised a huge public demonstration to express their delight. In the public procession which wound up the festivities the Catholic and Irish Societies took no unimportant place. They had at length lifted their heads, and begun to realise the duty they owed to the city of their adoption. Two years later another influx of Irish immigrants arrived in the town, due to the severity of Irish landowners, who demanded their pound of flesh notwithstanding the generally depressed condition of

* See humorous squib, *Dublin Leader*, July, 1908.

† The exact spot where the Holy Cross procession was attacked on May 9th, 1909.

Irish agriculture. The newspapers record the sequel in these words. "Crowds of indigent poor sought relief at the work-"house in Cumberland Street, and at the parish church of "St. Peter's, Church Street." It would be an interesting item of historical value could we calculate the heavy cost to Liverpool ratepayers of Irish misgovernment, and a no less interesting speculation would be the progress of Catholicism in Liverpool had Pitt failed in carrying into law the ill-fated Act of Union. This second exodus from Ireland to Liverpool must have been very considerable, as a local historian* tells us that around the Exchange not fifteen in a hundred were natives of the town owing to the numbers of poor Irish arriving daily. This immense mass of Catholics around the Tithebarn street and Vauxhall Road area, entailed serious consequences social and economic to the town which have not wholly disappeared to this hour, and brought about the erection of further chapels and schools, but for which the citizens of Liverpool had been brought face to face with insoluble problems of crime and lawlessness. Liverpool has failed entirely to realise its debt to the devoted Catholic clergy and the energetic Catholic laymen who saved the situation to some extent both in the twenties and the terrible years which were soon to follow. This Irish congestion had a curious sequel if we are to credit the statement that when the "cabbage "patches" which lined "the road to Ormskirk," had to give way to much needed sites for dwelling houses, the new street was called Marie-la-bonne, modified to Marybone, at the request of the Catholics "who began to occupy the houses "erected."† Agricultural land now assumed a high value as "eligible" building sites, and brought in its train as a logical result the awful problem of housing the poor which perplexes local and imperial statesmen ignorant of the one method of solving the difficulty.

St. Mary's Chapel, just sixty-six feet long and forty-eight broad was sorely taxed to find room for the thousands who sought to hear Mass therein, and placed a responsibility upon the shoulders of the Benedictine Fathers, which they were unable to face successfully for nearly twenty years. This crowded area was filled by men who were without any proficiency in skilled occupations and had to depend entirely on the demand for the physical energy which fortunately they possessed in abundance, otherwise their sojourn in the town had been attended by much more serious consequences. Their one and only consolation was the brightness of their faith in

* Smither's Commerce.

† Stonehouse—Streets of Liverpool.

God, and the practice of their religion, of which there is abundant proof in the speeches both of clergy and laity of the day. A similar state of affairs existed at the South end of the town. Seel Street Chapel was utterly unable to cope with the congested Irish population living in the streets off Park Lane and St. James Street, and a lay committee took in hand the erection of a new church to supply the spiritual needs of this Irish colony. The dedication of the church leaves no doubt as to the nationality of the poor for whom it was founded and quite a thrill of enthusiasm swept over the Irish population at the announcement that the Park Place Church was to be placed under the protection of the Apostle of Ireland.* Touched by the needs of the Irish poor many of the leading Liberals gave substantial assistance towards the undertaking, and the poor contributed their mite generously and whole heartedly. The English Catholics of the town were generous to a degree and on the 17th of March, 1821, not many months after the project had been conceived, the foundation stone was laid amidst scenes of jubilation, probably never equalled since that memorable day. St. Patrick's feast occurred on a Saturday that year, not the most suitable day for public rejoicings or processions, but the day mattered not, the heart of Catholic and Irish Liverpool was touched in its tenderest part, and a great procession was the result. Those were the days of great faith. Consequently the day was opened by the Irish Society attending Mass at St. Mary's, a compliment to the parent church as well as a thanksgiving to God, and then reforming, the procession wended its way to St. Anthony's, where the second half of the procession had also heard Mass at an early hour. Led by several carriages in which were seated the rector of St. Nicholas, Father Penswick, Father Dennet, of Aughton, and the preacher at the ceremony, Father Kirwan, St. Michan's, Dublin, the monstre procession moved off on its long march to Park Place. Then followed the Irish Societies, wearing their regalia, bearing banners and flags, and accompanied by numerous brass and fife bands, including the Hibernian Society, Benevolent Hibernian Society, Hibernian Mechanical Society, Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, Amicable Society of St. Patrick, Free and Independent Brothers, Industrious Universal Society and the Society of St. Patrick. The last named organisation was founded specially to raise funds for the new church. Behind these organisations which comprised fifteen thousand men, marched the school children from the

* Strong opposition was offered by the Protestant body to the erection, on the ground that there was plenty of accommodation already.

schools of Copperas Hill and the Hibernian School in Pleasant Street. That year the famous Irish regiment* whose exploits under Wellington in the Peninsular War were still remembered, was stationed in the town. On hearing of the proposed procession they expressed a keen desire to take part in it, and the Officer in command appealed to the War Office for the necessary permission, which was readily given. Their appearance in the procession, many of them bearing signs of their services to the King, aroused the sympathies of the liberal minded non-Catholic population and kindled the enthusiasm of their countrymen to fever heat. In the absence of the Vicar Apostolic who sent his blessing, Father Penswick well and truly laid the foundation stone, and amidst the jubilation " of the thousands of English Catholics in the town " and the plaudits of the immense crowd of native born Irishmen, the new mission was launched on its notable career. The festivities concluded by four public banquets held in Crosshall Street, Sir Thomas' Buildings, Ranelagh Street and Paradise Street. Two years later the unfinished building began to be used and quite a surprise was felt by the average citizen at the strange and unique spectacle of hundreds of men and women kneeling outside the walls of the church on Sunday mornings, unable to obtain admission to the sacred edifice which was crowded to its utmost capacity as far as its condition permitted. Father Penswick, who was the head and front of the scheme for founding the church, made a herculean effort to finish the building. To this end he founded in his own parish an auxiliary branch of the Society of St. Patrick and raised a considerable sum of money. Many distinguished Irish ecclesiastics crossed over to Liverpool and preached in the still unfinished building; the Professor of Rhetoric at Maynooth one Sunday morning collecting two hundred pounds. Irish and English Catholics worked harmoniously until a foolish murmur was spread abroad that Father Penswick intended to put an English priest in charge of the mission and that he intended to frustrate the idea of the lay Trustees to make the ground floor of the church free for ever. This latter proposal, afterwards carried out, is a striking light on the poverty of the masses of the people at that time. An angry correspondence sprang up in the newspapers and retarded the collection of the needed funds, but eventually the rumours were dispelled by the appointment of Father Murphy.

On the 22nd August, 1827, the church was opened by ceremonies of such splendour and solemnity as had never

* Connaught Rangers.

before been witnessed by Liverpool Catholics of any preceding age. Over forty priests were seated in the chancel, coming from all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. As a compliment to the founder of the church, Father Penswick was invited to sing the High Mass, an eloquent sermon being preached by Father Walker (later on one of the resident clergy), who had a high reputation as a pulpit orator.* The amount collected inside the church on that day reached the large sum of three hundred pounds. The papers of the day paid special attention as usual to the musical portion of the service which was of a very high character, and specifically mentioned a young priest named White whose singing attracted much public attention. He had but recently returned from his studies in Rome and was asked by Pope Leo the Twelfth to join the choir in the Sistine chapel. This flattering offer was declined; the young Levite preferring the hard work of a mission in his native Lancashire to musical fame in the Eternal City. On the Sunday following the ceremony the church was opened free to the public as had been arranged by the Trustees; a stone laid in the outer west wall inscribed with this condition stands to this hour to perpetuate this curious condition. Mr. John Brancker, one of the noblest spirited public men of a generation remarkable for the high character and unselfishness of so many of its leading citizens on the Liberal side, had given generously to the funds for the church. He gave one special gift which against his own wishes told succeeding generations of his great charity. The fine statue of St. Patrick which stands outside the church was ordered by him from a Dublin firm of sculptors and placed in position in November, 1827. It has the distinction of being the first Catholic emblem displayed to public gaze in Liverpool since St. Patrick's Cross in Marybone had been destroyed. Dr. Cahill, professor of philosophy at Maynooth, paid the church an early visit and preached to an immense congregation.

The three preceding years were remarkable for the great activity of the English Catholic residents. A Catholic orphanage for girls had been founded in Mount Pleasant (now the orphanage located in Falkner Street) and an effort was made to establish a similar institution for boys. For this much needed end the congregation of St. Mary's and St. Peter's subscribed one hundred and forty-five pounds and to help both orphanages the leading Catholics resolved to establish an annual Charity Ball. The first ball was held in

* In August, 1837, he preached the sermon on the opening of St. Werburgh's, Birkenhead. He was then stationed at Scarborough.

the Music Rooms,* Bold Street, and was most successful. This is one of the two institutions which still exist in our midst, the Catholic Benevolent Society being the other. The proceeds were devoted entirely to providing means for carrying on the work of succouring the orphan Catholic children and preserving their Faith.

Catholic Emancipation had become the foremost political question of the day, thanks to the intensity of the agitation then being carried on in Ireland. Bills to remove the disabilities under which Catholics were deprived of even the elementary right of citizenship were annually introduced into Parliament with little prospect of success, that branch of the legislature known as "the other place" forming a most effective barrier to their passage into law. In no part of the country did Catholic claims receive more effective support than from the Liberal party in Liverpool, who were right in the forefront of that momentous struggle for liberty of conscience. This was the more remarkable because of the scanty support given to the movement by Liverpool Catholics themselves, who, for some time seemed afraid of the great forces arrayed against them. They were influenced by the fear of provoking active Protestant hostility, which in those days had the opportunity of displaying its hatred of the Catholic body in ugly and oppressive forms. During the year 1824 they were encouraged to come out into the open and join heartily in the very vigorous fight waged on their behalf by William Rathbone and the splendid body of Liberals behind him. A remarkable Catholic meeting was held on October 7th, 1824, in St. Nicholas' Schools. Its proceedings were considered so important that the "Liverpool Mercury" devoted five and a half columns to a report of the proceedings. A Catholic Association had been founded in London, and branches had been formed in Birmingham, Manchester, Blackburn and Preston. Liverpool Catholics followed the example, and this great gathering, presided over by Mr. John McCarthy, was the result. As was the practice in those days, the resolutions demanding civil and religious liberty appeared in the advertising columns of the "Mercury," followed by the signatures of Dr. Penswick, now coadjutor Vicar Apostolic, and Fathers Robinson, Fisher, Glover and Fairclough, of the Order of St. Benedict; Fathers Gerardot and White, and fifteen other priests residing in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. The signatures of the laity display the great power and influence of the English

* Now occupied by Messrs. Bacon, Bold Street, at the corner of Concert Street.

Catholics in and around the town. Sir Thomas Massey Stanley of Hooton, Sir Edward Mostyn of Mostyn, Charles Orrel of Orrel, and such Lancashire names as Anderton, Barnwell, Blount, Bannister, Bretherton, Gerard, Hoghton, Kaye, Leigh, Prest, Rockliff, Reynolds, Whitnall, Wright, Waring, Lathom, and Rowe. Very few Irish signatures were attached. The "Liverpool Mercury" backed up the Catholic claim with great vigour, and by way of return for the brilliant services of the editor, no St. Patrick's Day dinner passed for very many years without the toast being drunk enthusiastically: "'The Liverpool "'Mercury,' the friend of civil and religious liberty!" Some light is thrown on the customs of the early twenties by perusing the toast lists, which beginning with "The King," were invariably followed by at least eighteen or nineteen other and appropriate toasts. A flourishing branch of O'Connell's Catholic Rent Society came into existence, of which the cultured and liberal-minded editor of the "Mercury" was the treasurer. His services were so thorough and successful that Mr. Egerton Smith was constantly spoken of at O'Connell's meetings in Dublin as a member of the Catholic Church, and this reputation gave him considerable trouble when in later years he became a candidate for the Town Council. In this connection it may be worth recording that the first illustration to appear in a Liverpool newspaper was a picture of O'Connell in barrister's robes in the columns of the "Mercury," which was published immediately after the famous Clare election. The same journal exhibited in the windows of its publishing office the first franked letter of the first Catholic Member of Parliament. O'Connell's election for Clare and his refusal to take the blasphemous oath demanded as a condition of taking his seat were watched with intense interest by the Reform party as well as the Catholic residents of Liverpool. The local agitation was not without its effects. There was presented to Parliament a petition asking for Catholic Emancipation bearing the signatures of the Rector of Liverpool, the Rev. Mr. Campbell,* and thirty-two Protestant clergymen, many of whom had previously appended their signatures to petitions against the removal of the disabilities under which Catholics and Dissenters laboured.

Another organisation was founded in the February of 1826, called the Catholic Defence Society, the precursor of the Catholic Truth Society of our own time. The original meeting was held in St. Nicholas' Schools, and the object of the Society was "to counteract the abusive torrent daily

* Whose portrait hangs in the Board Room of the Select Vestry.

" pouring out from that portion of the Press engaged in the " services of the religious tract societies, and the weekly stream " flowing from the pulpits of itinerant and illiberal preachers." To prevent the passage of any Catholic Relief Act, every possible kind of misrepresentation was indulged in to inflame the Protestant mind. Violent theological tirades against the doctrines, practices and devotions of the Catholic Church poured forth in a never ending stream from pulpit, platforms and the Orange-Tory Press. The works of Catholic Theologians were distorted and misquoted to maintain the worst possible kind of Protestant ascendancy, and the first aim of the newly-founded society was to provide non-Catholics with free copies of recognised standard works by Catholic writers. How far such a course could possibly succeed may well be doubted, but the idea of carrying the war into the enemy's camp illustrates the tone and temper of newly awakened Catholic manhood. The society held numerous public meetings and within six months of its formation reported the distribution of fifty pounds worth of Catholic literature. Liverpool was now the happy hunting ground of Irish-Orange parsons, societies and lecturers, all bent on one idea; " Papists lie down." One of the most irritating was the local branch of the Irish Sunday School Society. At first sight it appeared to be so far as Catholic aims were concerned a harmless organisation, but like all the Protestant agencies of that day, it was captured by the Tory party and effectively used for propaganda work in their interest. Thanks to an Irish soldier, named Spence, it was covered with ridicule, of that quality which kills, and for a long period ceased to become of any political or religious importance. A meeting was announced for March, 1827, and with a host of " itinerant" preachers, the Bishop of Dromore crossed the Irish Sea, to deliver an address well calculated to create passion and provoke tumult and disorder in the town. Spence possessed the saving grace of humour and quietly resolved to attend the Irish Sunday School Meeting and confound his Lordship from Dromore. He boldly mounted the platform and seizing a favourable opportunity rose and addressed the meeting. In a speech described in the press "as " fluent, animated and impressive," he effectively disturbed the harmony of the meeting which vainly attempted to silence or remove him. His extraordinary knowledge of the Bible stood him in splendid stead as he pelted scriptural texts at the heads of the " text mongers," answering off-hand every objection or interruption with an apt quotation from Holy Writ. Having disposed of the " Irish brigade " as the preachers from Ireland were ironically termed for years in

Liverpool, Spence next assailed the right reverend chairman, prefacing his observations by courteously informing him that he did not bear a crosier by Apostolic succession but because of certain Acts of Parliament. His appeal to the political history of these islands as well as the ecclesiastical story of the English Church were listened to by the audience whose attention he had now completely captured by his good temper, well constructed arguments, and his determined resolve to be heard. An Irish "itinerant" provoked beyond measure by the speech of Spence interrupted him with the unfortunate statement that Henry the Eighth was a "double "dyed scoundrel because he was half a Papist." A Protestant audience with a big P, could not stand this accusation, which gave Spence a new lease of power over them, and most effectively did he grasp the opportunity. The attempt of the "Courier" to belittle Spence only served to call more public attention to his extraordinary speech and the political aims of the alleged Sunday School Society. Certainly, it was admitted the soldier's shako covered a head well stored with Biblical and theological lore.

The progress through Parliament of the Emancipation Bill did not excite to any great extent the local Catholic body, as its success was regarded as a certainty. One interesting petition was forwarded to the King by all the Liverpool Catholics who had been educated at Stonyhurst, appealing for the omission of the penal clauses against the Jesuits, and eulogising their former teachers "as useful, virtuous and "meritorious men."

Political agitation having died down with the passing of the Catholic Disabilities Act, the leaders of the Church gave increased attention to the spiritual needs of their growing flocks. School accommodation was their greatest need. Bishop Penswick summoned a meeting on the 20th May, 1830, to discuss the problem and find a solution. Father Walker in the course of his speech stated that nine thousand children were either not attending school or being educated in the Corporation and Hibernian schools, and that only eight hundred places had been provided in Catholic schools. In face of the fact that in the previous year 1890 Catholic children had been baptised in the five Catholic Chapels, this small number of places in Catholic Schools was ridiculously inadequate and justified Father Walker's strictures. It was resolved to make a commencement by erecting new schools for St. Nicholas' parish, and a lay committee was formed to carry out the project. Several Irishmen of standing served on this committee, Messrs. Kelly, Kearney and Lynch, but the larger

number comprised local names such as Chaloner, Whitnall, Duckworth, Sharples, Marsh, Rockliffe, Dugdale, Holgrave, Hall, Leigh, Haskayne, Roskell and Day. If Father Walker's estimate of the Catholic population was accurate there were between fifty and sixty thousand Catholics in the town in 1830, out of a total population of about 205,000. The local census taken in the following year gave 205,572 residents.

In the same year the committee of the Hibernian Schools, in an appeal for funds made an interesting announcement that "persons are paid to conduct the children to their respective "Churches on Sundays," a fine illustration of the high-mindedness of the managers, and in its way explains one of the many reasons why the Catholic population of Liverpool whether of Irish or English nationality allied themselves politically with the Liberal party.

Across the river in Wallasey "the humble Catholics "living in that neighbourhood" made the first attempt to found a permanent Church, St. Alban's, Liscard, being the final result. For years a priest from a Liverpool Chapel, probably St. Anthony's, crossed the river to celebrate Mass in the upper room of a small hotel, near the present site of the Wallasey Council Offices, and the congregation had to fill their pockets with stones before setting out from their homes, it being almost certain that the local Orangemen would assail them either going or coming.

The next step taken in Liverpool was to provide a larger Church at the North end to replace the French Chapel, the venerable "stranger" Father Gerardot, having gone to his eternal reward. It was decided to imitate the example set at St. Patrick's with such success, by forming a lay committee called the Society of St. Anthony. By the end of October, 1832, the Society had collected the sum of £2,000, and on St. Patrick's day of that year, on a site a few hundred yards north of the Dryden Street Chapel, the foundation stone was laid and blessed by the Rev. Father Wilcock. A huge procession marched from the south and centre of the town to Scotland Road, and after witnessing the simple ceremony, reformed and marched up to South Chester Street to witness the laying of the foundation stone of the new schools of St. Patrick. Truly the feast of Ireland's Apostle ought to arouse sweet and pleasant memories for Liverpool Catholics.

The committee which undertook the task of erecting St. Anthony's Chapel had a serious task in hand. The members were: President, Father Wilcock, Vice-President, Mr. Christopher Dugdale, Treasurer, Mr. John Kaye, Solicitor, Mr. Allan Kaye, Committeemen; Messrs. Anthony Myres,

Henry Croft, Edward Blanchard, George Beesley, Richard Beesley, W. Every, G. Fendler, Richard Gillow and Joseph Pyke, and Mr. R. Chapman acted as Secretary. It is notable that not one Irish name figures on this committee, and from a paragraph in the ninth report we may understand how the money was raised: "the only funds for carrying this vast enterprise into "effect were the voluntary donations of a few wealthier "Catholics, and the weekly penny subscriptions of the "labouring class." Out of the donation list of £563 5s. 10d., Irish names are credited with £87 1s. 0d., including £20 from Mr. Richard Sheil and two amounts of £10 each from Messrs. O'Donnell and Patrick Leonard. At the very outset the Committee was hindered from carrying out its work by a tedious law suit about the site, which does not appear to have ended favourably, with the result that in the interval "the "population in the district, chiefly by the continued influx "of fresh comers, had increased to many thousands. For this "multitude, the erections essential for the preservation and "practice of religion, as well as for the education of crowds of "destitute children, had to be provided." The work had to be commenced at any cost, and right nobly it was carried through. From the annual reports of St. Anthony's Society, we may learn the lines upon which this and similar Societies worked. They had absolute control over all receipts and disbursements, the raising and paying off of loans, and discharging of builders' accounts. For instance, all the collections on the Christmas Eves of 1839, 1840 and 1841, on the anniversaries of the opening, Bishop Brown's consecration in 1840, sermons, fees paid for graves and vaults and free seats account, are all set out in detail on the credit side of the Treasurer's account, and on the other side all payments to bricklayers, masons, ironmongers, plasterers, are carefully recorded; so carefully that £1 10s. 0d. "To Newfoundland dog for Cemetery Ground" appears among the many details.

There is always a reverse side to the medal. The joy of the Irish at these splendid developments of Catholic work was soon turned to sorrow at the dreadful outbreak of cholera which carried off over fifteen hundred victims in twelve months. This fearful pestilence had previously taken hold of Ireland itself, with its usual concomitants. As if to fill the cup of Irish grief and disappointment the Irish harvestmen who crossed over to England annually to engage in agricultural operations, failed to secure employment, owing as they alleged to the decision of the English farmers not to engage any Irish labour. No doubt there was a fringe of truth to the allegation,

as party feeling over the passing of the Emancipation Act had not wholly disappeared, but the real cause was an economic one. The wasteful, degrading and unchristian Poor Law was about to be abolished; English labour was set free and Guardians released from the cruel responsibility of finding work for "unemployed" in their respective parishes, which degraded labour and inflicted heavy burdens on the honest poor who scorned to ask them for work. These were the causes which induced the "English farmer" to endeavour to put a check to Irish immigration, but the consequences to the harvestmen were serious in the extreme. Crowds of them proceeded to the Parish Offices in Fenwick Street, appealing to be sent home at the public expense, and many of them remained in the town, adding an unwelcome addition to the permanent population of the City, and raising still further problems for priests and statesmen. St. Anthony's was completed in the year 1833, on the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel. Bishop Penswick had the happiness of singing the first High Mass inside the walls of the new Church, and Bishop Baines, who exercised jurisdiction over the Western District of England, was the preacher on this auspicious occasion. His fame as an orator attracted an immense congregation, a critic of his address remarking that it was of "surpassing eloquence, which more than satisfied anticipation." An old Liverpool resident once informed the writer that the long line of carriages which stood in Scotland Road that morning exceeded in numbers and elegance anything that he witnessed thirty years later outside the fashionable Anglican or Dissenting Churches. The sale of tickets and collection on this occasion amounted to seven hundred pounds, a remarkable tribute to the great generosity of the people and the eloquence of the Bishop.

The land and buildings cost £10,000, and the necessities of the parish may be gauged from the dreadful fact that it contained six hundred children totally unprovided with any kind of school accommodation. A bold stand for a share in the municipal government of the town closed this eventful year. It was fraught with serious consequences to the generations which have come and gone since the visit of the Commissioners to investigate local administration. The Catholic body placed their case unreservedly in the hands of Mr. John Rosson, barrister-at-law, the most brilliant Catholic public man who has ever appeared in the Catholic History of Liverpool. For a generation he was the life and soul of every Catholic movement, whether in founding churches or schools, planning new organisations for the defence or advocacy of Catholic

interests, or directing his people in the stormy and dangerous fields of political activity. His name shines out brightly in every line of local history and it is the shame of his co-religionists that no monument perpetuates the memory of this fine Englishman. He was the first Liverpool Catholic to give evidence before a Government Enquiry. Before the Commissioners he boldly contended that the Emancipation Act had been rendered null and void by the methods adopted to elect members to the Town Council, and made out a splendid case for municipal reform. His evidence taken on oath is doubly interesting as he gives officially the first satisfactory statement as to the numbers of the Catholic population within the four corners of the town. According to his evidence the number of baptisms during the year 1832 were as follows: At St. Mary's, 559; St. Peter's, 446; St. Nicholas, 616; St. Anthony's, 359; St. Patrick's, 408; a total of 2,388 The total number of baptisms in all the Churches and Chapels of the town amounted to 8,504, so that Mr. Rosson argued that out of a total population of 220,974, the Catholics numbered not less than 59,500. Bearing in mind that there were in the town a great number of young unmarried Irish labourers, in a greater proportion than prevailed in the English residents of other denominations, the numbers stated underestimated the actual Catholic population. At the annual Easter Vestry held in the parish church of St. Nicholas', Chapel Street, in the course of a discussion on the mortality of the town, one of the speakers said there were at least 70,000 Catholics in the town. With Catholics and Dissenters excluded from the Town Council, that body could not be said "to be the image of the "people;" an expressive phrase and typical of Mr. Rosson's style.

A new Reform Bill was passed into law and on St. Stephen's Day, 1835, the new elections were held and resulted in a magnificent Liberal victory. The pent-up feelings of thirty years were at last given full vent and the result was the annihilation of Toryism; only five Tories securing election. Three Catholics were returned, the precursors of a long line of Catholic and Irish public men who have not only zealously worked for the parties to which they were attached but have always set up a high standard of civic patriotism worthy of the Church itself. Mr. J. Roskell was elected for Lime Street Ward. He was one of the pioneers of the Lancashire Watch and Clock Trade, and his premises in Church Street were well known until late in the nineteenth century.* He gave several hostages to the

* Lately occupied by a Catholic Councillor, Mr. Henry Miles.

Church, one of his sons becoming Bishop of Nottingham on the restoration of the Hierarchy. By a curious technicality he lost his seat at the end of the year 1836. Being a contractor to the Select Vestry, he set the account owing to him against the Poor Rates owing to them. The Revising Barrister upheld the Tory objection that he had not paid his Poor Rate and struck him off the roll of voters, thus depriving him of his seat. Later on he was again elected a member of the Council.

Mr. Richard Sheil, of Chatham Street, was elected for Scotland Ward, a man of whom we shall have occasion to speak later and whose name is perpetuated in one of our public parks. South Toxteth Ward returned Richard Sharples, the head of a family distinguished for invaluable services to the Catholic body. The Liberals seized every Aldermanic seat and set out in right good earnest to govern Liverpool in the best interests of the entire community. Their tolerance towards Catholics proved their undoing, and incidentally their downfall by a curious coincidence, made for the greatest developments of Catholic activity and progress.

It appears strange to associate Catholic advancement with an Act of the Imperial Parliament. Certain it is that the Act which reformed municipal government in Liverpool was the indirect cause of that extensive provision of school accommodation which is the great glory of the Diocese of Liverpool, coupled of course with the insensate bigotry of the Conservative party of the day.

CHAPTER III.

One of the first acts of the new Town Council was to accede to the request of Mr. Sharples to allow the Catholic Charity Ball to be held in the Town Hall, where it has been held ever since with satisfactory financial results to Catholic Charities, especially the original beneficiary, the Falkner Street Orphanage.

In the year 1826 the Corporation had provided two schools, one in Bevington Bush, known as the North Corporation, and the other in Park Lane, known as the South Corporation school, in order that the children of the poor might receive some degree of elementary education. It was a fine conception for the Council to build schools fifty years before the Act of 1870, and shews how in many ways Liverpool public men were ahead of their day and generation. The schools were, however, captured by the Anglican clergy and became to all intents and purposes Church of England Schools, in which the Catechism and the formularies of that Church were taught. They were, therefore, only used by one section of the community, though maintained entirely at the public expense. True to their principles, the victorious Liberals resolved to open the doors to every child without doing violence to any conscience. It was not an easy undertaking, and gave much anxiety to the party leaders. How to create a scheme by which poor Catholics and such Dissenters as were in the same social scale could sit side by side at the school desk, was, strangely enough, a difficult problem to solve. Ireland offered an example and a solution. The Liberal leaders were encouraged by the unanimity by which the Archbishop of Dublin, the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster, and the head of the Irish Episcopalian Church, had accepted a syllabus of religious instruction for the new Irish schools. Without quite appreciating the peculiar set of circumstances which created this strange agreement, the Liberal party resolved to follow the example set them and introduced the same system into the Corporation Schools, with some modifications rendered necessary by local conditions. It was decided that school should begin with a hymn and reading of certain portions of Holy Scripture as recommended to Liverpool by the Irish Commissioners of Education, with facilities for the Clergy of all denominations to teach their particular tenets at stated hours. One hour after school work had ceased was to be devoted to pure Biblical

instruction for all children whose parents permitted them to remain, or did not offer objection. Marvellous to relate these proposals were accepted by the Catholic priests and the ministers of the Dissenting bodies, but were most emphatically repudiated by the clergy of the Established Church who could not conceal their chagrin at being deprived of complete control over the schools. They fomented the bitterest agitation which ever disturbed a town notorious for occasional outbursts of party feeling, and stimulated religious hatred by the grossest misrepresentations. Bands of Orangemen waylaid Protestant children returning from the schools and threatened them with chastisement if they returned; placards of an inflammatory character denouncing the schools were posted on the hoardings, and a series of public meetings organised where all the speakers, mostly clerics, preached from the one text, "the Unitarians have excluded the Bible." For some time this body came in for the full force of Anglican denunciation, but the astute leaders of the Conservative party who realised that this cry would not avail to win back their former domination of the Council, changed the attack to the Roman Catholics and under the skilful guidance and eloquent tongue of the Reverend Hugh McNeill, the flag of "No Popery" was nailed to the masthead, and waved from thenceforward for over a quarter of a century The one offending cause was that as Biblical instruction was to be given, the Douai version was allowed to be read to the Catholic children and the English version to the Protestant. "The Bible has been expelled," was the false cry repeated a thousand times not only on the platforms indoor and outdoor, but the falsehood was thundered forth in the Churches by firebrands whose memory must bear the grave responsibility of setting class against class and arousing the demon of racial and religious bigotry. The Council debated nothing but "Education" at almost every meeting for four or five years. The five Tory members turned themselves into amateur theologians and seriously debated inside the Town Hall whether the text "The seed of the woman shall crush the serpent's head," did not imply veneration of the Blessed Virgin, whether the translators of the Bible into the vernacular had not made a mistake in the gender of a certain noun, and other amusing excursions into grammar and the higher criticism as laid down by Irish Orange theologians.

The campaign of calumny was carried to such extremes that Mr. William Rathbone was compelled to tell a Tory colleague that he was guilty of falsehood. In the same debate he went the length of declaring that Mr. McNeill had been guilty of a "most wicked violation of the duties which one

"Christian owed to another." For a Rathbone, and such an one, to reproach opponents in such terms, is strong evidence of how unscrupulously his party was assailed for refusing to allow two public schools to become the sole property of one section of the inhabitants. That he and his party were not afraid of the logical consequences of their principles was splendidly illustrated in the debate over the renewal of the lease for the Seel Street Schools site. The Finance Committee recommended the renewal on the terms agreed upon in 1788, but this course was rejected by the Council on the grounds that the site was much too valuable to be sold on lease at such a small price. In the resolution which determined the lease, it was also expressly laid down that no grant should be made to any school not under the absolute control and management of the Council. The division list shews that the Catholic members voted in the majority. The latter decision was regarded by the Orange Conservatives as aimed at them, and they again renewed their attack upon the Liberals for their school policy. In the monthly intervals between noisy, ill-tempered debates, carried on with remarkable pertinacity by the five Conservative members, the Orange tail held a series of meetings which the Churchmen proper supported in a weakly spirit, which they lived to regret, while sectarian animosities were further inflamed by the audacious speeches of alleged ex-priests of Irish birth against their Catholic fellow-countrymen. These gentlemen attracted large audiences under the skilful leadership of McNeill, backed up by the united influence of three Conservative journals which opened their columns to every slander and calumny against the Catholic priesthood which perverted ingenuity could suggest. The Conservative leaders rejoiced at the change which these influences were making in the minds of the citizens, and looked forward with confidence to a speedy return to power. The "Liverpool Mercury" stands out in strong relief by its valiant struggle against this unworthy policy, and maintained a high standard worthy of the noblest traditions of the Press in its comments on municipal administration. A relentless war was waged by the Tory journals against the "Mercury," but failed utterly to make any change in the dignified writings of its editor and staff. The Irish population found it much more difficult to restrain their indignation, and but for the priests serious disturbances would have ensued. The cruel allegations against them compelled the formation of a Defence Association, inaugurated at a meeting of twelve hundred men in St. Peter's Schools in July, 1837, followed by similar gatherings in St. Nicholas'. The famous Irish Catholic controversialist,

Father Maguire, came over from Ireland, and turned the tables on the "ex-priests" by his exposures, while the brilliancy of his platform style, rapier-like thrusts, keen sense of humour, and withering sarcasm, irritated McNeill and gave great delight to the multitude of Catholics who crowded to hear his addresses. McNeill finally set the town ablaze by his famous story of the Fisher Street Martyrdom, recounted from the pulpit of St. Jude's. He announced that a Catholic mob, armed with sticke, stones and *one scythe* marched to Fisher Street, a narrow street in St. Patrick's parish, and made a murderous onslaught on a Protestant labourer whose wife was a Catholic. They then, he alleged, smashed in the doors and windows, and completely wrecked the house of this defenceless Protestant. There was such an air of truth about this story, that the leading Liberals were deeply pained, and so intense was the feeling aroused that the Catholic body was compelled to institute a searching enquiry They did so, and the evidence of the Protestant inhabitants of Fisher Street, who came forward, testified that the "martyr" had himself been the aggressor. He had severely beaten a sick man in the neighbourhood, and was soundly thrashed in turn, as he deserved, by a "mob" of irate women professing both creeds, who had witnessed his brutality. Never was a slander so completely refuted, but Dr McNeill refused to apologise or explain. His sole aim was to divide the Catholic and Liberal parties; that it had failed was not his fault. To some extent his work had been a success, as at the election of 1836 Councillor Sheil was ejected by ten votes from the representation of Scotland Ward, and several Liberals fell with him. Mr. Sheil was elected an alderman a little later, the first Catholic to hold that position in England or Wales. The elections of 1837 were more disastrous for the Liberals, and encouraged by these victories the Tory party went on with greater zest and enthusiasm to the attack on the education policy of the still dominant Liberals, who manfully refused to move one step from the lines laid down in 1836. The platform controversies in Ireland between Father Maguire and the celebrated Protestant champion, Rev. Thresham Gregg, were well reported in the Tory newspapers, and commented on editorially to keep up Orange enthusiasm. McNeill always refused to meet Father Maguire, in spite of numerous taunts and repeated challenges, and some militant spirits in the Catholic body sent fifty pounds to their accepted champion as a token of their appreciation. The level-headed Catholics, priests and laymen alike, who realised that no good could result from his further appearances in the heated atmosphere of Liverpool, and

feeling that local Catholic interests were being prejudiced rather than pushed forward by unseemly controversy, resolved to put an end to it. Announced on one Sunday to preach at St. Peter's, a great crowd assembled; not so Father Tom Maguire; "local differences" being assigned by him as the reason. To demonstrate the foolishness of the assertion that the Catholics withheld the Scriptures from the children in their own schools, while permitting them to be read to them in the Corporation schools, it was publicly announced in the newspapers that the girls attending St. Patrick's Schools would be publicly examined in the Church on the 15th May, 1838. The children marched through the main streets of the town, and in the presence of a very large and mixed congregation were examined as to their knowledge of the Bible by one of the clergy. This curious demonstration created a sensation in the town, and was so successful in creating a better feeling towards Catholics that it was repeated annually for many years.

Many distinguished ecclesiastics visited the town during the thirties, and thus served the double purpose of promoting great enthusiasm for works of charity and cementing the bonds of amity between the English and Irish Catholics,

In March, 1835, Dr. Polding, O.S.B., Bishop of Van Diemen's Land and Australia, visited the town and preached on a Sunday afternoon at St. Mary's, Woolton, in which district there were only three hundred Catholics. It was noted in the press as a significant proof of Catholic interest in the work of spreading the faith, that he collected twenty-eight pounds for his new mission, the distant diocese over which he had been appointed Bishop. A few days later he sailed from the Mersey accompanied by thirteen priests and novices amid the hearty farewell cries of a large crowd. The following year the "Lion of the Fold of Judah," the renowned John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, paid a visit to Liverpool, and preached at St. Patrick's. His arrival was signalised by great rejoicing on the part of the Irish population, and the sum of two hundred pounds was placed in the offertory bags at the morning service towards reducing the debt on the Church. The 'Liberator', O'Connell, at the special invitation of the Liberal party, made a short stay in the town on his way to Parliament, and addressed a large meeting in the Amphitheatre, on the political questions of the day. His chairman and host was Mr. William Rathbone, who courageously brought him on 'Change next day, accompanied by Mr. John Brancker, Mr. Egerton Smith, of the "Mercury,"

and Mr. James Muspratt*. The "Mail" always alluded to the last-named gentleman as being a Catholic in order to prejudice his success at local municipal fights, though its editor knew full well that he was not one. He was the father of Mr. E. K. Muspratt† and grandfather of Mr. Max Muspratt,‡ both prominent members in turn of the Liverpool City Council and actively identified with the work of higher education, notably the Liverpool University. This visit of O'Connell was long remembered in the town, though incidentally it prejudiced the public position of his host.

The Catholic body sustained a severe loss in the opening month of the year 1836, by the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Penswick, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District. Twenty-one years had elapsed since his appointment to St. Nicholas', and as we have seen, he took a leading part in the building of new churches and schools before his appointment to the important position of coadjutor to Bishop Smith, in 1824, whom he succeeded in July, 1831.

On the walls of the Pro-Cathedral a tablet preserves his memory in these words:—"First incumbent of this chapel, "Bishop of Europum and Vicar Apostolic, died 28th January, "1836: 64th year of his age and twelfth of his episcopate. "This cenotaph is erected as a tribute of gratitude for his "services and a monument of respect for his virtues." His remains were interred at Windleshaw Abbey, as is attested in an entry of the register of deaths, preserved in the Pro-Cathedral archives. Dr. Briggs succeeded him as Vicar Apostolic.

In 1838 Mr. William Blundell was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire, the first Catholic who held that distinguished position, and celebrated his appointment by attending High Mass at St. Nicholas, in state, accompanied by trumpeters and javelin men. The following year another Catholic held the office—Mr. Charles Scarisbrick, both selections having the effect of helping the undoing of the Liberal majority in the Council.

Catholic progress was being well maintained; the munificence of Mr. Bartholomew Bretherton securing a new chapel at Rainhill, the first stone of which was laid in April, 1838, by Mrs. Gerard, and on the 27th June the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Briggs, opened the church of St. Austin's, Aigburth Road, "within a mile from the toll bar." This mission was founded by the Benedictines, the land being generously offered

* Who served in the Peninsular War as a sailor.

† Pro-Chancellor of the Liverpool University.

‡ Elected M.P. for Exchange Division, January, 1910.

as a gift by Mr. Peter Chaloner, of Aigburth. The sermon was preached by the Very Reverend Dr. Brown, O.S.B., President of Downside, then the foremost Catholic controversialist in England. Some opposition was offered to the erection of this church by the Vicar Apostolic, who eventually consented to its erection on condition that no funds were collected in Liverpool proper, and that a sufficient sum of money was set aside to guarantee an annual income to the priest in charge of £90 per annum. The altar of the church was brought from a suppressed Franciscan convent in Lisbon, to which it had originally been presented by Cardinal Sousa. During this same year the magnificent picture of the Crucifixion, by Keyser, of Antwerp, was hung over the High Altar of St. Patrick's. It had been exhibited in Liverpool some years earlier, and universally admired by the art loving public of the day. A general desire was expressed, now realised, to retain it within the town. No other church in the neighbourhood possesses such a fine painting, which forms an admirable background for the lofty chancel of St. Patrick's.

The Coronation of Queen Victoria was fixed for the 28th June, 1838. Being the vigil of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, it was a fast day, and to enable the Catholics to take part in the celebrations, orders came from Rome transferring the fast to the 26th of June. In Liverpool the event was celebrated in a special manner by the laying of the foundation stone of St. George's Hall, by the mayor, Mr. William Rathbone. The local Catholics of both nationalities were well represented in the Mayoral Procession from the Town Hall to Lime Street, the whole of the clergy being in attendance, and seven Hibernian Societies with their banners flying presented one of the interesting features of the procession.

The Catholic Magazine for November, 1838, stated that the number of baptisms in the five chapels during the previous year amounted to 2,917, or an increase of 429 on the numbers given by Mr. John Rosson for the year 1832. The editor proceeded to argue that this figure proved a Catholic population of 87,500, and added the somewhat amazing statement that, owing to mixed marriages the actual number of Catholics was only 70,000. Such a conclusion was not quite logical if based solely on the number of baptisms in Catholic chapels, though it is certainly startling to find the evils of mixed marriages pointed out so emphatically at such an early date. In later years these ill-assorted unions became one of the great sources of leakage, and it is difficult to hazard even a speculation as to their cause in the thirties. They certainly did not

take place among the Irish population, owing to the intensity of the racial problem. The atmosphere was charged with hatred and passion against both Rome and Ireland, and it may be that these mixed marriages occurred amongst the native English population, as the gradual disappearance of so many Catholic families cannot be explained to any degree of satisfaction save on this hypothesis. They were both numerous and comparatively wealthy, and did yeoman service for the Church which the poverty-stricken Irish were not so well able to do, however willing. Some further light is thrown on this confused problem by the fact that out of 2,893 marriages celebrated that year in the Parish of Liverpool, only 297 were performed in Catholic Churches. These figures did not include St. Patrick's, which is situate in the Parish of Toxteth, the figures not being available for this parochial district, but they are sufficent for the purpose of shewing that the writer in the Catholic Magazine had good grounds for his assertion. The Catholic Directory for 1840, on the other hand, gives the population as approximately 80,000. At the meeting of the Town Council on the 9th of November, 1838, Mr. Rathbone, in answer to an inquiry, gave the numbers of Catholic children attending the two Corporation Schools as follows:—Out of a roll of 1,013 in Bevington Bush School, 650 were Catholics; and in Park Lane, 363 out of a total of 748; illustrating the great need of purely Catholic schools.

The publication in the Press of the following demand note created much amusement, and incidentally helped forward the cause of religious equality:—

Sefton, Dec. 31, 1838.

"The Rev. Mr. Abram, to the Rector of Sefton, Dr.,
"For small tithes, viz.:—Smoke, one penny; garden, one halfpenny."

To impose a tax on the smoke issuing from the priest's chimneys for the support of the Protestant rector of Sefton, was scarcely calculated to promote good feeling, and could not be regarded as an incentive to the development of the Lancashire coal fields.

The years 1839 and 1840 did not pass away without further evidences of Catholic activity. Bishop Briggs, in a pastoral letter relating the progress made in his huge diocese, mentions the receipt of a special sum of £1,026 for the foundation of new missions in Lancashire. Dr. Youens, the new rector of St. Nicholas', assisted by Messrs. Rosson, Chaloner and Yates, put new life into the branch of the Catholic Institute at St. Nicholas. It was a development of the former Tract

and Book Society, and its work ran on similar lines, with the addition of undertaking the distribution of suitable Catholic books to soldiers and sailors and inmates of hospitals and workhouses, which were then essentially Protestant in character, and certainly in management; and most likely sources of proselytism for the younger inmates. In its first year St. Nicholas' branch had four hundred and forty-eight members, each paying a minimum subscription of six shillings per annum, and had distributed seven thousand pamphlets to the persons described above. The indefatigable John Rosson, in 1839, launched the first Catholic Registration Society. He foresaw the great political advantages to Catholics of the power of the vote, and being essentially a practical man he knew exactly the steps to be taken towards this end. The inaugural meeting was held in St. Patrick's Schoolroom, in July, where he laid down the lines upon which the new organisation should run. Arrangements were made for systematic house-to-house canvassing, and what was more original, he proposed a scheme of contributions out of which advances would be made for the payments of rates, to be returned except in cases of grave necessity. The payment of the poor rate by a certain date is indispensable for securing the franchise even now. One speaker at this memorable meeting said the Catholic population numbered one hundred thousand, but Mr. Rosson, who had no love for exaggerated statements, answered him that that was an excessive number, adding that 72,000 was nearer the mark. This confirms the figure given in the Catholic Magazine. Mr. Rosson gave the number of Catholic voters as about one thousand, apparently a small number, but it must be remembered that the franchise was very restricted, and the great bulk of Irish Catholics in any event lived in tenement houses. It was evident, however, that more Catholics than one thousand were entitled to be placed on the lists, and a vigorous effort was made to increase the number. Branches were established at the various missions, notably St. Nicholas' and St. Anthony's, and a series of stirring meetings were held to arouse the Catholic body to the importance of the franchise in view of the serious issues soon to be decided in the Council Chamber. The Tory papers sounded a note of wild alarm at this totally unexpected development. To see the beginning of active political interference on the part of Catholics so long accustomed to the lurking-holes and hiding-places, alarmed the noisy adherents of Dr. McNeill and that section of the Press which voiced their sentiments. The movement must, therefore, be misrepresented and its leaders libelled; and so they were.

A very successful bazaar had been held in the Adelphi Hotel in aid of the funds of the Catholic Benevolent Society, eleven hundred pounds being handed over to the treasurer as the result. The "Mail" declared that the object of the bazaar was a pretence, and that the money raised was to be spent in paying the poor rates for needy Catholics so that they might be placed on the lists of voters. It accused the Liberal leaders of supporting the bazaar because of its ulterior object. Neither statement was true, but served the purpose of further stimulating Orange and Conservative hostility, more especially against Mr. Rosson, who was, in common with every Catholic leader of that time, a staunch upholder of Liberal principles. The "Mail" finally described the Registration Association as "really a *satanic* attempt to prevent the Conservative party "having a majority at the ensuing November elections." When the Revision Court met the presiding genius decided that payment of rates out of a loan to be repaid was not a legal payment, a decision which provoked well-merited derision. The war over the Council schools broke out afresh. Petitions signed by Conservative citizens were sent into the Council protesting against the scheme for erecting new schools in other parts of the town, an excellent illustration of Orange love of education. The real ground of their objection was that the thousands of Catholic children running about the streets would have the right of entry, and the petitioners preferred that the much larger number of their own co-religionists should have no education rather than this should be the result. To provoke debate, motions were submitted by the Tory leaders that only the authorised revision of the Bible should be read to the Catholic children, which were rejected by the Liberal majority. Mr. Rathbone was accused of having violated the traditions of the mayoralty by receiving O'Connell publicly while mayor of the town. This accusation was groundless, as the hospitality offered to the Irish leader had been given long before Mr. Rathbone's election to the chief magistracy of his native city, and his calumniators knew well that this was the fact. When the violence of this movement had well-nigh exhausted itself, Dr. McNeill and his "Irish "Brigade" flung themselves vehemently into the struggle and turned the town into a veritable pandemonium. The Tories of Scotland Ward called upon their friends "to renew their exer-"tions at the Parliamentary and municipal elections against "that *demon*, O'Connell," but their candidate, Mr. Thomas Murray Gladstone, was defeated by one vote. Mr. Rathbone lost his seat in Pitt Street Ward by one vote, and was again defeated three weeks later in North Toxteth by the narrow

margin of three. The Liberal Chairman of the Education Committee of the Council suffered defeat also, and but for the aldermen the Tories would at last have secured a majority in the Council Chamber. The schools attracted much attention by reason of this tremendous politico-religious contest, and brought many distinguished persons to visit them, including the Bishop of Norwich, Mr. Charles E. Trevelyan, and Lord Russell. Only one Protestant clergyman, Rev. Mr. Aspinall,* incumbent of St. Michael's, Upper Pitt Street, gave his support to the schools. Mr. Trevelyan drew up an interesting report in which he wrote: "the Roman Catholic clergy at the "North End are most exemplary in their attendance, while "at the South End they leave the work entirely in the hands "of Protestant teachers." A most remarkable and striking fact!

Undaunted by the raging tide of bigotry, the Catholic leaders carried the war into the enemy's camp by organising meetings against the levying of the Church Rate, the continued Criminal Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and demanding that grants to the Established Church should cease. The Liberals joined warmly in this movement, Father Parker, of St. Patrick's, being one of the prominent speakers. They also influenced the mayor to summon a town's meeting to petition Parliament to abolish the corrupt and unreformed Irish corporations, which passed off quietly and successfully; Messrs. Rosson and Sheil being the Catholic speakers. In 1840 the Earl of Sefton presented a piece of land for the erection of a Catholic school at Gillmoss, together with a handsome subscription for the building, and on the 31st March the first stone was laid. July brought the meeting in the Seel Street Schools, which inaugurated the movement to which Catholics owe the beautiful church of St. Mary's, Edmund Street, a church of very tender memories for Liverpool Catholics. The venerated rector, Father Fisher† who served St. Mary's for forty years, speaking at the gathering, said: "the present chapel has not adequate "accommodation for the vast multitudes who come every "Sunday. Many were obliged to remain exposed to all the "inclemency of the weather, without anything to cheer them "but the warm piety of their Irish hearts." It was a fine tribute to this worthy son of St. Benedict, "the esteemed and "venerated head of the Catholic body" as he was termed,

* Father of Mr. J. B. Aspinall and Mr. Clarke Aspinall, afterwards Recorder and Coroner respectively.

† Uncle of Monsignor Fisher, Vicar-General to Bishop O'Reilly.

that all the priests and leading laymen of the town were present to give a hearty send-off to the newly-formed society of St. Mary's, which undertook the work of collecting funds.

On New Year's Day, 1840, Catholic Liverpool took steps to repay the debt it owed to the Society of Jesus for the work performed in the previous century. The promise of Mr. Leigh and his associates on the surrender of Father Price's chapel had apparently been forgotten, and the foundation of St. Francis Xavier's Society on the date named was not due to their initiative. The first meeting was held in the "Rose " and Crown tavern, Cheapside, owned by a Mr. Kirby, and for two years the committee met there regularly. Later on they met at the "Gas and Light," Dale Street; the "Brunswick Rooms," Hunter Street; "Chapel House," Salisbury Street, the final meeting being held on November 16, 1845, in "The Cabbage," Richmond Row, Father Joseph Johnson, S.J., in the chair. The social habits of Liverpudlians of the forties is well illustrated by this quaint list of taverns in which the meetings of a church building committee were held. Each of the members paid one shilling entrance fee, and the town was mapped out in districts over which a collector was appointed to gather in the small weekly subscription. These energetic men lived in all parts of the town, no less than fourteen residing in Ford Street, Gildart's Gardens, Banastre, Milton and other streets still standing in Vauxhall Ward. The great bulk have Irish surnames, but the committee proper bore such well-known names as Rosson, Chaloner, Jump, Holme, Lightbound, S. Holland Moreton, Rockliff, Sharples, Bullen, Brown, Hore, Yates, Knight, Polding, Callon, O'Neill, O'Donnell, Cafferata, Towneley, Finney, Whitty, Walton, Verdon, Aspinall, Bretherton, and Roskell. A public meeting was organised by Mr. John Rosson, and held in St. Peter's Schools, Seel Street, which was attended by the great bulk of the clergy, many of whom were sympathetic, others being somewhat anxious as to the possibility of the proposed new church interfering with existing missions. The result was highly satisfactory, Mr. Rosson's warm eulogium on the work done by the Jesuits in Paraguay, China, Japan and in Lancashire, arousing much enthusiasm. The collectors, during the six years which elapsed from 1840 to 1845, with the subscriptions of the committee, brought in the large sum of £7,535; a substantial sum for the Catholic community of the day. One of the collectors, a ship's carpenter, named Henry Starkey, became one of the first lay brothers to serve the infant community on their opening a house in Salisbury Street.

In the first address to the Provincial it is stated that they were busy obtaining signatures to a petition to the Vicar Apostolic to grant permission for the erection of the church, followed by the pleasant announcement: "We have secured "a piece of land, three thousand square yards, in a respectable "part of the town, midway between St. Nicholas' and St. "Anthony's, where a church would be very desirable. It is "our intention to make over the land and the church entirely "to your disposal, as you may direct." It was feared by many that a church in this district would interfere with St. Nicholas' and St. Anthony's, and the committee were urged to build the church near the docks. To this the committee replied that to take such a step would involve the payment of a "ruinous price" for the site, an unconscious lesson in elementary political economy which, if pursued to its ultimate and logical issue, would have taught the committee the one and only solution of the problem of poverty. To have gone to the dock-side would have brought the church into the domain of either St. Peter's or St. Mary's, and the results which have followed show the keen foresight of the committee and the Jesuits. Salisbury Street was then on the fringe of the town, and the Anglican authorities displayed much wisdom and saved the next two generations much worry and expense by building the churches of St. Augustine's and St. Jude's in an area obviously destined to be the centre of a densely crowded population. Eventually the Bishop gave his consent, but from the columns of the "Tablet" of that year one gleans some idea of the opposition offered by some of the clergy. A week after this decision, Father Parker, of St. Patrick's, wrote to the editor of the "Tablet" contradicting the announcement, and in quite official language informs him that the Bishop "absolutely "refuses his consent to building that or any other Catholic "church on the site proposed." The editor promptly turned the tables on Father Parker by the statement that the inference from his letter was inaccurate; the consent of the Bishop had been obtained to the re-entry of the Jesuits, and that the only point not quite settled was the site. Father Parker was opposed to this course and the "absolute refusal" was repudiated by the more accurate absolute consent. His unnecessary interference in the matter so far as rushing into print was concerned, aroused some feeling, as did his later equally unfortunate excursion into the thorny arena of Irish politics. Meanwhile the Jesuits laid the foundations of their well-known College of St. Francis Xavier, by opening a "Preparatory Classical and Commercial Day School" in 36, Soho Street, on October 27th, 1842. The first masters were Fathers Francis

Lythgoe and Charles Havers. In November, 1843, the school was transferred to St. Anne Street. The venture did not promise to be successful as the total number of day scholars in March, 1843, was only eleven, with three attending the night school.* Two years later the school was transferred to Salisbury Street, where it was destined to achieve great success and to win for the Catholics of Liverpool the reputation of being in the very forefront in providing facilities for higher education. Extension after extension was provided to meet the growing requirements, and at the time of writing† further new buildings are being added to the first Catholic Secondary School founded in Liverpool.

The centre of the town was now congested to a degree beyond the limits of safety to health, and the "invasion" of the Irish harvesters in 1840 accentuated this serious menace. In August, the largest number of harvestmen within then living memory arrived in the Mersey en route for the agricultural districts. One vessel carried a cargo of eight hundred such passengers. They tramped through Lancashire and Yorkshire, and as far south as Nottingham and Leicester, but owing to their numbers and the state of the crops, the majority failed to find any employment. Their condition was desperate; they tramped the long journey back to Liverpool, sick at heart, and weary of the awful disappointment, which meant starvation to themselves and most likely eviction of their families, as their earnings abroad paid the rent at home. "We "have seen scores of these poor fellows," wrote a Protestant witness, "with blistered feet, scarcely able to crawl, wandering "through our Liverpool streets, begging for bread and trying "to raise the means of getting back home." The nett result was a large permanent addition to the Catholic population, which threw further burdens on the ecclesiastical authorities, while settling down amidst their kindly kinsfolk in the crowded streets, alleys, and courts, they helped unconsciously, and certainly unwillingly, to create a set of conditions which even now, close on seventy years later, are a reproach to local administration. Fever broke out, and while tending his poor flock Father Glover, O.S.B., caught the disease and died a martyr of charity. On the 16th August, 1840, a meeting was held in the Seel Street Schools to perpetuate the memory of the heroic priest. Mr. John Rosson, who presided, made a remarkable statement as to the ravages of disease among the clergy during his lifetime. "It was in the dark cellar of want, "at the bed of sorrow and in the wards of disease that the

* Xaverian, 1896.

† 1908.

" Catholic priest finds a premature grave. Fathers Edward " Glover (brother of Father Vincent), Fairclough, Pennington, " Tarleton, Spencer, Watkinson, Pratt, and White, all of these " in my recollection had rendered up their lives as sacrifices to " the holy cause of imparting spiritual consolation to the dying " Christian in places which had become pestilential by the " dreadful visitation of cholera and typhus." Mr. Rosson then referred to a recent pastoral of Bishop Briggs, which enumerated no less than twenty-five of his priests " from youth " to middle-age " who had passed away in eighteen months owing to diseases contracted in the performance of their sacred duties. The tablet which was placed in St. Peter's as the outcome of this meeting bears the following inscription: " In " respectful and affectionate memory of the Rev. Vincent " Glover, O.S.B., who for twenty-two years was the faithful " pastor of this congregation. Delicate in constitution, worn " out in the public service, he died August 6th, 1840, aged 49. " R.I.P." Contrast this loving token with the abominable attack on the priesthood from the official organ of Liverpool Protestantism. Speaking of the Irish population, the leader writer of the " Mail " says: " A race of men of a kindly nature " are the victims of priestly deluders, sanctified robbers, con- " fessional seducers, political mendicants, the blackest " scoundrels of the human species. They extort pennies from " dying wretches and farthings from miserable children, and " actually tax the felon's remains and the murderers at the " foot of the gallows." It is not to be wondered at that Irishmen in Liverpool were proverbially the enthusiastic supporters of the Liberal party in face of such writings as the above, written in the interests of political propagandists on the other side. The immediate cause of this shocking exhibition of bad taste was the work done at St. Nicholas' and other parishes in connection with the Catholic Institute of Great Britain, to which reference has already been made. At the annual meeting held in London in May, 1840, an address was read from Liverpool, signed by the Rev. Dr. Youens, rector of St. Nicholas'. It stated that the town was divided into five districts for purposes of organisation, each meeting once a month and having its own president and secretary. A general meeting of all five committees was held every quarter, at which progress was reported and points presenting any difficulty discussed. The reverend doctor on behalf of Liverpool appealed to the head office to adopt a forward policy " more " becoming so powerful a body " as the Catholics then were. At this gathering several of the leading laymen referred to Liverpool as the one spot in England to which they were most

indebted, and by resolution it was decided to refer the suggestion in Dr. Youen's address to a special committee for consideration and report. One special victory which the Institute obtained was securing for all Catholic inmates of workhouses and hospitals immunity from the regulations compelling inmates of public institutions to attend the services of the Established Church.

The growth of the Catholics in England brought about great changes in episcopal government. On the 13th May, 1840, the number of vicariates was increased from four to eight; Lancashire and Cheshire being placed under the jurisdiction of Dr. Brown, who was consecrated in St. Anthony's chapel on August the 24th. Bishop Briggs (now transferred to Yorkshire), Bishop Griffiths, London, Bishop Murdoch, coadjutor Vicar Apostolic of the western district of Scotland, and Dr. Fleming, Bishop of Newfoundland, were present to do honour to this auspicious development of Catholicism in the North. One hundred priests from all parts of the new vicariate were also present. On the following day all these prelates assembled at Rainhill, to assist the new bishop in opening St. Bartholomew's. Always anticipating future Catholic needs, the Rev. Dr. Youens, of Copperas hill, and Mr. John Rosson, founded early in 1841 the Asylum for the Blind, now in Brunswick Road, one of the most worthy of the many schemes of charity projected by the Catholics of Liverpool. Dr. Youens had also the pleasure of unveiling the fine stained glass windows in the Pro-Cathedral, designed by Pugin, the five principal figures representing Our Lady, St. Nicholas, St. Patrick, St. Cuthbert, and St. George, a work which deservedly ranks as one of the finest pieces of decorative work emanating from the brain of the inaugurator of the Gothic revival.

An unfortunate incident occurred in the month of February which illustrated the delicate relations between the English and Irish Catholics of the town, and the ease with which the susceptibilities of the latter could be touched in a tender spot. The developments of the political situation in Ireland had gradually removed O'Connell from his great and influential position as a purely Catholic leader. Catholic Emancipation was one thing, Repeal of the Union another. The glamour of O'Connell's personality had captured in any case the support of the Irish in Lancashire, whilst many Englishmen who were still under a deep debt of gratitude to him for his great services to the Catholic cause, had their doubts as to the wisdom of the new movement. Irishmen, on the other hand, failed to recognise the right of an English Catholic to his own views on important imperial political

questions, such as the restoration of the Irish Parliament. Friction was inevitable, and unfortunately the parish priest of St. Patrick's was the central figure if not the actual cause. His strong personality refused to adapt itself to surrounding conditions and as the result he became at once unpopular, if not obnoxious, to his Irish congregation. A petition to Parliament demanding the repeal of the Union was placed outside the doors of St. Patrick's Church for signature on a certain Sunday morning. Father Parker forbade the promoters to place the petition there on the ground that to act otherwise would be an infringement of the trust deed, and, secondly would cause dissension in his congregation. The more ardent Irish spirits declined to accept his explanation and attributed his action to pro-English prejudices. As a matter of fact this was far from being the truth, and had Father Parker not set up the groundless contention of violation of the trust deed the difficulty might have been smoothed over. He then committed the mistake of appealing to O'Connell himself, which only seemed to irritate the Repealers, and the more so as O'Connell's letter severely censured the opponents of the rector. It was a curious revelation of O'Connell's views on the legitimacy of Anglo-Irish interference in the Repeal movement, to find Father Parker reminding him that during a previous visit to Liverpool they had both discussed the advisability or otherwise of pushing forward the agitation in Liverpool, and that O'Connell had advised the inexpediency of such a proposal, being of opinion that it would be illegal. "Since that time," wrote Father Parker, "an association of "Repealers has been started in a way calculated to do serious "injury to the cause of civil and religious liberty." O'Connell's reply is not without interest: "I am deeply shocked at hearing "of the conduct of the Repealers in the vicinity of your "chapel, and more disgusted than I can express at men using "disrespectful language towards any of their respected clergy. "The Repealers have no right to bring their petition into the "vicinity of your chapel without your permission." O'Connell then goes on to say that the rule in Ireland, "never broken," was to ask permission from the parish priest, and concludes a vigorously written letter by emphatically declaring that he "will not accept any support from Liverpool Repealers if they "shew any further disrespect to the clergy of the town." Instead of following O'Connell's advice, a Liverpool Repealer, also named O'Connell, entered into a lengthy correspondence with Father Parker, the net result being a widening of the breach, and though the strain was relieved to some extent later on, this painful display of want of confidence in each

other's integrity had the effect of severing the Irish and English Catholics of the town from working harmoniously except on rare occasions, and in later generations helped to undo the fine work accomplished heretofore by united effort. The differences were momentarily forgotten over the memorable fight for the schools at the November election of 1841. Somewhat prematurely the Liberal party announced that if returned to power they would build schools in every district of the town to be conducted on the same lines as the two schools already in existence. NcNeill and his Tory followers paraded the streets with open *Bibles attached to long poles, and strenuously appealed to the electors not to allow the erection of any schools unless Catholics and Dissenters would accept instruction from the authorised version of the Scripture. "Converted priests" harangued frenzied Protestant audiences, and were described by John Rosson, quoting Edmund Burke, "as only qualified *to read* the English language," and went on to say that as scholars they were "despicable," and as divines "grossly ignorant "men." These Orange zealots forgot in their blind fury that the outcome of a Tory Protestant victory would be to force the Catholics to build schools for themselves, else they had never undertaken the campaign which aroused the worst passions of one section of the community and effectually destroyed for many years peace and harmony among the diverse sections which made up the Liverpool of the early forties.

Wild stories were put in circulation of the "murder" of seven Protestant clergymen in Ireland, which so inflamed the Orange population of Toxteth that they smashed up an anti-Corn Law meeting in Great George Place, confusing, in their frenzy, economics with "Popery." They then marched to St. Patrick's Chapel, and shattered the windows of both schools and church. The wife of a policeman was saying her prayers quietly in the church when the infuriated mob made the attack, and, as the consequence, lost her life from fright, an incident which increased animosity on both sides. The Conservative party, emboldened by the strife, demanded that no prayers should be recited in the Council schools save those to be found in the Anglican liturgy, and that no teachers should be appointed outside those who professed the Protestant faith as defined by Dr. McNeill. A lady had been appointed a teacher at the North Corporation School, on the recommendation of the Protestant Bishop of Ferns. Coming, from Ireland, her orthodoxy was suspected and the Conservatives in the Council refused to ratify the decision of the

* Life of William Rathbone, by Miss Eleanor Rathbone.

Education Committee. The Liberals declared that they declined to make religious belief a test, but had no objection to informing their opponents that the lady in question professed the Protestant faith. On this assurance, and for "the maintenance of truth," the Conservatives withdrew their opposition. They had, however, secured their object, the "maintenance" of religious controversy, and had so well succeeded that they fought the elections with an air of confidence, which was abundantly justified by the results. The Liberals were swept out of the Council by this whirlwind of passion; only three being returned at the poll. Every retiring Liberal Alderman was ousted, and until 1892 the Liberal party remained in a hopeless minority. The Catholic Aldermen Sheil and Roskell, fell with their Liberal colleagues, and William Rathbone suffered his third defeat in Great George Ward. Flushed with victory, the Tories resolved upon a policy of making it impossible for any Catholic child attending further the Corporation schools. The educational treaty of peace was rudely torn up, never to be restored, as the Nonconformists very naturally were driven into bitter hostility against the party which had practically resolved to teach at the expense of the ratepayers, the authority of the Church of England. The elections were fought on the first of November, and by the first day of the following month the Catholics learned with dismay the intentions of the dominant party. They took up a firm but dignified attitude and presented the following remonstrance to the new Corporation: "It being generally understood that it is in contemplation to "discard the Douai Version of the Bible entirely from the "Council schools, and to require that all the children shall use "the Authorised Version of the Established Church, and shall, "moreover, join in a common form of prayer at the beginning "and end of school, the Catholic clergy of Liverpool beg "most respectfully to state to the Council that they cannot "conscientiously concur in such an arrangement, whereby the "religious principles of the children attending the schools will "be compromised; and pray that the contemplated changes "may not be adopted." Then follow the signatures of the Rev. Dr. Youens (St. Nicholas'), Fathers Wilcock (St. Anthony's), Thos. Fisher, O.S.B. (St. Mary's), and Dale, O.S.B. (St. Peter's). Councillor Smith proposed that separate schools should be provided for the Catholics in poor districts. The debate which ensued was characterised by truculency and tolerance. Unitarianism and "Popery" were regarded as convertible terms by the Conservative leaders, and in insulting and contemptuous language the Catholic

claim to be regarded as citizens was flouted and rejected. Why the Unitarian body should have been singled out for reproach was probably due to the fact that the leading Liberals, with few exceptions, belonged to that community, and distinguished themselves not only by their entire sympathy with the cause of religious toleration, but gave many practical tokens of sympathy with the Catholics of the town.

The Catholic children had no option but to withdraw from the Council schools, an action which gave intense satisfaction to the Tories, especially with regard to the North Corporation School. True to the course which had been mapped out beforehand, the Council schools were now turned into adjuncts of the Established Church, and all children in the Bevington Bush School were compelled to attend on Sundays and marched to the church service in St. Bartholomew's, Naylor Street, "unless the parents objected." To mark his "abhorrence" of this policy, the Earl of Sefton sent a donation of twenty-five pounds to St. Anthony's Schools, Scotland Road,* and many other Liberals, including Sir Joshua Walmsley† followed his example. The Catholic mind was finally made up. "Schools of our own!" was the cry which resounded from every home as well as every pulpit. Thus the Tories of Liverpool may be styled the promoters of that magnificent series of Catholic schools which have sprung up in every quarter of Liverpool, to which came the teaching orders who lifted elementary education to the highest pinnacle of perfection. The bigoted Evangelicals did not anticipate such a result. Had they been far-seeing, instead of being blinded by rancour and partisanship, they would have seen that their policy would eventually bring about this result. What would have happened had McNeill not driven the Liberals from power is now an interesting speculation. Every ward in Liverpool would have had its Council school, and under the disinterested management of a Liberal Education Committee most Catholic children would have been in attendance. Mixed schools are not looked upon with friendly eyes by Catholics, but the success of a six years' experiment, and the poverty of the labouring classes, would, in all human probability, have prevented the erection of purely Catholic schools for a generation.

Where were the teachers to come from? was the anxious query heard on all sides. The Government had made no

* "Another kind of Town Councillor arose, who, with great pretension to religion, most irreligiously and unjustly, expelled from the public schools Catholic children by the hundreds."—St. Anthony's Report, 1842.

† Mayor of Liverpool, 1839-40; afterwards M.P.

provision for training teachers. Ireland came to the rescue, so far as the boys were concerned, and with the advent of the Irish Christian Brothers* to St. Patrick's a new era of usefulness and charity was begun for that fine body of teachers. Later on they came to St. Anthony's, St. Nicholas', St. Mary's, and St. Vincent's. Without payment or reward, save the voluntary offerings of the parents, these cultured men did a noble work for the poor children of their own race. To make them practical, earnest Catholics was their first aim; to equip them for the battle of life was an easy matter for a body which had long distinguished itself by practical aims which have since disappeared from curriculums framed by more ambitious but less successful educationalists. For forty years they laboured in the town, and their departure under the pressure of the Act of 1870 caused widespread dissatisfaction. To them belongs the distinction of founding the first evening continuation schools, in St. Patrick's, during the year 1842, which were attended by one hundred and twenty Irish adults, anxious as most Irishmen have ever been for education. Such an impression was created by this experiment that Dr. Ullathorne, O.S.B., paid a special visit to St. Patrick's to preach a sermon in its support. The Benedictines at St. Mary's summoned a special meeting on December 16th, 1842, in the Grecian Hotel, to consider the sad plight of the great numbers of poor children in that district. They adopted a resolution regretting the decision of the Town Council, and resolved to issue an appeal to friends of education "of all "denominations to provide means of dealing with these "unfortunate children."† Fathers Fisher, Wilkinson and Dale addressed a letter to the senior churchwarden of the Parish of Liverpool, Mr. W. Birkett, pointing out the condition of the poor children of St. Mary's, and expressing the hope that the community would provide means for their instruction. The impertinent reply which followed illustrates the unfortunate tone and temper of the official Anglicans towards the Catholics of that day. Mr. Birkett began and ended by denying the right of the three Benedictines to claim the title of priests or be called "reverend," as they had not been ordained in conformity with the laws of the Church of England. It became necessary to give this gentleman an elementary lesson in the doctrine of the Church whose self-appointed spokesman he had become, and Father Wilkinson was selected by his brethren to perform that duty. How

* The same work has been undertaken in Rome by the Irish Christian Brothers, at the express request of Pope Pius the Tenth.

† Liverpool Albion.

well he performed the task may be gleaned from this crushing reply: "With regard to my Orders, though I have "not entered the ministry by making the declaration required "by the rubrics of the Established Church, permit me, sir, to "inform you, that the rubrics of that Church recognise the "validity of my Orders; and, if from a desire to have less "labour and more pay, or any other equally creditable motive, "I were to apostatize from the faith of my fathers, and "embrace a creed in conformity with the laws of this realm, "a Bishop of your Church would readily admit the validity "of my Orders, and at once appoint me to a curacy. And "now, as to my designating myself a Catholic clergyman, I "am a humble member of the ancient faith, Catholic in "every attribute, and in every sense, Catholic in all "ages and in every nation; Catholic by the received and "admitted consent of mankind; properly designated Catholic "in history, geography, in the works of travellers, in the "Senate, at the bar, in the public journals, in the drawing-"room, and in every other department and locality, unless an "exception be found in the vestry of Our Lady and St. Nicholas." Quoting the full title of the old parish church was the unkindest cut of all; devotion to Our Lady or St. Nicholas not being a prominent feature of the principles of the unfortunate recipient of this well-merited castigation. The better educated members of the English Church heartily enjoyed Father Wilkinson's ready and apt reply. Church-warden Birkett was snuffed out, and did not venture again into the fields of religious controversy.

The Liverpool correspondent of the "Tablet"* estimated that forty thousand Catholics were unable to hear Mass owing to deficient accommodation in Liverpool. To meet the need, the Benedictines, during the summer of 1842, began the work of providing a new church in Edge Hill, under the patronage of St. Anne and in August of the same year the fine church of St. Oswald, Old Swan, served by the secular clergy, was opened by the Vicar-Apostolic. This Church, recalling, as it does, the architecture of the 13th century, created a sensation amongst the Protestant section which then dominated both the English Church and the politics of the Council Chamber. The spire was the gift of Mr. Michael Gibson, of West Derby, and the peal of bells aroused easily-awakened animosity. Under the impression that such features in a Catholic Church were forbidden by law, they made a protest, only to discover that their knowledge of the laws of their country was in

* October, 1843.

inverse ratio to the measure of their bigotry.* The same month witnessed the remarkable meeting in the Amphitheatre, when the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Daniel O'Connell, delivered an address in aid of the building fund of the proposed church of St. Francis Xavier. Certain delicate matters of negotiation between the Jesuits and Benedictines, the final echoes of the controversy of 1783, had been completely removed, as well as the local difficulties with the Bishop, who had given his consent to the erection of the church on the Salisbury Street site. A notable gathering of the clergy, secular and regular, appeared on the platform, including the Rector of Stonyhurst and the Very Rev. Dr. Brewer, O.S.B., president of Ampleforth. Another remarkable figure was the ex-Methodist minister, the Rev. Father Mason. O'Connell said he "rejoiced emphatically that the erection of the church had "met with the approval of every class of ecclesiastics in the "town," and went on to say that "the suppression of the "Jesuits was one of the greatest of calamities; and bitter "punishment had afflicted the nations which had committed "that crime. They had been punished with severity, with a "scourge of iron, and tears, and blood, and even these could "hardly atone for the crime they had committed against "themselves. Here they were again! The Jesuits!!!" The president of Ampleforth followed, and warmly eulogised the work in hand. "Before the Order of St. Benedict came to "Liverpool, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus stood the brunt "of persecution, and raised the standard of the Cross in the "town. It was therefore but right that, as they had stood "valiantly in the field of battle in the days of persecution, "they should now be welcomed to accomplish the great work "which they had begun." In December of the same year the Catholic body opened a secondary school, St. Edward's College, under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Fisher,† and to further still more the work of teaching and evangelising the poor the Sisters of Mercy completed their convent in Mount Vernon. With regard to the nuns, an hysterical bigot wrote, "the Sisters of Mercy will effect more conversions in "one year than all the priests in Great Britain." The Rev. Dr. Youens was mainly instrumental in bringing this fine body of religious workers to aid the work of the Church in Liverpool. O'Connell was so impressed with these evidences of activity that he paid a visit to Liverpool in the following year as the guest of Mr. Edward Chaloner, Old Swan, and visited both institutions as a mark of his appreciation of the

* The same ignorance which led to the Police Enquiry, 1910.
† Father Goss, eleven years later Bishop, was Vice-President.

work of higher education and charity. Meanwhile the monks of St. Benedict were forging ahead with the new schools of St. Peter, where five hundred children were in average attendance, and looking ahead, erected new schools, attached to St. Austin's, Aigburth, which were opened on the 8th May, 1843. In June, land was purchased in Falkner Street to provide the new buildings for Catholic female orphans, heretofore housed in Mount Pleasant, and the noble Sisters of Charity began that most excellent work the care of the blind, with eighteen pupils. Amidst all the poverty of the people the heads of the Church were performing their work with great diligence and earnestness, and excited amongst their Protestant brethren a spirit of great sympathy. Anglicans and Dissenters alike were forced to pay tribute to these developments of Catholic zeal in spite of discouragement and that one great obstacle to progress in a commercial age, lack of means. The great mass of Catholics who lived between the parishes of St. Peter's and St. Patrick's, a distance of only half-a-mile, were in sore straits for both chapel and school accommodation. Father Parker was equal to the occasion. In January, 1843, he rented a "penny theatre" at the corner of Blundell Street, in which Mass was said on the 5th February, 1843, for the first time, and two hundred children, turned out of the Park Lane Council School were taught during the week by one Christian Brother. At a public meeting held to raise funds for the new mission, Father Parker announced a contribution of twenty pounds from a Protestant friend, Mr. John Ripley, of Canning Street, and informed the audience that a volunteer from the Diocese of Derry, Father McCormac, would be placed in charge. St. Patrick's had seating accommodation for eighteen hundred people, and the three masses on Sundays were attended by crowds who filled up every inch of space. The neighbouring Church of St. Peter's was also overcrowded, so that this new mission was a veritable godsend to the poor Irish who resided in and around Park Lane and St. James Street.

The evils of intemperance had begun to shew their inevitable results amongst the Irish inhabitants in the crowded streets and alleys of the town. Indeed, the demoralising influence of intoxicants was much too prevalent amongst all classes of labourers, whether of Irish or English nationality. At St. Peter's, Seel Street, there had long been established a Total Abstinence Society, and in that mission was begun the movement to secure the presence of the great Capuchin friar, Father Theobald Matthew. In a few days six thousand

signatures were appended to a petition begging this worthy priest to visit the town and deliver a series of addresses on temperance. His visit in July, 1843, was the great religious event of the year. Mr. William Rathbone cordially invited him to be his guest at the historic house, Greenbank, Wavertree, in which O'Connell had often enjoyed the hospitality of the great Liberal leader. The invitation was accepted, and on the Sunday morning his host and another great Liverpool man, Mr. Edward Rushton, the stipendiary magistrate, attended Mass at St. Patrick's, in order to hear the inaugural address of a memorable campaign. The immense audiences which gathered outside St. Patrick's and St. Anthony's listened with rapture to the burning eloquence of the friar, while their hearts were touched at the sight of the brown habit so intimately bound up with the history of Ireland. No preacher ever made such an impression on the Catholics of Liverpool, and but for the dread disaster which happened four years later, Catholic Liverpool had been synonymous with sober Liverpool. Forty thousand Irish Catholics took the temperance pledge, and even to-day, after the lapse of sixty-five years, traditions live, and have been tenderly handed down, of the extraordinary scenes of piety and robust faith witnessed outside the Church of St. Anthony's, where thousands knelt down on God's acre to pledge themselves to accept to the full the cross laid on them by the young Franciscan.

A renewal of the educational war was occasioned by the introduction into Parliament of Sir James Graham's Education Bill, which practically proposed to endow the schools of the Established Church. At a series of public demonstrations against this measure both the Catholic and Dissenting bodies stood shoulder to shoulder, not only in Liverpool but throughout the country. On the first Sunday in April, 1843, the Bill was explained to the congregations, and 25,000 Catholic adults signed a petition of protest to Parliament. A short but vigorous agitation put an end to all hopes of carrying the measure, which was ultimately withdrawn.

In August, 1843, Dr. Baines, the Vicar-Apostolic, died, and was succeeded by his coadjutor, Dr. Brown. The new coadjutor, Dr. Sharples, was consecrated in Rome a few months later. For the first time since the Reformation, the Bishop had the great consolation of performing the ceremony of ordination in Liverpool, in the Church of St. Nicholas', an event of more than ordinary importance. There were very few priests, and the vocations from amongst the Liverpool population small in number. The year closed with

an addition to St. Mary's of large schools in Ray Street, formerly the property of the Methodist body, and in February, 1844, they were placed under the direction of the Irish Christian Brothers. On the first day of May, 1844, the Fathers had the pleasure of seeing the foundation stone of the new Church laid by Bishop Sharples, in the presence of two thousand people. Strange to relate the address at the ceremony was not delivered by the Bishop, but by that distinguished layman Mr. John Rosson. He warmly eulogised the work accomplished by the Benedictines during the sixty-one years they had laboured at St. Mary's, and recalled the scene which occurred on the same spot ninety-nine years before, when the old church was pulled down. "Before the priest "quitted the church, he opened his Ritual, and calmly read "the preparation for death, and, thinking his time was come, "put on his vestment and presented himself to the infuriated "mob in Edmund Street. Two or three axes were applied to "the door, and on its being demolished, the multitude stood "aghast; a gangway was formed for the priest, who passed "into the house of a Presbyterian friend opposite, who "sheltered him from further insult." From some remarks in the course of his address we may conclude that at this early date English and Irish Catholics found it difficult to commingle. He appealed to both sections to work in harmony, for "if there were two classes who ought to embrace each "other, they were the persecuted Saxons of Lancashire, and "the persecuted Celts." The Society of St. Mary, under the leadership of Mr. John Yates, junior; and Mr. James Finney worked with might and main. In the course of five years they collected £6,357 18s. 11d. towards the contemplated expenditure of £14,667, for the site, church and equipment. It is a tribute to the great enthusiasm of the weekly collectors and the generosity of the poor, that they brought in to the fund £2,150. The following August saw the work almost completed, and with great ceremony, beginning on the 18th August and continued for eight days, the Church of St. Mary* was opened. Among the Bishops present on the first day were the Vicar-Apostolic and his Coadjutor, Dr. Brown, O.S.B., Vicar-Apostolic of Wales, Dr. Briggs, Vicar-Apostolic of Yorkshire and Dr. Morris, Vicar of the London District.

The Society of St. Francis Xavier had made such progress that a beginning was made on the 18th March, 1844, when Father Randal Lythgoe, S.J., blessed the first excavations. By the month of November it was announced that the Jesuits

* Bishop Goss once said, "This is the church of my diocese."

hoped to see the first stone laid on the anniversary of the canonization of St. Francis Xavier, but it was four months later, July 9th, 1845, when Bishops Brown and Sharples performed that ceremony.

The Faithful Companions of Jesus came to town in 1844, opening a boarding school in Great George Square, undertaking at the same time the supervision of St. Patrick's girl's school. Following the example set by the Brothers, they opened a night school for girls and secured an attendance of two hundred. There were then on an average one thousand children attending St. Patrick's schools. Another new school was opened on July 15th, 1844, at Ince Blundell. The Orange daily, "The Mail," called public attention to these extensions of Catholic work, "notwithstanding the opposition offered in "various quarters to the extension of Popery, we regret to "hear that it is on the increase." Orange-Tory Liverpool did not view with equanimity the erection of new churches and schools. A Protestant Church, All Saints, in Grosvenor Street, had been discontinued by the Protestant authorities. It was built on the site of a former somewhat famous tennis court, whereon volunteers were drilled during the invasion scare. Inside the walls the first "anti-Popish" sermon in Liverpool was delivered. To the dismay of the ultra-Protestants, the Catholic body purchased the building with the intention of founding a new mission to be dedicated to St. Joseph. An indignation meeting was held in the Portico, Newington, resolutions adopted protesting against the sale, and a deputation proceeded to the residence of Archdeacon Rushton with the avowed intention of preventing the ratification of the purchase. Nothing came of the protest, save that the tide of bigotry began to flow quicker and stronger and reached its height when the need for a resident bishop was gratified by the purchase of Eton Lodge,* Woolton Road, as the local residence for the Vicar-Apostolic.† To express their feelings the Orangemen made repeated attacks on St. Patrick's, and the clergy of that church. Led on by the Stipendiary, Mr. Edward Rushton, the magistrates resolved to put down the outrages with a strong hand, especially as the police seemed quite indifferent to performing an obvious duty. The Grand Master of the Orangemen sat on the Watch Committee, and too many of the humbler members of the force had secured appointment by joining the Orange organisation. Mr. William Rathbone and Mr. Rushton secured the adoption of a resolution condemning the further recruiting of the force from "illegal"

* Formerly a school kept by an old Eton master; hence its name.

† Hence—Bishop Eton, now occupied by the Redemptorists.

organisations. This motion received the sanction of the Home Secretary to whom it was presented, and the magistrates then resolved to present it to the Watch Committee. Under the guidance of the Orange Grand Master, the Watch Committee at the ensuing pay day took measures to find out the religion of every member of the force, with the object of removing the Catholic policemen. Mr. Rushton boldly met this move by asserting the right of the magistrates themselves to dismiss from the force all members of illegal societies. Though the lawyers decided against the validity of this claim, Mr. Rushton secured the object he had in view, that of ending the disgraceful rows in the South end of the town. To further this end he appealed to the Irish Societies to abandon their usual procession on St. Patrick's Day, 1845, which appeal received the unanimous support of the clergy. Some enthusiasts refused to obey, and, meeting in Williamson Square, marched to St. Patrick's, where the doors were closed against them. Retracing their footsteps they proceeded to St. Anthony's with the same result. This testimony to the great moral power of the clergy impressed the leading citizens, who freely admitted that Orange provocation had been severe, and for some time very friendly relations prevailed between the priests and the authorities.

Meanwhile, the English Catholics of the town gave evidence of their good-will towards their Irish co-religionists, and their esteem for the great Irishman who had won for them the restoration of their own liberties. O'Connell had been arrested, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment, by the Irish courts. A huge demonstration of protest was organised by the Blundell family, in the Amphitheatre, which was attended by all the leading families of the town and district, and by the clergy, secular and regular. A petition was sent up by them to Queen Victoria, praying for O'Connell's release, but, before Her Majesty could consider its contents, the conviction had been quashed by the supreme courts. This incident was celebrated by general Catholic rejoicings. Houses were illuminated in the Catholic quarters, notably in the densely-populated district around the present Custom House, South John and Paradise Streets.

Another public body came into existence as a consequence of the new Poor Law, the Liverpool Board of Guardians, better known by its official title, the Select Vestry. The first elections resulted in the return of a solid phalanx of Tories, due to the extraordinary behaviour of the returning officer. Dr. Bilsborrow, late Bishop of Salford, described the Guardians

as "that awful Protestant body,"* and good reason he had for so naming it. In 1839, under the old law, Father Parker, of St. Patrick's, reported that during the month of October, he had heard the master of the workhouse school, addressing the children in the schoolroom, say that "every Catholic would go "to Hell with a Testament in his hand." Of the hundred children thus addressed a small proportion were Catholics, and in their presence he held up a wafer, with the blasphemous observation, "this is the God of the Papists." An inquiry was held, and the charges sustained, but the Orange party would permit no punishment beyond a mild censure. In 1841, Father John Dawber asked the Vestry to allow him the use of a room in which to say Mass, and in a very modest appeal pointed out that it was a great hardship for old and infirm people to be compelled to rise early in all kinds of weather, and walk half-a-mile to hear Mass outside. The "Liverpool "Courier," the Conservative organ, opposed this proposal as "an act of Popish aggrandisement."

The Vestry held its meetings for the first year with closed doors, the "Liverpool Mercury," which took the most active share in bringing about a change in its composition, describing it as "the secret conclave." The Liberals and Catholics joined in a cordial union to alter its complexion, and at the Easter of 1845, returned Messrs. Bright, Thorneley and Maynard, to fight for equality and open dealing, against twenty-six of the most illiberal men who ever possessed a share in the government of the town, municipally or parochially. The Select Vestry had decided, in obedience to Dr. McNeill, that no religious service of any kind for the Roman Catholics should be permitted inside the workhouse. Mr. Bright sought to remove this restriction by a proposition that the use of the dining hall be allowed for the celebration of Mass. The Rector of Liverpool was, ex-officio, the Chairman of the Board,† and on this occasion he declared that the law of the realm did not contemplate the performance of any religious ceremony, other than those in conformity with the laws of the Established Church. No doubt this was a perfectly accurate statement, but it did not help to remove an irritating restriction from a Catholic point of view, or prevent gross abuse from the point of view of good administration and discipline, inmates being allowed to go out on Sundays, without supervision, if they declared themselves to be Catholics, whether they were so or no.‡ Mr. Bright's motion was rejected. At the same meeting

* In a conversation with the writer at St. Charles', Aigburth Road.

† This anomaly was removed by Mr. Gladstone's Parish Council Act, 1894.

‡ Bedclothes, linen, &c., were stolen by the inmates, who declared themselves Catholics in order to get out and sell the articles thus obtained.

it was decided to ask permission from the Bishop of Chester to allow Divine Service to be held for the Protestant inmates of the Kirkdale Schools, in the dining hall of that institution. Mr. Bright observed that as the Rector had objected to Divine Service for Catholics in a dining hall, he ought surely, on ecclesiastical or rubrical grounds, to object in this instance. Mr. Rector Brooks did not reply, but a Mr. Bremner retorted, "No! not at all; the one is Popery, the other the Established "Church." The language of this gentleman was so offensive that five Conservatives voted for Mr. Bright's motion. It was urged that, as sixty-one inmates, owing to ill-health, were unable to attend Mass outside, a room might be set apart for the purpose of a private celebration. But to no avail. Mr. Bremner represented the whole trend of Tory Protestantism. Catholics and Liberals, at the following elections, made one supreme effort to secure further representation, and carried eleven seats out of twenty-one. Three out of four overseerships also fell into their victorious hands. Mr. John Yates, junior, was the first Catholic Poor Law Guardian. The concession of a room was granted, and peace prevailed for a short time. In the Council, Mr. Blackburn, member for Vauxhall Ward, made a last despairing effort to break down the policy of exclusion embarked upon by the Church party, but failed, and never again did Catholics appeal to that Municipal body for any concession.

In 1844, Bishop Brown inaugurated a new departure in the methods employed to raise funds for churches and schools. The lay committees had not been an unmixed blessing. In the case of St. Patrick's there had been serious friction, and St. Nicholas' was to all intents and purposes a proprietary church. Advertisements appeared, offering such a pew in an eligible position to the parishioners, the highest bidder securing the coveted seat. The committee also doled out the funds as they thought fit, and there is still living* one venerable ecclesiastic who sat shivering in his room, because of the scantiness of the fuel supplied. In some other cases, the lay committee simply undertook the responsibility of purchasing suitable sites, their local knowledge enabling them to make good bargains, and in overseeing the work of sub-contractors. One evil could not well be guarded against—the itinerant begging by irresponsible persons, and in this way considerable sums of money were lost. Persons without any authority collected the pennies of the faithful, which never found their way into the funds of the responsible committee.

* Right Rev. Monsignor Carr, Vicar-General.

Bishop Brown issued a pastoral letter, read in all the churches, announcing a new arrangement. A Board was appointed by him, consisting of the two Vicars, two Benedictines, two Jesuits, and certain representatives of the secular clergy, who were to administer all funds collected in future for church extensions. It was further laid down that the funds be raised by annual donations from individuals, an annual collection in every church, and, with the one exception, that weekly collections for the six weeks prior to the annual collections were allowed, all other methods which had obtained in the past were strictly forbidden. The Bishop also fixed the minimum and maximum stipends of the clergy at £80 and £120 per annum, respectively. The lay committees had done good work, but owing to the methods pursued in electing them, many abuses had crept in, and the new arrangement gave general satisfaction.

In 1844, the Catholic Club was founded, Sir Arnold Knight presiding at the first meeting. Mr. Richard Sheil was appointed the first president; Mr. Edward Bretherton acting as secretary. The main objects of the new organisation were, "to promote unity of purpose, energy in "practical charity, and good fellowship in principle." The new club took a very prominent part in the work of promoting and assisting works of charity, while, on its political side, excellent work was done in the defence of Catholic interests.

During this year, Bishop Sharples confirmed no less than 3,784 children; 888 at St. Patrick's, 746 at St. Anne's, 823 at St. Nicholas', 781 at St. Mary's, 535 at St. Peter's, and 11 at St. Edward's.

In November Father Wilcock retired from St. Anthony's, after 25 years of service in the priesthood, and was succeeded by Father Thos. Newsham, a man of extraordinary energy and capacity, who left his mark on the history of the north end. He was not many months in office when he secured a substantial concession for his flock from the North Shore Mill Co. This company had insisted that all the children employed by them must attend a Protestant Sunday School, and Father Newsham, by his tact and good humour, induced the directors to withdraw this uncalled-for hindrance to Catholics securing employment.*

The fourth day of August, 1846, and the seven succeeding days, witnessed the great pomp and ceremonial attending the opening of the fine church of St. Anne. It was built on a well-chosen site, then without the borough of Liverpool, it now stands in the centre of a teeming mass of poor people, the

* See Tablet, 1846.

extensions of the city having driven out the better-class Catholics to more suburban parts of the ever-growing city. It was opened by Bishop Brown, and several notable prelates assembled in the sanctuary. After many years, Dr. Polding, O.S.B., Archbishop of Sydney, returned to his native land to witness this great sign of the progress of his fellow religionists. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Adelaide, the first rector of St. Patrick's, Liverpool, Dr. O'Connell, Bishop of Waterford, with the Vicar-Apostolic of London, Dr. Morris, by their presence contributed to the greatest ceremony yet witnessed on the banks of the Mersey. At that time there was a fine male choir at St. Mary's, trained by Father Cooper, O.S.B., and they rendered the music of the Mass and of Vespers during the eventful week. Bishop Murphy preached in his old and much-loved church of St. Patrick's, in aid of the Christian Brothers. They had just lost Brother Joseph Maher, the pioneer of elementary education, under the new regime, in Liverpool. As he lay in simple state in the schoolroom, crowds flocked to pay their tribute of sorrow and prayer around his remains, ere they were interred in the vaults of the church. The need for such men was shewn in the letter of the Vicar-Apostolic of Yorkshire, written in 1846, that in England there were at least 25,000 Catholic children without any school accommodation of any kind, Catholic or otherwise.

A dark cloud fell upon Liverpool in the last months of the year, and when it passed away, a new Catholic Liverpool arose, with new problems and fresh difficulties, many of which are not yet solved. No man can understand aright the Liverpool of the second half of the nineteenth century, who does not seriously study the dread incidents which the November and December portended.

CHAPTER IV.

From the point of view of public health, Liverpool had degenerated into one of the worst towns in the Kingdom. Narrow streets, narrower courts, overcrowded alleys, and bad drainage, were exacting a heavy toll of disease and death. Streets were left unswept for as long a period as three weeks, in working class quarters, the Town Council being much too busy with the interests of party to occupy itself with such mundane affairs. The Tories were blind to all warnings; in capturing the Council Schools they had exhausted their mandate. To promote sanitary reform, a Health of Towns Association had been formed in the Metropolis, and the first Liverpool branch was founded in St. Patrick's schoolroom. Just as, half-a-century later, it was reserved for Liverpool Catholic public men to fight the battle of housing reform, so in the early forties it was left for the Catholic leaders to speak out against the criminal neglect, by the Corporation, of the important question of public health. Sir Arnold Knight, M.D., father of a future Bishop of Shrewsbury, and of a distinguished Jesuit, delivered the address at this gathering, presided over by Mr. R. Sheil. His speech is painful reading, descriptive of the conditions under which the labouring classes were compelled to live, conditions which made moral or physical health well-nigh impossible. Sir Arnold stated, that in London one out of every thirty-seven of the population died annually; Liverpool's proportion being one in twenty-eight. In the Metropolis, 32 out of every 100 children died before reaching the age of nine; Liverpool had the unenviable record of 49. Nor was this all. In the densely populated streets and courts of Vauxhall Ward, this number went up to 64, an appalling rate of mortality. Physical deterioration had set in, or, as the Catholic Knight put it, Liverpool men "were "unfit to be shot at," an allusion to the rejection of 75 per cent. of the recruits for the army.

This speech gives the answer to much of the superficial criticism of the result of Irish "habits" on the general health of towns. The death roll gives the needed and only reply to the puzzle which has worried Catholic statisticians as to the causes which have operated to prevent the prolific Irish from being one-half, at least, of the population of Liverpool. Sixty-four out of every hundred Irish children dead before nine

years of age, from preventible causes!! The Irish poor did not build the narrow streets nor the dirty courts, they did not leave the streets unswept, and had no responsibility for stinking middens, left unemptied at their very doors, nor did they create the economic conditions which drove them across the channel, and in turn made life in Liverpool the burden it really was. Drink! Yes, they drank! No wonder! where drink alone could bring forgetfulness of present misery. But for the small band of priests who laboured amongst them, and the faith they brought from Ireland, Irish Liverpool had become heathendom. The demoralisation of child life caused by exclusion from the schools, in 1841, had sown its seeds, and a deadly harvest was to be reaped a generation later, which, even to the twentieth century, has made Liverpool a bye-word to every stranger entering its gates. It was too late for any body of men to cure the evil, when the famine years sent hundreds of thousands of Irishmen and women into the very streets and alleys, where over-crowding and disease had become every-day features, and excited no surprise. The closing months of 1846 ended in "an inpouring of wretchedness from "Ireland; streets swarming with hungry and almost naked "wretches." Written by a friendly hand, these words fail to convey an adequate picture of the scenes witnessed every day during November and December, 1846. At the meeting of the Select Vestry, December 15th, 1846, the captains of the coasting vessels were censured for carrying over such large numbers of immigrants, and it was seriously suggested that Liverpool should follow the example of the Isle of Man authorities, by refusing permission to land. It is pleasant to record that the first meeting held to raise funds for the relief of the famine stricken, was organised by the Irish navvies, then constructing the railway to Bury. The meeting was held in the schoolroom underneath St. Joseph's chapel, Grosvenor Street, on November 30th, every navvy putting down one day's wages on the table as his tribute to the unfortunate people of his own country. In the church, the first sermon for the same object was preached by Father McEvoy, parish priest of Kells, in the fertile plains of Meath, who received fifty-two pounds from the poor labourers of St. Joseph's parish. The new year, 1847, opened inauspiciously. During the six days, January 4th to 9th, the Select Vestry relieved 7,146 Irish families, consisting of 29,417 persons, of whom 18,376 were children. From the 13th to the 25th of the same month, 10,724 deck passengers arrived from Irish ports, and during the month of February they came pouring in at the average rate of nine hundred per day. So dreadful was their poverty that we have

the authority of the Rector of Liverpool, speaking on the 26th of February, that nine thousand Irish families were being relieved, a number which increased to eleven thousand by the end of March. The Stipendiary Magistrate had given an instruction to the police to keep a record of the number of immigrants, and, at a meeting of the justices summoned by him to consider suitable measures to cope with this serious menace to health and peace, he stated that, from the first day of November, 1846, to the twelfth day of May, 1847, the total number of Irish immigrants into Liverpool amounted to 196,338. Deducting the numbers actually recorded as sailing to America, no less than 137,519 persons had been added to the population of Liverpool. When the year ended, the total number of immigrants, excluding those who were bound for America, reached the immense total of 296,231, all "apparently paupers."*

The already overcrowded Irish quarters gave some kind of shelter to the new comers; its character makes the heart sick, even when read in cold print. No less than 35,000 were housed in cellars,† below the level of the street, without light or ventilation; 5841‡ cellars were "wells of stagnant water," or, as an official report to the Corporation puts it, 5,869 were found, on examination, to be "damp, wet, or filthy." In the district now known as Holy Cross parish, not then formed, and in St. Vincent's, an appalling state of affairs prevailed. In Lace Street, Marybone, in a cellar 14 feet long, ten wide, and six in height, twelve persons were found endeavouring to breathe, and, "in more than one instance, upwards of forty 'people were found sleeping"§ in a similar under-ground dungeon. The Stipendiary shocked the town by his narrative of a woman being confined of twins, in a Lace Street cellar, crowded with human beings. In Crosby Street, Park Lane, now occupied by the Wapping Goods Station, of the L. & N. W. Railway Company, 37 people were found in one cellar, and in another eight lay dead from typhus. The unfortunates "occupied‡ every nook and corner of the already over-crowded "lodging houses, and forced their way into the cellars (about "3,000 in number), which had been closed under the Health "Act of 1842. In different parts of Liverpool, fifty or sixty of "these destitute people were found in a house containing three "or four small rooms, about twelve feet by ten."* By February, the mortality from fever was eighteen per cent. above the average, and four months later was 2,000 per cent.

* Head Constable Dowling's Report to the Watch Committee.
† Liverpool *Mercury*, 1847.
‡ Gore's Annals of Liverpool.
§ Medical Officer's Report for 1847. W. H. Duncan, M.D.

above the average of previous years.* Smallpox broke out and carried off 381 children, and an epidemic of measles added 378 to the total. In Lace Street, already mentioned, one-third of the inhabitants, that is to say 472 persons, died from fever during the year. In the Parish of Liverpool, the weekly mortality by the month of August reached 537, as against the usual average of 160; while in the extra parochial districts of Toxteth and Everton, it was 111 against 50. The curse of mis-rule in Ireland, and mis-government in Liverpool, had come home to roost, and he who would pass judgment on Irish poverty or "crime" of later years, let him read the story which every stone of the charnel houses in Vauxhall, Exchange, Scotland, Great George and Pitt Street Wards, told and still tell. Here were sown the dragon's teeth, and they have sprung up, not in armed men, but workhouses, reformatories, and gaols.

Regulations of all kinds were brought into force to put a much-needed check on this enormous influx, but without avail for at least a year. The Poor Law authorities returned† 24,529 to their native parishes during the years 1847 and 1848; it was only a drop in the ocean, for vessels were arriving daily with fresh contingents. Deck passages from Dublin cost as small a sum as sixpence, which probably tempted thousands to try their fortune in our midst. It stands to the infinite credit of the citizens that distinctions of race, religion, and party were obliterated in presence of this awful visitation, and that they united to succour the sick and hungry, both in the town and the country from whence they came. There were two exceptions, which only served to bring out this noble generosity in strong relief. Vestryman Mellor gleefully exclaimed, at a meeting of the Select Vestry, "when they are all gone, we will "people Ireland with a better set," and Dr. Hugh McNeill characteristically accused the Irish clergy of refusing to dispense the English Relief Funds, unless the recipients paid them a consideration. These men were the sole exceptions to the truly Christian spirit which prevailed in all classes. Bishop Sharples acted with commendable promptitude. Summoning a meeting of Catholics in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, he had the pleasure of receiving two thousand pounds from his flock in the course of a few minutes. This sum was subscribed by less than fifty persons, and was dispatched next day by the treasurer, Mr. C. J. Corbally, in equal shares to the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam. Church collections were immediately taken, and one thousand pounds came from this

* W. H. Duncan, M.D. Report to the Health Committee, 1847.

† See Dr. Mackay's article on Liverpool in *Morning Chronicle*.

source; St. Patrick's heading the list with £118 16s. 7d., a few shillings more than the amount subscribed by St. Nicholas'. A name never to be forgotten in the annals of Liverpool Catholicism appeared for the first time in print, in connection with the famine fund, that of a young priest, Father James Nugent, who preached at St. Alban's, Blackburn, and handed £72 12s. 8d. to the Liverpool treasurer. It was related by the journals of the day, that the Post Office was besieged by Irish labourers, sending small sums of money home to their afflicted kinsfolk. The condition of Ireland was bad, but it may well be doubted whether that of Liverpool was not worse. Where were the mass of new-comers to be housed? Where was employment to be found? Whence could be drawn clergy to come to attend to their spiritual needs? If church and school accommodation was deficient before 1847, it was surely deficient now.

In January, 1847, the Rector of Liverpool informed the Government that dysentery had assumed alarming proportions, due to the cabbages and turnips which formed the only food of the first immigrants. February saw eight hundred cases of typhoid; the reading of the death-roll each Sunday morning in the churches sending a cold shiver through the immense congregations. Hurriedly the parish authorities set up fever sheds, in Great Homer Street on the North, and Mount Pleasant on the South, and fitted up a hospital ship in the Mersey, to cope with the new terror. Then came the awful visitation of typhus. Liverpool Protestantism bowed its head in reverence at the heroism of the handful of Catholic Priests. Undaunted, they went from room to room in crowded houses; from cellar to garret, ministering to the sick. They were never absent from hourly attendance in the hospital wards. Here at least there was some privacy, but in the crowded rooms and cellars it was next to impossible to hear the last confession, unless the priest lay down beside the sick man to receive the seeds of disease from poisoned breaths in return for spiritual consolations. In very truth they were braver men than ever faced the lions in a Roman amphitheatre. If life must be sacrificed, it were fitting that St. Patrick's should provide the first victim. Father Parker,* rector for seventeen years, succumbed to typhus on April 28th, aged 43, and was followed on May 26th by the scholarly Benedictine, Dr. Appleton, of St. Peter's, who exchanged the Presidency of Douai College for a martyr's crown, won in the pestilential cellars of Crosby Street. The fine sanctuary of the church

* Buried in the vaults of the church. Dr. Youens sang the Requiem; the sub-deacon was Father Nugent

recalls his last work for the oldest ecclesiastical building in Liverpool, and the tablet on the walls of the church reminds succeeding generations of his great charity. St. Patrick's again rendered two more victims, Father Grayston succumbing on the 16th June, aged 33, and his colleague, Father Haggar,* aged 29, following him seven days later. A third priest who had left the plains of Westmeath to work among his people in England, the Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, was also stricken down. The rector of Old Swan, Father, afterwards Canon, Maddocks, took him from the presbytery at Saint Patrick's to his own house, in the country, where he recovered in a most miraculous manner, and lived to become the third Bishop of Liverpool. St. Mary's then took up the beadroll of death; Father Gilbert, O.S.B., aged 27, and Father William Dale, O.S.B., aged 43, succumbing to typhus on the 31st May and 28th June respectively.

On the 22nd August, Father Richard Gillow,† a member of a most devoted Catholic family, yielded up his young life—he was but 36 years of age—at St. Nicholas', and on the 28th September, the death of Father Whitaker, at St. Joseph's, completed the death-roll for the year. Father Whitaker's career was unique. He entered Douai with the intention of becoming a Benedictine, and after some years abandoned his undoubted vocation for the study of medicine. On the eve of qualifying he changed his mind and resumed his ecclesiastical studies at St. Sulpice, Paris. From thence he proceeded to Ushaw, where he was ordained, and after serving on the mission at Bolton, York, and Manchester, found an early grave in the slums of Liverpool. The deaths of these priests‡ made a profound impression on a town which had witnessed 15,000 deaths from famine and fever, and exalted in the estimation of the Protestant citizens the character and dignity of the priesthood. The strain on the surviving clergy, most of whom suffered severely, was intense. They lay at night§ on chairs and sofas in their clothes, awaiting the sick calls which never failed to come, fearful lest the time spent in dressing might mean the loss of the Sacraments to some poor wretch lying in his dismal hovel. To the townspeople such heroism conveyed the reason why Catholics reverenced the office of the priest; for Catholics it knit fresh bonds between them and the clergy.

* Died at the house of Mr. Denis Madden, 116, Islington.

† He founded the St. Vincent de Paul Conference at St. Nicholas.

‡ To these should be added Father Nightingale, who died March 2nd, and Father Thomas Kelly, D.D., who died May 1st.

§ See Ushaw Magazine, June, 1895.

In the midst of these scenes of desolation the sad news arrived from Genoa that the great defender of the poor Irish, the brilliant advocate of Catholic claims, had given up his soul to God. The death of O'Connell added to the grief and suffering of the poor immigrants, whose confidence in his powers knew no bounds. It was announced in the "Tablet" that his body would pass through Liverpool on its way to mother earth, but the authorities, fearing an outbreak, induced his unintelligent son to alter the arrangements. Instead of coming to Liverpool from Southampton, the coffin passed through Chester, where it rested one night before the altar in the city of St. Werburgh, and on the 26th July, 1847, arrived in Birkenhead. The steamer "Duchess of Kent" lay in the Mersey, en route for Dublin. Its quarter-deck was covered with an immense black canopy, under which the coffin was placed, surrounded by lighted tapers, and covered with a pall still in the possession of the Benedictines at St. Mary's. To relieve the poignant feelings of the Irish multitudes they were allowed in relays to board the steamer and kneel for a few moments before the remains of the "Liberator." The evening before, the body of the O'Conor Don, M.P., lay in similar state ere it passed down the swiftly flowing waters of the Mersey to the land from whence he sprang. By November the tide of immigration began to slacken, and the black cloud of death and disease became less heavy and sombre. As the months rolled on, every quarter of the town had suffered, and, excluding those who had succumbed, sixty thousand of the inhabitants had suffered from fever and forty thousand from diarrhœa or dysentery.*

The year 1848 opened with a great improvement in the death-rate from "Irish fever," but scarlatina and influenza now began to play havoc with the juvenile population. The deaths from fever during 1848 had fallen to 989; scarlatina claimed 1,516, and other zymotic diseases accounted for 4,350.† From January, 1848, to April, 1849, 1,786 fatal cases of scarlatina occurred with children under 15 years of age, and when, in 1849, the horrors of Asiatic cholera were superadded, out of 5,245 deaths 1,510 cases were those of the same tender years, not including the 1,059 carried off by dysentery.† The importance of these figures from the point of view of Catholic Liverpool is that seven-eighths of the dead‡ were Irish; famine at home being exchanged for death abroad.

There were then in Vauxhall Ward, to take only one part of the typical Irish quarters, 27 streets, 226 courts, and 153

* Dr. Duncan's Report, page 18.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

cellars. In the street houses 6,888 persons found a shelter, and in the courts, exclusive of the cellars, 6,148; or, as the Rev. Dr. Cahill put it, they crowded the desolate garret, the putrid cellar, and the filthy lane. In normal days in this district and Scotland Ward the deaths were in the ratio of one to fourteen of the residents as compared with one to thirty-eight in Rodney and Abercromby wards. According to a census taken by a well-known Anglican clergyman, Canon Hume, who made a house-to-house visit, there were 3,128 children between the ages of three and a half and twelve without the slightest school accommodation, and if we include those up to fourteen years of age, at least one thousand more must be added to the number. "Crime," as the word was then used, had begun to increase. In 1845 there were 3,889 cases; in 1846, 4,740; in 1847, 6,510, in 1848, 7,714; and in 1849, 6,702. The cause we have already indicated. Mr. W. Rathbone, at a meeting to raise funds, declared that it was the Irish landlords and not the people who ought to have been forcibly immigrated. Mr. Rushton, in his report to the Home Secretary, dated April 21, 1849, gives his view of the increase in "crime." "I saw from day to day the poor Irish popula-" tion forced upon us in a state of wretchedness which cannot " be described. Within *twelve hours* after they landed they " would be found among one of three classes, paupers, vagrants, " or thieves. Few became claimants for parochial relief, for " in that case they would be discovered and might be sent back " to Ireland. The truth is that gaols, such as the gaol of the " borough of Liverpool, afford the wretched and unfortunate " Irish better food, shelter, and raiment, and more cleanliness " than, it is to be feared, many of them ever experienced " elsewhere; hence, it constantly happens that Irish vagrants " who have offered them the choice of being sent back to " Ireland or to gaol in a great many cases desire to go to " prison." This awful picture was confirmed by the Prison Commissioners in the same year, who speak of "the intensity " of the distress, and the vast immigration of Irish paupers " who commit petty offences in order to be sent to prison. At " the time of our visit to the gaol more than one-third of the " males were of this description, and more than half of the " females." Here are two official statements as to the origin of "Irish crime," to be aggravated as the succeeding years rolled on by the same causes, poverty, overcrowding, casual employment, and the natural consequence of all three, excess in drink. Compare these figures with the annual report furnished to the justices by the Anglican Chaplain of the gaol. In the year 1841 there were 201 prisoners committed to the

Assizes for serious crime, 35 being Catholics; committed to the Sessions for less serious crimes 317, 66 being Catholics. The Courts of Summary Jurisdiction or Police Courts committed 1,541, the Catholics numbering 486. From a population numbering a third* of the whole these figures show no sign of "Catholic crime" being in undue proportion; decidedly the reverse, especially in the Assize and Sessions cases. For the year 1842, 41 Catholics were sent from the Assizes out of a total of 185; from the Sessions 100 out of 472, and from the Police Courts 513 out of 1,536. During the year 1843, 1,410 prisoners were sent to Kirkdale Gaol; 78 Dissenters, 280 Catholics, and 1,036 Protestants. Crime began with the poverty of the victims of the great famine, and was due to causes over which they had little control. Their children were the greatest sufferers, the inheritors of a sad past. The want of schools was the main cause, for, as Father Nugent wrote sixteen years later in his first report to the justices, "education is not an absolute preservative against "crime, yet it must always be an incalculable advantage "towards gaining an honest livelihood, and making a position "in a town like Liverpool."† The children's story has yet to be told.

The Corporation now plunged headlong into the work of sanitary reform, and blundered badly. The solution of the whole question lay, according to their notion of things, in closing insanitary cellars. From 1847 to 1849 they ejected 25,015 persons who dwelt in cellars, a desirable course to pursue provided they offered better surroundings or knew that private enterprise would supply them. One result did accrue, which was to overcrowd still more the houses already too fully occupied.‡ Tenement houses have been Liverpool's second greatest curse, the fruitful cause of intemperance amongst women and even worse evils. Local authorities had not then the powers obtained thirty years later, and on that score the Liverpool Town Council was not entirely blameworthy. It was, however, unsympathetic, short-sighted, indifferent.

A general election was fought in the month of September, 1847; Free Trade and Education being the two main issues. Cobden had made certain the victory of one issue; the other was in its usual condition of glorious uncertainty. One hundred thousand pounds had been set aside by

* See Mr. Edward Bretherton's reply to Lord Sandon, who, in a speech in the House of Commons said Catholics were one-fourth. 1843.

† Annual Police Report, October 26th, 1864.

‡ See Dr. Duncan's report. He appealed to his committee to proceed cautiously in the evictions.

Parliament for the purpose of assisting elementary education, and it appeared practically agreed that the Catholics would be excluded from any direct participation in the distribution. The "Liverpool Mercury" urged Catholics to fight; "a tame "acquiescence now would add to the difficulty and delay of an "act of justice, which Her Majesty's Government propose to "postpone to some future and more convenient opportunity." The vigorous agitation conducted by the Catholic body did secure such an alteration, though, as was stated by the Hon. Chas. Langdale, of the Catholic Poor School Committee, it would be necessary to raise twenty thousand pounds in order to secure a grant of ten thousand. Liverpool took the lead in the struggle which brought about the change, inaugurating the campaign at a Catholic demonstration at the Music Hall, Bold Street. They were encouraged in the fight by the prospect of being able to remove from the streets hundreds, nay, thousands of Catholic children. The Church must carry out her Divine mission, though pestilence stalked the streets. The Liverpool election gave the Catholic body an opportunity of demonstrating its feeling upon this point, and it is not without interest to note that all its leaders were Free Traders and at the same time ardent Catholic educationalists. How to reconcile both views with a view to a solid vote at the poll was as difficult then as now, coupled with great anxiety as to the necessity of not injuring the friendly Liberals of the town. Sir Thomas Birch and Mr. Cardwell were the Liberal Free Trade candidates. Lord John Manners stood boldly for Protection and the Corn Laws. Fortunately, a fourth candidate appeared on the scene in the person of Sir Digby Mackworth, an uncompromising Orange zealot. His main plank was the repeal of the Emancipation Act, and the exclusion of Catholics from all public offices. With such views, harmonising as they did with the words and acts of local Toryism, his success was regarded as a certainty; how to prevent it was the aim of the Catholic leaders. A meeting in the Concert Hall was convened by Sir Arnold Knight, Messrs. Sheil, Yates, Hore, and Gillow, and was specially addressed by Mr. Vaughan,* of Courtfield, head of the famous family which has given so many of its sons to the highest offices in the Church. It was resolved, on the motion of Mr. E. Bretherton, seconded by Dr. McCarron, "That the speeches and address of "Sir Digby Mackworth prove him to be deplorably ignorant "on all subjects of commercial importance; that the false and "bigoted opinions he entertains respecting the Catholic "religion are unworthy of the present age, and insulting to

* Father of the future Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

"the good feelings of the enlightened constituency of Liver-
"pool, and this meeting pledges itself to use every means to
"defeat him, being convinced that he is a most unworthy
"person to represent Liverpool in Parliament." How to secure this desirable end was not so clear, and the means employed proved that the electioneering strategy of the Catholic advisers was quite equal to the successful tactics of a later generation of Irish politicians. It was decided, on the suggestion of Sir Arnold Knight, "that the Catholic electors
"be most earnestly requested not to vote until after one o'clock
"p.m. on the day of election, and, should Sir Digby Mackworth
"be first, second or third on the poll, they are requested to vote
"for the two candidates that may be highest. If Sir Digby be
"last on the poll, the Catholic electors will judge for themselves
"which of the three candidates they will support." This policy proved a complete success. Open voting was then the law, and as the polling results were announced hourly it was a simple matter to ascertain the position of each candidate, and so make it easy to decide in a two-membered constituency for whom to vote in order to keep out a third or fourth candidate. The Liberals carried both seats. Cardwell, 5,581; Birch, 4,482; Mackworth, 4,089; Manners, 2,413. Twelve hundred Catholic votes cast for both Liberals after one p.m. disposed of Mackworth's chances, to the chagrin of the Tories, who practically deserted Manners and Protection for Mackworth and No Popery.

Irish political questions then assumed an acute phase in Ireland, and did not tend to make the position of the poor Irish in Liverpool more secure. The insurrection of 1848 created a feeling of resentment against Irishmen generally, and was accentuated by several arrests in Liverpool of prominent Confederates, as they were called, for aiding the revolutionary movement at home. Indeed, so panic-stricken were the authorities that 3,000 special constables were sworn in to prevent an imaginary rising in Liverpool on St. Patrick's Day, 1848. The clergy were in a difficult position. Father Bernard O'Reilly, St. Patrick's, was unceasing in his denunciations of secret societies, which had no real existence in Liverpool, and, on the other hand, had repeatedly to lead his people out into Park Place to defend the church from Orange attacks. Again and again, with ladders and ropes, the Orangemen of Toxteth sought to pull down the statue which stands outside the western wall, and were as often defeated by the skilful tactics of the future Bishop. The insurrection in Italy, directed against Papal rule of the "patrimony of St. Peter," aroused bitter feelings on both sides, and but for the consummate tact

of the clergy, bloodshed would have followed in the wake of famine and disease. There is no gainsaying the fact that Irish political troubles were hindering the progress of the Church, as even the moderate English residents of the town confused then, as now, Catholicism with Irish political aspirations.

The clergy and the leading laymen realised the seriousness of the situation, and devoted all their energies to the practical needs of more churches and schools for the survivors of the new army of invasion.

In November, 1847, to the deep regret of most of the laity, the Vicars Apostolic decided to take from the Catholic Institute of Great Britain the supervision of child education, with the result that that fine organisation was broken up and its funds handed over to their lordships. Out of this change came the Catholic Poor School Committee, to which the various vicariates were invited to send representatives. The Rev. Dr. Youens,* Mr. Chas. Towneley, and Mr. Weld Blundell were selected to represent Lancashire. A deputation from the new committee visited Liverpool to confer with the clergy and laity as to the means to be adopted to provide school accommodation. At the public meeting held in St. Nicholas', it was clearly shown that Liverpool was in a much worse state than any other town in the kingdom, owing to the immense immigration. The result of this conference was an address to the Privy Council setting forth the claims of Liverpool Catholics for grants towards the provision of additional schools. Mr. Nasmyth Stokes,† Secretary of the Catholic School Committee, drew up the memorial, in the course of which he says: "I have been "asked to request your favourable consideration for St. Mary's. "The congregation is represented to be the poorest Irish con- "gregation in Liverpool, containing thousands of poor "children. The managers are anxious to place the girls' school "under Government inspection, and to obtain pupil teachers." He next proceeds to give the number of baptisms in St. Mary's, to prove the crowded condition of the ancient parish. Out of a total of 9,906 baptisms in every church and chapel of every denomination in the Parish of Liverpool, 1,196 were performed in St. Mary's, while in the town itself, out of 11,516, 2,015 were Catholic baptisms, and these figures did *not* include the parishes of St. Anthony's or St. Joseph's, so that at the very lowest estimate one-fourth of the children born in 1847 were of Catholic parentage. A conference was also held in the Catholic Club, at which the inspector urged the Catholics to put their schools in such repair as to secure the small grants

* He died on June 2nd, 1848, from a fever contracted while on a holiday.
† Appointed H.M. Inspector of Catholic Schools in 1853.

then available. To show his personal appreciation of the work done for fifty years by the Hibernian Schools, under the guidance of the Rathbones, Holts, and Hornbys, Father Mathew paid a special visit in 1849, and addressed the children. A report from the Gaol Chaplain, calling attention to the awful fact that there were in Kirkdale Gaol 144 boys and girls of tender years, induced Mr. George Holt to make an earnest appeal to the Corporation to remove the restrictions which prevented the attendance of Catholic children at Council schools. Purely secular education, he urged, would be better than running the streets, but the Church party refused to stir one inch from their former attitude; only five votes being recorded for Mr. Holt's motion. The "Athenæum" published a severe attack on the majority, declaring the debate was "painful and humiliating to read," at a time when "thousands "were prowling about the docks and streets in a complete state "of mental and moral destitution." This mistaken policy of the leaders of the Established Church cost them the support and sympathy of the Catholics of Liverpool, when, in later years, they in turn found themselves attacked on the same point. From that hour was handed down the tradition that the real enemy of religious toleration was not the militant Nonconformist, but the strongly-entrenched Anglican.*

On the 23rd January, 1848, the temporary chapel in Blundell Street was abandoned, and a shed 90 feet by 30, in Norfolk Street, was fitted up to make more provision for the 7,500 Catholics in St. Vincent's district, not one-fifth of whom could be provided for.†

The Benedictines at St. Mary's were absolutely unable to cope with the tens of thousands living in hovels in the district east and north of their church in Edmund Street, which, as we have read, was the "poorest Irish congregation in the "town." In a shippon in Standish Street, a priest came on Sunday mornings to celebrate Mass, and here the teeming thousands were quite unable to get inside. It was due to Father Thomas Newsham, of St. Anthony's, that this provision was made. A Liverpool Catholic, Mr. Samuel Holland Moreton, generously provided a temporary building, which enabled six hundred persons to hear Mass on the upper storey, and two hundred children to receive instruction during the week on the ground floor. On the 25th March, 1849, the temporary building was opened, and Holy Cross Mission began. Many years afterwards Father Nugent, who preached on the

* It explains also the want of cohesion between the two bodies in the Education war now going on.

† Rev. John Kelly, Life of Bishop O'Reilly.

opening day, said that the sight of the neglected children crowding into the temporary school caused him to conceive the necessity for the introduction of the great teaching order—the Nuns of Notre Dame. It was observed by a Liverpool newspaper that the opening ceremony on Lady Day was attended by "men and women whose appearance denoted "extreme poverty." The worthy Rector of St. Anthony's, having secured some provision for the poor of this district, now turned his attention to the riverside or western district of his own parish. It was the same story; thousands of Irish immigrants living in abject poverty. No school, no church. With great courage, animated solely by an ardent zeal for souls, he purchased "a clay* pit," and began the erection of a church dedicated to St. Alban. His troubles were not merely financial; frequent strikes took place; indignation meetings of the labourers and artisans held denouncing the contractors who were erecting the chapel, accompanied by frequent deputations to Father Newsham, whose decision on every point was accepted as final. At length, on August 19, 1849, the church was opened by Bishop Brown; a mere shell, as the first priest in charge, Father Thomas Kelly, found it. "The most that "could be said of the church was that its walls were standing"; the windows were not all in, nor the doors hung, and the tower only half built.* It was all that could be done for the House of God by its charitable founder, who also busied himself to enable the poor crowded around Eldon Street and Vauxhall Road to hear Mass.

St. Francis Xavier's was opened on December 4, 1848, by Bishop Brown, who also sang the High Mass on the following Sunday. Then followed another edifice to relieve still further the pressure on St. Mary's accommodation. On February 15, 1848, a meeting was held in St. Mary's Schoolroom, with the object of raising a memorial, which would be both lasting and useful, to the memory of those monks of St. Benedict who had given up their lives the preceding year. Dr. Murphy presided, and, on the motion of Mr. J. Neale Lomax, a man destined to be of great service to the poor Catholics of the town, it was decided to erect a memorial church at the northern side of the parish. A warehouse was bought at the corner of Great Howard Street and Chadwick Street, and at a meeting held October 12, within its walls, presided over by Father Wilkinson, O.S.B., the decision was ratified to commemorate "the late lamented priests of St. Mary's, Fathers "Fisher, Dale, and Gilbert, to whom this part of the town is "already consecrated by their apostolic labours and the

* Catholic Annual.

"sacrifice of their lives." It was announced that £367 had been subscribed, and a wooden model of the proposed church was exhibited. On the 9th September, 1849, the martyrs' church, dedicated to St. Augustine, was opened by Bishops Sharples and Morris, as a chapel of ease to St. Mary's, and, owing to the continued tide of Irish immigrants, became at once the centre of an immense district. Father Fisher was not one of the priests who died from fever, but he well deserved that his memory should be perpetuated, having served at St. Mary's from 1802 until April 12, 1847, when he departed this life at the advanced age of eighty years.

CHAPTER V.

In the month of September, 1850, Pope Pius the Ninth restored the English Hierarchy, Dr. Brown signing his name as "George, Bishop of Liverpool," for the first time on Sunday, November 3rd. Six days later, as soon as the new Mayor had been installed, the Town Council passed a resolution against "the recent assumption of authority and power in this "kingdom by a foreign potentate." A petition to the Mayor was signed requesting him to summon a town's meeting on November 20th to further protest against "Papal aggression." Catholics wisely refused to bow before the storm. Fathers Worthy and Walmsley, and Mr. Richard Sheil, attended the meeting and spoke in turn against the motions proposed, expressing their amazement that the people of Liverpool could really believe any harm had been done because Dr. Brown had changed his signature from "George, Bishop of Tloa," to "George, Bishop of Liverpool." It was a courageous act to face such a hostile meeting, and their temperate speeches did much to quell the fury of their opponents. In a weak moment the Government introduced that absurd measure known as the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, to which the Catholics of the town responded by the greatest public meeting yet held by them in condemnation of the measure, Mr. Thomas Weld-Blundell presiding. The Orange section replied in turn by a brutal attack on the well-known Passionist, Father Ignatius, better known to Englishmen as the Honourable and Rev. George Spencer,* as he was quietly walking past St. Patrick's, and by renewed attacks on that building. The elections of 1852 showed that the Catholics were not prepared to submit to these insults, even though they ran the risk of offending their Liberal allies. As in 1847, they were prepared to set Free Trade on one side to defeat Sir Digby Mackworth, they now resolved to prevent the re-election of one of the retiring Liberal members for the town, Sir Thomas Birch, because he had voted for Lord Russell's foolish Bill. They displayed no temper, and went about the work in a calm, dignified spirit. Mr. Richard Sheil took the chair at a meeting of the Catholic Registration Committee in the rooms of that body, Houghton Street, at which the following resolution was adopted:—"That this

* He resigned a rectory worth £2,000 per annum to become a Catholic His nephew, Earl Spencer, was twice Viceroy of Ireland.

"meeting sincerely deprecates the resolution of a part of the "Liberal party to bring forward Sir Thomas Birch, which "resolution is highly offensive to Catholics, and calculated to "ensure his defeat." Placards were posted on the walls urging the Catholic electors not to pledge their support to any candidate, but to await developments, and representations were made to Mr. Rathbone that it was advisable, in the best interests of Free Trade, to withdraw the invitation to Sir Thomas Birch. Another public meeting was held in the Music Hall, Bold Street, attended by Sir Arnold Knight, Messrs. Yates, Sheil, Bretherton, Hore, Gillow, Cafferata, Lynch, and Kearney, at which a letter from Mr. Rathbone was read, regretting that Sir Thomas had not given satisfaction to the Catholic voters. The meeting decided "that they were sorry "the Liberals had resolved on compromising the Free Trade "position, but could not support Sir Thomas at the poll." Eventually Mr. J. C. Ewart was selected as the second Liberal candidate. McNeill stepped in and successfully turned the issue before the town into one of approbation of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, both Liberals being defeated. The corruption and bribery which secured McNeill's triumph were so flagrant that the successful candidates were unseated on petition, and on a new writ being issued the Liberals triumphed, Mr. Bramley Moore being badly beaten.

On the 26th September, 1851, his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam preached at St. Nicholas', in aid of the schools. He was accompanied by Archbishop Cullen. The Tory journals demanded the prosecution of Dr. MacHale, for signing himself "John, Archbishop of Tuam," but even at this time of keen excitement the proposal was covered with ridicule and abandoned. Both prelates were on their way to London to consult with Cardinal Wiseman, and it is noteworthy that they selected Father James Nugent, then stationed at the Pro-Cathedral, to accompany them. The tension of religious feeling was relieved by two huge jokes, in one of which the head of the Theological College, Birkenhead, and in the other Mr. Michael James Whitty, formerly Head Constable, and now founder and editor of the "Daily Post," figured. The unconscious humour of a clerical firebrand in one instance deserves first place. An announcement appeared in the advertising columns of the "Mercury" that an ex-curate of the Rev. Dr. Hook, of Leeds, would preach in St. Werburga's Church, Birkenhead, in aid of the schools attached to that mission. It was a simple announcement, such as had appeared many times in the Liverpool journals, and outside the Catholics, to whom it was specially addressed, very few, if any, of the citizens took any notice of

it. Not so the Rev. Joseph Baylee, M.A., principal of the College, afterwards St. Aidan's, Birkenhead. He caused posters to be placed on every hoarding in Birkenhead, with the following address to his townsmen:—"An announcement "having been made that the late Protestant curate of Dr. "Hook, Leeds, is to preach at the Catholic Chapel of St. "Werburga, I am reluctantly compelled to make this public "protest against an assumption which has no real foundation. "The building referred to is only a Romanist place of worship, "and has no claim to be a Catholic church. Its priests have no "authority in this parish; they do not preach the word of God "as set forth in His Holy Word, and in the teaching of the "ancient Catholic Church. They are, therefore, schismatics, "and teach heresies. As Christ's minister lawfully appointed "towards you, I subscribe myself in great truth, Joseph "Baylee, priest of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church." This ex-cathedra announcement from the self-appointed curator of the souls of all men within the boundaries of Birkenhead, created immense amusement, espècially as the clerical writer annoyed his "Protestant" friends by his assumption of authority. It served the purpose of filling the "Romanist "place of worship," and of affording cheap amusement to Catholics on both sides of the river.

The other joke was the committal of a Catholic editor to Lancaster Gaol in defence of the liberty of the Press, against the tyranny and shallow justice of a local County Court Judge. Many a Catholic had found his way to Lancaster; some had found graves there, in consequence of their faith, and this historic fact gave additional interest to Mr. Whitty's incarceration for a much less serious cause.

Judge William Ramshay, in the course of a trivial case, made some sarcastic comments on the people of the town. Mr. Whitty caused the words, "Mr. Ramshay's opinion of the "people of Liverpool," to appear on the placard of the "Daily "Post" on the following day. A grim humorist on the staff placed one of these bills in the neighbourhood of the County Court, so that it might catch "his Honour's" eye. It did. Without more ado he delivered himself of a violent harangue in the Court, ordered the arrest of Mr. Whitty and his son, and in default of payment of a fine of fifteen pounds, committed the former to Lancaster. His Honour went further, and threatened to send every journalist in the town to bear him company. Mr. Whitty's counsel did not improve the temper of the new Daniel by coolly suggesting that Mr. Whitty, junr., would have been justified in shooting the bailiffs of the Court who arrested him in his office. Escorted to Lime Street Station

by an immense crowd, Mr. Whitty set out for Lancaster, and a deputation of leading citizens proceeded to London to demand the removal of Judge Ramshay. In a few hours two thousand signatures of merchants, public men, and journalists were affixed to a petition to the Home Secretary backing up the demand, and next day, to save Mr. Whitty any further inconvenience, Mr. Robertson Gladstone induced Mr. J. R. Jeffrey to pay the fine. An enquiry was held at Preston, conducted by the Earl of Carlisle, and after a nine days' trial the Judge was dismissed, and condemned to pay the costs, which amounted to £1,800. Mr. John Rosson, himself a lawyer, publicly characterised Mr. Ramshay's defence as an "olla podrida of "piracies from Erskine, Curran, Sheil, Brougham, and "O'Connell." This distinguished Catholic layman about this time received a commission from the Spanish Government to visit Galway and make a report as to the character of the former commercial relations between the Citie of the Tribes and Spain, from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries.

The provision of schools was the one great all-absorbing task which the Catholic body set itself to achieve in the early fifties. The Jesuits had completed the new altar and chancel at St. Francis Xavier's, which were solemnly blessed on the 18th October, 1851, by the Right Rev. Dr. Canoz, Vicar-Apostolic of Madeira, who preached in French. Having begun the further beautifying of the church by the erection of the chancel screen and stone pulpit, under the direction of Father O'Carroll, they proceeded to erect new schools in Haigh Street. On August 15th, 1853, the first stone was laid by Mr. Richard Sheil, in the presence of the Bishop, and on Sunday afternoon, October 23rd, 1854, the schools were formally opened. At Easter, 1853, Father O'Carroll called at Mount Vernon to request the Sisters of Mercy to take charge of the new schools. From a letter written by the nun who was placed in charge, we learn that at 3 p.m. on the date of opening Sister Mary Stanislaus MacQuoin, who was to take charge of the infants, accompanied her Superioress to Haigh Street, when Father O'Carroll's emotion quite overcome him, now that the dearest wish of his heart had been accomplished, and the poor children of the parish had at length been provided with the means of religious and secular instruction.

In a series of letters written by Father Ignatius Grant, S.J.,* who was stationed at St. Francis Xavier's at that period, there will be found a vivid character sketch of the founder of the schools. The following extract from one of these epistles gives some idea of this fine Irish Jesuit, and incidentally of

* See Xaverian, May, 1889.

two of the merchants to whom Catholic Liverpool owed much for their great charity:—"It was St. Joseph's Day. We began "by an attack on Mr. Edward Chaloner, after a long walk the "whole length of the docks. It was a mahogany sale day, and "there was luncheon. All were in good spirits. As we were "leaving the office, Mr. Chaloner, with his quaint irony and "amusing good nature, said: 'I think, Father O'Carroll, yours "'is a tell-tale face to-day. I think you came a-begging, and "'you have not had the courage to say so. Eh? Yours is an "'expressive countenance, but it can't explain itself away.' "'Well, Mr. Chaloner, I did indeed intend to ask for a little "'help for my Poor School, but I know you have been very well "'bled last week. 'Never mind that, there is still a little left. "'Here, Cashier, let these gentlemen have five pounds each. "'Good morning, and pray for me.'

"We passed on to the office of Mr. John Browne, of "Wavertree, and I must confess that my heart sank within me "as we saw the retreating forms of Father Nugent and Father "Kelly, of St. Alban's, as we approached. Father O'Carroll "was for going home. 'Passons outre,' he said. I demurred, "and said, 'Sink or swim, I will tell Mr. Brown my wants in "'honour of St. Joseph!' Mr. Brown began by telling us, "'You are late in the field, for two very comely nuns from "'Blackburn have preceded those priests, and it was impossible "'to say them nay. But, Father Grant, as you are putting up "'gas, you will want pedestals. Will the mast of a ship be of "'any use to you? I will give you that.' 'It is quite invalu-"'able, and perhaps you will add to the favour by allowing "'the mast to be cut up by your eighteen feet saw?' "'Not only that,' said he, 'but send me the dimen-"'sions and measurements of your pillars, and I will "'have them turned for you, and delivered at St. "'Francis Xavier's.'" Comment is needless on these incidents. They represent the daily and perhaps not so successful toil of the clergy in the struggle with debt on a poor mission. Referring again to the new schools, a Sister of Mercy wrote,* "I well remember the Lightbounds, Gillows, Tiernans, "Roskells, Verdons, and Coopers as being amongst the most "forward in promising their aid and active co-operation on "that day, a promise that they each and all nobly fulfilled "during the seventeen years I continued in charge of the "schools."

"When the school opened next morning 300 girls and 100 "infants were enrolled; but, alas! hundreds had to be refused "admittance for want of room. The saintly founder, realising

* See Xaverian, October, 1859.

" how inadequate the accommodation was, enlarged the " premises, and built a room over the infants' school, and one " adjoining it over the offices. It was then that the hanging " stone staircase was made, which at the time excited great " admiration. Before the new rooms were opened, anxiety and " fatigue having greatly reduced Father O'Carroll's strength, " he was called to his reward."* From this interesting and charmingly-written letter we glean that even then the schools could not provide for all who sought to gain admission, and two houses had to be hired " in the terrace opposite," to supply the demand for school places. Sister Mary Stanislaus remained in charge until May, 1871, the long term of thirty-seven years. It is not without interest to Liverpool men that one of the earliest appearances of Mr. Charles Santley,† the great baritone, was at a concert to raise funds for the schools in Haigh Street.

St. Nicholas' clergy undertook the provision of new schools in Copperas Hill, designed by Mr. McGrath, a local Catholic architect. Both clergy and laity worked with a will. " It will " not, perhaps, be thought a mark of presumption," wrote His Majesty's Inspector to the Privy Council, in his report for the year 1852, " if I take the liberty of expressing my admiration " at the rare zeal and intelligence with which the Catholic " clergy and laity of Liverpool co-operate in this and similar " works. I have had no greater consolation in the labours of " my office than that which I owe to these gentlemen, with " whom it has been my privilege to be associated, and the " success of whose generous labours I have now the satisfaction " of recording."‡ The moving spirit in the erection of schools as well as churches was Father Thomas Newsham, Rector of St. Anthony's, to whom a special compliment is paid in the report referred to, " as a gentleman to whom the progress of " popular education in Liverpool owes a great deal." He founded the schools of St. Hilda, in Blackstock Street, to accommodate 750 children, and St. Helen, Eldon Street, for 500, and was especially successful in the selection of his teachers. The girls' side of the two schools mentioned, as well as St. Anthony's, were singled out year by year for special praise by the Inspectors. The report for 1852 says of St. Anthony's: " The managers,§ who have given the most ample " proofs of their deep interest in its progress and welfare, and " whose generous exertions in favour of elementary education

* He died from typhus fever, caught while in attendance on an Irish family in the parish.

† Sir Charles Santley.

‡ See Report, T. W. M Marshall, January, 1853.

§ Father Newsham and his brother priests.

" are not limited to this institution, may be congratulated upon " their good fortune in possessing the services of one of the most " accomplished and skilful teachers in this country."

Writing of the Eldon Street School, the Inspector makes a remarkable reference:—" I will beg leave to refer to a school " lately opened in the very heart of one of the most notoriously " corrupt and immoral districts in England, upon the state of " which an interesting pamphlet was published not long since " by a distinguished clergyman† of the Established Church. I " refer to a well-known spot in Liverpool, abandoned till " recently as the natural domain and appropriate receptacle of " the refuse of a great city. In the worst street in this locality, " in which amongst other centres of corruption were five " infamous houses, and where, as I am informed, even the " police ventured with reluctance, contenting themselves with a " glance down the street, a school of large dimensions and " excellent architectural character and arrangements was " erected during the course of last summer. The school was " committed by the founder, the Rev. Thomas Newsham, to " the care of a few religious ladies, all very young, but of whom " the Superior is probably one of the most sagacious and " accomplished teachers of our time. It was a mission of no " common difficulty and peril, but they who imposed the task " knew what they were about, and that the feeble hands to " which it was entrusted were able to contend with any form of " evil, however menacing and formidable, which could cross " their path. I visited the school about four months after its " operations had commenced. It then presented the aspect of " a long-established and highly-organised school, and the " deportment of the children, who were not only thoroughly " subdued and disciplined, but completely under the control " and influence of the teachers, was even unusually gentle and " pleasing." The Nuns who worked this extraordinary change were the Sisters of Notre Dame.

Indeed, the influence of the religious communities in forming character had, in the short space of two years, impressed the Education Authorities at Whitehall, who began to learn themselves, at the feet of the Nuns of the different religious communities, how instruction should be imparted. It speaks well of their desire to be instructed that they published the following report on the work done in the Catholic girls' schools in different parts of the country:—" Everyone knows " how much easier it is to instruct the children of the working " classes with skill, however obtuse and corrupt they may be " from previous neglect and evil associations, than to accomplish

† Canon Hume.

" those more delicate operations which properly belong to " *education*; and whoever has tried to civilise and refine rude " natures, to root out vile and long-indulged habits, to extin- " guish and replace wilfulness by docility, obstinacy by meek- " ness, restlessness by patience, and self-love by self-contempt, " has attempted a task which makes perhaps a larger demand " upon human wisdom and perseverance than any other. Yet " this is what is done, and upon a very large scale, in many of " the schools of which I have been speaking. . . . They are " the choice and especial fruits of the highest order of Christian " education, and for this reason they deserve to be recorded by " one whose province it is to notice and report whatever is most " characteristic in the facts which come under his observation."

This wonderful change was consequent upon the coming of the Nuns of Notre Dame from Namur. To Father James Nugent belongs the honour of introducing this fine teaching order to Liverpool. The beginning of their work was simple and uneventful, but there were not wanting severe critics of his action. " Among the clergy; men of age and experience, who " persuaded themselves that there was no room for the new- " comers; they would obtain no employment, no support, and " would speedily return defeated to Belgium."*

No greater or more lasting monument to Father Nugent's foresight, wisdom, and perseverance can be seen than the magnificent results which accrued, not only to Liverpool, but to Great Britain, from the presence of the Sisters of Notre Dame. On March 28, 1851, there arrived at 3, Islington Flags, four foreign Sisters—Sister Superior Mary Alphonsus de Ligouri, Sister Mary Albania, Sister Mary Ursula, and Sister Mary Eulalia. The following week they were joined by Sister Mary Anne and Sister Mary Francisca.

" I arrived in the morning," wrote Sister Superior, " with " Sister Mary Albania. I merely brought her with me to take " charge of St. Nicholas' Poor School, which was to commence, " Monday, 31 March. The Poor School at Copperas Hill was " one large room; a gallery at one end of it for the infants; " the other children were arranged in little square classes from " 20 to 30, each of these classes under the care of a pupil " teacher. We found great disorder prevailing throughout, as " there had been no regular mistress for some time." † Simple but telling words—the writer of them a foreigner in our midst, sowing the tiny seed soon to grow into a mighty tree. We read of her papering, with her own hands, the soiled walls of the small room in Islington Flags, which was to serve as the first

*Catholic Register, July 8th, 1881.
†English Foundations of the Sisters of Notre Dame.

chapel of the community—early evidence of her practical character. Less than two months after their arrival six hundred children were gathered together in the primitive school of St. Nicholas, with its square classes, and such a revolution had been effected that H.M. Inspector one year later was able to report that "it must be a source of great pleasure and consola-"tion to the managers to witness the complete success of their "wise and generous efforts to promote elementary education "within the district under their charge. . . . It is a "special character of institutions conducted by teachers of this "class, that the intellectual work they accomplish, however "valuable and effective, is uniformly accompanied by a more "precious moral and religious triumph, of which *they alone* "seem to possess the secret." On the Monday week after their arrival the Sisters began the work of Secondary Education for which they have achieved world-wide renown. They began with nine pupils, one of whom was destined to become a member of the Liverpool community,* and eight months later the numbers had increased to a little over thirty. Who can imagine now, gazing at the fine pile of buildings in Mount Pleasant, that they had such a simple beginning in an eight-roomed house on Islington Flags?

On October 4th of the same year the Sisters accepted the charge of the Falkner Street Girls' Orphanage, previously under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, Sister Alphonsus leaving her work in Islington to take up the new responsibility. She was succeeded by a remarkable woman, Sister Aimée de Jésus, who became Superior-General of the Congregation some years later. The first house in Mount Pleasant, "a large house with "a good garden," number 96, was purchased by Sister Aimée, thanks to the generosity of a remarkable member of the congregation of Notre Dame, better known as the Honourable Mrs. Petre. Her late husband was one of the founders of the Catholic Poor School Committee, and his enthusiasm for education was amply shared by his gifted wife. Shortly after the beginning of her widowhood, she sought admission to the ranks of the Notre Dame community at Namur, and as Sister Mary Francis attained to the dignity of Superioress. Her knowledge of English Catholic difficulties in providing schools and teachers was invaluable to the community which had undertaken the heavy responsibility of teaching in Liverpool and other centres under circumstances of great difficulty. The debt which the Catholics of England owe to this self-sacrificing, noble-hearted lady can never be repaid. In Mount Pleasant a middle school for girls, with some limited accommo-

* Miss Lomax, Sister Teresa of the Passion.

dation for boarders, was established, and developed daily until the eventful day when the Training College solved the problem of providing trained teachers for Catholic schools. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth inaugurated the pupil teacher system in 1846, and two years later, when Catholic schools became eligible for participation in the education grants, Mount Pleasant witnessed the establishment of the first Pupil Teachers' Centre, and from its foundation made its influence felt, not only on the students, but on the whole country, by reason of the excellent methods introduced and perfected by the Sisters of Notre Dame.

A quarter of a century later the leading educationalists of Liverpool, men of the stamp of Mr. S. G. Rathbone* and Mr. Christopher Bushell,† in seeking a model for the training of pupil teachers for Liverpool Board Schools, gratefully acknowledged and copied the methods pursued at Mount Pleasant as the most successful yet attempted in any part of the kingdom.

There was no training college for secular masters; November, 1851, being the earliest moment when a principal, Rev. John Melville Glenie, M.A., was appointed to the newly-founded College of St. Mary, Hammersmith. The Christian Brothers had not come under Government inspection in Liverpool at such an early date, because their rules forbade them to permit any outside interference with the methods approved of by their own Superior, and this led to an unfortunate difference of opinion between the clergy of St. Mary's and their congregation. The "Tablet" announced that the Rector desired to get rid of the Brothers in order that he might not only place St. Mary's under Government inspection, but secure the Privy Council grants for buildings and staff. These grants were liberal, including aid towards provision of new schools and teachers' houses of 10s. to 20s. per six square feet; two-thirds of the cost of requisite outlay for fittings; 9d. per child for books and maps triennially; stipends for monitors, rising from £10 for first year of service to £20 at the end of the fourth year. To pupil teachers who completed their five years' course with credit the Privy Council allowed £25 per annum for three years in payment for their services as assistants in schools taught by certificated teachers, and teachers could entitle themselves to annual augmentations of salary, varying from ten to thirty pounds. The conditions laid down were that all schools should be built in accordance with official requirements, and the property settled in permanent trust for Catholic education in form of deed "approved by the

* Second Chairman of the Liverpool School Board.
†First Chairman of the Liverpool School Board.

" Bishops "; to accept inspection, and several other conditions, such as the redemption of a certain amount of debt. These conditions prevailed in 1852 when the St. Mary's difficulty arose. Indignation meetings were held, and Father Sheridan was severely censured by the Irish portion of his flock. At a meeting held in the Catholic Club, Messrs. James Whitty, Livingstone, Curtin, and Berry guaranteed to pay annually the sum of money the school would lose by the retention of the Brothers. The offer was declined, and Father Sheridan's explanations were not accepted in view of the decision to retain the Brothers at Seel Street, St. Patrick's, and St. Nicholas'. Much soreness was caused at their removal, and for some time the Rector was the one unpopular figure among the clergy. The next school to be founded was SS. Thomas and William, Edgar Street, which was begun on June 29th, 1852; Father William Carter blessing the foundation-stone. Mr. Thomas Gillow,* formerly of Liverpool, but then a resident of Mexico, presented this fine school, designed by the celebrated architect, Mr. Hansom, to supply the needs of the densely-crowded area at the northern end of Vauxhall Ward.

In 1850 the Bishop handed the temporary church in Standish Street to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and they resolved to erect a school before spending a single farthing on a much-needed permanent church. Years afterwards Cardinal Manning paid them the compliment of saying that in so doing the Oblates " had acted with their traditional good sense." Neither schools were likely to receive grants, or, as it is put in the Privy Council Report, " additional accommodation is now " being provided for nearly 7,000 children, at a cost of about " £15,000, and of these only two will receive any assistance " from the grant administered by the Committee in Council. " Such a fact requires no comment; but it ought to be noticed " as indicating the spirit which has inspired these great works." In Holy Cross parish there were 2,500 children between the ages of four and fourteen for whom Father Noble, O.M.I., felt it incumbent upon him to provide adequate school accommodation. Both the Privy Council and the Catholic Poor School Committee had declined to render any assistance towards the maintenance of the school under the chapel, given by Mr. S. H. Moreton.† Provided new schools were built, the Government would make a grant of £750, and the Poor School Committee a donation of £200. The Oblate Fathers were in a

* Marquis of Selva Nevada, and father of Archbishop Gillow, of Oaxaca. He died at San Martin, Mexico, January, 1878.

† Mr. Moreton's gift—see sworn evidence of Canon Fisher, in 1870, in the trial, Goss v. Hill.

serious difficulty, out of which they could scarcely see their way. No help of any value could be expected from the poverty-stricken famine immigrants, who had not as yet shaken off the terrors of 1847. The proselytisers were busy in their midst. A ragged school had been opened in Hodson Street, a few hundred yards away from the chapel and school, and with liberal offers of food and clothing tempted the poor children to enter its doors. Some few did succumb to the temptation, and were promptly taught the necessity of abandoning the "errors "of Rome." Fathers Noble and Egan were compelled to resort to extreme measures against this ignoble method of snatching brands from the burning, or, as a humorous song put it, "damning their sowls for penny rowls, and flitches of hairy "bacon." Organising an open-air meeting in front of the Ragged School, they appealed to the people to withstand the temptation a little longer, pledging their word to provide new schools almost immediately. They then forced their way into the building, and bore away in triumph a number of Catholic children, on whose temporary "conversion" the proselytisers had spent a considerable sum of money. This exploit put new life and courage into the poor wretches who had daily to face the dreadful alternative of food and the Authorised Version, or hunger and the faith of their fathers. To redeem their promise was the aim of the Oblates. Organising a system of weekly collections of one penny, three hundred and fifty pounds were raised in less than a year, and on the 31st May, 1852, Father Noble had the great joy of laying the foundation-stone of the Fontenoy Street Schools. At this gathering Father James Nugent delivered an inspiring address, and made the announcement that the girls' department was to be placed under the supervision of a religious community, and predicted a glorious future for Catholic education in Liverpool under the care of the Nuns. This notable event was celebrated with great parochial rejoicings, in which the High Sheriff of Lancashire, Mr. S. Weld-Blundell, Mr. J. B. Aspinall,* and Mr. Allan Kaye, Sub-Sheriff, joined with great heartiness.

To solicit the aid of the charitable beyond the confines of the parish, Fathers Noble and Egan had organised a public meeting in the previous January, at the Music Hall, Bold Street, and before a large audience drew a graphic picture of the needs of their immense parish of 11,000 persons "in "the greatest possible distress." The result was so encouraging that Father Noble expressed his belief that when the schools were opened there would not be "a penny of debt" remaining. To build such fine schools in a poor district appeared to many

* A future Recorder of Liverpool.

to be "a palpable absurdity," to quote the words of their founder, but his enthusiasm for the poor children knew no bounds, and, finally, on the 14th November, 1853, the schools were opened by a meeting of praise and congratulation which the clergy of the town honoured by their presence, including the enthusiastic Father Nugent. On January 16, 1854, the children were assembled in the Church to hear Mass, and then proceeded in procession to the schools, headed by the clergy and followed by an immense crowd. Each class was formally received at the doors of the school by the Nuns and ceremoniously conducted to its own class-room. To aid the work of giving religious instruction to the boys, a new organisation of laymen was established in seven parishes. It was called the Christian Doctrine Society, and its members gave up their leisure on Sundays to teach the Catechism. With great foresight Father Noble had provided for the men of the parish a meeting place in Bispham Street, out of which developed a fine temperance organisation. Weekly meetings were held and addresses delivered, which did much to scotch the drink evil, the one deadly enemy now remaining to Catholic progress. The schools, as a matter of fact, though in an unfinished condition, were first used on Easter Monday, 1853, for a meeting of the temperance workers, who gathered to hear an address from Father Nugent, who had the distinction of being the first man to speak in Holy Cross Chapel and now in its schools. To draw his people to the evening services on Sundays, Father Noble inaugurated a curious practice, copied from the Jesuits in Rome. Two priests stood on a platform in the church; one assumed the role of a bad or indifferent Catholic, an infidel or a heretic, and from these points of view, as was arranged beforehand, defended his conduct or opinions against the attack of the other disputant.

It was an excellent device for affording much-needed instruction to the poor people on the doctrines and practices of the Church, and aroused much interest outside the parish because of its novelty.* In February, 1852, the Rev. Dr. Cahill preached a course of sermons in the chapel, and on one Sunday evening the gallery of the chapel partially collapsed owing to the crowds which gathered to hear the preacher, whose flamboyant pulpit style made him a very popular preacher for the people. A panic ensued. The police arrived on the scene and instead of helping to restore order, behaved so roughly that a riot ensued. An enquiry was held by the magistrates, and several officers of the force were dismissed. The "Tablet" stated that Mr. Dowling, the

* Il Dotto el L'ignorante. Still practised in the Gesù in Rome.

head constable, was also removed from his office for his share in the disturbance. He certainly did resign after an enquiry into "other circumstances" connected with the administration of the law, and from the speeches delivered by his friends in the Council, there seems to be some justification for the assertion of the journal founded by the brilliant Frederick Lucas. Holy Cross parish from the moment of its foundation began to make history.

Among his multifarious duties Father Noble* found time to hold the office of chairman of the Falkner Street refuge for orphan girls.

At St. Anne's, Edge Hill, after a preliminary meeting in the historic schoolroom in Seel Street, the Benedictines began the erection of new schools, and on the feast of St. Patrick, 1851, the first stone was blessed and laid by the Very Rev. Father Greenhough, O.S.B. The new buildings were designed at a cost of £2,000 to accommodate 850 children.

One of the needs of the early fifties was a Catholic newspaper. A small magazine called the "Catholic Vindicator" had been in existence for some years, which eventually collapsed, probably because of the very meagre news of Liverpool events which it published. Father Noble, O.M.I., Holy Cross, and Mr. John Rosson were the foremost figures in the movement for the establishment of a local paper. They summoned a meeting, which was held in July, 1851, Mr. Rosson presiding, and on the motion of Father Noble it was decided to found a paper and to avoid clashing of political interests, a committee was appointed, consisting of equal numbers of English and Irish laymen, who eventually founded a little weekly paper called "The Catholic Citizen."† Mr. McConvery, formerly of the "Belfast Vindicator," became the editor of the new venture. The Rev. Dr. Cahill travelled to Liverpool to assist the project, and an extract from his speech aptly illustrates his extraordinary platform utterances and his somewhat mixed political views. "Our liberties "are threatened, our Faith proscribed, and our race marked "out for social and political annihilation. By union alone "can we defeat the blow aimed at our ancient and national "records. I am influenced in the part I am taking by the "most decided feeling to preserve Irish allegiance to the "throne, and of stifling in its birth the furious and unmiti-"gated hatred and revenge which would necessarily burn in "the heart of every Irishman through all coming genera-"tions if the Whig Premier was applauded for burning the "Blessed Virgin and breaking the Crosier."

* Drowned in Leith Harbour.

† "Tablet," August 2nd, 1851.

Dr. Cahill did one great service by discouraging the St. Patrick's Day's annual parades, which had greatly degenerated in character and Catholic spirit.

Owing to failing health, Bishop Brown was not able to fulfil with his usual zeal the requirements of his sacred office. The appointment of a coadjutor Bishop, with the right of succession, was decided upon, and the choice fell upon Canon Goss, who was consecrated on September 25, 1852, at the Pro-Cathedral. The ceremony was performed by Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Grant, Bishop of Southwark, and Dr. Errington, Bishop of Plymouth. Bishop Turner, of Salford, and Bishop Brown, of Shrewsbury, also assisted. The sermon was preached by the convert Oratorian, Father Faber, and caused considerable commotion, it being generally interpreted as an attack on the religious orders and congregations. The preacher afterwards explained that such was not his intention, and that he had simply referred to the historical fact that the secular clergy came first, and the religious orders later in the history of the Church. Dr. Goss was a tall, handsome man, with a dignified and somewhat stately appearance. His sermons were of the vigorous order, and his platform speeches racy and sparkling. Speaking at a dinner at the Irish Catholic Club, the new bishop alluded to his alleged political views, and observed— "It has been urged against me that I "am too much of an Englishman, and a man of local feelings "and affections; I am, nevertheless, an Irishman at heart."

The higher education of Catholic youth was not lost sight of amidst the zeal displayed for elementary schools for the poor members of the community.

In 1851, Father Nugent and Father Worthy founded the Catholic Middle School in Rodney Street, its aim being to provide a liberal education in the arts.

Father Nugent organised a series of weekly public lectures by prominent Catholics in historical, literary and philosophical subjects, as well as forming an association among the elder boys to develop their latent capacity for public speaking. He was already displaying his wonderful power of organisation and that restless, unceasing energy which was ever seeking for new fields of useful work for his co-religionists, and the general welfare of the citizens. The Rodney Street School did not satisfy his desires; he therefore began the erection of a new building of more suitable character to take its place, one worthy of the Catholic body. He foresaw the need would arise for a well-educated Catholic laity, capable of taking a prominent part in the government of the city, and to hold high positions in its commercial and

industrial life. To this end a plot of land was bought in Hope Street, and on the 29th March, 1853, the corner stone was laid by Bishop Brown, who, addressing the founder said, "Esto perpetuum hoc aedificium;" to which Father Nugent replied "Spero." In the evening a demonstration was held in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, when a suitable address was delivered by the historian, Mr. T. W. Allies. At this meeting one of the speakers asserted that there were 12,000 Catholic children without school places, despite the strenuous efforts made during the previous three years. Father Nugent carried on his scheme of public lectures in connection with the Catholic Institute, as the new foundation was called, delivered in the Concert Hall, the new series being inaugurated by the ex-rector of Witham, Mr. K. Simpson, Oriel College, Oxford, his subject being an exposition of the principles of the Church regarding private judgment. The subject was well chosen, and was regarded as a reply to several addresses delivered by various Anglican clergymen of the Orange-Tory section, who had created much ill-feeling by using their text as a peg upon which to deliver a series of violent tirades against "Popery."

The Institute was opened by Cardinal Wiseman, on October 31st, 1853. He was accompanied by the Bishop-elect of Nottingham, Dr. Goss. On the evening before an enormous crowd of all classes and creeds assembled in the Philharmonic Hall to hear a lecture by the Cardinal, entitled "The highways of peaceful commerce are the highways of the Arts." The Liverpool "Mercury" published the lecture in next day's edition, the report occupying six columns. It was the first time that Liverpool saw a cardinal in the flesh, and most of the leading members of the Protestant community were attracted to hear the very beautiful and picturesque lecture which Cardinal Wiseman delivered, attired in his cardinal's robes. His visit was followed up by that of the great Oratorian, Dr. Henry Newman,* who delighted large audiences by his series of lectures on the Turks. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Cullen, also visited the town during the year, preaching at St. Patrick's in aid of the schools.

Catholicism was progressing beyond any doubt, and its leaders, clerical and lay, were deeply anxious to prevent even the possibility of arousing any outward display of hostility on the part of the lower section of the inhabitants. To this end, as St. Patrick's Day, 1852, approached, the clergy made a strenuous effort to ensure that the usual Irish procession

* Cardinal Newman.

should give no cause for any disturbance or reflect discredit to any degree on their religion. Earnest appeals to abstain from any indulgence in intoxicating liquors were made from every pulpit, and with such success, that the Recorder in his charge to the Grand Jury observed, "It was creditable to the "clergy for having advised, and to the people for having "followed the prudent course suggested. There was not a "single Irish person tipsy on that day, and he wished to see "English people follow the example set."

In 1853 large congregations assembled at the Church of St. Francis Xavier to hear one of the foremost preachers of the Society of Jesus, Father Sumner.* One evening the congregation were startled by the sound of angry voices outside, followed by volleys of stones driven through the windows. It was a demonstration of feeling on the part of the North End Orangemen, in favour of a Bill before Parliament for the inspection of convents, or, as it was actually printed, "A Bill to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty in "certain cases." This method of expressing public opinion on one side is not yet unknown in Salisbury Street. The indignation of Liverpool Catholics was easily aroused against such outrages, but they were kept in check by the clergy, who organised a number of meetings of protest against the Bill. Mr. Daniel Powell was the principal layman in leading and organising this series of meetings. Holding a prominent position in the corn trade, he was foremost in his support by purse and personal advice of the charities of the town under Catholic auspices. To wipe out the discredit of not having a single member of the Town Council to represent Catholics, he was invited to stand for Vauxhall Ward in November, 1853, but was defeated by seven votes. The Tory duplicate voters came into Vauxhall to vote, in preference to voting elsewhere, to maintain the "Protestant" character of the municipal council.

The Catholics of Liverpool seemed to be destined to be ever dissipating their energies in political strife—to be constantly torn away from the great works of charity to defend the privileges won by hard fighting.

In February, 1854, Lord John Russell made amends for his Ecclesiastical Titles Bill by introducing a Bill into Par-

* His voice was threatened by a painful disease, and before the Court of Enquiry, appointed by Cardinal Manning, into the Beatification of the English Martyrs, he attested the miracle worked in his favour by the "Holy Hand," relic of Blessed Edmund Arrowsmith, preserved in St. Oswald's, Ashton-in-Makerfield—see Xaverian.

† Father of the late Dean Powell, Birchley, and of the late Father E. Powell.

liament to relieve Catholics and Dissenters from the unpleasant necessity of subscribing to certain oaths, contrary to their conscientious views or convictions. Ever on the watch to maintain a one-sided Protestant ascendancy, the ultra-Protestant Tories of Liverpool compelled the Mayor of the town to summon a Town's meeting, with a view to passing a resolution against the proposed measure. The meeting was duly summoned, and it was proposed—"That in the "opinion of this meeting, the measure of Lord John Russell "for the abolition of the oaths at present taken by Members "of Parliament, and the substitution of a new oath, involves "a new and serious innovation in the Protestant character "of the Constitution." Dr. Hugh McNeill was one of the weightiest speakers on the side of this motion. Somehow both he and his supporters disregarded the just claim of the Nonconformist bodies to represent Protestantism in its broadest and truest aspect, an attitude so characteristic of these gentlemen that a messenger from Mars would be driven to believe that every dissenting chapel was served by a Jesuit in disguise. The noble, broad-minded Liberal leader, who had often saved the fair name of his native town by his courageous intervention at critical periods, promptly rose and moved as an amendment to the proposition submitted—"That the maintenance of neither the religious nor political "institutions of the country depended upon the administra-"tion of oaths or religious tests."

At the same moment a large Conservative meeting was going on in the Amphitheatre, Mr. Charles Bushell in the chair. This gathering was organised in the belief that the Mayor would adjourn the Town's meeting in the Sessions House, and to make sure that neither meeting would pass an obnoxious or adverse motion, Father Noble, of Holy Cross, marched to the Amphitheatre at the head of his parishioners. Having upset the intention of the Tories there, he led his followers to the Sessions House just in time to carry Rathbone's amendment. The debate lasted all afternoon, the Mayor, Mr. J. B. Lloyd, displaying gross partisanship in his management of the meeting. The great bulk of the citizens were out of sympathy with the object of the meeting, but by their abstention they gave a chance to the ultra-Protestants to carry a motion which did not reflect their opinions. Messrs. J. B. Aspinall, John Yates, Jas. Whitty, R. Sheil and C. J. Corbally faced the angry mob in the Sessions House, and backed by the political genius of the courageous Oblate Father, saved Liverpool from the discredit of being, officially at least, against Lord Russell's Bill. In the month

of May, owing to the tactics of Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, who for political reasons opposed the Bill, it was lost by four votes. To keep up the agitation, the Liverpool "Standard," one of the Tory organs, made serious allegations against the morality of the priesthood, including the specific charge of "consorting "with the most abandoned characters, and with hardly the "decency to conceal *his* atrocious conduct." Bishop Brown entered the lists at once against the traducer. Instructed by him, Mr. John Yates, in his capacity as a solicitor, demanded from the editor the name of the priest who had "hardly the "decency to conceal his atrocious conduct." The editor replied that he had "no knowledge of the Right Rev. Dr. "Brown, Roman Catholic Bishop of this diocese," and proceeded to deny his claim to any such title. Mr. Yates was not to be put off by this side issue, and demanded an apology under threat of immediate legal proceedings. The editor refused to divulge the name, and admitted that the accusation was not directed against any priest in the diocese of Liverpool. The repetition of this and similar libels kept alive a base spirit of prejudice and intolerance, which prevented, as was intended, the Catholics from living in perfect harmony with their neighbours. In May of 1854, the remains of Mr. James Wiseman, brother of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, were laid to rest in St. Oswald's churchyard, Old Swan. For many years he had been stationed in Liverpool as an officer of the Board of Trade, and had acted as interpreter of foreign languages in the local courts of justice.

Stricken down in health and threatened with paralysis, Father Mathew visited Liverpool en route for the warmer climate of Madeira. Once again he was the honoured guest of Mr. W. Rathbone, and in the library at Greenbank, Mr. James Whitty, President of the Irish Catholic Club, and Mr. R. Sheil, President of the Catholic Club, presented a joint address of welcome to the great Capuchin. As a token of his delight at the great work accomplished in Liverpool and Lancashire towns by Father Mathew, the Earl of Sefton forwarded a gift of twenty pounds to defray the expenses of the enforced voyage.

The better side of Liverpool public life was shown to advantage during this year of polemical strife by the extraordinary unanimity which prevailed amongst all leaders of religious thought, that the time had arrived for concerted action to save the children running about the streets and quays from moral destruction. To two men belong the distinction of bringing about this union of hearts if not of conscience—a former Stipendiary, Mr. Edward Rushton, and

the indefatigable Father Nugent. The evil effects of overcrowding, expulsion of Catholic children from the Council Schools, and the results of Irish immigration in 1847 and 1848 in particular, had now produced their joint results. Mr. Rushton had been crying out for years "Save the child." No less than 12,508 children under seventeen years of age were imprisoned in the gaols of England, the very last place in which they ought to have been found. The law made no provision for their detention or their reformation elsewhere. To Liverpool men of all creeds, and especially to the Catholics of the town, belongs the supreme credit of bringing about a much-needed change in the treatment of juvenile "crime" which has worked out so successfully since in all parts of the kingdom. The Mayor was induced to summon a Town's meeting to promote a movement for a new charter of freedom for the children. The platform in the Sessions House presented a strange spectacle to the assembled citizens. Dr. McNeill sat side by side with that remarkable minister of Pembroke Chapel, the Rev. Charles Birrell,* the scholarly Unitarian leader, Martineau, and, more wonderful still, the coadjutor, Bishop Goss.

For the first time a Catholic prelate accepted the invitation of a Mayor of Liverpool to a meeting of his fellow-citizens, and greater surprise was shown when he rose to speak in moving a resolution which wisely laid it down as a cardinal principle that any change in the law must be accompanied with the power to compel negligent parents to contribute towards the maintenance of their children. Dr. Goss said, "it required no argument to prove that if children "went astray by the bad training of the parent, or by his "example, in either case the reformation of the child must "be at the expense of the parent; and if the parent were "able to pay, he should be made to do so; just as when the "children fell sick, and required medical attendance, the "doctor looked to the parent for payment. It gave him "pleasure to find that the subject of religion had not been "introduced, that all sectarian views had been done away "with, and everyone seemed to combine harmoniously to "promote a measure which was for the benefit of a neglected "mass." Mr. J. S. Mansfield, stipendiary, wrote to Father Nugent, that the want of some school for children coming before him had been a serious hindrance to him in his work as a police magistrate. A committee was formed with the approval of Bishop Brown, who issued an appeal to his flock

* Father of Mr. Augustine Birrell, ex-Minister of Education, and Chief Secretary for Ireland.

for assistance. A site was purchased, and the Birkdale Farm School was the outcome.

Irish immigration into Liverpool had not ceased. From January 1st, 1850, to December 31st, 1853, no less than 295,674 arrived in the Mersey, "apparently paupers," exclusive of the larger numbers who came to Liverpool en route for America.* In the two years, 1854 and 1855, this enormous average total of over 70,000 persons fell to 5,153. It is not at all likely that they remained in our midst; they probably made their way to Lancashire and Yorkshire towns, and the Midlands, but it is pretty certain that owing to their lack of means a large proportion perforce remained to augment the gigantic proportions of the Irish-born population of the town.

The large and increasing number of Catholic inmates of the Liverpool Workhouse, and the large number of children both there and in the parish schools at Kirkdale in the early fifties, were clearly due to the poverty of the immigrants. On March 2nd, 1855, there were 3,317 persons inside the walls of Brownlow Hill, of whom 1,245 were registered as Catholics. This number included 143 children under five years of age. In the schools there were 1,003 children, of whom more than one half were Catholics. The character of the religious instruction was most unsatisfactory in both institutions. No instruction of any kind was provided for the Catholic children in the workhouse by the authorities. A visiting priest endeavoured in his spare time to teach them the catechism, but the varying ages of the children, workhouse discipline, and domestic regulations, made his efforts nugatory. Mr. James Hughes, a Catholic member of the Select Vestry, had striven in vain in 1853 to improve the religious teaching in Kirkdale. The headmaster was Mr. H. J. Hagger,† of whom Mr. Hughes said in his speech, "a better "instructor of youth could not be found in Her Majesty's "dominions." The schools committee would not agree to accept Mr. Hughes' proposals, just as the workhouse committee refused to provide, or allow any one else to provide, a much needed strengthening of the teaching staff. Early in 1854, Mr. Hughes publicly stated that he was present at a religious examination of Catholic children from the Workhouse, held in St. Nicholas', Copperas Hill, and so astounded were the laymen in attendance at the gross ignorance displayed, that they volunteered to pay for the services of a special female teacher, if the Vestry would permit her

* See Major Greig's Annual Police Reports.
† Now Clerk to the Select Vestry.

entrance into the "House." At the Vestry meeting, Mr. Hughes made this proposition, and on the advice of Mr. James Whitty, who had joined the Board a little while before, he withdrew the proposition. This shrewd Wexford man was destined to be the ablest and shrewdest of the political leaders, and by his tact, as well as his extraordinary courage, won lasting advantages for his countrymen and co-religionists, as a Poor Law Guardian, a Councillor, and finally, a quarter of a century later, as member of the School Board. Though he induced Mr. Hughes to withdraw his motion, Mr. Whitty had no intention of allowing the matter to drop, and on the 14th March, 1854, proposed, "that the Board give permission "to a lay teacher to visit the workhouse at hours suitable to "the proper discipline and regularity of the house, to impart "religious instruction to the Catholic children, without any "charge to the funds of the parish." This well drawn and reasonable proposition was characteristic of its proposer. A sharp debate followed, and only two Liberals, Messrs. Bradley and John Moss, with the two Catholics, voted for it, as Mr. Whitty quite expected. Then he flung a bomb-shell into the ranks of the majority, by declaring that he held a list of the Catholic children who had been proselytised by other visitors, non-Catholic, who were allowed to enter the workhouse at their own sweet will. This accusation was a serious one, but it was allowed to pass unchallenged by the accused, while the accuser and his friends outside resolved to carry on a persistent attack on the management, from a religious point of view, of all the parochial institutions. Catholic "leakage" flowed from them in a big stream, almost to the last days of Bishop O'Reilly's episcopate, forty years later.

In November, 1854, the Kirkdale schools committee decided, by three votes to two, to recommend the vestry to purchase a few copies of the Douai Bible, to be read to the Catholic children. Prayer books and catechisms were supplied, gratis, by the priest, who was now permitted to enter at fixed hours. The "Protestant party" on the Board, refused by eleven votes to nine to allow Catholic children to read the Bible, and the discredit of this decision rested entirely on the shoulders of the Rector of Liverpool, who decided the issue by the injudicious but deliberate observation that he had read Unitarian versions of the Bible which omitted all references to the Divinity of Christ, but had never taken the trouble to find out what the Douai version contained.* In January, 1855, the Catholic members revived the old fight for a special room for Divine Service. This had

* See "Mercury's" Report of the discussion.

once before been decided favourably, but owing to the gradual capture of seats on the Board by the Ascendancy party, the settlement was disturbed. Somewhat astutely, Mr. Whitty suggested that the workhouse van might be used to convey old and infirm Catholics to Mass outside, during inclement weather. Like his former motions it was intended to put the majority in a bad light before the liberal minded public for penalising the sick, he knowing full well that the proposition would be rejected. It served the purpose of raising the main question and on the 22nd May, 1855, Mr. Whitty moved that a suitable place attached to the workhouse be set apart on Sundays for Catholic services. The motion was warmly supported by the main body of Liberals, apart from its inherent fairness, on the ground that it was high time the scandals arising from alleged Catholics going out on Sunday mornings, and not returning till late at night, were ended. Fearing that the motion would be carried, Mr. Satchell beat the Protestant drum. He asserted ironically, that in the Board Room, "Rome told a "flattering tale, that the Jesuits were ringing the chimes to "tickle the ears of unsound Protestants." His tactics were successful. Rather than face the odium of being termed "unsound Protestants," several members refused to vote as they had previously promised, and Mr. Whitty found himself defeated by 13 votes to 11. Every month the question cropped up in some form or other, and the proposal to build a church, for the use of the Protestant officers and inmates, gave further opportunities for pressing forward the demand. Mr. Hughes urged that the new building be so constructed that the basement* be reserved permanently for Catholic services. Unfortunately his death, in August, 1855, somewhat interfered with the proposed solution, which might otherwise have been carried. Every effort was made to capture the vacant seat by the Tories, but the Vestry defeated the attempt, electing Mr. James Fairhurst, of St. Anne Street, by thirteen votes to eight.

At a bye-election during the year Mr. R. Sheil stood for Scotland Ward, and, after an absence of fourteen years, found himself again a member of the Town Council. So strong had the Catholic vote become in Scotland Ward, that from that day, it has invariably returned either Irish or Catholic nominees.

The adjoining Ward of Vauxhall would this year have elected Mr. Daniel Powell, but he died in October, in the midst of the preparations for his nomination. For twenty

* Now used as a Workhouse Ward.

years he had freely given his time and money to the service of the poor Catholics of the town, and held many offices of trust, including the chairmanship of the Catholic Club.

At the Easter of 1856, Mr. Fairhurst retired, and did not seek re-election. The churchwardens refused to nominate a Catholic in his place, at the Easter Vestry, thus breaking through the arrangement arrived at many years before, that two Catholics, at least, should have seats on the Select Vestry. Instead, they nominated Mr. Syred, whose views on political and religious questions were ultra-Protestant. The Catholics resolved to have a fight at the poll, and nominated Mr. Flanagan. Syred appealed to the electors to put down "Mass "houses" and "Catholic combination." The poll was kept open for three days; Flanagan securing a majority of voters, and Syred a majority of votes. This was due to the system under which rateable value determined the number of votes allotted to the ratepayer. The fight became so hot on the third day of the poll, party feeling running very high, that the Catholic leaders deemed it inadvisable to arouse any further exitement, and allowed the poll to be closed, Mr. Syred being declared elected. Mr. James Whitty now stood alone, the only Catholic Guardian of the Poor, but his influence and consummate political strategy were worth more than one vote, and before the echoes of the Syred-Flanagan fight had died away, he won a substantial concession. On his proposition the Schools Committee resolved, by five votes to three, "That the Catholic boys and girls be allowed to "assemble in one room for religious instruction, on Wed-"nesdays and Sundays, in the evening, and that as many as "possible of the girls employed in domestic duties be "permitted to attend on these occasions." A Liberal Guardian, Mr. Cook, seconded the motion, which was discussed with the usual heat at the succeeding meeting of the Vestry. On that occasion, Mr. Denton summed up the whole question by giving his opinion that it would be better to educate these poor children to be good Catholics rather than make them bad Protestants. The Liberals rallied round Mr. Denton, who consistently supported Mr. Whitty in his claims for equality, with the result that the motion was carried by twelve votes to nine. This was one step forward, towards preserving the faith of the poor children committed to the care of illiberal Guardians, whose entire policy had been directed, up to that hour, to de-Catholicise them. Irritated at this decision Mr. Satchell, the leader of the most bigoted section of the Board, made a serious accusation affecting the honour of Father Doyle, of St. Anthony's, who

had devoted himself to the spiritual welfare of the Kirkdale Catholic inmates, as far as the Vestry would permit. The Irish priest declined to allow himself to remain under any suspicion, and instructed Mr. John Yates to demand a retractation, and an apology, from the author of the libel, who shrank from the manly course which was alone open to him, and an action at law was at once commenced. Meanwhile, after a lengthened enquiry, the Schools Committee unanimously acquitted Father Doyle of the further charge of tampering with the faith of the Protestant children, and took the somewhat punitive step of preventing him from introducing any of his brother clergy to help him in the heavy task of instructing the 874 Catholic children inside the walls of the schools. Mr. Whitty warmly defended Father Doyle, and pointed triumphantly to the fact that, on enquiry, it had been proven that, out of nine children alleged to have been interfered with, seven had been found to be receiving Protestant instruction who were bona-fide Catholics; an apt illustration of Kirkdale methods. The sturdy Catholic leader declined to admit for one moment that Father Doyle entered the institution at the goodwill of the Guardians, but did so "under the shadow of the law "of the land," and was therefore entitled to protest against any obstacle being placed in the way of his ministration. Seeing victory within his grasp, Mr. Whitty induced Father Doyle to accept a belated apology from his Orange libeller, and proceeded to gain another victory. In October, he proposed that permission be given to one boy and two girls, among the Catholic inmates, to be trained as pupil teachers, so that they might help the priest in giving religious instruction, and see that morning and evening prayers were duly recited. This proposition was carried by one vote in Committee, and confirmed by the Vestry by nine votes to seven. A later attempt, by Mr. Satchell, to rescind this decision was defeated by ten votes to nine—a narrow margin of votes which demonstrated the wisdom of Mr. Whitty in preventing the policy of the Guardians and Father Doyle's libeller being exposed in a court of justice.

In September, 1855, Mr. Nathaniel Caine undertook the thankless task of having a census taken of the attendance at all the places of worship within the boundaries of the town. So far as the Anglican Churches were concerned, the result of the census was eminently unsatisfactory. His figures of the attendance at all the Masses were as follows: St. Patrick's, 7,632; St. Anthony's, 7,042; St. Mary's, 5,827; St. Nicholas', 3,995; St. Joseph's, 3,726; St. Peter's, 3,048;

St. Francis Xavier's, 2,789; St. Augustine's, 2,308; St. Alban's, 1,879; Holy Cross, 1,852; St. Anne's, 1,494; St. Vincent's, 1481; St. Philip Neri's, 1,003; a total attendance, exclusive of Mount Vernon, of 44,076 persons. If these figures were accurate a lamentable falling off in attendance at the Sunday Mass had been proven. The figures occasioned much dispute, one of the disputants stating that the total number of persons who heard Mass on the Sunday in question reached the large total of 88,304.

When the news reached Liverpool of the conclusion of the war in the Crimea, the children of the town were marshalled in a procession through the streets. The newspapers of the date give the numbers from the Catholic Schools as under: Father Kenrick headed the procession with 1,100 children from St. Patrick's; Father Noble, O.M.I., followed, with 1,200 from Holy Cross; St. Anthony's mustered 1,120, under the care of Father Newsham; St. Mary's sent 750 with Father Callaghan, O.S.B.; Father Wallwork, from the Pro-Cathedral, led a similar number; St. Joseph's totalled 700, with Father Duggan; St. Alban's 400, under the care of Father Thos. Kelly; Father Davey, O.S.B., marched with 400 from St. Peter's; St. Francis Xavier's was represented by 430 children, headed by Father Sumner, S.J.; Mount Vernon sent 100 with Father Walmsley; the rear being brought up by Father Bernard O'Reilly, with 500 from St. Vincent's. Here there were 7,450 children accounted for, exclusive of St. Anne's, St. Augustine's, St. Hilda's, St. Helen's, and the Catholic Institute, and as the infants for obvious reasons took no part in the long walk, and a great number of the older ones, owing to want of suitable clothing, were also excluded, the total number of Catholic children could not have been less than 15,000. Assuming that two-thirds of this number attended Mass on the Sunday of Mr. Caine's census (a very moderate estimate), only 34,000 adults fulfilled the Sunday obligation, an obviously inaccurate calculation. A controversy raged for some time around these figures, which Mr. Caine asserted were approximately correct, and had the effect of stimulating the clergy and ministers of all denominations to secure a better observance of the Sabbath law.

In 1852, St. Vincent de Paul's, Norfolk Street, was separated from St. Patrick's, and created a separate parish, Father Edward Walmsley being appointed rector. He had been educated at Stonyhurst and Ushaw, and was half-brother to Canon Walmsley, who, later on, held the responsible position of Vicar-General of the diocese. His career was cut short on November 23rd, 1852, by an attack of fever

contracted in the discharge of his sacred duties.* He was succeeded by Father Bernard O'Reilly, then curate at St. Patrick's. The new rector set to work to erect a permanent church, and on the 20th May, 1854, at a meeting held in the Clayton Hall, the coadjutor Bishop presided, to shew his interest in the new project. Mr. J. B. Aspinall proposed, "that the erection of a new church in the district of which "New Bird Street is the centre is a work of the highest order "of charity." Father O'Reilly organised a weekly Sunday collection, and every Sunday he was seen, after last Mass, proceeding from door to door, collecting the pennies of the poor, and by the date of the meeting referred to had raised two thousand pounds by this means.† In Eldon Street, the centre of a most congested district, Father Vanderspitte, in 1854, bought a warehouse capable of holding one thousand people, and in its gloomy and unattractive rooms began the mission of Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette. Like Father O'Reilly, he had to rely almost entirely on the pennies placed at his disposal by an extremely poor population, composed, without exception, of casual labourers. The days were rapidly coming to an end when large donations could be expected from rich Catholics, commercial developments and changes of a far-reaching character bringing about gradually, but surely, the disappearance of the individual Catholic merchant of the first half of the nineteenth century. Church and school builders, henceforth, were to be the poor, and right nobly they responded to their new responsibilities.

On the 25th January, 1856, Bishop Brown died at his residence in Catharine Street. Sixteen years had elapsed since his appointment as coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic. Educated at Ushaw College, where he was the favourite pupil of the historian, Rev. Dr. Lingard, he became Professor of Theology, and eventually Vice-President of his alma mater. Passing away to his eternal reward at the age of seventy, he had seen the Church grow in numbers and importance in the huge county of Lancashire, over which he ruled with conspicuous success for ten years previous to the establishment of the See of Liverpool. During his five years' episcopal rule in the town, he had seen an increase of nine churches, five convents, two secondary schools, and twenty-five priests.

The Jesuits had re-entered the city, and on the advice of Father Nugent, Bishop Brown had invited the Redemptorists to make his former residence at Eton Lodge the nucleus of

* Father Walmsley was interred in the vaults of St. Patrick's chapel.

† One of Father O'Reilly's collectors was Mr. Brindle, whose son, the soldier priest of the Soudan, is now Bishop of Nottingham.

the well-known foundation which has done so much to deepen the spiritual life of Liverpool.

His mortal remains were interred in a vault in St. Oswald's, Old Swan.

In 1854, the Institute of St. Elizabeth of Hungary had been also founded, to support, clothe, and train destitute girls for domestic service, not the least of the many good works established under Bishop Brown's rule. They carried on their work at 20, Soho Street.

In this year the Dean of Limerick founded the Young Men's Society movement in Liverpool, establishing the first branch at St. Mary's, Edmund Street. Dean O'Brien began the new organisation in Ireland in 1849, when the horrors of the famine shewed signs of abatement. He was inspired with the belief that the rising generation could only be saved from utter despair by the constant exercise of the religious practices of the Church, especially the frequenting of the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. The fundamental rule of the Young Men's Society is monthly attendance at Holy Communion; each Society approaching the Altar in a body. Divided into guilds, ruled by officers of their own choosing, and governed by a council formed from among the members, and subject only to the veto of the Chaplain, the Society provided means for training its members in habits of regularity, discipline, obedience, and manly Christian piety. A social and intellectual side could be developed inside each separate Society, suited to the rank and character of its members, which served as an antidote to outside temptations, and carried on under the banner of the Church, minimised the possibility of any weakening of their Faith. This organisation, to which Dean O'Brien gave the best part of his life, proved an unmixed blessing for the Catholics of Ireland. To those who migrated into the towns and cities of England, its value was incalculable. It kept them together in the bonds of faith and amity, united them to the clergy and the parish church, and, by mutual intercourse, kept alive the Catholic faith in their hearts under circumstances of considerable danger and difficulty. The movement spread rapidly over England and Scotland; in Liverpool it took special root. Every parish had its own Society and club-room, and the files of the local newspapers record a long list of prominent Catholic laymen, as well as clergymen, who sought within the four corners of the rules to raise the despairing victims of the famine from the degradation consequent upon life in the overcrowded alleys of Liverpool. Down to the early eighties, the annual re-unions of the Societies in St. George's Hall, addressed by distinguished Catholic

members of both Houses of Parliament, and Bishops, notably Archbishop Manning, were prominent incidents in local Catholic life. The Annual Conferences, held in different towns, to discuss topics of Catholic importance, were the first attempts to bring together all classes of Catholics on the common ground of unity of faith, while the monthly meetings were addressed by prominent local men, who, but for these societies, would have had few opportunities of coming into contact with the labouring Irish population, to their mutual spiritual and temporal advantage.

Father Nugent rendered fine service to this movement, for which he had a special affection, while men of the stamp of Michael Daly, the first president of the Central Council, and that splendid type of cultured Catholic business man, Michael Fitzpatrick,* president for 20 years, found in the work a splendid and useful method of carrying on a lay apostolate among the poorer members of the Liverpool community. Leading Irishmen, like A. M. Sullivan, M.P., John Francis Maguire, M.P., Count Moore, M.P., and even the Protestant Irish leader, Mr. Isaac Butt, crossed the Channel frequently to encourage their countrymen in persevering in their allegiance to Dean O'Brien's ideal, all convinced that it was the only organisation of that day which could save the sons and grandsons of the famine years.

*Member of the Liverpool School Board and Education Committee of the City Council. He was one of the founders of the School of Science, Technology and Art, established in the old Jesuit church in Sir Thomas Buildings, now merged in the Liverpool Education Committee.

CHAPTER VI.

The first official act of Bishop Goss was the laying of the foundation stone of the new church of St. Vincent de Paul, in St. James' Street. The ceremony took place on the transferred feast of St. Patrick, April 6th, 1856. Addressing the large crowd which had gathered to rejoice at the prospect of a handsome church replacing the wooden shed in Norfolk Street, and to give a cordial reception to the new Bishop, Dr. Goss paid a warm tribute to the Irish residents of the parish. The site alone cost six thousand pounds, a heavy initial outlay, and the expense of erecting the beautiful Gothic structure, designed by Mr. Welby Pugin, could only be faced by the brave heart of a future Bishop, Father Bernard O'Reilly. Bishop Goss shared to the full the rector's confident hopes. "We rely," he said, "hopefully and confi-"dently; we have no fears, because we are satisfied you carry "with you the faith which you have inherited from your "fathers. The foundation stone which is thus laid on the "transferred feast of your patron saint, St. Patrick, will be "to you a great and glorious remembrance." His words did not fall on barren ground, and he was moved deeply as the Irish ship carpenters of the parish passed in single file, each laying one day's wages on the newly blessed stone. Then followed the dock labourers with their offerings, the total offering amounting to one hundred and one pounds, nine shillings. In the evening of this auspicious day the Bishop attended the usual dinner in honour of St. Patrick's Day, organised by the Catholic Club. It was held in the Adelphi Hotel, and as a compliment to the parish of St. Vincent's, one of its parishioners, Mr. James Daly, was selected as the chairman of the festive gathering. One of the chief guests was Mr. John Bridge Aspinall, barrister, who in the course of a speech made the remarkable statement that at the recent assizes fair play for the first time had been given to a member of the Catholic Church. He was referring to an action for damages brought against a local Conservative daily newspaper by Mr. Edward Darby, a tide waiter in Her Majesty's Customs. In an article headed "A rebel in Her Majesty's Customs," this partisan journal laid it down as a fixed principle that no Catholic should be allowed to hold any office under the Crown, giving as the sole reason that no member of the Catholic

Church would perform his duties loyally. The defence set up at the trial consisted of passages from Catholic theological works, divorced from the context to such an extent as to represent views quite foreign to the authors' intentions. The trial served the useful purpose of educating the non-Catholic population of the town in Catholic beliefs, and under the direction of the judges, both Protestant Irishmen, Baron Martin and Justice Willes, the plaintiff was triumphantly vindicated against the charge that a Catholic and a rebel were synonymous terms.

During this year the entire cost of the site of St. Vincent's was paid off; Father O'Reilly's weekly collectors working with a will to enable him to cope successfully with the heavy financial burdens which the erection of the new church involved. The bonds of affection between the rector and these simple working men grew firmer with advancing years, and when nearing his seventieth year, with all the responsibilities of the episcopal office upon his shoulders, Bishop O'Reilly visited his old collectors when stricken with illness, consoling them on their death beds in gratitude for splendid services, rendered freely and whole-heartedly. Bishop Goss, too, had a warm corner in his heart for St. Vincent's collectors, and visited them very often at their weekly meeting. The wooden Stations of the Cross, which adorned the walls of the Norfolk Street chapel, were the gift of the Bishop, while still a Canon of the Diocese. The new church was opened on August 26th, 1857. Dr. Leahy, the Bishop of Dromore, crossed the Irish Sea to preach the inaugural sermon. A quaint figure, with flowing beard, was the Bishop of Almira, Vicar-Apostolic of Thibet and Hindostan, who, with Bishop Brown, of Shrewsbury, assisted the Bishop of Liverpool in the performance of the opening ceremonies. The Rector paid a tribute to the generosity of his poor Irish flock, who had contributed six thousand, five hundred pounds, from the inception of the scheme of building to the date of opening. Every Sunday he went out with his collectors, visiting house after house, collecting the pennies which eventually amounted to the sum mentioned above. It was in this way, as well as by his assiduous visitations, that he acquired such an exact knowledge of the lives and history of every family in his parish. An uncle* of the writer stated that Father O'Reilly was able to tell not only the names of the parishioners who attended Sunday Mass, but the number of days each dock labourer had secured work, their earnings, their wants and failings. A week never passed without some poor labourer

*Father of the Rev. John Barrett, D.D., B.A.

being summoned to the rector's house, to be assisted out of a slender purse, admonished or advised, as suited the needs of each individual. A high official of the Police Force paid him the curious, but meritorious, compliment of being "the "best policeman" in the town. It can be said of him that, during the long years of his rectorship at St. Vincent's, he fulfilled in every detail the hard test laid down by Ruskin.*

Such close knowledge of the lives of his people was a splendid preparation for a most successful episcopate, and explains the extraordinary affection which every son of St. Vincent's† had for him during his lifetime, in that parish, and afterwards in his more exalted position.

Liverpool Catholics owe much to the Chaloner family. Mr. Charles Chaloner had built the schools at Grassendale, and his brother, Mr. Edward Chaloner, generously provided the schools at St. Oswald's, Old Swan. When Father O'Reilly, anxious for the moral welfare of the little ones of his crowded parish, sought to provide them with school accommodation, it was Mr. Edward Chaloner who came to his assistance. The enthusiastic priest's "great solicitude" for the children, stirred the generous layman to purchase a disused Methodist chapel in Jordan Street, at a cost of £4,360, which he handed over, ready furnished, to Father O'Reilly. On January 4th, 1859, the schools were opened by a soiree, Bishop Goss presiding. The reply of Mr. Chaloner to the Bishop's tribute was characteristic of the man and of his family. He said that good work should be done with one's money before death, and when he departed it would be found that he had not left a single penny for charity. Mr. John Yates, in a speech on this interesting occasion, declared that every mission in the town now possessed a well appointed school. Mr. Chaloner's interest in St. Vincent's schools did not end here. One pleasant memory of every child was the annual outing at Mr. Chaloner's expense, to his pleasant country house in Old Swan, an excursion which only ceased with the death of the kindly-hearted benefactor. Years later, public improvements involved the demolition of the Jordan Street school, and with the compensation money,

* "The bishop's office is to oversee the flock: to number it, sheep by sheep; to be ready always to give full account of it. Now it is clear he cannot give account of the souls if he has not so much as numbered the bodies of his flock. The first thing, therefore, that a bishop has to do is at least to put himself in a position, in which, at any moment, he can obtain the history from childhood of every living soul in his diocese, and its present state."—"Sesame and Lilies."

†The writer was baptised by him in St. Vincent de Paul's.

awarded by the Corporation, Father O'Reilly built the new schools in Norfolk Street, and called them the Chaloner schools.*

In December, 1856, Bishop Goss opened the chapel of Our Lady Immaculate, in St. Domingo Road, designed by Mr. Welby Pugin. It was the intention of the founders that this building should serve as the Lady Chapel of a Cathedral to be erected on this site, the highest position in the north end of the city. From an architectural point of view no better spot could have been chosen. A cathedral of fine proportions erected thereon would be the dominating feature of the city, visible from every point of the estuary and the south-western portion of the Wirral peninsula. In view of later changes in this neighbourhood, one cannot refrain from expressing doubts as to the suitability of a cathedral in the "storm centre," as it is now known. The idea was eventually abandoned for financial reasons. St. Edward's seminary and college stands on the site of the estate purchased in the year 1757 by a Mr. George Campbell, owner of a privateer which captured a richly-laden French vessel, on its way from San Domingo. The profits resulting from this doubtful transaction placed a considerable sum of money at the disposal of Mr. Campbell, who gave the name of St. Domingo to the neighbourhood, which it still bears. The house now occupied by Bishop Whiteside was built in 1790, by Mr. J. Sparling, a former Mayor of Liverpool, and later it became the official residence of Prince William, Duke of Gloucester, commander of the district forces. In turn it became a school for young gentlemen. While awaiting an audience of Bishop Whiteside, in the spring of 1898, the present writer and the late Mr. William Rathbone, M.P., sat in the library discussing the history of the building. The latter made the interesting statement that he and Mr. Stansfield, a member of Mr. Gladstone's third Cabinet, and Secretary for War, had received their early education together in that very room. In later years, when it became the College of St. Edward, the present Poet Laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin, was one of the pupils, and from its flat roof, as he described it some years ago, he enjoyed the then fine view of Cheshire, North Wales, and the Irish Sea.

Early in his episcopate, Bishop Goss made himself felt in Liverpool. Week after week, he delivered outspoken, breezy addresses, which dealt with every phase of municipal, parochial, and general public matters, as well as purely Catholic matters. The pressmen followed him from church

*Enlarged in 1893 by the Rev. John Oldham, rector of St. Vincent's; now rector of St. Alban's, Athol Street.

to platform, fully reporting his vigorous sermons and speeches, which were widely read, and sometimes severely commented upon* in the editorial columns of the daily press.

At the dinner held on the evening of April 6th, 1856, the Bishop made a vigorous onslaught on the Select Vestry, a body which richly deserved episcopal castigation. "There "is a class of people called Select Vestrymen, who have taken "to persecuting in a small way. They are strong and "valorous, and fiery with religious zeal against the poor "children, but cowardly when they come face to face with "men. If we are to have war, we ought to have it in the "open, with persons who could stand persecution, and not "on harmless and innocent children." The Clerk to the Vestry wrote to the Bishop, enquiring if his speech, as reported in the daily papers, was a correct version of his remarks, adding that, if so, an explanation would be required by the Brownlow Hill Guardians. There was no sign of shirking a fight on the part of Dr. Goss. It was his first criticism of Liverpool public men, and he replied to Mr. Hart that the speeches of Messrs. Satchell and Jones, at Vestry Meetings, fully justified his contention that a spirit of persecution had been displayed towards poor children, whose miserable lot in life had placed their religion at the mercy of such narrow-minded men. He proceeded to give details to substantiate his allegations by charging the Select Vestry with forcing Patrick and James Joseph Flynn to attend the Protestant services at the Kirkdale schools, and with changing the religion of Sara Hawkins in the creed register, in defiance of the law of the land. This was not the reply which Vestrymen expected, and they gave expression to their disappointment and annoyance at successive meetings of the Board. Even the capable chairman, a man of wide reading and culture, Rector Campbell, accentuated the situation by declaring from the chair that the persecution of Protestants was enjoined upon all Catholics as a sacred duty. What relation this threadbare accusation had to Bishop Goss's charge that the Vestry had deliberately defied the law of England, it is difficult to appreciate. Mr. James

*Since these lines were written Mr. John Denvir, once Editor of the "Catholic Times," has published his delightful "Life story of a rebel." Speaking of Dr. Goss, he says, "the bishop had a blunt, hitting out from the shoulder style of speaking that compelled attention. But you could hardly call them sermons at all; they were rather powerful discourses upon social topics, which, from a newspaper point of view, made splendid 'copy.' Accordingly, during the year before his death, I followed him all over the diocese to get his sermon for each week's paper. There is no doubt that Dr. Goss's sermons helped materially to put a backbone into the "Catholic Times," and greatly to increase its circulation.

Whitty, in a humorous speech, sought to relieve the acuteness of the position, but the Rector was in no mood for conciliation. He proceeded to quote decisions of General Councils of the Church to defend his proposition, and in so caustic a tone that his colleagues, roused to a pitch of excitement, passed a resolution solemnly recording the statement that Bishop Goss had styled them "bad men" and "persecutors "of harmless and innocent children."*

Bishop Goss won a substantial victory in spite of all the angry feeling displayed by the Tory Protestant members, and all the outstanding points in dispute were settled save one.

At the annual Easter elections the irreconcilables issued placards declaring that "seventeen Popish priests were can-"vassing for the Liberal candidates," and strenuously appealing to the electors not to submit to "Popish teachers "and nurses" in the schools of the Parish. The Liberals triumphed at the poll. They were not by any means pro-Catholic, but simply fair-minded men, prepared to obey the law and to enquire into complaints made by substantial persons. The Mr. W. Jones to whom Dr. Goss had called special attention re-opened the floodgates of controversy by calling the attention of the Vestry to the fact that some eight or nine children at Kirkdale would not "chant" grace at meal times, and made a violent attack on Father Doyle for having, as he alleged, incited them to do so. That hundreds of Catholic children did "chant" the usual prayer was a point Mr. Jones conveniently ignored, and his extravagant utterances culminated in the extraordinary allegation that every child for whom a situation had been found by the Guardians had absconded as the result of the debates in the Board Room.

The theory that children in and around Liverpool read the daily papers, was too amusing for even the Select Vestry to swallow, but they seriously discussed the "chanting" of grace. Mr. Owen pointed out that the Poor Law Order enjoined the "saying" of the prayer, not by the children but by the headmaster, Mr. H. J. Hagger, or his deputy. Father Doyle defended himself warmly in the columns of the newspapers, though not quite discreetly it must be admitted, and the petty persecutions which he revealed won sympathy for him, even from those who disliked his methods. The Central Poor Law Authority was appealed to, but the result gave no satisfaction to either parties to the unseemly controversy.

* See Report of proceedings in "Mercury," Sept. 9th, 1857, which occupies three columns.

and was followed by a series of angry debates which lowered the reputation of the Select Vestry.

The Board generally disliked religious controversy and rejected a proposal to allow a well-known Protestant lecturer to address indiscriminately the inmates of the workhouse wards. Mr. James Whitty quaintly observed that the Scripture readers already entering the workhouse poured out the waters of life with such unction that they took good care to let the Papist get more than his share of the spray. Just at this moment another Catholic gentleman joined the Board, Mr. Cafferata.* He was in time to witness another outbreak. A boy named Doran was entered in the creed register as a Protestant, owing to the absence of his mother from Liverpool at the time of admission. His illness turning out to be serious, the boy's grandmother and aunt gave the governor, Mr. Coates, the religious history of the family, which induced him to permit the priest to administer the last Sacraments. The fires of controversy were re-kindled. Violent tirades against the priest were delivered in the Parish Offices; it was all in vain that the impartial Vestrymen urged that the governor had called in the priest in good faith, under justifiable circumstances.

Controversy then broke out in the West Derby Union. An Anglican clergyman, named Fenton, proposed that the Sisters of Mercy, from Mount Vernon, be no longer allowed to visit the Catholic inmates, giving the grotesque reason that nuns were not "licensed ministers of religion." A Mr. Kirkus, speaking as a Protestant, said they would do well as guardians to emulate the Sisters of Mercy in their devotedness to the sick poor. The motion was not carried, but there was no mistaking the opinions of the majority, who were hostile to any methods, private or public, to console or alleviate the Catholics under their care. An opportunity soon presented itself to enable the headmaster of the workhouse school to act upon the implied wishes of his masters. He turned the Sisters out of the schools, when visiting one day, alleging that they had attempted to influence a Catholic girl. Father Corrie Grant, S.J., of St. Francis Xavier's, took up the cause of the nuns, attending a meeting of the Guardians, where he pointed out that both Catholics and Protestants of tender years were forced every Sunday to attend the services of the English Church. He invoked the protection which the law provided for the safeguarding of a child's faith, but the loyalty of West Derby Guardians for years was always subordinated to sectarian interests. Stung

* Despite the Italian surname, members of his family were Freemen of the Town.

by Father Grant's exposures, they decided by one vote to exclude the nuns altogether. The minority, all Protestants be it said, were accused by their colleagues of being merely "Catholics in disguise," doing the work of Rome in secret. Mr. Kirkus, a Liberal member, scored heavily off the Protestant Reformation Society, which had fomented the West Derby Union quarrel. This organisation had run away without paying the rent for some rooms used for propaganda purposes, and Mr. Kirkus, who proved to be the owner of the property, suggested at the Guardians meeting that a love for Gospel teaching was not at all inconsistent with the payment of just debts. This little joke did not improve the temper of the proselytisers.

The "leakage" due to the obstacles placed in the way of Catholic children receiving instruction, was a source of anxiety to the Bishop during all the years of his episcopal rule. Any attempt to stop it only provoked angry recriminations from the militant Protestants, who had come under the influence of Dr. McNeill, and thwarted every effort to successfully promote harmonious relations between all classes.

Mr. Cropper, a leading member of the Select Vestry, foreseeing the danger of further politico-religious strife, made an earnest effort to remove some of the irritating grievances under which Catholics suffered inside the workhouse. The Board had refused to allow any Catholic service inside the walls of Brownlow Hill, consequently those who desired to hear Mass went outside on Sunday mornings. From an administrative point of view it was dangerous to allow inmates to go outside in large numbers, especially as every ne'er-do-well anxious to get out for ulterior purposes declared himself a Catholic. Articles of clothing, bed linen, etc., were stolen by the latter class, and it was found impossible in practice to search a large number leaving on Sunday mornings. Inmates returned in the evening intoxicated, and disturbed the wards by their noisy behaviour. These evil results were due entirely to the policy of the ultra-Protestant members, who refused to listen to the simple demand that a room should be set apart for the Sunday Mass. The Liberal members supported Mr. Cropper's demand for a searching enquiry into the conduct of inmates declaring themselves "Catholics" to get outside, and the result was that a room was reserved for Catholic services. "Protestant" feeling was still too strong to permit of full liberty of access to the Catholic inmates by the clergy, and the restriction was imposed that only one priest should be permitted to celebrate Mass and perform the other duties of the sacred office. As no salary or reward of any kind was

offered, it was almost impossible to secure from the neighbouring chapel of St. Philip Neri the continuous services of the same priest, Sunday and week-day. Bishop Goss opened negotiations with the Vestry, and an arrangement was finally arrived at by which Father Fleetwood became the first chaplain, with full permission to call upon the services of his brethren* in Hope Street when necessary; but only one priest at a time could be in the building.

Mr. George Melly, as the result of a few months' experience as a Vestryman, induced his colleagues to allow a number of ladies interested in charitable work to visit the women's and children's quarters. Twelve ladies were selected, Father James Nugent nominating four Catholics—Misses Mary and Isabella Gillow, Annie and Eliza Roskell. The excellent work thus inaugurated by a worthy member of a worthy family has been in operation down to this hour, and has proved an unmixed blessing in the women's quarters. Step by step Catholics were securing some measure of fairplay, and only by strenuous warfare, which was distasteful to the Catholic leaders. The aid given to them by the Liberal party was invaluable, and knit fresh bonds of attachment between them and both English and Irish Catholics.

The political influence of the Catholics was increasing. Mr. C. J. Corbally, after a spirited contest, won Vauxhall Ward by 56 votes from the retiring Conservative member, on the 1st of November, 1857. A Parliamentary election earlier in the same year gave the Catholic electors a chance of inflicting a defeat on the bitterest section of their opponents. Liverpool has rarely enjoyed the privilege common to every other constituency in England of giving a straight vote on some important political issue. Religious controversy has always been introduced in one form or another, and this insane policy must be held responsible in the main for the fierce outbreaks of "religious" rancour, which revive old and senseless antagonisms. The Liberals nominated only one candidate, Mr. J. C. Ewart; the Conservatives nominating candidates for both seats. One of the latter, Mr. Charles Turner, raised the bogey of No-Popery on the Maynooth grant, which he managed rather adroitly to tack on to opposition to the opening of the Crystal Palace on Sundays. The Catholic leaders supported the Liberal candidate, but also resolved to defeat Mr. Turner by advising their co-religionists to give their second vote to the other Conservative candidate. It was a risky policy, but the electioneering capacity of the Irish

* One of whom was Father Nugent.

voters was quite equal to the occasion. To the surprise of all parties, Bishop Goss took advantage of a dinner on St. Patrick's night, in the Irish Catholic Club, to give episcopal approval to the policy of the leading members of the Catholic community. "He hoped they would not vote for the man who "would oppose the grant to Maynooth, and who objected to "rational recreation on Sundays. He asked Mr. Turner if he "never walked in his garden on Sundays. If it was not a sin "for him to do so, why should it be sinful for a poor man to "go to the Crystal Palace, or take a walk in the country?" This unexpected advocacy of Sunday recreation by a Catholic Bishop rallied a large number of Radical voters and non-party men to vote for Ewart and against Turner, who was defeated on the polling day.

In 1857, the Bishop had the pleasure of opening the Chapel of Our Lady of Mercy, Mount Vernon, when Father W. H. Anderdon, a nephew of Cardinal Manning, preached, and on April 19th of the same year he blessed the new bells of St. Anne's, Overbury Street. At the latter ceremony the Bishop observed that as yet Catholic Churches could not have a peal of bells, and said he could not understand why, if one bell were allowed, the country would be ruined by the provision of two. In May, 1857, he laid the first stone of the new aisle of St. James', Marsh Lane, Bootle, which was opened by him on the 31st December, accommodation being thus provided for five hundred and twenty persons. By this time the Benedictine Fathers of St. Mary's had completely renovated the Ray Street Schools, in order to qualify for the new grants from the Privy Council, and on the 19th July, 1857, a soirée was held in the schools to celebrate the event. To those who remember the venerable Rector of St. Peter's, Seel Street, Father Percy Maurus Anderson, O.S.B., and were acquainted with his musical skill, it will be interesting to record that at this gathering he made his first appearance in Liverpool, and "surprised" the audience by his fine tenor voice. He had travelled from Yorkshire to join his brethren of St. Benedict in their rejoicings.

The Blue Book of 1857 comments favourably upon the great strides made by the Catholics of Liverpool in the provision of schools and teachers, and the marked improvement in the quality of the male teachers.

Hammersmith had now begun to make its work felt. The schools singled out for special reference include one well-known in Liverpool. "St. Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, under "Mr. Andrew Kelly; St. Ignatius', Preston, under Mr.

"Lehane; the Catholic school at Lancaster, under Mr. "Henry, deserve the highest praise." The two first named schools were attached to missions conducted by the Jesuits. The Report goes on to single out the boys' schools at Liscard, Carlisle, Burnley and Longton, and proceeds: "Still, after "due allowance has been made for all which the praiseworthy "efforts of the masters above named, and others of the same "stamp, have accomplished for boys, it cannot be denied that "the girls' schools exhibit the same superiority to which "their Lordships' attention has been formerly called." This continued tribute to the unique results attained by the nuns of the various teaching orders, and the wonderful interest evinced by the Privy Council in their success, paved the way for further recognition and support from Imperial sources. Educationalists of all classes were stimulated by their example and for some years attempted feebly to copy their methods, though even yet the distinction between work for gain, and that performed in the spirit of self-sacrifice and self-renunciation, is not adequately appreciated. At the end of the year 1854, 325 girls were serving their apprenticeship in Catholic schools, but were unable to avail themselves of the Queen's Scholarships, founded July 14th, 1855, because of the absence of any Training College for Catholic girls. The Poor School Committee were occupied with the enlargement of Hammersmith, but hampered by lack of means, they were unable to provide similar accommodation for girls. The Sisters of Notre Dame came to the rescue. In 1855, Mr. Allies, Secretary of the Poor School Committee, proceeded to Namur to lay the difficulties of the Catholics of England before the Superior-General. The use of Mount Pleasant was offered, with the stipulation that the Sisters were not to be called upon to surrender their property, or asked to pay the entire cost of maintenance. The Committee set aside one hundred and fifty pounds, and arranged to pay a capitation grant of two pounds per annum for every student in attendance. H.M. Inspector sanctioned the use of the building for twenty-one students, and the world-famous Training College set out on its unparalleled history. Among those who came in 1855 to begin the projected college was a future Sister Superior, Sister Mary of St. Philip. She sat in December of that year at the first examination for the Queen's Scholarships, held in Mount Pleasant, at which eight students passed in the first class, and eleven in the second. Further extensions took place in 1857, to provide for sixty students, and in the succeeding scholarship examination, twenty-seven students passed in the first class and twelve in the second, a result, to quote the Inspector's

report, "unparalleled in the history of training schools." The growing number of students, the demand for capable teachers, and the reputation of the Sisters, brought with them additional responsibilities, and further buildings had to be provided in 1859.

Distinguished visitors came from all parts of the country to enquire into the working of the successful college, notably Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, who, before leaving, said "his "visit added to the strong conviction he had always felt of "the great power given to training colleges by making them "denominational."

Teachers, trained under such conditions, carried with them to distant parts of the country the best traditions of the Sisters, and instilled some degree of their spirit into those schools where it was impossible to secure the services of the nuns themselves. Sister Jeanne de Jésus, who had been Superior for two years, died on March 22nd, 1859, a severe blow to the infant Training College, and was succeeded by Sister Mary Theresa, "who has been the mainstay of every-"thing in Mount Pleasant from that day to this (1885.)"*

The funeral of Sister Jeanne, at St. Oswald's, was attended by fifty-five students in training and one hundred and eighty scholars from the Practising and High Schools. Her services to education were warmly eulogised by the Liberal newspapers of the day.

Mr. Nasmyth Stokes, in his first report to Whitehall, remarked that "the Practising School at Mount Pleasant, "though attended by only one hundred children, gives an "admirable model of a well organised and thoroughly "taught school. Students in training are frequently taken "to other schools in the town, and thus enlarge their "experience by visits to departments of various kinds." By the year 1852, Mount Pleasant had supplied 57 trained teachers to the town and district. Out of 556 candidates and apprentices examined in 1861, 74 came from Mount Pleasant High School and 67 from the Practising School. St. Francis Xavier's alone sent up 72 girls for examination.

In 1858 Cardinal Wiseman visited Liverpool, and was the guest of Mr. Edward Chaloner. To the surprise of many good people he proposed to visit the Protestant Reformatory ship, "Akbar," and was warmly welcomed by the committee of management. The Bishop of Liverpool did not attend, and His Eminence was accompanied by the Bishop of Shrewsbury,

* See History of Notre Dame, Liverpool, published 1885.

Father Nugent, and many of the clergy. The next evening he delivered a lecture at the Philharmonic Hall on the appropriate subject: "Is the present education of the poor of a "sufficiently practical character, or can this be imparted to "it?" He laid down principles in this address which proved to be much ahead of his time, and even now are not universally acted upon. "Few," he said, "remained sufficiently long at "school to receive a decent education; the poor under-valued "it. We must endeavour to the utmost to put forward educa-"tion and excite the poor particularly to take advantage of it. ". . . Education must not be merely mental but manual, "to make him who receives it not only skilful but dexterous, "so that he might know how to use his hands and arms. He "did not consider the education of an officer complete if he "could not wield his sword, brandish it over his head, and "strike one down with it. Nor should we consider the educa-"tion of the artisan complete if he could not wield with "strength his hammer, or that of the peasant unless he could "hold and guide his plough. Clearly, if education had no "reference to the future life of the boy or girl, it was a mere "waste of time and power of the scholar and of the teacher." The Cardinal went on to suggest that washhouses and kitchens be attached to all schools for girls, and asked, "Could no plan "be devised whereby the boys who were at school could like-"wise be employed so many hours a day in industrial pursuits, "to the prosecution of a trade in one form or another? It was "because the poor saw no practical result from the present "method of education that they did not like education, and "took their children away at the very earliest moment." He complained also that the teachers for both town and country schools were trained on the same lines, a policy which he soundly condemned. This protest against a mere literary education of the children of the poor attracted the attention of the townspeople, who rubbed their eyes with amazement at such practical lessons being taught in a Protestant town by a prince of the Holy Roman Church. There was a section, however, which did not welcome the Cardinal. Sufficient for them that he was a "Papist." As his carriage drove away along Hope Street, at the conclusion of the meeting, it was followed by a mob of Orangemen, who smashed the carriage with stones and missiles of various kinds so effectively that it only realised fifteen pounds when, two days later, it was offered for sale at Lucas's Repository. A number of the assailants were arrested, and in inflicting sentence on one young man, Mr. J. S. Mansfield, the Stipendiary Magistrate, observed: "I suppose some statement about Protestant feeling,

"or other hypocritical excuse, will be got up to counteract this "infamous and disgraceful outrage." The prisoner said he had gone to see Dr. McNeill debating with the Cardinal.

Having completed the Fontenoy Street Schools, the Oblate Fathers set to work to provide a much-needed church to replace the small temporary chapel. Ten thousand Catholics were living in Holy Cross parish, and, owing to the overcrowded state of the two neighbouring parishes, it was physically impossible for all the adults to hear Mass on Sundays. The clergy organised a meeting at the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, on February 1st, 1859. Bishop Goss presided. Mr. J. B. Aspinall proposed "That, from the numbers of the Catholic "population, the present chapel has been found insufficient, "both for the decent celebration of the Divine mysteries and "even the safety of the public." He paid a warm tribute to the labours of the "foreign"* priests at Holy Cross and in the Eldon Street district, and expressed his personal pleasure in being asked to take part in the provision of a new church in a district which had attracted him from the outset. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Walton,† and amongst the other speakers was Councillor Richard Sheil. A subscription list was opened, and was headed by a donation of one hundred pounds from the Holy Cross Temperance Society. So much progress had been made that the Oblates arranged to have the first stone placed in position on June 13th, 1859. Bishop Goss performed the ceremony in the presence of some thirty priests, including Dr. Fisher,‡ a future Vicar-General, Fathers O'Reilly (the third Bishop), Dutertre, O.M.I., Jolivet, O.M.I. (the future Bishop of Natal), Vanderspitte, Grandidier, Duggan, Power, and Magrath. The address delivered by the Bishop consisted almost entirely of an earnest appeal to the people to keep away from the neighbourhood of the Old Swan, where, on the previous day, the Orangemen had provoked a serious riot. The Bishop was well aware of the militant character of the Irishmen of the parish, and feared they would march out to Old Swan on the following Sunday, when a renewal of hostilities was threatened. His advice was taken, and the rows which made the Old Swan district infamous were not renewed. The following year, on October 14th, the new church was solemnly opened by Bishop Goss, who sang the High Mass, a former Liverpool priest, now Bishop of Nottingham, Dr. Roskell, preaching the sermon in the

* Fathers Dutertre, Jolivet and Amisto were Frenchmen.

† Father of Mr. Justice Walton.

‡ President of St. Edward's College.

presence of a great assembly of priests and laity. Solemn Vespers and Te Deum were sung in the afternoon, when a famous Irish priest preached, the Rev. Dr. Lavelle, of Partry, and after compline in the evening the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Dr. Marshall, formerly of St. Anthony's, Scotland Road, but then stationed at Edinburgh. The "Liverpool Mercury" of that day described the church as "decidedly the best specimen of ecclesiastical architecture, with one exception, of which Liverpool could boast." On the 2nd of February, 1859, Dr. Goss laid the foundation stone of the fine church in Eldon Street, designed by Mr. Welby Pugin, and dedicated to Our Lady of Reconciliation de la Salette. Owing to the unfavourable weather the ceremony was performed under a huge tent, and, as the Bishop expressed it, "one more milestone was "erected to mark the uprise of the poor Catholics at that part "of the town." Newspaper want of knowledge of Catholic matters was displayed in the reports, which expressed surprise at a Capuchin heading the procession. Father Vanderspitte, the founder of the Mission, had worked a moral revolution in this rather notorious district, and had even founded a fine brass band among his young men, which, under the tuition of Monsieur Nono, maintained a reputation in musical circles for many years. The church was opened on the 15th August of the following year.

In 1859, Canon Thomas Newsham retired from his strenous labours at St. Anthony's, to a country mission at Fleetwood, and was succeeded by the Rev. Pierse Power, who had spent eleven years at St. Patrick's. One of his first acts was to wage war with the Select Vestry because of the negligence of some of its officers in attending to the poor in his new parish. Unlike most clerical complainants addressing themselves to that body, he had the satisfaction of being listened to, and of proving his case, for the Vestry not only censured the offender but passed a resolution warning him that any repetition of neglect would ensure dismissal from office. Strife broke out anew at Brownlow Hill. Allegations were made against one of the lady visitors, Miss Gillow, that she had tampered with the religion of a girl, with the suggestive name of Foley. This girl, then fifteen years of age, and an inmate of the workhouse, had previously been an inmate of the Kirkdale Schools, and registered as a Catholic. Inside the "house" she was a Protestant, and, not unnaturally, Miss Gillow spoke to her on the matter. For so doing the Workhouse Committee called upon her for an explanation, accusing her of having threatened the girl at the same time. Miss

Gillow ignored the request, sending to Father Nugent an explanation and denial of the allegations. She was under the impression that as he had secured her services, Father Nugent was the right person to whom to give any explanation of her conduct as a visitor. The Workhouse Committee resolved that Miss Gillow should cease her visitations, whereupon her brother, Mr. William Gillow, 55, Shaw Street, wrote to the Vestry Clerk suggesting that another tribunal should investigate the charges, as he had no confidence in the impartiality of the Workhouse Committee. His application was not acceded to, and Miss Gillow was compelled to resign. Father Richard Doyle, visiting priest at the schools, scarcely allowed a meeting to pass without calling attention to some case in which the creed register was marked inaccurately. He was accused of annoying the parochial authorities, and replied that he had no intention of doing that; but his duty to the Catholics outside who paid him his stipend did not permit him to knowingly allow Catholic children to receive Protestant instruction. In this connection it is remarkable that bearing in mind the enormous Catholic population of the Parish of Liverpool, and the poverty in which most of them were plunged, 58·2 of the children in Kirkdale in 1859 were registered as members of the Church of England.

Further difficulties arose in the "house" when Bishop Goss wrote to the Vestry, pointing out that every Catholic was bound by the law of the Church to approach the Sacraments during the season of Lent. He urged that, as the Catholic inmates belonged to the very poorest class, they were necessarily the most ignorant, and needed special instruction before receiving Holy Communion. Father Fleetwood was then growing old and infirm, and the Bishop urged the Vestry to rescind their former decision to allow only one priest to enter the building. He further suggested that Father Nugent or Father Laverty, of the Institute, might be allowed to assist in the work. Mr. Churchwarden Cropper met this request by the impudent declaration that of his own knowledge Father Fleetwood was in sound bodily health, and well able to perform the duties referred to, and carried the Workhouse Committee with him in refusing the Bishop's request. Messrs. Whitty and Cafferata employed the interval between this meeting and that of the Vestry so well that they secured victory by thirteen votes to five. Father Nugent, who was now in the very front rank of the clergy, performed his new duty with such tact and discretion that no complaint was ever made against his admission to the cold surroundings of the room in which he gave instructions and heard confessions

alternately with his two colleagues. At that moment the Catholic body throughout the country was generally unpopular, by reason of the stream of secessions from the Anglican Church of prominent clergymen and laymen. This made itself felt in Liverpool, too, where the secession of the Rev. A. G. Marshall, curate at St. Matthias', brought down upon him censures as undeserved as they were severe from his incumbent. The signal tact of Mr. James Whitty preserved the general toleration of the Liberal members of the Select Vestry, who, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, could not avoid being influenced by the general sense of uneasiness at the growing "dominance of Rome."

Father Patrick O'Callaghan, O.S.B., of St. Mary's, died on the 31st March, 1858. His funeral was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of grief on the part of his former parishioners, who, two thousand in number, marched four deep, from Edmund Street to Grassendale churchyard. Ninety-two carriages followed the hearse. Mr. C. J. Corbally, J.P., stated that his "commercial friends on 'Change were "bewildered at such an extraordinary manifestation of "sorrow" for a simple priest, and freely expressed their amazement as the huge procession passed down Exchange Street East.

The vast Catholic population of the town, and the passing of the Intra-mural Act of 1859, created the demand for a Catholic cemetery. In any case the space for burials in the vaults or graveyards of St. Anthony's, St. Patrick's, St. Nicholas' and St. Peter's had become seriously curtailed by the passage of time. Following the Irish practice, the dead were carried through the streets to these churches on the shoulders of their friends, the bearers being changed at intervals, it being regarded as a mark of respect to be allowed a share in the merciful work of burying the dead. Canon Newsham had purchased an estate of twenty-four acres at Ford, and on Sunday, September 22nd, 1859, Bishop Goss blessed the wooden crosses which were to serve as the Via Dolorosa. He drove in state from St. Patrick's, accompanied by the leading clergy, the entire route being crowded with people, wending their way to Ford, to witness the ceremony. The "Liverpool Mercury," in its report of the proceedings, stated that "several hundred carriages, cabs, "omnibuses, and spring carts," laden with passengers, drove behind the Bishop's carriage; a motley, but representative, procession.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was consecrated, September 8th, 1861, fifteen thousand people crowding into

the cemetery grounds. It is a curious fact that an augmented choir and orchestra rendered Haydn's First Mass on this occasion, an illustration of the ideas then prevailing as to suitable music for the opening of a cemetery chapel.

The outbreak of the Italian Revolution in 1860, brought fresh troubles to the Catholics of Liverpool. Naturally they desired to express loyalty to, and sympathy with, the august head of the Church, whose estates were invaded by men whose ideal of a united Italy was tarnished with a fierce hatred of the Christian religion itself. The motive power behind the revolution was not quite the spirit of pure love of Italy, or hatred of the Austrians; its roots lay deeper. Parish meetings were held, and special collections of Peter's Pence made in every church. Mr. Edward Chaloner gave five hundred pounds, at his own parish church of St. Oswald, and two hundred and fifty at St. Vincent's. Bishop Goss proceeded to Rome, to lay at the feet of Pope Pius the Ninth the addresses of loyalty from every corner of his diocese, and the extremely generous offerings of the faithful.

Liverpool became quite uneasy at these demonstrations, and the opportunity was seized by itinerant street preachers to arouse the lower orders of the town into hostile manifestations against the Church. Englishmen generally sympathised warmly with the Italian Movement, but it cannot be admitted that the outburst of bigotry against Liverpool Catholics came from men who understood the bearings of a delicate international question. The relations between the different parties and the Catholic leaders became more and more strained, until the early seventies, when the Temporal Power of the Popes was destroyed and Victor Emmanuel proclaimed King of Italy. This friction had unfortunate consequences. The rapidly closing gulf between Catholics and their fellow citizens was widened, works of charity were hindered and the Catholic leaders had a difficult task to perform in preventing even worse consequences. Without sacrificing any principle they displayed great tact in their public relations, and credit is due in the main to the splendid leadership of Mr. James Whitty.

Garibaldi opened an agency in Castle Street, under the management of a soldier, Captain Hampton, to secure recruits for the "Italian patriots." The officers of the volunteer corps lent their drill shed in Devon Street to Captain Hampton, for the purposes of drilling the Liverpool "volunteers." In September, 1860, no less than eighty "volunteers" marched to Lime Street Station, accompanied by cheering crowds who looked upon them merely as enemies

of the Pope, without any thought of the actual merits of the question at issue.

Some differences manifested themselves in the Catholic body. Many were in favour of the expulsion of the Austrians, sympathising with the Italian Nationalist movement against foreign rule, and a small minority, undoubtedly, were favourable to the separation of the Holy See from purely political relations with the European States. At this early stage of the Italian troubles, many English and Irish Catholics appeared to believe that once the Italians were freed from the rule of the Austrian, peace would be won for Italy, and security obtained for the absolute freedom of the Sovereign Pontiff. As Englishmen forgot how the Temporal Power saved British Commerce, in the reign of Pope Pius the Seventh, when he refused to obey Napoleon's command to close his harbours against English shipping, many Catholics also forgot the real significance and value of the Pope's unfettered possession of the patrimony of St. Peter.* The "Liverpool Daily Post" took a very prominent part in advancing the views of the Catholic minority, or Liberal Catholics, as they were quite erroneously termed. The founder and editor was Mr. M. J. Whitty, a native of County Wexford; an ex-ecclesiastical student; Head Constable of Liverpool; founder of the Fire Brigade, and of the first penny daily newspaper.

There was a Catholic weekly, "The Northern Press," printed and published in Post Office Place, which had a large circulation in the town and neighbourhood. Its editor was Mr. S. B. Harper, a convert from the Anglican Church. He wielded a vigorous pen, and took up an uncompromising Catholic attitude, which brought about a battle of pens between himself and the editor of the "Daily Post." In the contest he was worsted. The brilliant Wexfordman, with the advantages of an excellent education, a considerable knowledge of Catholic theological works, a facile pen, and the advantage, from a political standpoint, of being quite unorthodox, overwhelmed the rival editor. Mr. Whitty laid down the following proposition in the editorial columns of the "Post":—"Frankly accepted and boldly turned to "account, the loss of the Temporal Power might have secured "to the Catholic Church a new lease of life, more vigorous "and beneficent than it had ever yet enjoyed." The "Northern Press" replied to this rather specious argument

* For an excellent exposition of the case for the Temporal Power, see Bishop Whiteside's Pastoral on the accession of Pius the Tenth.

in a well-informed, but rather loosely written, editorial, which gave Mr. Whitty an opportunity of shewing that all Liverpool Catholics did not follow Mr. Harper's reasoning. On October 23rd, 1860, he wrote: "We have asserted "frequently that the Ultramontanes did not represent the "Roman Catholics of England and Ireland. There is in "this town a Catholic newspaper, called the 'Northern "'Press,' conducted, in reference to its principles, with con- "siderable ability, but, as its principles are vile, hurtful alike "to religion and to man. The English Roman Catholics "decline to support it, they refuse to subscribe, they do not "read it. This is not to be wondered at, for it is eternally "abusing Victor Emmanuel, Garibaldi, and the 'Daily Post.'"

It is evident from a perusal of its columns that the "Northern Press" was not a Liberal organ, and this very probably accounts for Mr. Whitty's assertion that the English Roman Catholics did not read it, to say nothing of its extravagant language and want of dignity, which certainly did give offence to many leading Catholics. Here is a fair sample: "What we want to know is, who made the "'Daily Post' our teacher? What right has this miserable "driveller to thrust itself before us as a teacher of what is "best for Catholics to do or not to do? Who is to blame for "this weekly, almost daily, insulting scribble against us "Catholics? We will answer that question. Catholics are "themselves to blame. We are a mean, miserable, time- "serving body, after all, without a spark of true Catholic "honesty about us. The smiles of fortune and success in "this world generally emasculate character, so that men who "ought to be at the head of every Catholic movement sit at "ease, in the midst of their acquired abundance, and neglect "their duty to their fellow man. Nationality, public spirit, "self-sacrifice, are blotted out from their vocabulary, and the "more they advance in prosperity, the more they are eaten "up by selfishness. . . So Victor Emmanuel is applauded, "Garibaldi is raised to the gods, and the Pope may fall to "the ground, for all these liberal minded Catholics care. "Catholics are to blame for the shame and obloquy that has "of late been thrown on their religion. We truckle to "the spirit of the world; we sneak along and hide our honest "feelings, because we are too cowardly to stand up for them "and bear the battle with the world. The 'Daily Post' "comes out, morning after morning, with lies and calumnies, "and we read it, and, what is worse, feel but little indig- "nation, when the mantle of burning shame should crimson "our cheeks to hear and read these vile insults to our holy "Faith." There is internal evidence in this picturesque bit

of ink slinging that Mr. Whitty had good grounds for his belief that some Catholics of prominence were not quite orthodox on the question of the Temporal Power. It must, however, be said that at this early period of the Italian movement no one anticipated that the Sovereign Pontiff would be deprived of the whole of his territory, and placed in the invidious position of being practically a subject of the King of Italy without that freedom which the Head of the Church should enjoy in his relations with the Christian world. Herein lay the real nature of the differences which did prevail in "English Roman Catholic" circles, in Liverpool and neighbourhood. The "Daily Post" replied briefly that it had "never printed a line insulting to any Christian faith." Catholic opinion was excited at the vigorous attacks on the Temporal Power by this journal, and a movement began, which came to nought, to establish a daily paper which the Catholics of the town might read without having their feelings wounded. At a meeting of St. Mary's Young Men's Society, Father Almond, O.S.B., said, "while we look forward "to that boon, let us not forget the boon we have, the "'Northern Press.' Let us not separate this night without "saying, 'bad luck to the 'Daily Post!'" (Hisses.)

The "Mercury" departed from the lofty tone which had characterised its columns. Instead of confining its criticisms to the real points at issue in Italy, it poured out a torrent of personal abuse on Pope Pius, whose allocutions it described "as largely enriching the literature of Billingsgate." To make matters worse, wild stories were put in circulation of persecution of Protestants in Spain, which lost nothing in the telling, week after week, in the press and on the platform. Bishop Goss spoke out against these accusations and challenged Sir Robert Peel to produce evidence in support of the allegations. Public opinion was too excited to secure a fair hearing, and the first evidence of this was the rejection from Vauxhall Ward by two votes, of the retiring Catholic Liberal, Mr. C. J. Corbally.

This gentleman accepted his defeat quietly and sought a seat on the Burial Board of the Parish His nomination was challenged on religious grounds by the Tory leaders, but the great bulk of the Liberal electors stood by him, and with Messrs. Thornely and S. B. Jackson he was successful at the poll. With his partner, Mr. Richard Sheil, he was placed on the Commission of the Peace, on the nomination of the Liberal leader. The Catholic Club organised a series of lectures to educate public opinion on the points then disturbing the Protestant mind, the first lecture being delivered in the Philharmonic Hall, by Dean O'Brien, Limerick, founder

of the Young Men's Societies, the subject matter being "The "Church and Human Progress."

The elections in 1861 closed an interesting chapter in the political history of Liverpool Catholics. Compulsory attendance of children in elementary schools was in the air, and the establishment of a system of national schools was fast becoming a fixed principle of the Liberal party. Hitherto Catholics of all ranks, with very few exceptions, in Lancashire were staunch opponents of the Conservative party; now there were signs of disintegration. Fearful lest the rising school of Liberalism might injure the denominational schools, some of the Catholic gentry, notably Sir Robert Gerard, appeared on the Conservative platform. That they were influenced by the demand for household franchise and Parliamentary reform and other advanced Liberal proposals is certain, but the rupture was precipitated by the new developments of education policy.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone had refused to stand again for the county division then known as South Lancashire. This constituency included Southport, Wigan, St. Helens, Warrington, Leigh, Ormskirk, and the freeholders of Liverpool and Manchester. If anywhere, there was a large Catholic vote inside this area. To secure it was the aim of the Liberals and Tories alike for their respective champions, Mr. Cheetham and Mr. Charles Turner. The Liberals estimated that the Nonconformist and Catholic electors out-numbered the official Conservatives by three to one, and looked forward with great confidence to a substantial majority.

The Conservative candidate had been defeated in Liverpool, as already related, because of his strong anti-Catholic views and his constant appearances on McNeill's platform. That any Catholic would vote for him appeared to be outside the bounds of possibility. Lord Derby made a strenuous effort to win the seat for Mr. Turner, and the Liberal Party became alarmed at the circulation of a rumour that at the previous general election Cardinal Wiseman had issued private instructions to the Bishops to support Lord Derby, who had promised in return, so it was alleged, to concede the appointment of paid Catholic chaplains to the army, navy, prisons, and workhouses.* Bishop Goss was charged with using his influence against the Liberal candidate, and many Liverpool Catholics accepted this accusation as well founded. The Catholic Club met to consider the situation. Mr. P. S. Bidwill, Colonel of the Irish Volunteer Corps, presided. The decision was as follows:—"That, while disapproving on "principle of certain views and opinions of Mr. Cheetham, it

* See Disraeli's letter to the Cardinal, quoted in Wilfred Ward's Life.

" is the duty of all Catholics to support him, as he is the only " exponent of Liberal principles in home legislation with " which Catholics are identified." Mr. Charles Turner won by 835 votes.* The Liverpool polling showed that he had only a majority of 88 votes, which centainly went to prove that the Catholic freeholders had voted in accordance with the recommendation of the Catholic Club. In Manchester, Mr. Cheetham had a majority of 400, but in the country districts he was out-voted. The Liberal leaders attributed the unexpected result to Bishop Goss, and alleged that the clergy did interfere in the contest at his suggestion. The " Liverpool " Mercury," on the other hand, observed: " We know that as " a rule the Catholic clergy interfere less in political matters in " the way of solicitation than the brethren of any other " denomination, and that the Jesuits never vote at all." The Birkenhead contest furnished some evidence which seemed to the Liberal leaders to confirm their suspicions. A meeting was summoned by the priests of Birkenhead to decide the relative claims of Messrs. Brassey and Laird. It was decided to support the Conservative candidate, whereupon a protest was published, signed by 326 Irish voters, declaring that no voter was invited to this meeting, save those who were known to be favourable to Mr. John Laird. Canon Chapman, Rector of St. Werburgh's, openly took the field against Mr. Brassey, and marched at the head of one hundred Catholic voters to the polling place. Mr. Brassey was defeated by 323 votes; the Catholic vote being responsible for this result.

This was the beginning of the gradual drifting apart from each other of Irish and English Catholics, which became more marked in later years. At that moment the separation was particularly unfortunate, and it led to the disappearance from public and even semi-public affairs of both Irishmen and Englishmen who could ill be spared from the active work of propagating much-needed charities.

One of these works was the saving of the faith of Poor Law children. In February, 1860, the Catholic Poor School Committee, London, conceived the idea of establishing Poor Law Schools to which the Guardians could send the Catholic children from the workhouses. It was a brilliant idea, and as it emanated from Catholics it must excite " Protestant " hostility. Quite apart from the Catholic purpose, the removal of Poor Law children into private institutions licensed by the Government was infinitely better than the crude methods which prevailed for thirty years in even the best managed Unions.

* The bells of St. Peter's, Church Street, and St. Nicholas', Chapel Street, were rung in honour of the Conservative victory.

Mr. Jones, churchwarden, called the attention of the Select Vestry to the movement, and proposed that, "This Board "views with concern and regret the agitation begun in London "for separate Poor Law Schools." He further quoted a paragraph from the "Northern Press" to the effect that but for the presence of Mr. James Whitty, the Select Vestry would be as active a proselytising agent as the other Boards of Guardians in the country. The Vestry declined to share the fears of Mr. Jones, not because they entirely disagreed with him, but because the members regarded the proposal as outside the range of practical politics. A local committee was formed to further the work, and a Bill was lodged in Parliament framed by Lord Petre and the Honble. Charles Langdale. Their hands were strengthened when Mr. James Whitty called public attention to the large numbers of Catholic children sent from the Kirkdale Schools to Protestant families in the neighbourhood of Bacup. He suggested that when such children were sent out, the Governor be instructed to require a written undertaking from the employer that he would send the child to a place of worship on Sundays in accord with the religion described in the Poor Law creed register. This act of justice had been denied for years, and what was worse, the Vestry declined to defend the children when employers flagrantly forced the child labourer to attend an alien service. Mr. Whitty's suggestion was rejected, whereupon a deputation, consisting of the Very Rev. Provost Cookson, Mr. John Yates, and Mr. J. Neale Lomax, waited upon the Schools Committee, and gave details of the proselytism practised. They further announced that the Catholic Club would be willing to undertake the entire responsibility of finding suitable situations for every boy and girl discharged from the Kirkdale Schools. They besought the hearty co-operation of the Vestrymen, and suggested as a practical method that they should be furnished with a list of the children about to be discharged. This proposal was not accepted. Despite the detailed information supplied to them, many of the members, in good faith, declined to believe that any employer could be so bigoted or unreasonable as to tamper with an employee's religious faith. Eventually the victory was gained, Father Gibson, the visiting priest, being supplied with the lists asked for. Mr. Cropper opposed the confirmation of this agreement at the Vestry meeting on the ground that a similar application might be sent in by the Methodist body, as if the latter were not entitled to the rights of citizenship. Until unfortunate political complications many years later broke up this admirable work on the part of the Catholic Club, hundreds of

children were placed with Catholic families or with Protestant employers who most loyally kept faith. No better work was ever done for the poor by the Catholic leaders, and we who live under happier conditions ought to remember their names with deep affection. Bishop Goss presided at a meeting to celebrate this victory. He stated that over two hundred children had been discharged annually, of whom two-thirds lost their religion by reason of their environment. During the "Education Campaign" of 1906, the writer spent some time in a mining centre in North-East Lancashire, to which hundreds of children had been sent during the sixties, and personally examining the abundant proofs submitted was satisfied that Dr. Goss's estimate of two-thirds under-estimated the loss of faith, nay, of all religious belief.

The payment of Catholic chaplains was the next Poor Law problem. The House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to enquire into this question, as well as the proposal that it should be compulsory on Guardians to appoint a certain number of Catholic teachers in workhouse schools. Mr. James Whitty gave evidence before this Committee. It came as a great surprise to those who believed that the workhouse was filled with Catholics to learn from Mr. Whitty's evidence that, though the majority of the *residents* of the parish were Catholics the proportion receiving indoor relief in 1861 was 1,204, as against 1,478 non-Catholics. The Orange element severely attacked Mr. Whitty for giving evidence without having obtained previously the permission of the Vestry, and the Liberals, led by Mr. Peck, quite as warmly resented any attempt to silence such an experienced Guardian. Without waiting to see what the Select Committee would recommend, the Vestry passed a resolution protesting against any changes being made, on the motion of its most illiberal member, Mr. Satchell. The same section made a desperate effort to prevent a Catholic gentleman, Mr. Lightbound, Dale Street, from succeeding to a vacant seat, but were defeated; in fact, they were defeated mainly by their violent speeches.

The emigration from Ireland to America during the year 1861 reached a high figure, and was followed by a movement in the same direction from Liverpool. It is unfortunate that no particulars were obtained, as in 1847, of the emigrants arriving in the Mersey, so that it could be computed how many Irish people living in the city had been caught by the emigration fever. The number of Catholics in the town has always been a disputed point. Father James Nugent, speaking on St. Patrick's Day, 1861, asserted in a positive manner that there were at least 150,000 Catholics out of a total

population of 462,749. On the following Feast of St. Patrick, Bishop Goss stated that on an average seven thousand children were in daily attendance at the schools, which at first sight would appear to traverse Father Nugent's figures, but closer examination of the prevailing conditions only serves to show how fallacious it would be to estimate the population by the school attendance. There was no compulsory attendance then as now. In 1854, eight years before the Bishop's statement, 7,450 children marched through the streets in procession, and no less than five schools were unrepresented. How did it come about that eight years later there were less children apparently in Catholic schools? As early as 1852, the Inspector of Schools noticed the extraordinary fact that in the small school of St. Hilda 650 entered their names on the books in one year, and during the same period 400 left. Compulsory education has been the handmaid of religion in Catholic Liverpool since 1870; the pity is the same law did not date from 1850. Father Nugent stated that at this period* no less than 23,000 children were roaming about the streets and docks, a dreadful fact which set his fertile brain to work out many a scheme of social salvation. The St. Vincent de Paul Society made the first move early in 1861, by opening a house, 15, Everton Crescent,† to accommodate seventy boys who earned their living—a sad and precarious one—by street trading. This splendid work of saving the boy, under the inspiring leadership of Father Nugent, developed later on, and the Jesuit Fathers at St. Francis Xavier's did their share by establishing a Ragged School in Birchfield Street, Islington, transferred afterwards to 79, Finch Street.‡ Here were gathered a host of poor street urchins, provided with free meals and clothing, and, under the care of the Sisters of Charity, given some training in religious and secular knowledge. The Jesuit Fathers provided them with breakfast on Sunday mornings, and then marched them to St. Francis Xavier's to hear Mass. This institution lasted until the passage of the Act of 1870 made school attendance compulsory.‖ The work of rescue was still further developed on May 18, 1862, when the Rev. J. H. Fisher opened the orphanage in

* 1861.

† The great development of the work so begun is now to be witnessed in the well-known Father Berry's Homes, Shaw Street.

‡ Now Kempston Street.

‖ Father George Porter, S.J., made the superintendency of this school his special work. He established a dispensary here for the sick poor, and secured the voluntary services of Drs. A. M. Bligh (Councillor and Alderman for nearly 30 years), John Bligh (now a Justice of the Peace), Shepherd, Kirk, O'Leary, Cavanagh, and Austin Williams. Free meals have always been a feature of St. Francis Xavier's School.

Beacon Lane, which was placed under the care of the Sisters of Charity. Later on it became a Certified Industrial School, and continues in the twentieth century its beneficent work of juvenile reclamation.

Bishop Goss, in the second year of his episcopate, invited the Sisters of the Good Shepherd to open a refuge in Liverpool, and their first house was established in Netherfield Road.* The work of reclaiming the sad wreckage of fallen womanhood did not meet with much appreciation from the surrounding population, many attacks being made upon the house by bands of bigoted Orangemen, who little knew the self-sacrifice of the saintly sisters. Father Nugent had a special love for this work, and gave early evidence of his appreciation of the Good Shepherd nuns by acting as secretary of the successful bazaar in their aid, by which the sum of three thousand pounds was raised. At that date, November, 1861, the nuns had removed to Mason Street, where they had fifty penitents under their care.† With the proceeds of the bazaar a site was bought at Ford, where the nuns labour to this hour. Miss Rosson, sister of the Mr. John Rosson whose name figures so prominently in preceding chapters, contributed one thousand pounds in aid of this great charity.

In June, 1862, a renewal of hostilities took place between Messrs. Whitty and Harper in their respective journals. The editor of the "Daily Post" provoked the fight by the following leader:—"The Pope finds in the four hundred prelates "assembled in Rome, willing abettors of his policy. Some, "if not all the prelates, were disposed to launch at the King "of Italy and his subjects the awful thunders of the Church. "They advised the Holy Father to pronounce excommunica- "tion against Victor Emmanuel and his adherents, and to "relieve his subjects from the oath of allegiance. The "'Opinione Nationale" avouches this fact, but, nevertheless, "we are incredulous. For a long time the thunders of the "Church have been innocuous; the Bishops representing both "Catholic and Protestant Powers would hardly recommend a "proceeding which strikes direct at the solemn compact "between princes and people. It is the old story of relieving "people from their oaths, and the adoption of the repudiated "doctrine of the dethroning of Sovereigns. Excommunication "has lost its force, and in Italy it would be fulminated in "the teeth of public opinion, which even in times long past "annulled the power of the Pontiff. The Bishops, however, "are to present an address to the Pope, expressing sympathy

* The area which figured so prominently in the Police Enquiry, Liverpool, February, 1910.

† See "Tablet," November, 1861.

"and promising support. Of course, the brief report is not "to be relied upon; it would be strange indeed, if, amidst "four hundred prelates from every corner of the world, there "were not a few with courage enough to tell the Head of the "Church a few wholesome truths." This was an exasperating leader, and provoked a reply from the "Northern Press":— "The Editor of the 'Post' is not, we are well aware, a theo- "logian; but he is what is commonly known as clever, he has "plenty of strong commonsense, and has had the immense "advantage of a knowledge of the fundamentals of the "Catholic Faith; and, for this reason, such writing displays a "far greater amount of stupidity than it would in the writing "of one who had always been ignorant of the fundamentals "of the Catholic doctrine; it is doubly criminal. Excommu- "nication is a purely spiritual force. God sometimes enforces "it with temporal judgment; sometimes, as in the case of "Napoleon the First, as a warning to the criminal; sometimes, "as in the case of Cavour, a warning to others. But the "mere temporal judgment is scarcely to be considered in the "force of the excommunication. That is the terrific penalty "of eternal perdition." This was just the kind of writing which Whitty delighted to reply to, and he took full advantage in his reply. He pointed out that but a few days earlier he was called by a Protestant paper "a Papist, a Jesuit in "disguise, and now the 'Northern Press' comes along with the "regret that a writer, once a Catholic, should have fallen so "completely into the Protestant groove of thought. The "'Daily Post' concerns itself only with politics, never with "theology. If theologians depart from their profession, they "become amenable to censure or to criticism. We dare not "say that we are as good Christians as our neighbour in Post "Office Place, but as we know a great deal more about the "Roman Catholic faith than he does he will not be offended "if we tell him that, refraining from eating beefsteak and "onions on Fridays does not constitute a good Catholic. He "is pleased to ascribe to us the usual folly of perverts; and "as he ought to be a good judge in that case, having from "being a bad Protestant become a good Catholic, we dare "not question his inferences, although we repel his insinua- "tions. Now, as we know a great deal more about theology "than he does, we will show him that he is utterly ignorant "of the Catholic doctrine on the point." Mr. M. J. Whitty then proceeded to publish *in extenso* the evidence given by Dr. Doyle, the famous Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, before a Parliamentary Committee in 1825. The object of this Committee was to find out some means of convincing English

public opinion that Catholics could be loyal to lawfully constituted sovereignty as a preparation for the passage of Catholic Emancipation. It was scarcely fair of the Editor of the "Post" to overwhelm his Catholic rival with the evidence of an Irish Bishop, of whom in all probability Mr. Harper had never heard. In any case, there were plenty of theologians of equal rank whose opinions were quite opposed to Dr. Doyle's; but the point upon which Mr. Whitty fastened was the emphatic declaration that it was not in the power of any Pope to absolve the Catholic people from their oath of allegiance. He knew very well that the Catholic people of Italy had taken no oath of allegiance to a King of Italy, and that Pope Pius was not depriving any monarch of his kingdom, a point which Bishop Doyle made in his famous evidence. Be that as it may, it was undeniably clever to confound the untrained Editor of the "Northern Press" by setting up a Bishop against him. The article concluded with the biting taunt: "The Catholics of Liverpool, we presume, read the "'Northern Press' as they do 'Punch,' for the pleasure "afforded by extravagant nonsense."

In October, 1862, a debating society attached to one of the Anglican churches in Birkenhead announced a discussion on the question—"Is Garibaldi a patriot?" This simple announcement brought about a serious disturbance of the peace of Birkenhead, and had an unfortunate influence on the political relations between the Catholics and Liberals of Liverpool. A great crowd of Irish labourers gathered outside the schoolroom where the debate was announced to be held, and prevented by force the delivery of a single speech. In the riot which ensued a large number of persons were seriously injured. To make matters worse, the Rev. Mr. Baylee, to whom reference has already been made in a previous chapter, created a feeling of consternation by a statement that he heard the Rector of St. Werburgh's, Canon Chapman, cheering and encouraging the Irish labourers in their uncalled-for and indefensible attack on the meeting place. This serious accusation aroused hot passions on both sides of the Mersey. As a matter of fact, Canon Chapman was fifty miles away from Birkenhead at the time of the disturbance. There was a priest, Father Brundritt, who addressed the rioters, not in terms of encouragement, but of condemnation. When the Catholic population learned that Mr. Baylee's son had called at St. Werburgh's Presbytery and begged Father Brundritt's aid to disperse the crowd, and that he bore testimony to the successful intervention of the priest, a storm of indignation filled Liverpool as well as Birkenhead against the deliberately

uttered calumnies against Canon Chapman. Not for the first time had Mr. Baylee, senior, provoked disorder in Birkenhead; this time bloodshed followed. The debate was announced again, and would have passed off without interference had the passions of both sides not been inflamed to fever heat. Even the local authorities lost their heads. Two hundred men of the Forty-Ninth Regiment were brought into Birkenhead, and one thousand special constables sworn in. The high sense of duty which animated the amateur policemen may be gauged from their behaviour on the parade ground, where they called for cheers for Garibaldi and groans for Pope Pius the Ninth and Napoleon the Third. In the streets a battle was fought in which the special constables were put to flight; blood flowed freely, and but for the military, Birkenhead would have had occasion to long remember the month of October. The "Daily Post" gave a long detailed report of the riot, and spoke out freely against its originators. Mr. S. B. Harper, always on the look-out for any excuse to attack Mr. Whitty, wrote a furious attack on "the blackguardly "report," and expressing "intense disgust" at its publication. The "Post" simply replied that the report which appeared in the "Northern Press" had been lifted bodily from its own columns, but that wherever the word "Catholic" appeared it was struck out by Mr. Harper. In every contest the "Northern Press" was easily worsted by the leading daily.

Mr. John Yates was the Liberal candidate for Castle Street Ward at the time of the riot, and spoke out with considerable heat against the Irishmen of Birkenhead. Mr. M. J. Whitty claimed this speech as another proof of his assertion that the leading Catholics of Liverpool were not "Ultramon-"tanes," and lamented the bad feelings engendered on both sides of the Mersey by "the Pope's miserable bit of land." The Liberal electors of Castle Street Ward did not stop to consider whether Mr. Yates was or was not an Ultramontane, nor did they attach much importance to his denunciation of the rioters; sufficient for some of them that Mr. Yates was a Catholic. He lost a seat in a Liberal stronghold through Liberal defections. The moral was not lost on the rank and file of the Irish population. Had John Yates applauded the rioters he would have lost his seat in the Council; he suffered the same loss, despite his unsparing advocacy of free speech and his popularity with the "Daily Post."

Liverpool dislikes moderate men. That Castle Street voters should set such a bad example was a revelation of how easy it was to arouse anti-Catholic feeling, even against such

a man as Yates. They could not have behaved worse had he opened a recruiting bureau for the Pope in his office. In a few months the Liberal dissentients shewed signs of regret, and when Mr. Yates unseated his Conservative opponent on an election petition, they returned him to the Council. He was just too late to record his vote for Councillor Sheil's nomination as alderman; the proposal was defeated by the casting vote of the Mayor.

One of the indirect results of the Civil War in America was the difficulty which Father Gibson and Mr. J. Neale Lomax experienced in finding situations for the Catholic boys discharged from the workhouse. The cotton famine had closed down the mills in which many of these boys and girls found employment. In two years, over two hundred children had been placed with Catholic families, and on July 7th, 1862, at a meeting convened by Canon Cookson, it was reported by Father Gibson that, owing to the cotton famine, he had been unable to deal with forty boys. He stated that, under the circumstances, the Vestry had to send them into districts where they were certain to lose their faith. On the cessation of hostilities the Committee resumed its beneficent work. Meanwhile, Mr. James Whitty was working quietly to secure the appointment of one Catholic teacher on the Kirkdale staff, and received a powerful backing from the editor of the "Daily Post." Though defeated in the Vestry, he secured the concession of a Catholic being appointed labour master. This man conducted the children from Kirkdale to St. Anthony's, to Mass and Benediction, a long journey, necessitated by the strange policy of the Schools Committee, which, refusing permission for Mass inside, compelled some non-Catholic officer to attend Mass outside. The new arrangement at least relieved one officer of an irksome duty.

Bishop Goss inaugurated a new departure in rescue work in August, 1863. He summoned a meeting in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, to consider a proposal to establish a training ship in the Mersey for Catholic boys needing reformatory treatment. The Bishop's Committee, after much experience of the work, made representations that industrial and farming work was not successful with certain types of boys committed by the magistrates, and suggested that a training for the sea would be much more beneficial. The Admiralty expressed willingness to hand over the frigate, Clarence,* for the purpose, and to put the ship into condition for the new work ten thousand pounds was required. At the meeting

* Burnt down forty years later. The institution still exists at Farnworth, Widnes.

eight hundred pounds was placed in the Bishop's hands, many donations coming in from Protestant friends of the new movement.

A new responsibility was placed on the Bishop's shoulders by the passage into law of the Prison Ministers Bill, in 1863. This Act enabled the Justices to appoint paid ministers of religion to instruct prisoners not registered as members of the Anglican Church. It was a great concession to Catholics, who had agitated for it unceasingly for the previous twenty years. Unlike the Town Council, Select Vestry, and other governing bodies, the Justices of Liverpool were always conspicuous by their impartiality. In this year they met to consider the appointment of a Catholic Chaplain, and fixed the sum of three hundred pounds per annum as stipend. The choice fell upon Father James Nugent. No happier selection could have been made. The recommendation had to run the gauntlet of the Town Council, and the Conservative party therein demurred, on the ground that the Council alone had the right to fix the stipend, and even to refuse to pay such. The Rev Dr. Taylor,* one of the most brilliant members of the evangelical school of thought, stimulated the Council, by a vigorous platform agitation, to refuse payment to the new chaplain. His eloquent tongue delivered a series of passionate and bitter attacks on the Catholic Church, in which he also laid down the strange proposition that the Catholic population of Liverpool had no right to assistance from the rates, as they did not, except in few instances, make any contribution to the common purse. This taunt at the poverty of his own Catholic countrymen was unworthy of Dr. Taylor, and brought down on his head a severe castigation from Mr. Whitty of the "Daily Post," who had mastered the elements of political economy. The Home Secretary stopped the controversy by deciding that as the chaplain's salary came out of funds made up out of fines and court fees the Town Council had no veto. It was a happy decision and prevented further agitation, though the argument of the Home Secretary is not quite so unassailable as appears at first sight.

Having disposed of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Whitty then turned his attention to the Bishop, who, until now, had been left severely alone by the "Post." Dr. Goss began one of his Lenten pastorals in these terms: "The times in which we live "are not favourable to the work of our salvation. We are

* Archdeacon of Liverpool, father of Mr. Gerald Kyffin-Taylor, elected M.P. for Kirkdale, July, 1910. He was much respected by Catholics in late years, and on his death the flag was hoisted half-mast on the tower of St. Charles', Aigburth Road.

"living in a constant whirl of excitement. The quiet old "times have passed away for ever. Even the lone farm house "on the outskirts of civilisation, and the hovel on the moss, "are laid open to the busy world by some intersecting line "of railway, or by the busy purveyors of news, who are "paid for gratifying the itching curiosity of busy idlers "panting for excitement. The penny post carries the scandal "of every village far and wide, and the penny paper daily "lays before its readers, all that is being done on the great "stage of life. Public and private vices alike find room, if "they are only thought sufficiently exciting. The melan-"choly suicide, the desperate burglary, the cruel murder, "the dexterous robbery, the successful forgery, the daring "theft, the insidious advertisement, the revolting details of "the divorce court, the coroner's inquests on the victims of "science and quackeries in the attempt to hide the shame of "crime, or conceal the guilt of murder, are found side by "side with the horrors of distant battle fields, the success "of revolt and treason, and blasphemous sneers against the "Mother of God, her Divine Son, or His anointed "ministers." This vigorous and picturesque epitome of the contents of a daily journal illustrates the literary skill as well as the outspokenness of the Bishop. In this case it was the mere prelude to a straight talk with his flock on Lenten duties, but Mr. Whitty fastened on it as a reflection on the Press, and attacked the author in equally vigorous language: "Pious and pure minded himself, he would make all others "good if he knew the way; but unfortunately, in one direc-"tion at least, he has mistaken it. . . Dr. Goss, like used-"up aristocrats, associates cheapness with nastiness; he is "tolerant of papers at threepence, but reprobates papers at "one penny. The reports he objects to appear in the dear, "as well as in the cheap papers, with a difference: the "details are given more copiously in the former than in the "latter. If Dr. Goss knew a little more of humanity and "society than he does, he would not have fallen into the "error of good, but mistaken, people, in denouncing the "publication of proceedings in the Law Courts. What the "preacher says in the pulpit is excellent, but it is in part "an abstraction. It wants the apt and frightful illustration "which the newspaper furnishes. It is now a custom and a "fashion to affect an imitation of the past, and Dr. Goss, "disgusted with all that is modern, laments that all that was "good has disappeared. This mode of misjudging is as "ancient as Homer; and the good Bishop of Liverpool only "errs a little more than Gladstone, who holds in as much "reverence the heroic ages in Greece, as Dr. Goss does the

"middle ages in Europe." As a matter of fact the Bishop made no distinction between threepenny journals and penny ones, and beyond his reference to the "quiet old times," there was no allusion, direct or implied, to the middle ages. Acting generally upon the principle that his pastorals were intended for the members of his flock alone, the Bishop rarely noticed newspaper or platform criticisms, but the "Post," by its lengthy reports of his speeches and sermons, made its Monday editions the medium of conveying Dr. Goss's opinions to a much larger constituency. He, however, waited his opportunity to reply to the above criticism, and gave Mr. Whitty something to reflect upon, both as a Catholic and a journalist. It is very probable that Dr. Goss would have refused to notice the "Daily Post" leader, had its author been a non-Catholic. "The Press," he wrote, "has done much for the "spread of knowledge and the defence of our liberties; but "it exceeds its province when it ventures to discuss the "mysteries of Divine revelation, or unravel the intricacies "of theology. It weakens its own influence by going out of "its sphere, and it is laying the foundation of its own ruin "when it strives to depreciate every authority but its own. "It presumes to lecture the Pope on theology, the Com-"mander-in-Chief on military affairs, the Lord Chancellor "on law, and the Prime Minister on affairs of State. It is a "mighty engine, but it is too often made subservient to party "views, irrespective of principle. It is considered as an "investment of capital, and is worked with a view to the "interests of shareholders. Its writers, though men of "ability, are often devoid of political integrity, inasmuch as "they write at the same time for papers of opposite politics. ". . . . Within its proper sphere there is no more useful "organ for the protection of right than the public press; but, "as men do not wish to see the pulpit converted into a "platform for political discussion, so neither should the "platform be converted into a pulpit for the discussion of "religious topics." This was but the beginning of Dr. Goss's writings and speeches on public matters, and of more than one controversy with the editor of the "Daily Post." In very truth, during his long episcopate, Dr. Goss was, in fact as in name, *the* Bishop of Liverpool.

In November, 1863, Mr. James Whitty contested Vauxhall Ward as the Liberal candidate against Mr. Thomas Rigby, and won the seat by nineteen votes. Soon afterwards the Mayor announced that he had invited Garibaldi to visit Liverpool during his sojourn in England in order to offer him civic hospitality. The three Catholic members of the Council, Messrs. Sheil, Yates, and Whitty, did not divide the Council

against this proposal, contenting themselves with a protest. The "Daily Post" accused them of "preferring the Pope to "the Roman Catholic Church." Dr. Parsons, at a dinner in the Catholic Club, eulogised the action of the three Councillors, who, like himself, were devoted members of the Liberal Party, whereupon Mr. Whitty, in a series of special articles written under the nom-de-plume of "Roman Catholic," vigorously assailed the doctor. In one of these contributions he advised him to restrain his fiery eloquence, and to borrow a copy of Dr. Lingard's "History of England" from Mr. James Whitty, so that he might learn something of Papal opposition to English liberty in the days of King John. Dr. Parsons wrote several clever replies, but did not appear to quite appreciate the significance of "Roman Catholic's" contention that Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been censured by Pope Innocent for his share in forcing the King to concede Magna Charta.* One sentence in the "Post" created intense irritation: "The Father of the Faithful is obliged to surround "himself with foreign troops, lest his people might force him "to do them justice." These articles, widely read as they were by all classes, made the position of Catholic public men almost intolerable; hampered in their public work, their charitable projects hindered in their development, worried with anxiety lest the humbler members of the Catholic body should take to reprisals, as in Birkenhead, their position was not at all enviable. Fortunately, Garibaldi did not visit the town, being recalled to Italy, where a renewal of the war against the Papal States was threatened. His name, however, became the rallying cry of party; the Constitutional Conservatives boldly availing themselves of the halo which surrounded the revolutionary leader. A bye-election was fought in St. Anne's Ward. Mr. James Fairhurst, who had done much useful service on the Select Vestry, standing as the Liberal candidate. Being a Catholic, the Tory leaders hoped to defeat him by reason of the feelings aroused over the question of the Temporal Power of the Pope, and the protest made against a civic reception being accorded to Garibaldi. The usual party cries were dropped; the Pope and Garibaldi were skilfully kept before the eyes of the electors. Fortunately, Mr. Fairhurst's long services to his party, and his personal worth, kept the bulk of the Liberal electors on his side, and he secured the seat by a narrow majority. At the same moment Mr. Henry Sharples was appointed a magistrate, thus maintaining the prestige of the Catholic body.

* The chapter on this subject in Dr. Lingard's History, will well reward the Catholic reader.

About this time another "religious disturbance" arose at Brownlow Hill. Father Thomas Wilson, who had acted as chaplain at the fever wards, caught the deadly infection, and after one year's service in the mission, at the early age of 28 years, died of typhus fever on April 13, 1864. From want of experience he had committed several minor indiscretions from the point of view of the Vestry, which was on the eve of passing a vote of censure when the fatal illness seized him. Mr. James Whitty, in order to lessen the mortality which dogged the footsteps of every priest entering the fever wards, suggested that the Vestry consent to a rota of seven clergymen being arranged so that the duty of ministering in the deadly atmosphere might not fall so heavily on any individual priest. The Guardians had no appreciation of the heroism of such men, nor of the motives which induced them to undertake such duties, and consequently refused to listen to the suggestion. Bishop Goss refused to maintain silence in such circumstances. He wrote to the Vestry reminding them that the Rev. Dr. Roskell had lost his life from the infection of the Brownlow Hill fever wards, and to excite their generosity mentioned the fact that this heroic priest had declined promotion in the Church that he might live only for the fever-stricken poor of the Parish of Liverpool. As to the late chaplain, Father Wilson, his decease was a serious loss to the Catholic body, as he was a master of the Greek, Latin, German, French, and Italian languages, a profound student of Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon, and was marked out for high distinction in the world of education. The "Daily Post" made its first onslaught on the Dissenters because of the illiberal votes given by their representatives on the Vestry in this connection. "Dissenters "scarcely ever have sufficient wisdom to prefer plain sense to "crotchets. . . . It is not often we agree with the "Bishop; but it is simple justice to say that no public writer "could have more justly laid down the duty of the Workhouse "Committee, or enforced it with more cogency." A rota of three priests was eventually agreed to—Father Cotham, S.J., St. Francis Xavier's; Father Lenoir,* O.M.I., Holy Cross; Father Van Hee, Our Lady's, Eldon Street.

The Catholic population of the Parish of Liverpool began in the early sixties to flow eastwards, from the congested areas of Scotland, Vauxhall, Exchange, and St. Anne's Wards. In 1861, the proportion of Catholic marriages in the parish to the total number solemnised in all other churches and chapels in the

* Father Lenoir celebrated his golden jubilee in Kimberley, South Africa, in 1910.

same area was 23 per cent., which fell to 19 in the two following years, the actual figures being 868, 692, 768. This proportion is some evidence of the changing character of the population. Temporary provision had been made in St. George's Schools, West Derby Road, to meet the wants of the residents of that district in so far as Sunday Mass. The erection of a permanent church was decided upon, and on May 8, 1864, Bishop Goss laid the foundation-stone of St. Michael's. He opened the new church on September 24th of the following year, Dr. Dorrian, then coadjutor Bishop of Down and Connor, preaching the first sermon; Father George Porter, S.J., occupying the pulpit in the evening. Father Tobin was the first rector.

St. Patrick's parish had become so extensive and populous that a school-chapel, dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel, was built and opened in November, 1866. Archbishop Errington preached on this occasion. Father Michael Donnelly was placed in charge of this new outpost of the Faith in Toxteth Park. In the north end, Father Seed, the indefatigable Rector of St. Alban's, undertook to provide school accommodation for one thousand children. Land was bought in Boundary Street, and on July 15, 1866, the Bishop blessed the foundation-stone. The provision of these two schools was evidence of the foresight of the Bishop and clergy in anticipating the passing of a new Education Act with compulsory education and School Boards as its main features. In view of the meagre assistance given by the Education Department of that day to voluntary schools, the financial burden on parishes such as the two mentioned, was a strain which was relieved only by the consolation that it was undertaken for the glory of God. Greater sacrifices loomed ahead, as will be seen later, with the changes in education law, and were quite as cheerfully undertaken.

These developments had the effect of needlessly irritating Dr. Hugh McNeill, who renewed his public attacks on the Church. Unmindful of the fact that notoriety is the life ambition of certain types of controversialists, two priests entered the lists, and secured for Dr. McNeill exactly what he desired, renewed public interest in his lectures against Catholicism, which only too often sounded depths quite unworthy of his undoubted knowledge and ability. Father E. Powell, secretary to the Bishop, wrote a series of letters to the newspapers defending Catholics from the very slanderous statements which were recklessly made against them, and then Father E. Guy, O.S.B., took up the challenge and attracted large congregations to Seel Street by his sermons on these

controversial topics. Reading these letters, lectures, and sermons in cold print, one is compelled to admire the learning, literary ability, and enthusiasm of their authors, while regretting that such energy was wasted in a futile discussion which temporarily revived a feeling of bitterness between some sections of the inhabitants. Liverpool seems to have the unenviable peculiarity of latent intolerance bursting forth into red heat just when all sections have settled down into complete harmony in civic or social work for the good of the masses. The extreme Irish Nationalists a few months before this waste of words created consternation in purely Catholic circles by an unexpected demonstration against Mr. A. M. Sullivan, editor of the historic Irish weekly, the Dublin "Nation." He visited Liverpool, in March, 1864, to deliver a lecture in aid of the schools of St. Mary, Woolton. The subject of his address was "Napoleon the First." His reputation as an orator attracted a crowded audience in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, and Father Bernard O'Reilly occupied the chair. A number of Irishmen holding strong political views, in order to emphasise their disagreement with some opinions which Mr. Sullivan had expressed in the editorial columns of his paper, created a disturbance at this gathering. The reverend chairman warmly rebuked the interrupters for their behaviour at a meeting held with the sole purpose of helping a Catholic school, and Mr. Sullivan* stated that the disturbers had crossed over from Dublin to give him annoyance. Some Liverpool men did take a share in creating the "scene," the first sign of the growth in England of a new school of Irish Nationalist thought.

On the first day of November, 1865, Mr. John Yates retired from Castle Street Ward to contest Vauxhall, and defeated Mr. R. R. Minton by thirty-eight votes. On the same day Mr. James Fairhurst lost his seat in St. Anne's Ward by fifteen votes, and was elected for Scotland Ward on the retirement of Mr. Clarke Aspinall. Mr. Richard Sheil had the unique experience of being elected an alderman of Liverpool twenty-four years after his deprivation of the same honour after the famous municipal elections of 1841. During the Vauxhall contest Mr. Minton asserted that no less than twenty thousand persons resided in fifty small streets in the ward. The "Liverpool Mercury," on October 26th, called attention to the indifference of the Town Council to matters of public health, declaring that the death-rate was no lower than

* A. M. Sullivan, M.P. for Meath and Louth, Leader of the Temperance Movement, and a brilliant advocate of the Home Rule Movement.

twenty years earlier. Mr. Minton admitted that the death-rate in Vauxhall Ward was 42 per thousand of the estimated population. Epidemics of disease were frequent, and carried off large numbers of the poorer classes. The Medical Officer of the Corporation reported that in Great Crosshall Street, Marybone, and Fontenoy Street, an area of 63,609 superficial yards, there were living 1,993 families, consisting of 9,632 persons. During the year 1865, 116 of these had died from fever, especially typhus. The Government of the day sent a special Medical Commissioner, Dr. Buchanan, to enquire into the outbreaks of typhus in this and other areas in Liverpool. He reported that 60 per cent. of the attacks occurred among young people under twenty years of age, and quoted with approval the opinion of Professor Christiansen that typhus only assumed an epidemic character at periods of great want among the labouring classes. The Commissioner added that from his own observation, "where there is starva-"tion there is most frequently typhus." Liverpool's Medical Officer attributed the ravages of the disease to "poverty, "overcrowding, and filth." The greatest sufferers by far were Irish. Under the conditions named by medical experts, great masses of people were existing, with consequent moral as well as physical deterioration, both of which told against the spiritual fervour of the people as compared with that of the first Irish comers to the town. The rescue work and gaol statistics of the next chapter must be read in conjunction with this frightful picture of poverty and its concomitants in a large town.

CHAPTER VII.

The working boys' home, nowadays a common feature of rescue work among children, was first established in 1865, by Father Henry Gibson,* visiting priest to the Kirkdale schools. It is gratifying to Catholics, especially in Liverpool, that a priest of this diocese was half a century ahead of all social reformers in inaugurating this splendid system of aiding the child wage earner. It occurred to Father Gibson, as the natural outcome of the Liverpool movement to find situations for the poor children under the care of the Select Vestry. He had had a wide and varied experience of the children of the poor and wretched. Long before the passage into law of the Prison Chaplains Act, he had undertaken, at the request of Bishop Goss, to visit the Kirkdale gaol, where his experience of juvenile prisoners gave him a special knowledge of the causes which, in Liverpool, conspired to create criminals. Knowing the bottom cause it was easy to find the remedy. He began by taking into his own house eleven boys who had been found employment in Liverpool by the Catholic Club Committee, and whose earnings were, as yet, too small to pay for suitable board and lodging. His health gave way under the strain of the serious efforts he put forth to save the Catholic child from moral destruction. He was the author of a well known series of instructions, "Gibson's Catechism made "easy," derived from those given by him as chaplain of the Kirkdale schools, and a series of "Lives of the Saints." His name deserves to be held in the affectionate remembrance of every lover of child life, and the prayerful recollection of the Catholics of Liverpool. He left Liverpool in 1871, and died at Bolton-le-Sands, March 7th, 1907. The great layman who was his active colleague in this meritorious work, Mr. James Whitty, retired from the Select Vestry in 1865, in favour of Mr. Thomas Martin. Twelve years' service in Brownlow Hill entitled him to a rest, and though he took up the more honoured, but less useful, work of a Town Councillor, his place at the Select Vestry was never adequately filled. Speaking on March 20th, 1865,† he threw light on the fearful leakage of Catholic children under Poor Law management.

* Brother of Mr. Gibson, of the firm of Reynolds & Gibson, and uncle of Colonel J. P. Reynolds, J.P., who, as honorary president of Father Berry's Homes, Shaw Street, still carries on the glorious work founded forty-five years ago by his saintly relative.

† See "Daily Post," March 21st, 1865.

When he joined the Vestry in 1853, no creed register was kept in the workhouse, and, in consequence, out of a total of one thousand only sixty children heard Mass, a fearful heritage for the children of the Irish famine. On the day of his retirement from the Vestry, six hundred and sixty, out of a total of twelve hundred, were being fully instructed in the faith of their fathers. Father James Nugent now stepped in as the protector of all poor children in the town which gave him birth, and his magnificent work in this sphere alone, irrespective of his other multifarious activities, raised for him an imperishable monument in the hearts and minds of his fellow townsmen,* and incidentally raised the status of the Catholic body in a town traditionally Protestant. As early as 1849, he established, with the help of Mrs. Baines, a house in Spitalfields, to feed and provide a bed for the poor waifs who had begun at that early date to infest the streets of Liverpool. They belonged entirely to the race from which the worthy priest himself had sprung, for the famine years made an impression on him which was never effaced. Later on, in the sixties, he opened a house in Soho Street, and finding the task of maintaining it unaided beyond his means, his practical mind suggested the idea of enlisting the active sympathy of the young men of the town, especially those of the middle classes. For this purpose he organised a meeting in the Catholic Club, where he laid his proposals before a representative gathering of young men. The personal magnetism of the enthusiastic young priest secured for him at the very outset the co-operation of a willing band of workers. The new organisation bore the title, "the Association of "Providence for the protection of orphan and destitute "boys."† Numerous meetings were held in various parts of the town to gain sympathy and enlist workers, and to make the subscribers feel their share in the good work, Father Nugent arranged that they were allowed to nominate any child in their various districts for admission to the new institution. Father Nugent had no particular political proclivities. To do the work which lay at his own door was the cardinal feature of his life's work, leaving statesmen and politicians to deal with the causes which provided him with so large a sphere

* Father Nugent was ordained in St. Nicholas, August 30th, 1846, probably the first ordination in Liverpool. After eight years study in Ushaw and Rome, spent two-and-a-half years in missionary work in Blackburn and Wigan. Recalled to Liverpool on New Year's Day, 1849, and spent the remainder of his life there.

† More than thirty years later one of his latest institutions has a somewhat similar title: the House of Providence, West Dingle, Toxteth Park.

for his philanthropic work. He had most certainly a warm corner in his heart for the Irish race, but this did not prevent him from pointing out the follies and vices of his countrymen in England. Herein lay the bottom cause of his general unpopularity at that time, and in later years with the growing Nationalist party, which looked to the removal of the causes of Irish emigration, while he set his heart upon the curing of the results, and at the same time removing the prejudices which confused crime and strong drink with Irish blood and Catholic faith. At this first meeting, Father Nugent claimed the special help of the better class Irishmen on the ground that ninety-five per cent. of the poor children running about the streets bore Irish names.

One of his first recruits was Mr. John Denvir, a cultured Irishman, who was the head and front of the Nationalist organisation in Liverpool until his appointment, in 1885, as chief organiser of the Irish movement in England, Wales and Scotland, necessitated his removal to London, where he now resides. He was the first governor of the Boys' Refuge, and first editor of the "Catholic Times." His fine literary gifts resulted in the foundation of the "Irish Library;" the establishment and editorship of two local papers, "The "United Irishman" and the "Nationalist"; his latest work, published a few years since, being a well-written and copious history of the Irish in Great Britain. He had often been invited to take a seat in Parliament for an Irish constituency, but preferred to remain outside performing work more in harmony with his great gifts, notably that of organising the Irish vote in Great Britain. Having taken the teetotal pledge from Father Mathew, he naturally found himself in a congenial atmosphere when Father Nugent added the crusade against drink to his many undertakings. His name figures as secretary of the first meeting of the Association of Providence held in the Bevington Theatre in 1865.

The neglect of the authorities to deal effectively with juvenile "criminals" is eloquently told in the Police Report of the Head Constable in 1865. No less than 833 children were dealt with under the Juvenile Offenders Act during the previous year, but owing to the apathy of the police in the first instance, and to certain defects in the machinery prescribed by the Act, despite the strenuous efforts of the Stipendiary Magistrate, only 13 were committed to the reformatory ships, Akbar and Clarence. Some idea of the shocking condition of Liverpool child life may be gleaned from the following table, giving the figures of children tried

before the magistrates for vagrancy, begging, thieving and kindred offences.

	1862	1863	1864	1865
Under ten years of age	112	87	83	49
Ten to twelve years	252	208	222	210
Twelve to fourteen	323	430	429	356
Fourteen to sixteen	472	578	565	610
	1,159	1,303	1,299	1,225

In comparing these figures with later years it must be borne in mind that later Acts of Parliament created a large number of offences for which young people for their own protection might be charged before the magistrates, and it should also be borne in mind that neither the police nor the public were as keen on saving the child as a generation which came under the influence of a Nugent, a Garrett, or a Major Lester.

Father Nugent had undertaken the secretaryship of the Clarence Committee, and his experience of that work, as well as his wider and more varied work in the gaol, gave his public utterances greater weight than would have attached to a less experienced man. In the prison he met not only the adult, but the child committed there for serious offences against property. His first annual report to the magistrates contains the very significant statement that out of 5,281 "Catholics" committed from September 30, 1863, to the same month of the following year only sixteen men and four women "attended "church" when outside the prison walls. When Catholics of Irish birth or descent cease to attend Mass, moral degradation has certainly overwhelmed them. These annual Reports are of interest too, as throwing light upon certain causes which tended to the committal of crime, and Father Nugent did not hesitate to point them out to his townsmen in the hope that they would be removed by political action. The want of education in adults, who as children had been excluded from the Council schools, and the absence of compulsory attendance from the Statute Book, to mention two causes only, were doing deadly wrong. The proportion of males in Walton Gaol who could neither read nor write was 45 per cent.; in the case of female prisoners 54 per cent. A Catholic has views of his own as to what constitutes real education, and Father Nugent, in his capacity as a priest, after fifteen years' experience, appraised the value of mere secular knowledge at its real value. In one of the Reports* he wrote: "Education is not an absolute "preservative against crime, yet it must always be an incal-

* October, 1864.

"culable advantage towards gaining an honest livelihood, to "make a position in a town like Liverpool." He was referring to the casual labour which, then as now, is such a fruitful cause of poverty and drink. It was the curse of the Irish labourer who came to Liverpool after the famine with nothing to depend upon but his physical strength. Deprived of the discipline implied in the acquisition of a definite trade, he was exposed to trials and difficulties which tended towards moral deterioration, and was, with various other minor causes, a fruitful source of intemperance. Father Nugent observed this dread fact, and kept records of the history of every person coming under his supervision in Walton Gaol, to drive home the full significance of the evil of casual labour. In January, 1866, he published some of these records. Male prisoners: 1,002 labourers, 103 hawkers, 87 servants, 25 shoeblacks, 200 sailors, and 312 mechanics. The figures on the female side of the gaol are much more painful in significance 607 followed no occupation, 369 were basket women, 88 charwomen, and 964 were prostitutes. The Catholic males comprised 61 per cent. of the total male inmates of Walton Gaol, and the Catholic females 62 per cent. of the female inmates. Contrast these figures with the Catholic population in the prisons fifteen and twenty years earlier and the reader will realise the change which had come over the face of Liverpool. "From a careful analysis of the year 1865," wrote Father Nugent, "four-fifths of the crime of the Irish people "came from 75 per cent. of those *who are dependent upon* "*contingent labour*. They are the first to suffer, and the "last to benefit by any change in the commerce of the town." It is not without its significance that out of 2,099 prisoners in one year, 1,022 had been born *in* Liverpool. The Liverpool "Daily Post" in an editorial on the 1865 Report, observed that, in Ireland, highway robbery, theft or burglary were almost unknown. "No people in the world, perhaps, excel "more in family affection than the Irish Their conduct "when they go abroad testifies to this fine quality in their "nature, and Liverpool merchants pass abundant proofs "through their hands of the pecuniary contributions made "to their poor relatives at home." The following detailed statement of the nationality, religion, education and occupation of all the prisoners committed to the borough gaol, during the year ending September 30th, 1864, was found among Father Nugent's papers.* It is in his own handwriting, and was most likely circulated by him privately in high Catholic circles to secure active support for the Refor-

* Lent by the Very Rev. Canon Pinnington to the writer.

matory Association founded in June, 1865, in the archdiocese of Westminster.

To enable the reader to appreciate the real significance of the tables, Father Nugent was careful to define clearly the meaning of the terms he employed.

Felony.—All offences against property; against the Criminal Justices' Act, Juvenile Offenders for Reformatory, Juvenile Offenders Act; whether summarily dealt with or convicted at Sessions.

Vagrancy.—All persons tried and convicted at the Sessions; those remanded for further enquiries and afterwards discharged at the Police Courts; misdemeanours; not accounting for; and all offences against the Merchant Shipping Act.

Assaults.—All offences against the person, wounding, grievous bodily harm and threatening.

The following figures are then tabulated.

MALES.

	Catholics.	Protestants.
Felony	336	433
Assaults	708	470
Vagrancy	869	898
Drunkenness	825	479
	2,738	2,280

FEMALES.

	Catholics.	Protestants.
Felony	248	215
Assaults	431	246
Vagrancy and Prostitution	1,520	772
Drunkenness	884	579
	3,083	1,812

Closer examination of these figures shew that drunkenness accounts for 30·1 per cent., and accounts for 25·9, or in other words 56 per cent. of the Catholic male prisoners were convicted for these two classes of offences. Vagrancy accounts for 31·7 and felony for only 12·3 per cent. of the whole convictions, 2,738 in number. In this case of Catholic females, felony occurred only in 8 per cent of the convictions; assaults 14 per cent.; drunkenness 28·7; vagrancy and prostitution, 49·3. The following table shows the proportions as between prisoners professing to be Catholics or Protestants:—

Catholic Males.		Protestant Males.
Felony	12·3 per cent.	19 per cent.
Drunkenness	31·1 ,,	20·6 ,,
Assaults	25·9 ,,	21 ,,
Vagrancy	31·7 ,,	39·4 ,,
	100	100

Catholic Females.		Protestant Females.
Felony	8 per cent.	11·9 per cent.
Drunkenness	28·7 ,,	31·9 ,,
Assaults	14 ,,	13·6 ,,
Vagrancy and Prostitution ..	49·3 ,,	42·6 ,,
	100	100

Sixty-six per cent. of the Catholic male prisoners were labourers, against 50 per cent. of the Protestant; Catholic mechanics, 22 per cent.; Protestants, 28 per cent.; Catholic sailors, 8 per cent.; Protestants, 14 per cent.. The remainder came under the headings of no occupation, shopmen, clerks, dealers, shopkeepers. On the female side no less than 40 per cent. came under the ominous description of no occupation (excluding all the prostitutes), and very few indeed were domestic servants. This last-named fact made a deep impression on Father Nugent's mind, and explains his lifelong insistence on the value of domestic training for girls belonging to the working classes. As time went on he realised more and more the deplorable results accruing from wives of labourers and other ill-paid classes of labour having had no training in the management of a household before marriage. Father Nugent then proceeds in this valuable memorandum to make an analysis of the birthplace of the Catholic prisoners, from which we learn which portions of Ireland contributed their quota to the crowded alleys and streets.

Irish-born Males.

Leinster.	Connaught.	Ulster.	Munster.
649	566	337	205

The County and City of Dublin alone accounted for 52 per cent. of Leinster's total. Analysing the Connaught immigrants, we find that the County Mayo supplied 295; Galway, 138; Roscommon, 59; Sligo, 58; Leitrim, 16. The greater number of the Ulster prisoners came from Belfast.

Irish-born Females.

Leinster.	Connaught.	Ulster.	Munster.
936	571	412	274

As in the case of the males, Dublin County and City account for 54 per cent. of Leinster "crime"; Mayo, 258; Galway, 149; Roscommon, 74; Sligo, 67; Leitrim, 21.

Two cases are not recorded. The educational status of the prisoners tells its own story of misgovernment at home and denial of opportunities in Liverpool. Forty-four per cent. of the Irish-born males were quite unable to read or write, 43·3 per cent. of Liverpool-born Catholics being in the same position; 55·6 per cent. of Irish-born females were also illiterate, compared with 57·2 of Liverpool-born Catholic women. It will come as a surprise to most Irish readers to find that the Province of Leinster, and especially the County of Dublin, had sent so many immigrants into Liverpool. No doubt, in the years immediately following 1847 an immense number of Connaught-born persons arrived in Liverpool, but save on the hypothesis that they were more virtuous, more industrious, and more sober, which is not to be lightly accepted as a fact, it is a strange phenomenon that such a small percentage found their way to Walton Gaol. On the other hand, it is equally difficult to believe that Leinster and County Dublin men had a double dose of original sin, and that the number of prisoners was therefore out of all proportion to the actual number immigrating into and settling in Liverpool. Nor can the numbers be accounted for by reason of the large number of weekly sailings between Dublin and Liverpool, as Wexford, Dundalk, and Drogheda were in quite as close communication. The more likely view is that the Connaught people did not settle down in Liverpool in such large numbers as is believed.*

The Inspector of Reformatory Schools wrote a very significant Report to the Home Secretary in 1865 on the subject of juvenile offenders against the law. He said it was attributable "to the rapid rate at which the lower classes, "especially of Irish labourers, immigrate to the great centres "of employment, crowding the already overcrowded dwellings "more and more, and throwing thousands of neglected, "untaught children on the streets and allies (*sic*) for exercise "and recreation." This gentleman had evidently keen powers of observation, and put his finger on the main causes which led to the demoralisation of child life in Liverpool and other large centres. His observations are a complete defence of the position taken up by Irish Nationalists that misgovernment in Ireland being responsible directly for the Irish land system, the "British garrison" in Ireland, it was to blame for the

* Denvir's "Irish in Britain" corroborates this view: "hardy Connaught men generally passed through Liverpool on their way to the English agricultural counties."

consequences, which included the overcrowding of English cities and towns. Her Majesty's Inspector was not a politician, however, and could not suggest in any event the Home Rule solution of the problem; he could but suggest compulsory attendance at elementary schools.

In the Soho Street Refuge there was provision for only 38 children permanently, and on one night 647 wretched lads had been provided with a meal, and a makeshift arrangement had to be made to provide 134 with a night's shelter.* It may be observed in passing that many of these children were not Irish, as Father Nugent, to avoid sectarian difficulties and the odious charge of proselytism, had publicly pledged his word to take in Protestant boys, and hand them over next morning to the managers of the Everton Terrace Ragged School. In this way he won the confidence of all classes, and maintained it to the end of his life. There were many leading Catholic laymen who attributed the growth of criminality in young men and women to the workhouse system. In a controversy with the Rev. Thomas Carter, Protestant Chaplain of Walton Gaol, Mr. J. Neale Lomax wrote that, "the main "portion of the criminals came from the workhouse. It cannot "be otherwise so long as Guardians send out children, babies "of thirteen years, almost without education, either religious "or profane, into the world to shift for themselves." The Liverpool Select Vestry was considerably in advance of its time in providing separate schools at Kirkdale. Throughout England, however, Guardians were indifferent to child training; in Liverpool it was not so. What the Select Vestry did do was to put obstacles, from a Catholic point of view, in the way of children receiving full Catholic instruction, and this was the thought running in Mr. Lomax's mind. He quoted with deadly effect the following opinion expressed in the Police Court in October, 1853, by the Stipendiary Magistrate: "From time to time the young female prisoners in the dock "say they have been brought up in the Kirkdale Schools. "This must be a very unsuccessful institution, else so many "of its scholars would not be brought up before me." Five years later, 1858, Mr. Brown, the Poor Law Inspector, wrote that the schools were a "failure," an opinion which he modified after a closer examination. Catholic opinion was unanimous in condemning the results of the Kirkdale training. Father Henry Gibson spoke serious words of warning against the character of the religious training. Morning and evening prayers by eight hundred children, left to the supervision "of a boy and a girl," and sent out to church without much

* See Mr. John Denvir's letter, "Daily Post," February, 1867.

if any supervision,* were not likely to impress young minds with the necessity or importance of church attendance in after life. Indeed, the priest had on one occasion declared that boys from Kirkdale were rapidly transformed into thieves.† Thanks to the numerous concessions won by Mr. James Whitty, and the new scheme for securing employment and lodging for Catholic children, these dangers were being rapidly removed, but it was seriously urged that the non-churchgoers who were found in Walton by Father Nugent had come in the main from the workhouse children. Father Nugent carefully avoided any recriminations, preferring to deal with the circumstances which surrounded children in the late sixties. To public men accustomed to ten years' working of an Act to regulate street trading children,‡ it will come as a proof of the foresight of Father Nugent, that in January, 1866, he said: "If street trading by children under fourteen years of "age were checked juvenile offences would decrease." The experience of the Liverpool Watch Committee has justified this belief, and the extension of similar powers to the whole country will do much to improve the moral tone of the street traders of the nation. ||

To enlist the aid of enlightened Protestantism in Liverpool for the salvation of the child was Father Nugent's greatest service to the Church in Liverpool, if not the whole of England. It broke down barriers, scotched prejudice where it did not make it hide its head in shame, created a more tolerant atmosphere, and, what was more important still, brought about the recognition of the social work performed by the priests of the town, and its influence on the character of the Catholic citizen. On February 15, 1865, Liverpool was surprised to find that Father Nugent had secured the aid of the new Stipendiary, Mr. T. Stamford Raffles, in his crusade for the salvation of the neglected child. He had organised a public meeting in St. George's Hall to inaugurate the new movement, which made him the most prominent citizen of the town. That Mr. George Melly sat beside the Stipendiary was no surprise; his fine public spirit knew no distinction of party, creed, or race. The following year, November 28, 1866, Father Nugent achieved a greater success when in the Small Concert Hall, St. George's Hall, he gathered around him nearly every member of the Town Council, Conservative and Liberal alike; the Protestant Chaplain of Walton Gaol, and his own co-religionist, Lord Howard of Glossop, M.P., in

* "Daily Post," February 20, 1866.

† J. N. Lomax, Catholic Club, 1866.

‡ Passed in 1899 for Liverpool, at the instance of the City Council.

|| Now happily the law of the land.

support of his rescue work in Soho Street. In his speech at this memorable gathering he stated that, during the past year of its working, the Association of Providence had dealt with four hundred children, mostly on their personal application at Soho Street. Of these thirteen had found a permanent residence in the Beacon Lane Orphanage. He gave particulars of the ages of these child applicants for assistance. One was three years of age; two, four years; 18, six years; 34, seven years; 21, eight years; 28, nine years; 22, ten years; 38, eleven years; and 44, twelve years. The remainder ranged from thirteen upwards. He had also undertaken the leading part in the management of St. George's Industrial School, West Derby Road, and to wipe off a debt of £5,000, which had been incurred in providing that institution, obtained the services of Mr. John Farnworth, Mayor of the town, who presided at the St. George's Hall meeting, supported by a large number of non-Catholic philanthropists. On that day, October 22, 1866, was inaugurated that civic acknowledgment of Catholic charities of such character, which, happily for Liverpool, still continues. In this year the Liverpool Town Council voted £1,500 towards fitting up the "Clarence" Training Ship, whereupon the Orange Association forwarded a strong protest against any further help being given, "because the "propagation of the doctrines of the Church of Rome are "contrary to the spirit of the Constitution as established at "the Reformation, which has made this country the most "wealthy, happy, and free of all the nations in Europe." Among the four signatories to this protest occurs the name of Mr. Joseph Ball, afterwards Lord Mayor of the city in 1905. To the great disappointment of Catholic workers in the rescue of children, Bishop Goss made an attack on the Reformatory and Industrial Schools system. "I am not one of those who "believe that compulsory reformation, any more than com- "pulsory education, will prove in the long run a very great "benefit. . . . I do not think that compulsion will make "any man good. You may watch him, you may guard him, "but at the same time there are means of vice which he may "gratify in spite of even parental care or the strictest watch- "fulness. I am averse to anything like compulsion; and I "must say that I regret the enactment of these reformatory "laws; I think it is a retrogade step. I regret that laws have "been passed which take away the freedom of the young before, "almost, they may be said to come within the meshes of the "laws of the country, for they have the effect of taking away "children who have no settled means of livelihood, but are 'found wandering about the streets. Still, it is the law, and

" therefore it is our duty to endeavour to provide for those " whom the law commits to our care." The Bishop went on to argue " that education was a parental duty, and we ought to " be jealous of the State slipping in between a parent and " child, because if it has the right to compel education it has " the right to prescribe what the education should be."

To lay down the principle of parental rights did not involve any attack on reformatory or industrial schools, and Mr. John Yates publicly condemned the Bishop for making a pastoral letter the medium of spreading erroneous ideas as to their curative or preventitive value, adding that at that very moment there were 194 boys on the " Clarence " who, but for the reformatory law, would surely have been in gaol. The law had saved hundreds of children from drifting into crime, and, incidentally, had saved their faith. The Tory papers attacked Dr. Goss, who must have rubbed his eyes with astonishment when he read the only defence of this extraordinary pastoral in the editorial comments of the " Daily " Post." The Bishop answered the criticisms by saying that he had only referred to the children running about the streets being deprived of their liberty, quite unmindful of the obvious fact that the Industrial Schools were founded to save this class of children from falling into ways of crime. Dr. Goss made amends for his ill-timed jibe at rescue work by another pastoral one month later in date, when he wrote: " It is in " the reformation of juvenile criminals that the greatest " solicitude has been exhibited, and the wisest measures have " been adopted." Two months later both the Bishop and his defender, Mr. M. J. Whitty, learned the value of the contention of Mr. John Yates, that a reformatory or industrial school was a better place for a child than a gaol. A boy, aged seven years, was committed to gaol in default of paying a fine of five shillings. The child had committed the heinous offence of flinging a stone at a child of equal age, who had called him " a turncoat and a Protestant." On hearing of the decision, Mr. M. J. Whitty sent over to the Police Court the amount of the fine, and after examining the boy in his editorial sanctum in Lord Street, wrote that " this English " arab had been educated like Rob Roy's sons." Nor did the Bishop's views on compulsory attendance at school meet with the approval of his clergy. Some of the older clergy had not forgotten the Inspector's criticism of a school in Liverpool in 1852, certified for 135 boys, which received 650 during the year. With characteristic courage, Father Nugent attended a meeting in the Law Association Rooms of various clergymen of all creeds, and made what would appear to be the best speech of

his life from the point of view of solid argument in advocacy of compulsory attendance at school. In answer to the criticisms of the Reformatory system, he said it was next to impossible to do much good with boys committed at fourteen, fifteen, and even sixteen years of age. Dr. Goss himself, in preaching at Holy Cross, said there were 300 children running wild in that parish, neither attending school nor receiving adequate parental supervision. Father Guy, O.S.B., spoke at the same meeting, and boldly declared that the only hope of saving the children lay in their being compelled to attend school every day. There was much force in the contention that once the right of the State to compel attendance was acknowledged, the time was not far distant when it would claim to decide what was education. This has unfortunately proved true; but the immediate problem at that day was to choose between the schoolroom and the streets, between crime, ignorance, and public disorder and a combined religious and secular education for a class of child who would not otherwise receive any training. Bishop Goss, however, was not convinced, and showed his impartiality by attacking St. George's School, West Derby Road, in another pastoral letter. He quoted the Inspector's remark: "This school reports nothing "satisfactory." Neither the clergy or laity serving on St. George's Committee would submit silently to public criticism from the Bishop, and in reply published the reports of the same Inspector for the three previous years. They disturbed even the equanimity of Dr. Goss by the bold statement that the unfavourable report was due to the Inspector's private opinion that "superintendence by religious orders, male or "female, was utterly unsuitable." His Lordship next assailed the Toxteth Poor Law Guardians. During the year 1867 several Anglican clergymen secured seats on the Toxteth Board; and on one occasion distinguished themselves by attaching more importance to capacity to play that much maligned instrument, the harmonium, than to proficiency in imparting secular knowledge to Poor Law children. It did not affect the Catholic body in any way, but the Bishop seized the opportunity to speak his mind on a delicate question, the presence of clergymen on public bodies. Quite in keeping with his usual practice, he selected the altar of St. Patrick's, situate in the Toxteth area, to make his statement. After castigating the would-be educationalists, the Bishop observed that there had been introduced "what he thought was one of "the worst elements which could be introduced into the "administration of civil and social affairs. He was a "Churchman, and therefore not likely to underrate the ser-

" vices or capacities of Churchmen; but he thought the priest " should keep to the altar, that he should perform the duties " for which he was ordained."* The Catholic body has been in the happy position of always finding laymen, Nationalists or Liberals, to undertake public work, while it is a misfortune that the Catholic Conservative has shirked public duty; it may be for political reasons.

The proposal to establish an Anglican bishopric in Liverpool brought forth a spirited protest from Bishop Goss. He denounced the scheme in a sermon delivered in St. Alban's Church, Athol Street, in June, 1867. The Rector of Liverpool, Mr. Campbell, replied with equal warmth: " As reported " in the 'Northern Press,' your Lordship denounced an " attempt to introduce another Bishop into the diocese of " which you are the lawfully constituted Bishop, as a gross " injustice to you, and a flagrant attempt to make a spiritual " harlot of the See to which another one was already wedded." He, in turn, accused Dr. Goss of coming into a See to which the Bishop of Chester† was already wedded, a statement obviously aimed at the Bishop's declaration that " the Pope " studiously made it a point to act with the utmost delicacy " towards the national susceptibilities of Englishmen, and " with the highest good taste abstained from appointing " Bishops to any Sees already occupied by Protestants." Salford, Shrewsbury, and Liverpool are cases in point. Unfortunately, the Rector of Liverpool, in his reply, quoted a section of the ill-starred Ecclesiastical Titles Act, which placed Dr. Goss under a penalty of one hundred pounds for " assuming " the title of Bishop of Liverpool. From the altar of St. Joseph's, Grosvenor Street, the Bishop answered that " his title had been conferred upon him by the successor " of a long line of Pontiffs, and of him who had conferred upon " an English King the title, Defender of the Faith. If the " monarch plumed himself upon a title which he had no reason " to adopt, because he had been unfaithful to the giver, it was " strange that Rector Campbell should remind him of this " ancient penalty of one hundred pounds."

A few days later the Rector voted in the majority against a proposal that a paid Catholic Chaplain should be appointed to the huge workhouse and hospital in Brownlow Hill. Dr. Goss made his visitation of St. Philip Neri's, almost under the shadow of the building in which this vote was recorded, and

* It is remarkable that no priest was ever nominated for the Liverpool School Board or Liverpool Select Vestry, and until the death of Mr. Michael Fitzpatrick in 1906, a priest did not serve on the Education Committee.

† The diocese of Chester included Liverpool.

taunted the fighting Rector that "at an age when he must be "rather thinking of the Day of Judgment, forgetting the "infirmities of life, he came down to the Vestry, not to "advocate fair play, but to deprive the Catholic body of its "just claims." The incumbent of St. George's Church,* the Rev. John Kelly, who had already made his début in the arena of Orange theology, took up the cudgels in defence of the Rector, but the Bishop, who never refused to break a lance with a worthy foeman, treated the violent discourses of this militant gentleman with silent contempt.

The Fenian movement† had already made its mark on the Irish political movement, and seriously disturbed the authorities at Westminster and Dublin Castle. Many hundreds of Liverpool Irishmen were members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and thousands were warm sympathisers of the new movement to free Ireland by physical force from further misgovernment. The well-known raid on Chester Castle was planned in Liverpool, and some local Irishmen participated in the attack on the prison van in Hyde Road, Manchester, when the Fenian leaders, Kelly and Deasy, were rescued. Both the Bishop and the clergy found themselves in an awkward position by reason of the presence in Liverpool of so many adherents of the "Fenian" movement. Their position was not made easier by the silly attempts of itinerant Irish preachers and their allies to confuse Fenianism with Catholicism. Meetings were held by these persons to denounce the revolutionary movement, and the addresses delivered proved to be a strange incoherent medley of "misdoings in "convents, tales of torture, and priestly intrigues with "Fenian leaders." On November 23rd, 1867, Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien were executed in Manchester for their participation in the attack on the prison van, and the death of Sergeant Brett, who was unintentionally shot in the mêlée. Probably at no time during the nineteenth century was Irish feeling so deeply stirred as by this execution,‡ and so alarmed were the authorities in consequence that great military preparations were made to cope with an expected outbreak in Liverpool. Handbills were distributed announcing that a "funeral pro-"cession" would be held in honour of the Manchester Martyrs on Sunday, December 15th. Irishmen were invited to

* The site is now occupied by the Queen Victoria Memorial.

† One of its leaders, Mr. Stephen Joseph Meany, was sub-editor of the "Daily Post," under Mr. M. J. Whitty, and was credited with some of the anti-clerical writings in that journal. He was sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude.

‡ The Protestant rector of Wigan used very bitter language in denouncing the verdict and sentence.

meet outside the Rotunda Theatre, Stanley Road, and to march in solemn order as far south as St. Patrick's Chapel, Park Place. The Orange organisation, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Ball, announced its intention of holding a counter-demonstration on the same day, and at the same place and route. The Mayor of the town, Mr. Edward Whitley,* issued a proclamation forbidding the proposed Irish procession, whereupon the Orangemen countermanded their intended hostile gathering.

Mr. M. J. Whitty, writing in the "Daily Post," appealed to the Irishmen of the town to abandon the demonstration, as it might affect their employment and social position, not quite the grounds of appeal which would have induced Irishmen to lay down their arms. The authorities were convinced that their proclamation would be defied, and as the last resort Canons Fisher, Wallwork, and Bernard O'Reilly were invited to confer with the Mayor at the Town Hall. The outcome of this conference was the issue of the following letter from St. Edward's, addressed by the Bishop:—"To the Irish portion of "our beloved flock in the town of Liverpool and its vicinity. "We earnestly and affectionately exhort you, and if need be "command you, by that authority which we hold from God, "and in virtue of our sacred office, that you abstain from join-"ing in any procession. May God in His mercy bless you; "may He give happiness to your fair but afflicted country."

This appeal fell upon deaf ears for the most part. Another gathering was announced for the neighbourhood of Sheil Park, just outside the then boundary of the municipal boundary. The County Justices held a hurried meeting and proclaimed this meeting. Bishop Goss resolved to issue a final appeal to the Irish Catholics to obey his request. "We repeat "the injunction we have already given; and we command you "that in no part of the county subject to our jurisdiction do "you hold any meeting or join in any procession. You have "always been wont to listen to our words, and to obey our "commands. Do not send sorrow to us at a time when we are "about to celebrate the great festival of peace."

With great reluctance the leaders accepted the Bishop's counsel, and the proposed meetings and processions were abandoned. The Mayor publicly returned thanks for "the "most essential and serviceable aid rendered by the Catholic "Bishop and clergy." In one of his pastoral letters Dr. Goss displayed his knowledge of Irish political history by his statement that every revolutionary movement in Ireland had been organised by Irishmen outside the pale of the Catholic Church,

* Elected M.P. for the Everton Division of Liverpool, 1885.

and created some surprise by the assertion made on the authority of the Irish Hierarchy, that the Fenian movement had been begun by Irishmen who were opposed to the Catholic Church. Preaching during that memorable month of November, he expressed his "sincere sympathy with the Irish, "for no country had ever been more cruelly wronged."

In 1868, on Sunday, March 8th, Dr. Goss blessed the bell at St. Alexander's, Bootle. In the course of his address he referred with scorn to the action of the Bishop of Manchester, who, when called upon to consecrate a cemetery, did not perform the ceremony according to the rubrics of the English Church, because some snow was falling. To the amazement of the Burial Board, he simply contented himself with entering the office of the Registrar and signing a deed, which he said in excuse was all that was needed. The Bishop ol Liverpool was no respecter of persons, and spoke out emphatically on every subject of public importance which came under his notice. He observed with some interest and pride that at a meeting of Anglican and Dissenting clergymen, held to consider some means of removing one serious blot on the reputation of the town, the non-attendance at Church services of the masses, there were uttered words of praise for the Catholic clergy for their assiduous and successful exertions in this respect among the Catholics belonging to the labouring classes.

Taking advantage of the "Fenian alarm," Mr. Joseph Ball, who had taken to himself the entire credit of frightening the Irish from holding the proposed "funeral" procession in the previous December, now resolved to enter public life by opposing Mr. Thomas Martin, the retiring Catholic member of the Select Vestry. The fight for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the wrangle still going on in Liverpool over the Temporal Power, and the irritation in some Protestant quarters at Dr. Goss's sermons and pastorals, presaged a big victory for the Orange-Church candidate. The issue, as defined by Mr. Ball, was simplicity itself: no Catholic of any nationality or political belief should be allowed a seat on any public body.

A tremendous struggle, unequalled in the history of the town, was the result, and for ten days practically all business was suspended. The polling place was the Law Association Rooms, Cook Street, in the very heart of commercial Liverpool. At the end of the first day's polling Mr. Ball secured 751 votes recorded by 296 voters, against Mr. Martin's 441 by 121 persons. Next day Mr. Ball's votes had jumped up to 2,061 from 628 voters; Mr. Martin being in a minority with 1,648 votes recorded by 609 electors. The Liberal party issued

a manifesto in Mr. Martin's favour, protesting against the doctrine that no Catholic was fit to enter public life. Still Mr. Ball led, his votes and voters being 3,583 and 1,401; Mr. Martin's, 3,021 and 1,212. The Catholics refused to allow the poll to be closed, and made a herculean effort to improve their position. House-to-house visitations were made; vehicles of all kinds were requisitioned, but on the fourth day they were still in a bad position, with 3,567 votes against 4,185; 1,483 voters against 1,684. Still they refused to acknowledge defeat, and next day secured a majority of voters, though still in a minority of votes. The end of the eight days' fight showed Martin ahead with 4,396 voters against 3,696, and 8,243 votes against 7,970; thus at last voters and votes were against Mr. Ball. Neither side would give way now, and finally, on Saturday, April 25th, Mr. Thomas Martin routed the Orange nominee by 9,946 votes to 9,470, and by 5,684 voters to 4,740. Mr. Ball retired from the contest on the spurious plea that the Liberal party had diverted the contest into political channels, instead of allowing it to be fought out on Orange versus Catholic lines.

The question of how to deal with the destitute children of the town came up again during this year, on the initiative of the leading Catholics of the town, who never missed a chance of calling public attention to the evil results resulting therefrom. The magistrates met on June 24th, 1868, to consider what action they could take, and the esteem in which they held Mr. C. J. Corbally was shewn in their voting him to the chair. Father Nugent gave them his views, also stating that no less than two thousand children were trading in the streets. The following table shows the numbers of young people arrested from 1860 to 1867:—

1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867
768	823	1159	1303	1299	1225	1133	1500

The difficulty of finding permanent employment was intensified by the passing of the Workshops Act, which forbade the employment of any child unable to read or write. Thus the very class which did not attend school, or at best most irregularly, was doubly handicapped in the search for employment, and had no alternative but to seek a precarious living in the streets. The sale of matches and smallwares was as often as not a mere cloak for begging, and at best was demoralising. Beyond the suggestion that the police should take greater advantage of the Industrial Schools Act, the magistrates were practically powerless. A census was taken at *midnight* on January 1st, 1869, of all children found in the streets

either trading or wandering about without any control being exercised over them.* It was found that 541 little boys and 172 little girls were at that very late hour offering small articles for sale or begging. Father Nugent gathered 500 Catholic boys off the streets and entertained them in the Boys' Refuge, Soho Street. He made the startling comment on the demoralisation which had set in amongst the generation which had sprung up from the famine immigrants that only twenty boys present had been born in Ireland. The principal speaker at this pleasant meeting was Mr. Charles Russell, destined to be Lord Chief Justice of England. Father Nugent announced that his Association of Providence had decided to extend the sphere of their activities, and side by side with the work being done at 22, Soho Street, to establish a Boys' Refuge in St. Anne Street, in the former residence of the Judges of Assize. Mr. Samuel Greg Rathbone, Mr. William Rathbone, and Mr. Weld Blundell gave one hundred pounds each; Mr. W. Clarkson and Lord Howard, fifty pounds; Mr. G. Melly, twenty pounds; Chief Justice Lush sent a donation of five pounds. The founder had decided to train the boys in some industrial occupation which could be followed on leaving the institution, believing this to be the only way to prevent them slipping into the army of street traders and later on entering the dismal host of casual labourers. To create a taste for a regular life was Father Nugent's chief aim. He did not, however, escape some hostile criticism, especially from Mr. M. J. Whitty, in the editorial columns of the "Daily Post." He was elegantly described as an admirable stage manager, and denounced for purchasing printing machinery at a cost of four hundred pounds. At the same time the "Albion" joined the "Post" in demanding exact financial statements of receipts and disbursements. Father Nugent had purchased the rapidly declining "Northern Press," and began to print it at his Refuge in Soho Street. The "Post" accused him of having engaged a "vituperative writer" to assail Mr. Whitty, and of having purchased the "Northern Press" with money given to him for charitable purposes. Father Nugent wrote an indignant reply, denying that he had employed anyone to "put "down" the "Daily Post," and though admitting that the "Northern Press" was printed at the Soho Street Refuge, it was so done because of a contract arranged with the committee, who had no responsibility for its contents, and that the machinery was not purchased out of public subscription, but had been presented to him by a personal friend. The "Post" pursued him in a vindictive spirit for many years, and, alluding

* See Speech of Mr. G. Melly, February 4, 1869.

to his absence from an education meeting, sneeringly said it would never have done for a priest to be shouted down by cries of "Produce a balance-sheet." Father Nugent was not easily dissuaded once he had made up his mind, and pursued his work of saving the Catholic child, unmindful of Mr. Whitty's attacks, which, for once in his career, were based on personal dislikes.

In anticipation of the passage into law of a Bill for compulsory attendance at school, a meeting of all parties was held early in 1869, to found the Education Aid Society, the precursor of the present Council of Education. The objects aimed at were: Payment of school fees in cases of proved poverty, and a choice of schools for the parents, so as to avoid any religious difficulty. The Bishop of Chester presided, and was supported by two priests, who spoke to the resolutions—Father Guy, O.S.B., and Father Hilary Lenoir, O.M.I., of Holy Cross.

Mr. William Rathbone, M.P., moved the main resolution, setting forth the objects of the new movement. The Rev. Dr. Taylor moved as an amendment that no parent be helped unless he sent his child to a Bible school. It was a repetition of the policy of the Anglican clergy in 1841, which was now filling the gaols and reformatories; the policy that Dr. Taylor had laid down in 1864, against the payment or appointment of a Catholic Chaplain to the borough gaol. Catholics were not ratepayers because they were poor, a bit of new political economy. Now, voluntary assistance was to be denied. His speech was an attack on Dr. Goss and Cardinal Cullen, and the violent polemics in which he indulged would have defeated the new organisation had not the same Rathbone who faced McNeill thirty years earlier been ready now to face his no less bigoted successor. The margin of victory was narrow; three votes.

The report of the Government Inspector for 1868 told eloquently the need for compulsory education in Liverpool. Only 5,719 Catholic children were in average attendance, while the non-Catholics were in a more pitiable plight. Notwithstanding their being two-thirds of the population, only 8,254 were attending school. From this Report we learn that there were night schools at Holy Cross, average attendance, 117; St. Thomas and William, averaging 41; St. Oswald's, Old Swan, 62; and at St. Nicholas', Copperas Hill, 406 girls were in attendance.

On July 22, 1869, Bishop Goss opened the Boys' Refuge in St. Anne Street, in the presence of Lord Howard and a large attendance of the leading Protestant gentlemen of the

town. His Lordship expressed his delight that one of his own clergy had come forward with sufficient courage and resolution to venture upon the purchase of that large house to remove the destitute boy from the dangers of the streets. Dr. Goss had additional proofs of the enthusiasm with which his flock worked in this direction. Mr. J. Neale Lomax reported that in six years the Association founded by Canon Cookson and Mr. J. Whitty had found situations in Catholic families or with Catholic employers for 263 boys and 346 girls discharged from the Kirkdale Schools. The Catholic Guardians were able, too, to congratulate themselves and their Protestant supporters upon having secured the appointment of a Catholic schoolmistress at Kirkdale, who was responsible for the religious instruction of the Catholic children. Another organisation which was rendering yeoman service for the girls was St. George's Industrial School for Girls, located in Laburnum House, Fairfield.

In January, 1854, a few Belgian nuns of the Augustinian Order were introduced to Liverpool by the Very Rev. Canon Wallwork, and located themselves in Everton Crescent. It was the only institution in England which made Valenciennes lace, but the nuns did not confine their training to this unique branch of industry. They trained poor girls in all branches of domestic work, and found them situations in different families in the town. Owing to the success which they achieved in a few years after their arrival they rented a building known as the West Derby Hospital, and in 1868 took possession of Laburnum House. The Finance Committee of the Corporation had paid one shilling per week per child for some years, under the provisions of the Reformatory Act, but ceased to continue the payment in 1868, at which date 108 destitute girls were in training. On June 21st, 1868, Dr. Goss laid the foundation-stone of the new schools of St. Vincent de Paul, consequent upon the compulsory acquisition by the Corporation of the Jordan Street Schools, presented by Mr. E. Chaloner. On this occasion he delivered an address which was regarded as an attack on the Irish population, and to the close of his episcopate, four years later, his observations were keenly resented by many Irishmen. "All men," said he, "possessed fair chances of advancing themselves; the paths "of preferment were closed against none." He was interrupted by a man in the crowd with the remark, "Yes, my Lord, if "he is not an Irishman." The Bishop noticed the interruption, and sharply replied, "What does that man say? Let him "speak out like a man if he has anything to say." He went on to contend that, though Ireland "had suffered great and

"cruel wrongs, in Liverpool, as in the rest of England, Irish-"men had a clear stage, if they would only be true to them-"selves, and refrain from drink and other vices." These words only were reported in the daily Press, and it was alleged they only formed a small portion of a severe criticism of the Irish members of the Bishop's flock. Whilst his Lordship's comments on the drink habit were undeniably true, it was doubtful whether the Irish labourer drank any more than his neighbour in the same humble walk of life. Dr. Goss was not, however, so accurate in his assertion that Irishmen had a clear stage for preferment. The maxim, "No Irish need "apply," had not yet disappeared from the employer's vocabulary, and between the instinctive dislike of Rome on the one hand, and the anti-Irish feeling due to Irish political agitations—notably the Fenian movement—on the other, the prospects of preferment were very small indeed. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that, but for the fortunate circumstance that most of the stevedores were Irishmen, the Catholic Irish labourers on the dock side would have had a hard time. Railway developments and dock extensions needed men of considerable physical strength to carry out the work of excavating, and in this department Irishmen got more than their share. Navvying does not appear to have had any special attraction for the average English labourer in Liverpool. The Irish party resented a Bishop lending the weight of his experience and authority to criticisms which they refused to admit were well grounded. Bishop Goss was, however, never deterred by public criticism from expressing his opinions freely, and in this instance he acted in perfect good faith; he found it difficult to believe that his own countrymen could be so deeply prejudiced against Irishmen.

CHAPTER VIII.

The year 1870 opened a new chapter in the history of Catholic Liverpool. Mr. W. E. Forster's Education Bill provided for the establishment of new local education authorities and compulsory attendance at school of all children from five to twelve years of age. The Catholics and the Anglicans were the only bodies, save in a few instances, such as the Wesleyans, who had made any serious effort to provide educational facilities for the children of the nation. To supply the deficiency was the avowed intention of the authors of the new Bill, but there were not wanting far-seeing critics who urged that the effect would be to supplant the existing voluntary schools. This opinion, which has been abundantly justified by after events, prejudiced the School Board experiment at the very outset, as the different religious bodies, especially the Anglican authorities, made strenuous efforts to capture* the new education authorities. The provisions of the Bill made it clear that a heavy financial burthen would be placed on the shoulders of the Catholic body, and few indeed seemed to realise what the ultimate effect would be when the Bill became an Act of Parliament. As soon as the Speech from the Throne announced the forthcoming measure, Liverpool Catholics took counsel one with the other. A meeting was held in the Catholic Club, 34, Church Street. Canon Bernard O'Reilly was in the chair, and Father James Nugent acted as secretary. It was decided to oppose the passage of the Bill, and to organise a series of public demonstrations to stir up public opinion. The committee appointed consisted of men holding every shade of political opinion—Conservative, Liberal, and Home Ruler. Sir Robert Gerard, Thomas Weld Blundell, J. B. Aspinall, Henry Sharples, Francis Reynolds, Edward Leeming, P. S. Bidwill, Hugh Cullen, James Whitty, John Yates, John MacArdle, and others; such a committee as could only have been brought into existence in the face of some grave danger to Catholic interests.

The demonstration held in the Theatre Royal,† Williamson Square, on St. Patrick's Day, came as a surprise to Liverpool citizens, accustomed though they were to huge public gatherings when party or racial feeling ran high. The square

* Lord Salisbury's advice to denominationalists: "Capture the School Boards."

† Now a Cold Store.

was packed by a great multitude who were unable to gain admission to the crowded theatre. Sir Robert Gerard presided; the principal speakers being the eloquent Irish member, John Francis Maguire, Father George Porter, S.J., Rector of St. Francis Xavier's,* Father Nugent, Mr. George Segar, and Mr. John Yates. The dominant note of the speeches may be found in the terse resolution adopted:—"Religion being the "basis of all true education, this meeting holds that any "system which would tend to secularize education cannot be "acceptable to the Catholics of this country." After the lapse of forty years, and in the midst of a renewed fight for the same principle laid down in this resolution, one rises from the perusal of the newspaper reports, captivated by the eloquent speeches which raised the memorable meeting in Williamson Square to a pitch of hitherto unparalleled enthusiasm. It was decided, on the motion of Father Nugent, to send a deputation to Mr. Forster to point out certain provisions in the Bill which gave an unfair advantage to the proposed School Boards. The deputation consisted of Canon O'Reilly and Messrs. Aspinall, Whitty, and Yates. This demonstration was followed by another, organised by the Christian Doctrine Confraternities, which was attended by two thousand "of the "poorest Catholics in the town." All classes of Catholics were united in opposition to the Bill, whilst they resolved that in the event of its becoming law they would rise to the heavy responsibilities entailed by the provision of new schools and the better equipment of those already in existence. All Catholics were animated by the principle laid down in a remarkable leading article in the "Catholic Times": "If "Saint Ambrose were alive at the present moment, he would "sell the very chalice from the altar, and consecrate in glass "to find means to save the children." As if to add fuel to the fires of controversy, Mr. Newdegate, M.P., selected this moment to introduce his famous Bill for the inspection of convents. There was a well-grounded belief that the large Liberal majority behind Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons would furnish Mr. Newdegate sufficient supporters to combine with the Orange-Protestant elements on the Opposition benches to carry his tyrannical proposal. To encourage this possible coalition a series of meetings was organised in Liverpool by the Rev. Dr. Taylor, ably assisted by a new recruit to the ranks of Anti-Catholic controversialists, the Rev. Mr. Vernon White, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Islington.† To the great credit of the leaders of the Con-

* Afterwards Archbishop of Bombay.

† Corner of Salisbury Street—now a Jewish Synagogue.

servative party in the town, they refused to give any countenance to these meetings, else Dr. Taylor's grossly insulting language about the nuns, and the violent harangues of himself and Dr. White, would have brought about public disturbances in the streets. It is painful to think that such scholarly men could speak of the Sisters of Charity and Mercy and the teaching nuns in such terms as were used during this short-lived but vicious agitation. To make matters worse for the Liberal party which supported Mr. Forster, these Orange leaders were thick and thin supporters of the Education Bill, which they interpreted as an attack on the voluntary school system. It was difficult to keep the Catholic working-men in hand during this quarrel, and Mr. Neale Lomax organised a series of meetings, which were attended by them in large numbers, to defend the fame and work of these good women. The Protestant section of the community were attracted to Saint Francis Xavier's to hear the brilliant sermons of Father George Porter, S.J., in explanation of the works of mercy and charity performed every hour of the day by women whose only thought was to help the poor children, the sick in the slums, the daily practice of the corporal works of mercy. As Father Nugent said of them, these sermons "were worthy of the priest who "was the foremost preacher in Liverpool." These addresses took the sting out of the attacks of Drs. Taylor and White, who retired beaten from the field. The Bill was successfully resisted, and not one moment too soon. Liverpool Catholics were prepared to give their last penny for the schools, but there was a grim resolve in their hearts to resist to death the first violation of a Liverpool convent.

Attention was once more devoted to the Education Bill. Mr. Gladstone encouraged the Catholic agitation by his speech on the "case of the Roman Catholics," which, he said, "weighs "much on my mind. I am very much opposed to the extrava-"gant claims which their heads make on their behalf, but "still, they raise important considerations in the civil "interests of the community." Substantial changes were made in the Bill, and it became law. The School Boards could teach the Bible in their schools; hence the voluntary schools could not be prevented from giving religious instruction.

Bishop Goss, on September 11th, 1870, addressed a pastoral letter to his flock on the new situation:—"The Act "places the Church of England in a position of peculiar hard-"ship, and involves us in a difficulty of which our fellow-"citizens have little or no share. Our present schools will "not be molested beyond being thrown open to children of any "religious denomination, and having to set aside special times

" for religious instruction." His Lordship urged upon his people the practice of reading the New Testament at night when the family was gathered together, but he was unsparing in his denunciation of the indiscriminate reading of the Old Testament, as the Jews of old did not allow their children to read many passages. This criticism was aimed at the exponents of pure Bible teaching in all schools. " Mahomet," he wrote, " reverently put aside every scrap of paper bearing the name " of God; but Parliamentary Christians are willing to expose " it to the sorriest end, provided they can enforce it upon an " unwilling people." The pastoral proceeded to appeal for the necessary funds to meet the estimated need of eight thousand school places. During the month of September a meeting of the clergy and laity was held in the Law Association Rooms, Cook Street, to discuss the situation. Provost Cookson stated that as compulsory attendance was now enjoined on all children from five to twelve years of age, 23,754 Catholic children came within these limits. The total provision already made amounted to 15,646, thus leaving the deficiency mentioned in the Bishop's pastoral. Mr. James Whitty enquired what was the area in which the deficiency existed, and was informed that it lay between Woolton and Little Crosby, Huyton and the River Mersey. On the motion of Father George Porter, S.J., a new committee was formed to raise funds and otherwise deal with school problems, with the cumbersome title of " The Liverpool Education Crisis Catholic " Committee."

The average attendance at each of the Catholic schools in the year 1870, taken from the official Blue Book, showed clearly, from a Catholic point of view, the wisdom of making education compulsory.:—St. Francis Xavier's, 834; St. Anthony's, 745; St. Mary's, 708; SS. Thomas and William, 628; Holy Cross, 502; St. Peter's, 488; St. Alban's, 455; St. Anne's, 449; Mount Vernon, 336; St. Oswald's, 281; St. Nicholas, 254; Mount Carmel, 236; St. Helen's, 144; the Practising School at Mount Pleasant, 142.* That is to say, that only 6,202 children were in average attendance out of a total of not less than twenty thousand children between the ages of five and twelve, and out of at least fourteen thousand for whom accommodation had been provided. Provost Cookson's figures included several country schools—Woolton, Gillmoss, Crosby, and other small places in the outskirts of the town. It is incredible that less than five thousand children

* Several schools are not included in the return, but this does not affect the issue. All these schools are within the present Municipal borough of Liverpool. This was not so in 1870.

were attending school inside the area now occupied by the Parliamentary constituencies of Scotland, Exchange, and Abercromby,* then much more crowded centres of population than now. At one of the Education meetings Father Nugent gave the figures of 150,000, as representing the Catholic population of Liverpool. Accepting the rule that there were 183 children between the ages of five and twelve to every thousand of the population, the average attendance ought to have been 10,980, instead of 6,202. This indifference to education was due not so much to want of school places as to poverty. Hundreds of families needed the earnings of the children. The economic results of the Act of 1870 have been as remarkable as was the development of the Catholic school to the expulsion of Catholic children under Conservative rule in 1841.

A year's grace was allowed for preparation of plans of new schools, for submission to the Imperial Government. To make full use of this period was the aim of the Bishop. He summoned a meeting in the Theatre Royal, on October 24th, over which he presided, to raise funds for the much-needed new school buildings. The Archbishops of Trebizond† and Baltimore,‡ the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Howard of Glossop, Sir Piers Mostyn, Baron Vasconcellas,§ supported the Bishop, with the Marquis of Bute, who made his first appearance on a Catholic platform. It was resolved that, "as the Act recog-"nised the rights of parents to control the education of their "children, it was the duty of every Catholic to make all possible "exertions to afford parents the means of discharging this "responsibility." A general fund for the whole country was opened, to which the Duke of Norfolk contributed the handsome sum of ten thousand pounds; a similar amount being subscribed by the Marquis of Bute. Lord Howard gave five thousand pounds, and seven donations of one thousand pounds were also subscribed. In all the total donations amounted to forty-six thousand pounds, proof positive of the eager desire of the leading Catholics of the country to safeguard the Faith of the children. It should be remembered with gratitude that the Catholic aristocracy acted with such magnificent generosity to provide schools for Irish children. Gratitude is short-lived. One Irishman, at least, tenders to their memory

* The present attendance—September, 1910—in the same areas is 13,000.

† Archbishop Errington, formerly a priest at St. Nicholas', Copperas Hill; rector of St. Mary's, Douglas, Isle of Man, after resigning his office of coadjutor archbishop of Westminster.

‡ Dr. Kenrick.

§ The vault of the Vasconcellas family may be seen, much neglected, in the main avenue of Ford Cemetery.

grateful homage. Father Nugent rendered splendid service by stirring up the Catholic middle classes to a full sense of their responsibility in such a critical moment, both by his speeches and letters, and the columns of the "Catholic "Times."* The Rector of St. Patrick's, a Belgian priest, Father Edward Goethals,† held a meeting in February, 1870, to devise means to build an additional school in Hyslop Street.‡ At St. Michael's, West Derby Road, Father Tobin raised seven hundred pounds; one thousand pounds was subscribed in the parish of Our Lady Immaculate, St. Domingo Road; one thousand and fifty pounds at St. Alexander's and land was purchased at Waterloo, all to meet the requirements of the new Education Act. At a meeting in St. Alban's, Athol Street, it was announced by the Rector, Father Seed,‡ that, from 1863 to 1870, five thousand seven hundred pounds had been raised in pence, to meet the cost of the erection of the parish schools, which had amounted to £7,163 6s. 7d. As the result of a renewed effort only five hundred pounds' debt remained.

One serious and far-reaching result of the Act of 1870 was the decision of the Irish Christian Brothers not to accept inspection, examination, or supervision of their work by the Government Inspectors. In the course of a few years they ceased to teach in the Liverpool schools. Canon O'Reilly was the last priest to retain their services at St. Vincent's,‖ from which school they departed in 1876, to the everlasting regret of the Catholics of Liverpool. They did noble work in Liverpool, and raised the standard of the boys' schools as the Nuns of Notre Dame did for the girls. To the Irish population their departure was a serious loss, as they inculcated love of country as well as of religion, and wielded an extraordinary influence over the children of the Irish race. Many of their pupils filled high positions in the town, and at least three of them are members of the Liverpool City Council at this moment.

The School Boards opened up a new field of public work for the laity. Five Catholics were nominated at the first

* "With courage, energy, and foresight, all may do what the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier's have accomplished."—"Catholic Times," July 23, 1870.

† Now Dean Goethals, forty-four years rector of this mission.

‡ Both Schools had 1,334 children on the rolls, September, 1910.

‡ Canon Seed.

‖ The writer was a pupil at St. Vincent's under these excellent men. Brothers Goodwin, Kelly and Timmons were the last teachers. They were succeeded by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who only remained a few years. Bishop Whiteside brought the Irish Christian Brothers back to Liverpool to take charge of a Pupil Teachers' Centre. They are now in charge of the Catholic Institute.

elections—Mr. John Yates, Mr. James Whitty, Mr. C. J. Corbally, Mr. Edmund Browne,* and Mr. Henry Sharples. It was felt that the Catholics by united action could carry the five candidates, and as there were, according to calculations made by Father G. Porter, S.J., 13,000 Catholics on the register out of a total of 40,000, victory was a certainty. Strenuous efforts were made to elect the new Board without a contest, and several candidates having been induced by their respective proposers to withdraw, the Catholics withdrew Mr. H. Sharples, the remaining four being elected. On the 1st of November, Colonel P. S. Bidwill gained a seat in Vauxhall Ward without a contest, and Mr. John McArdle was re-elected for Scotland Ward by 1,251 votes. There were now six Catholic members of the Town Council†—Alderman Sheil, Councillors Bidwill, Fairhurst, MacArdle, Whitty, and Yates, all members of the Liberal party. When the new Council met they found that the Finance Committee had agreed as a concession to Orange sentiment to allow a statue of Dr. McNeill to be placed inside St. George's Hall. The Catholic members opposed this decision, Colonel Bidwill proposing that a plebiscite be taken; but the motion was rejected by 40 votes to 12, Liverpool thus emphasising its conception of the fitness of things by placing the libeller of Queen Victoria side by side with its greatest son, Mr. W. E. Gladstone.

In the midst of the struggle over the Education Bill, the solitary Catholic member of the Select Vestry, Mr. Thomas Martin, was waging the same fight which his predecessors had fought for twenty-eight years. In January, 1870, he moved: "That, in the "opinion of this Board, it is undesirable that the religious "teaching and instruction should be dependent upon the "voluntary attendance of the Catholic clergy; and, that with "a view of remedying same steps be taken to secure the "services of one or more clergymen whose duties shall be to "attend to the wants of the Catholic inmates, who shall be "officers of the Select Vestry, and who shall be paid adequate "salaries for their services." Mr. Glover seconded, and the motion was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. The need was specially felt in the Kirkdale Schools, where, in 1870, there were 872 Catholic children. During the four years, 1866 to 1870, 1,479 Protestant and 1,248 Catholic children had been admitted to the schools. By 1870, for the first time in the

* Father of the Rev. Joseph Browne, late Rector of Stonyhurst, and now Rector of St. Francis Xavier's (1910).

† Father Nugent, six years before, predicted that the proposed Reform Bill would give Catholics great electoral power.

parish, the Catholic children were in a majority, a significant comment on the social status of Irish labourers in Liverpool. In September, Bishop Goss wrote again to the Vestry, pointing out that owing to the outbreak of fever in the town—there were one thousand cases under the care of the Guardians—his priests were overwhelmed with work, and asked the Board to set aside a small sum of money which would enable him to obtain the services of another priest. He urged that as all ratepayers paid poor rate, all were entitled to share in its distribution. The suggestion was rejected by twelve votes to ten, whereupon Alderman Woodruff declared his intention to raise the amount among his Protestant friends. The "Catholic Times" took up another aspect of Select Vestry work, and vigorously assailed that body for its general policy of sending out such Catholic children as could not be provided for by the Catholic Committee to non-Catholic homes. Father Nugent was again ahead of his time in urging the boarding out of children with Catholic families,* while they were still very young. He wrote:—"The Select Vestry is in an economical "mood, and object to pay more for boarding out children than "they would pay for them in their Industrial School. It is "dearer for a time to turn a pauper into a respectable "citizen." Owing to the prevalence of fever in the town, the Medical Officer of the Schools prohibited the children going out to Mass. Mr. Birchall, the Governor, said that one of the teachers "read Mass" to the others on Sunday, and the highly intelligent committee decided that the ministrations of the lay sacerdotalist was quite sufficient. Shortly afterwards they gave permission to a priest to enter the schools on Sundays while the pestilence prevailed without, to give religious instruction, whereupon Mr. Martin waxed sarcastic at the committee, which previously sheltered itself behind the Medical Officer, now allowing a priest from a fever-stricken area to go inside. Messrs. Yates, Whitty, and Lomax proceeded to London to enter a protest with the President of the Local Government Board. The Inspector reported that the provision of Catholic instruction was "unsatisfactory." Attending the committee, he gave his reasons, but they still refused to allow a priest to "read Mass" while permitting a young teacher to do so, The "Catholic Times" called upon the Irish members of Parliament to enquire if the Catholic Emancipation Act had been repealed in Liverpool, and went on to say, "but for the "judicious action of Mr. H. J. Hagger, Vestry Clerk, the "Vestry would often run riot. With a few exceptions, it is

*This is now the practice of all Boards of Guardians, acting under the Order of the Local Government Board.

"composed of men whose intelligence is only bounded by "obstinate bigotry, and whose liberality is in inverse ratio to "their refinement." The Toxteth Board set them a good example. Having laid it down as a necessary condition of receiving outdoor relief that all children must attend a school which they regarded as well equipped, a decision which excluded St. Patrick's, a deputation from the Catholic Club waited on the Board, which immediately set the matter right.

At the Easter of 1870, Mr. John Clarke, Great Howard Street, gained a seat on the Vestry, and threw himself with much vigour into the fight for a Catholic Chaplain, which was the only outstanding "religious difficulty" which prevented the Liverpool Parish Guardians from working together in perfect harmony.

Father Nugent, in the August of 1870, decided to visit Canada and the United States, with the intention of ascertaining by personal observation what prospect awaited young people emigrated from the crowded streets of Liverpool. It had long been a source of great difficulty to the managers of Industrial and Poor-Law Schools to find suitable employment for boys when the time came for their being discharged. The experiment of sending boys to Canada was just beginning to attract public attention, and as Father Nugent was about to take out a small party of children he resolved to lay his plans before the leading citizens and secure their co-operation. Summoning a meeting, which was attended by Poor-Law Guardians, magistrates, and others interested in the removal of children from dangerous surroundings, he unfolded his plan of action. Canon O'Reilly, on behalf of the clergy, gave his blessing to the mission, and on the 18th August Father Nugent made his first trip across the Atlantic. After nine months sojourn in America, during which he visited the great industrial centres and the agricultural districts of Canada and the United States, he returned to Liverpool, when he was presented by the Christian Brothers in charge of the Boys' Refuge with his portrait in oils.* A great meeting of citizens was held in St. George's Hall to hear Father Nugent's report of his experiences. Father Kelly, of St. James', Bootle, presided, supported by thirty Liverpool priests, who were naturally deeply interested in any movement which would save the children from the sad fate of the streets. "Let any "man," said Father Nugent, "walk our streets, let him go "along Marybone, Vauxhall Road, or Scotland Road, and his "heart will sink as he sees not only poverty, but naked, dis-"gusting pauperism. When I see so many poor girls

* This portrait still hangs in the Committee Room, St. Anne Street.

"crowding the workhouses and prisons; when I see the "noblest race God has created degraded and demoralised in "our large towns, is it not the duty of every man that has a "spark of humanity in his veins, to stretch out his hands and "give the warm feelings of his heart to put them in a position "where they can be self-reliant, where they can gain their "bread without becoming a race of paupers?" The famine years and the continued curse of Irish misgovernment had laid their deadly hands on the large towns of Great Britain, Liverpool worst of all. Local Irish Nationalists did not relish Father Nugent's strictures, but the practical mind of the experienced priest knew the evils of the town, and devoted his wonderful energy and enthusiasm to their cure.

The Select Vestry invited Father Nugent to appear before the Schools Committee to discuss the practicability of sending children to Canada from the Kirkdale Schools, especially those between eight and ten years of age. It was a remarkable change to find the Vestry taking up so reasonable an attitude towards the Catholic children, and here again the magnetic personality of Father Nugent proved a valuable asset to the Catholics of his native town. The Vestry agreed to try the experiment, while the enthusiastic priest went from town to town, winning numerous supporters for his new rallying cry "Save the Boy."

On Sunday, January 23rd, 1870, during the course of a mission in St. Joseph's Church, Grosvenor Street, someone created a stampede by a foolish cry of "Fire." Fifteen persons were trampled to death in the ugly rush from the building. Mr. Alderman Hubback, the Mayor of the town, opened a fund for the relief of the bereaved families, a kindly act which created an immense amount of good feeling towards himself and the civic authorities. His action was all the more appreciated as he was a prominent member of the Conservative party, and he gave further proofs of his generous instincts by giving official recognition to the efforts of the parishioners of St. Alexander's to erect new schools. Father E. Powell, who was attached to this mission for nineteen years, organised a bazaar at St. George's Hall, and secured the services of the Mayor to preside on the opening day.

At St. Francis Xavier's, Father George Porter, S.J., signalised his rectorship by hanging a peal of eight bells in the tower of the church, which Bishop Goss solemnly blessed on the 24th July, 1870. This incident was the unfortunate occasion of creating friction with Mr. Verner White, who waxed furious at the "audacity" of the Jesuits, and after making a strong protest threatened legal proceedings to secure

the removal or permanent silence of the new bells. The difficulty was solved with great tact by Father Porter, who adroitly changed the hour of the evening service from seven o'clock to half-past six, thus saving the alleged annoyance to the Presbyterian worshippers at the Islington Church. When this brilliant priest left to undertake the important duties of Archbishop of Bombay, Bishop Goss addressed to him a public letter, couched in affectionate language, of farewell and congratulation. He was succeeded by his brother, Father Thomas Porter, S.J., afterwards Bishop of Jamaica.

The crowded condition of Scotland and Vauxhall Wards, districts already well supplied with churches and schools, needed, in the Bishop's judgment, further church accommodation. A Dissenting chapel in Bevington Bush became vacant, which was purchased for £1,560, and on the 27th November, 1870, was opened by the Vicar-General, Canon Fisher. On the fifth day of the same month he wrote to Father O'Donovan,* then a curate at St. Joseph's, Grosvenor Street, appointing him rector of the new mission. "The Bishop has "placed this mission under the protection of St. Bridget, "knowing well how fervent and heartfelt is the devotion of "Ireland's faithful children to that much-favoured saint."

The sermons and other addresses of Bishop Goss during the last two years of his life attracted more public attention than any delivered during the nineteen years of his episcopal rule. Preaching at Little Crosby, in May, 1871, he severely criticised the general attitude of the Press towards revealed religion. The movement for the destruction of the Temporal Power of the Pope, then nearing its final stages, afforded specious pretexts for articles hostile not only to Catholicism, but to every form of Christian belief. Bishop Goss aroused the anger of his old-time critic, Mr. M. J. Whitty, by one sentence in this Little Crosby sermon, which ran as follows:—"In the "newspapers dogmas and traditions have been cast aside, and "crude notions put forward of the origin of man." Mr. Whitty occupied two columns of the "Daily Post" with his reply to the Bishop. "People have ceased," he wrote, "to "place much value upon sermons of any kind, whether Catholic "or Protestant; and, above all, they regard with perfect "indifference all that is said by Cardinal Cullen, or even by "your Lordship in pastoral letters. The profane scoff and "pronounce it bosh; the pious regard your advice as a matter "of course, nothing more. Newspaper men see so much of the "'behind the scenes' of social life that their very cleverness

*Now a Canon of the Chapter, who has since built a fine new Church and Schools.

" and cynicism causes them to question whether there can be " such a thing as true religion, morality, or sincerity in the " world. The Press is not the pulpit, but the abuse of its " liberty, of which the Bishop complains, once removed, it " could be made a powerful machine for the moral and social " elevation of the masses." The admission contained in the last sentence, as well as the definite statement that journalists do not believe there can be real morality or sincerity in the world, opened up a wide field for controversy. Father Guy, O.S.B., took up Mr. Whitty's cynicisms, and in a series of brilliant letters and sermons, disposed of the proposition that " newspaper men," as such, were quite so sceptical or materialistic as the able editor of the " Daily Post " would have the world believe. The " Post," a few weeks later, created some feeling against Bishop Goss, by publishing his sermon at St. Joseph's, with the unjustifiable heading: " Reproof of the " Irish." His Lordship had said: " Eternal honour to those " who love their country. Irishmen have as much right here " as in Ireland, and with that to endeavour to acquire political " power and influence, through the fulfilment of the law of " God, so that they might become a reformed people." Had the heading been " Reproof of the Teetotallers " there would have been some justification, as in the same sermon he advocated temperance as distinguished from total abstinence. He " disfavoured greatly," teetotalism, " because it had been " introduced upon the false principle that it was prescribed by " God."

The Bishop attacked the Liverpool School Board because of its general attitude towards Catholics. That body had decided upon the introduction of Bible teaching into all the schools provided by them out of the rates, and the Catholic members argued that, if any Catholic children attended the new schools, it would be in accord with the Board's principles to permit them to read the Douai version of the Bible. With unnecessary heat the majority rejected the proposal, thus following the example of the Tory Town Council thirty years earlier. The Board went further to display its hostility towards the arrangement made a year earlier, by which one shilling per head per week was paid towards the maintenance of children committed at their instance to Catholic industrial schools. It was urged that such payments were an infringement of the principles of the Education Act of 1870. To encourage the members disposed to act upon this policy, a number of public meetings were addressed by Rev. Drs. Taylor and Verner White, and Mr. Hugh Stowell Brown.* To make

* His statue stands outside the Myrtle Street Baptist Church.

matters worse, two of the best of the Liberal leaders, Mr. William Crosfield* and Mr. George Melly, M.P., waited on the School Board to protest against the further continuance of the weekly payments. Eventually, owing mainly to the influence of Mr. James Whitty, a compromise was arranged on the basis of continuing the payments for all children committed to the Industrial Schools prior to the date of this interesting debate and decision. It was the first time that Nonconformists and Churchmen joined hands against the Catholics of the town. Certainly it was a new feature in the political life of Liverpool to find prominent Liberal leaders uniting with ultra-Tories of the stamp of the Rev. Dr. Taylor in resisting Catholic claims, especially on such a delicate question as the rescue of poor children from a life of shame. It is quite true there was a finely-drawn question of principle at issue, but just such an issue as to justify Cardinal Newman's fine simile about stretching principles until they break like the string of a violin. At any rate, one immediate consequence was a further loosening of the close ties which bound the Irish and Catholic people to the Liberal party, a disintegrating influence which has probably continued to this very hour. A municipal contest was the turning point. The retiring member for Exchange Ward was Mr. J. J. Stitt, who was also a member of the School Board. In the course of the debate over the proposed provision of Douai Bibles for Catholic children in Board Schools, he indulged in criticisms of that version which were at once irrelevant to the issue at stake, grossly offensive to his Catholic colleagues, as well as betraying an ignorance of the written Word which was quite inexcusable in an educated man. The Catholic voters of the parish of Holy Cross resolved to teach him a lesson in good manners and sound Liberalism, if the latter term really included Bible teaching in Board Schools. Mr. Stitt was opposed by a Conservative, and appealed to the Catholics of Holy Cross to support his re-election. This they emphatically refused to do, and, under the leadership of Mr. J. Neale Lomax† and Mr. John Prendiville,‡ strenuously fought for the return of Mr. Stitt's opponent. To do so was to break away from a tradition as old as the first election of the reformed Town Council, and created consternation in both Liberal and Catholic circles. Mr. Stitt was defeated in this stronghold of

* Member of the Town Council, and father of Mr. Wm. Crosfield, Councillor, Select Vestryman, Member of the Dock Board, and ex-Member for Lincoln, who died in 1908.

† A statue of the Sacred Heart in the main avenue, Ford Cemetery, marks his last resting place.

‡ A well-known tug owner; was a member of the Birkenhead Board of Guardians for many years.

Liberalism by 241 votes; his defeat being the first proof of the political power placed in the hands of Catholics by the passing of the household franchise. Mr. Stitt did not improve matters by his speech at the close of the poll, when he asked "whether "we have the right to think and speak for ourselves; whether "we are to listen to the dictation of that hierarchy whose "principal characteristic has ever been the suppression and "stifling of public opinion." Mr. Stitt took himself too seriously. The hierarchy had never heard of him, and at the worst had only asked for Bible teaching, which was the main plank in Mr. Stitt's educational platform. Bishop Goss replied to the defeated candidate's outburst from the altar of St. John's, Fountains Road. After warmly defending the action of the Holy Cross parishioners, he went on to say that he "always held the doctrine that politics were safely left in the "hands of the laity. At the same time, when faith or morals "were concerned he held it to be his duty to lay the matter "fairly and distinctly before his people, while he still held that "either a bishop or a clergyman had a right to use his civil "privilege." A bye-election for a seat on the School Board caused the Conservatives and Churchmen to nominate Mr. L. R. Baily,* the Dissenters nominating the Rev. Dr. Verner White. The Bishop for the first time interfered in a local election, by asking his people to support the Conservative candidate. A fiercely fought contest ensued, out of which Dr. White emerged the victor by 1,089 votes. That the Conservatives should be defeated in Liverpool was a great surprise, especially with a large body of Catholics at their back. It served to show either that the Catholics disregarded the Bishop's advice by abstaining from voting, or, that the strong current of Protestant feeling swept away the ordinary claims of party. The polling shewed that the latter supposition was the right one. In Scotland Ward, Mr. Baily polled 2,056 votes, in Vauxhall 502, Holy Cross parish 786, to name only three thickly populated Catholic districts.

Mr. J. J. Stitt, stung by his defeat at the hands of Catholic voters, endeavoured to carry a proposal at the School Board to prevent the payment of school fees of children whose parents through illness were compelled to seek indoor medical aid from the Guardians. This penal proposal was also to apply to orphan children living with relatives. The motion was rejected by ten votes to three. The "Catholic Times," in commenting upon this debate, made an attack on the committee of the Seamen's Orphanage for refusing to make provision for the religious training of the orphans of Catholic

*Defeated Captain O'Shea in Exchange Division, 1885

sailors. It pointed out that the land upon which the Orphanage stands had been presented by the Town Council, and that the committee, by their conduct, were turning a generous municipal gift into an endowment for the State religion. This criticism eventually—though not immediately—secured fair treatment for the orphans of Catholic seamen.

For some time Liverpool had made no move towards supporting His Holiness Pius the Ninth in his serious struggle to resist the seizure of Rome and the patrimony of Peter. In 1870 a detachment of Papal Zouaves reached Liverpool and were welcomed by the Earl of Denbigh, Chevalier Lloyd, and three prominent local Catholic gentlemen—Messrs. Lomax, Prendiville, and Denvir—who entertained them to a public luncheon. One of the number, a young Englishman, named Francis Woodwark, was seized with a fatal illness, and the Oblate Fathers had him conveyed to the Presbytery of Holy Cross, where he was tenderly nursed, but to no avail. The Requiem Mass, sung by Father Coopman, O.M.I., was the occasion of a great demonstration of respectful sympathy, and the Zouave was laid to rest in Anfield Cemetery in the presence of his fellow soldiers.

"The silence of Lancashire," as Father Nugent called it, was broken by a demonstration organised by the Catholic Young Men's Societies, an organisation for which he had a special affection. The Earl of Denbigh presided, and Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., editor of the historic weekly, "The "Nation," stated the case for the Temporal Power of the Pope. "The Pope has had in Rome one great attribute, the "want of which Europe has felt, is feeling, and will still more "deeply feel. The Papacy had a mediative and arbitrative "character. What princes among themselves will ever agree "to be a president in a family of kings? Such a man was the "Pope in history, such he must be if chaos and anarchy are "not to succeed."

On the 26th February, 1871, Alderman Richard Sheil passed away at the ripe age of eighty years. For fifty years he had been a prominent figure in every Catholic movement. Born in Dublin, in 1790, he was a member of the same family which gave to Ireland the brilliant writer and M.P., Richard Lalor Sheil. After spending many years of his life in Hayti, Mr. Sheil came to Liverpool, and carried on large business with great success. No Catholic movement was complete without his presence, whilst his interest in public matters was so intense that the Tory Corporation paid him the compliment of naming one of its public parks with his surname. One of

the first three Catholic councillors, the first Catholic alderman, he had the unique honour of being the first to re-enter the Council and again become the only Catholic alderman. Dark complexioned, he looked like a Spanish monk, and his merchant friends used to say of him that he had missed his vocation. His warm Irish temperament and mellifluous brogue made him a host of friends in all parties which he with kindly wisdom turned to account for the benefit of his co-religionists. Indeed, had he so desired even a Conservative majority would have elected him to the honourable position of the Chief Magistracy. To do honour to his memory, and as an acknowledgement of his signal services to the Church, the Vicar-General sang the Requiem Mass in the absence through illness of the Bishop. His mortal remains were interred in Anfield Cemetery.

In addition to his multifarious works, Father Nugent added that of the crusade against intemperance. Branches of the new "League of the Cross" were established at almost every mission; weekly meetings held in various parts of the town, which were addressed at length by the "second Father "Mathew," as he was termed, and as an antidote to the public house in the slums, the weekly concerts were begun which have since become a feature of social work among all sections of Liverpool reformers. As an evidence of the deadly results of intemperance, the School Board in the second year of its existence addressed a memorial to the magistrates pointing out that 25,000 children were attending school irregularly as the result of excessive drinking on the part of the parents. Father Nugent, to the hour of his death, always regarded the temperance crusade as the greatest work of his life, and as the most successful in its results.

As far back as the early fifties the Medical Officer of Health had suggested the provision of a mortuary chapel on moral and sanitary grounds. The epidemic of 1865 induced a Protestant gentleman, named Robert Hutchinson, to make the generous offer of providing such a chapel in a poor Catholic neighbourhood. The first stone of All Souls, Collingwood Street, was laid on December 11th, 1866, but after contributing £2,825, the generous donor became involved in serious financial complications and the work was stopped. Some time later a special subscription was made to complete the work, to which the Earl of Derby, Mr. William Rathbone, Mr. S. G. Rathbone, Messrs. Lamport and Holt, and D. and C. Maciver contributed one hundred pounds each. This timely assistance enabled the Catholic

authorities to complete the church, which was opened by the Vicar-General, Dr. Fisher, on St. Patrick's day, 1872. Father T. Hogan was appointed Rector. In June, Father John Nugent was appointed to found a new mission "between "Kirkdale, Ford and Gillmoss." A Protestant gentleman, named Mr. C. Harvey, placed an out-building in Rice Lane at his disposal, which was duly opened for Divine Service, on October 20th, 1872, again by the Vicar-General, the Bishop having passed away to his eternal reward seventeen days before. A temporary school had been provided in Raymond Street, to provide accommodation for the new parish of St. Sylvester's; new schools for St. Peter's parish. to be erected in Gilbert Street, were on the point of completion; St. Patrick's new schools were opened on April 2nd, 1872; and in May an old chapel was fitted up to serve as an addition to the school accommodation. From a letter written to the "Catholic Times," January 7th, 1871, by Father Moses Doon, we learn that a dissenting chapel in Claremont Grove had been purchased for the purposes of a temporary Catholic chapel, and he publicly thanked Dean Kelly, Bootle, for generously providing him with an altar. The chapel, under the title of St. John, was opened on the 12th February, 1871, when the Vicar-General preached the first sermon.

The flow of the Catholic population northwards from the centre of the town, was shewn by the provision of this church and that of the Blessed Sacrament at Walton, just as the erection of St. Michael's and the new schools at St. Oswald's testified to the extensions eastwards. Such developments seemed to indicate a great and growing increase in the number of Catholics in the town, but the many circumstances already alluded to in the condition of the people did not make the picture quite so rosy as would appear at first sight. One of the last sermons delivered by the Bishop in his usual outspoken manner indicated that he was under no delusions as to the real character of this apparent progress. "There are" he said, "from 150,000 to "200,000 Catholics in Liverpool, and only 50,000 went to "Mass. His opinion was that, as Catholics, they were growing "up into a vast population nominally, but that they were "growing up forgetful of their duties."* The figures given by Father Gibson as to performance of the Easter duty of approaching the sacraments bore out the Bishop's statement.

In Liverpool the average attendance at Mass on Sunday mornings was only 51,270; the numbers observing the law

*Sermon at St. Bridget's, January 14, 1872. The present figures (1910) are:—Population 135,000; attendance at Mass 68,000.

of approaching the Sacraments at Easter or thereabouts amounting only to 42,354. Contrast this with the figures for Preston and Wigan. The numbers attending the Sunday Mass were 14,671 in Preston and 5,602 in Wigan. but the numbers performing the Easter obligation are the important feature as compared with Liverpool; 13,334 in Preston, and 5,718 in Wigan. In the other portions of the diocese 38,029 attended Mass, and 35,751 received the Sacraments.* Demoralisation had set in twenty years before, hence the serious statement of the Bishop that Liverpool was rapidly reaching a stage of nominal Catholicism. The pity is that compulsory attendance at school had not been the law in 1850, instead of 1870, else a different set of figures had been the result.

It is not without its significance that in October, 1859, the Bishop had stated that "not from surmise but from "actual computation" 50,000 then heard Mass on Sundays. In twelve years there had been no increase.

On October the 3rd, 1872, Dr. Goss, who had been ailing for some years, passed away suddenly, in his fifty-eighth year.† Born in Ormskirk, the son of a Protestant father, he shewed at an early age the signs of his vocation for the priesthood. Educated at Ushaw and Rome, he became a professor and vice-president at St. Edward's College, Liverpool, of which, with Monsignor Provost John Henry Fisher,‡ he was one of the founders. His life was of the most simple character. At no time had he an income of five hundred pounds per annum.§ The great work of his life was the provision of schools for the children of the diocese, especially during the last two years of his life, when he made a herculean and successful effort to provide new schools to meet the requirements of the new Education Act. "We will not cease while there is a "single Catholic child, not alone in Liverpool, but in the "whole of the diocese, that has not a good Catholic school "near at hand." No more fitting epitaph could be inscribed on his tomb in Ford cemetery than this loving declaration of his keen interest in the children of his diocese. Archdeacon Manning, preaching at the Requiem Mass, said of him that some of his natural traits were solidarity of character, a masculine simplicity and openness of heart which was

* December 18, 1871.

†A boy sent in haste to summon the Bishop's friend, Father Ray, was Thomas Whiteside, who 22 years later became the fourth Bishop of Liverpool.

‡ Born in Manchester, on the site of the present Town Hall. He was a schoolfellow of Dr. Ryle, first Protestant Bishop of Liverpool.

§ Ushaw Magazine, 1895.

exhibited in his face, and a calm, deep, manly speech, which displayed at once the character and inward spirit of his mind. He had known how Dr. Goss was sometimes strong and resolute, almost to vehemence, in decisions which he thought truth or justice required, but no man was more forbearing, more considerate or more equitable to others, or more ready in balancing justice, to change his conclusions when facts or reason could be adduced against him. "I do not "know that I was ever more impressed than in reading a "few simple words, which he once spoke in a time of great "disorder—a time, it may be, of great danger—from the "very place, it may be, from which I speak—'so long as my "'hand can hold my pastoral staff, so long as my voice can "'ring, I will never cease to denounce the evil.'" The future Cardinal Archbishop had twelve years earlier paid Bishop Goss a high compliment. Referring to the long drawn out dispute over Oscott,* and the constant appeals to Rome which vexed the soul of Cardinal Wiseman, Provost Manning, as he then was, wrote to the Cardinal on hearing of the visit to Rome of Bishops Clifford and Brown (Shrewsbury), "I do "not think that the two who are going are formidable after "Dr. Errington and Dr. Goss." The panegyric of the Archbishop of Westminster, shews how much his opinion of the dead Bishop of Liverpool had changed as the result of a closer and fuller knowledge, as he had once written of him during the time of the Oscott dispute, "Goss with his usual "rough violence—the crozier, hook and point."

The closing years of his life were somewhat embittered by the prolonged litigation over the will of Samuel Holland Moreton, and the attacks of the "Liverpool Courier" on the Vicar-General, Monsignor Fisher, who drew up the disputed document. Moreton, to whom some reference has already been made in these pages, became possessed, on August 19th, 1854, of certain rights in the Hundred of Wirral, formerly held by a Mr. Samuel Spencer. Incredible as it may appear to the present generation, these "rights" included a claim to administer justice, summon jurors, fine certain offenders, decide points of law, order payment of debts, levy distresses, etc., and for a thousand years previously private individuals had so acted. In pursuance of these rights he seized the Manor House, Thornton Hough, and claimed the foreshore of the Mersey on the Cheshire side, which claim was successfully resisted by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board some years later.

* See Mr. Wilfrid Ward's "Life of Cardinal Wiseman."

In March, 1869, he was seized with a fatal illness at his residence in Islington Flags. Bishop Goss, owing to severe illness, was not able to attend him, whereupon the Vicar-General, Dr. Fisher, proceeded to the bedside of the dying man. Moreton requested Dr. Fisher to write out a will in words which he dictated, leaving all his property to the Bishop, and refused to listen to the suggestion that Messrs. John Yates, Edward Whitley,* or Mr. Bateson, should be sent for to frame his last testament in proper form. Moreton declared that the lawyers had ruined him, and were the "scrapings of hell," and that he had no intention of allowing his property to fall into the hands of his wife's relations.

Next day, Dr. Fisher dictated a form of will to his brother, Father Fisher, using a formula from a standard work, "Jarman on Wills." An urgent messenger arrived at St. Edward's College on that day, requesting the immediate presence of Dr. Fisher, who, proceeding to Mr. Moreton's residence, shewed the written will to the sick man who signed it, the witness being a Protestant servant.†

Mrs. Moreton, who appears to have lived at Thornton Hough, arrived, and was informed by Canon Fisher of her husband's decision. No allowance for her was specifically set forth in the will, Moreton acting on his declaration made years before that Dr. Goss could give Mrs. Moreton whatever he liked. Five years before he had told Canon Fisher that he intended to make the Bishop his sole legatee, and in 1868, made the same statement to his own clerk and collector of rents.

Mr. Moreton was buried in the churchyard of Neston Catholic Chapel.

On April 9th, 1869, the Liverpool organ of Protestant ascendancy, the "Courier," devoted a column and a half to an attack on Bishop Goss alleging that the will was not a genuine one. Moreton "made a will, or rather, as rumour "puts it, had a will made for him, in which the whole of his "extensive property goes to the Church of Rome, in the "person of her chief representative here, Dr. Goss, the titular "Bishop of Liverpool." . . . "The days of clerical judge-"ships in England are, we presume, past; otherwise, should "Dr. Goss be entitled to exercise the unfamiliar but "presumably tremendous powers of his Lordship (of the "Hundred of Wirral) we might anticipate that one of the "first and most welcome of his judicial acts would be to harass "and oppress arch heretics like ourselves, should we ever

* A well-known solicitor, Mayor, and M.P. for Everton.

† See "Courier," June, 1870.

"come within his clutches, for the unpardonable sin of "shewing the public how the Church of Rome still endeavours "to enrich herself out of deathbed patients."

The spectacle of a Catholic Bishop in possession of the rights of the Wirral Hundred Lordship was too terrifying for the nerves of the Tory editor.

Mrs. Moreton engaged the services of the distinguished Irish barrister, Andrew Commins, LL.D.,* to secure a substantial annual allowance. On this becoming known, the "Courier" proceeded forthwith to fan the flames of anti-Catholic feeling, by insinuating that "the worldly wisdom "which characterises Roman Catholic policy," would secure "a quiet arrangement" with Mrs. Moreton.

It also gave prominence to a wild story that the parish priest of Neston had given credence to a statement of his servant that the ghost of the deceased had been wandering about the lanes of Wirral, declaring to all and sundry that it could not rest unless Mrs. Moreton acquiesced in the "quiet "arrangement."

Notices were served in the name of Bishop Goss on all the tenants of the estate, notifying the change of ownership, whereupon a caveat was entered by Mrs. Moreton, and to complicate the whole situation, a man named Hill was found just in time to prevent the will being proved, who declared he was the heir-at-law. The Duchy of Lancaster also put in an appearance, and in June, 1870, Lord Penzance, after a trial which lasted four days, decided that Moreton was incapable of making a will, with costs against the Bishop.†

Dr. Goss was laid aside by a complete breakdown in health, and at the time of the trial was undergoing treatment in Carlsbad. The "Courier" broke out in a fierce attack on the Bishop. "It shews the devices by which the Roman "Catholic Church acquires its vast possessions, and the tactics "of the ready instruments by whom the wealth is gathered. "The compilation of the will can only be referred to an "unscrupulous spirit of aggrandisement on the part, not of "individuals, but of the Roman Catholic Church."‡

* Ex-M.P. for S.E. Cork and Roscommon, Alderman of the City Council.

† Mr. Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, was junior counsel for Bishop Goss.

‡ The value of the estate was computed at from £35,000 to £60,000.

CHAPTER IX.

The selection of a successor to the late Bishop was, in the peculiar circumstances of Liverpool, a task of no little difficulty. Two remarkable editorial articles appeared in the "Catholic Times," written by Father Nugent, at a moment when rumour was busy speculating as to the likely appointment of one prominent ecclesiastic, Monsignor J. H. Fisher, a life long friend of Dr. Goss. On November 2nd, 1872, these words appeared: "The See of Liverpool is the centre of "Catholic life and action in England. Its judicious and "vigorous administration is more important to the progress "of the Catholic Church in this country than even the "Metropolitan See of Westminster. There is a Catholic "power and spirit in Lancashire, a union of classes, a "numerical strength, which a man of judgment and ability "could direct beyond all other dioceses in England. Here "there is a landed gentry, a large and intelligent body of "commercial men, an energetic middle class of tradesmen and "farmers, and, more than all, the overwhelming numbers of "the working classes. . . Here is a position which requires "no ordinary man, but a prelate gifted with piety, self-"sacrifice and knowledge; a man with a large grasp of mind, "familiar with the difficulties and trials which beset a priest's "life, having the singular ability to rule; but wielding the "crosier with a firm hand and a gentle heart. A bishop to "fill so important a position, must be a man of large views, a "representative of no particular section of the clergy, but "one who will gather round him the multiplied strength of "the Church's power, and be the same to the regular as to "the secular clergy." The powerful position of the Liverpool diocese was not at all exaggerated, and the temperate tone of the article deserved a better recognition than it received. When the news reached Liverpool in February, 1873, that Canon Bernard O'Reilly had been appointed, Father Nugent penned these words in his newspaper: "The important "position which the diocese of Liverpool holds in the Catholic "world in England; the fact that the town itself is the strong-"hold of Catholicity; the goodwill and growing disposition of "public bodies to do fuller justice to Catholics than was done "in past times; and the immense responsibility resting on the "shoulders of the leading prelate, might induce some of our "fellow Catholics to desire the appointment of a man of

" more striking brilliancy, and of larger experience in dealing " with public questions, or of one whose practical knowledge " of Church affairs abroad was more personal and more inti- " mate; but on these heads we experience but little fear for " Dr. O'Reilly, as we feel that his sterling piety and his " innate good sense will supply any such deficiency." On the 22nd of March, this final comment appeared: " Dr. O'Reilly " has been essentially a working parish priest; his career has " been one of homely and modest usefulness; he has not come " out into the glare of public life, or sought to bask in the " sympathising smiles of those who love to appreciate public " merit; and for these reasons it would be almost impossible " for us to bring his numerous meritorious actions prominently " before those who are unacquainted with him save by name. " But from what we know of him we can foretell a most useful " and solid episcopal career. We do not expect a brilliancy, " or that energy and vigour of thought, habit and language, " which distinctly marked his lamented predecessor; but we " do expect, and we know we shall find, a calm, peaceful sway, " devoid of external excitement, or political or social conflicts; " a rule that will be firm in conception, and yet mild and " temperate in action, a consideration for the wants and " feelings of his flock that will compel him to act for their " best interests, and a steadfast effort to support the exertions " of his clergy in all that they have to undertake for the benefit " not only of their particular congregations but the Catholic " community at large." These editorials created an estrange- ment between the newly-appointed Bishop and their author which lasted for a very considerable period.

The new Bishop was not anxious to bear the burthen, and according to his biography in the Ushaw Magazine, written by Father John Kelly, he hurried to the Bishop of Beverley to consult him as to the best means of escaping the responsibility.

On the feast of his favourite saint, March 19th, 1873, and in his own beloved church of St. Vincent de Paul, Canon O'Reilly was consecrated Bishop of Liverpool. Archbishop Manning, the Bishops of Nottingham, Birmingham, Ply- mouth, Beverley, Hexham, and Shrewsbury were present, whilst Ireland welcomed another Irishman to the episcopate, by the presence of Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, and Dr. Dorrian, Down and Connor. On the same occasion Father Roger Bede Vaughan, was consecrated coadjutor to the Archbishop of Sydney, Dr. Polding, O.S.B

At the dinner of the Catholic Club held a few days later the new Bishop laid down the lines upon which he intended to

act with regard to interference in political matters: "He was "told he was a Liberal, and that recent events in connection "with education had made him a Tory. He was in his "politics simply a Catholic, and if he had a leaning towards "Liberalism, he must have had his views more or less "modified by a recent course of events, and he believed that "that was the position of all Catholics. They were ready to "throw every party to the winds, and to assume simply the "name of Catholics." These remarks, delivered in a club traditionally Liberal, of which every member was, and had been, hard workers for the Liberal cause, marked the serious cleavage in the Catholic body consequent on the passing of Forster's Education Act. The ties which bound the Liberals and Catholics of the town had been unloosened. Whatever the Bishop's opinions were on political questions he never thrust them on his flock during his reign of twenty-one years, and in this he followed the sage advice of the experienced Archbishop of Westminster, Dr. Manning. In the northern portion of his diocese he had now to rule over the faithful Catholic people of the Fylde, who had clung to the ancient faith with as much tenacity as the Irish who lived in the south-western district. No doubt, in 1873, the northern Catholics were Conservatives, with but a few and striking exceptions. The Bishop had expressed the opinion that all Catholics were prepared to throw every party to the winds and remain simply Catholic. In this he was somewhat underrating the striking developments among his own countrymen who were preparing to act on that policy for the sake of Ireland. The result of the Fenian movement had been to create a militant Nationalist spirit on the part even of those Irishmen who disliked the secret methods of the Irish Republican Brotherhood. To distrust all English political parties, and rely upon themselves, was the mainspring of Irish political action until Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1886 united them once again in Liverpool to their ancient allies. The Home Rule movement, under Butt, may be said to have had its origin in Liverpool, where later on Parnell was selected as the president of the Irish organisation. Had not Dr. O'Reilly displayed his "innate good sense" by keeping rigidly aloof from politics of all kinds, it is with his own countrymen he would have come into collision. After the bitter controversies of forty years originated by the McNeills, Taylors, and Verner Whites, the ten years' press and platform onslaught on the Papacy and the Temporal Power, the irritation of a large Irish section because of the late Bishop's prohibition of the Manchester Martyrs' procession, and a slowly growing tolerance on the part of the local

authorities, Liverpool needed a prolonged rest from either episcopal or clerical interference in political or religious controversies. Dr. O'Reilly realised this necessity, and devoted the whole of his energies to his episcopal duties, the provision of churches and schools and the establishment of a diocesan seminary. A few months after his consecration a parliamentary vacancy occurred in Liverpool, consequent upon the death of Mr. S. R. Graves. The Liberals selected Mr. W. S. Caine, who had been defeated in 1868, and the Home Rule Association brought out Andrew Commins, Doctor of Laws, the scholarly, cultured leader of the newly-formed Irish Organisation. As there were some twelve thousand Irish electors on the register, the election of Mr. Caine was impossible in a three-cornered contest. To complicate the issues, the Rev. Mr. Verner White, imitating the example of McNeill, resolved to turn the election into a Protestant-versus-Catholic fight, and fearing the defection of the Orange voters, Mr. John Torr, the Conservative candidate, was forced to declare that he would vote for the refusal of any Parliamentary, School Board, or Parochial grants, to educate any Roman Catholic in workhouses, parish schools, or prisons, in his faith, or pay any stipend to a Catholic Chaplain. The Home Rule Association, which was simply concerned with the one object of forcing to the front the solution of the Irish question, having interviewed the Liberal candidate, withdrew Dr. Commins, and strove with might and main to defeat Mr. John Torr, who won the fight by 1912 votes. What struck all parties as the serious side of the contest, was that Mr. Caine only received 16,790 votes, thus proving that the Irish electorate considerably outnumbered the Liberal voting strength. Having demonstrated their power the Irish party took up a more aggressive attitude the following year at the general election. The minority seat was held by Mr. William Rathbone, who was again nominated with Caine to fight the Liberal battle. In the Catholic Club dissensions broke out, as the result of the proposal of the younger Irish members that a Catholic candidate should be brought out. It was urged that eleven or twelve thousand votes would secure the third seat, and the authors of the proposal were quite indifferent as to the almost certain result of defeating Mr. Rathbone.

The issues were again complicated by the extreme wing of the Liberal party demanding from Rathbone and Caine a pledge to vote for the repeal of clause twenty-five of the Education Act. This section was the only protection Catholic parents enjoyed against being forced to send their children to Board Schools, and the Nonconformist attitude towards

Mr. Rathbone on this point justified the action of the Home Rule Association in demanding pledges on the question of local government for Ireland.

A state of confusion arose from these complications which threatened to bring in its train an overwhelming defeat of the Liberal party. The "Daily Post," in a leading article of January 26th, 1874, declared emphatically that the Liberal party "could not even hope to win the second seat, and looked "with great anxiety to the decision of the Irish party."

Mr. Rathbone, while favouring, as a matter of principle, the repeal of clause twenty-five of the Education Act, could not vote for its "absolute repeal" unless provision were made to give parents a choice of schools, but Mr. W. S. Caine's attitude was much more aggressive.

On January the twenty-seventh, the Catholic Club met to receive the report of the deputation which had waited upon the Liberal leaders, to discuss the possibility of a Catholic standing with Mr. Rathbone for the second seat. It was alleged that "great discourtesy" was shewn to the deputation by many leading Liberals, and, as the result of a stormy discussion, the Catholic Club decided, by 39 votes to 37, to nominate their own candidate. The minority were anxious to avoid such a serious rupture with the Liberals, especially as it involved the defeat of Mr. William Rathbone, and urged that the small majority of two, justified further consideration being given to the matter. It was then agreed to interview both Liberal candidates as to their attitude towards the demands put forward by the extreme Nonconformists. Messrs. Yates, Whitty, Browne and Martin Rankin composed the deputation, and presented their report to a special meeting on January 29th; Mr. C. J. Corbally presided. A motion was proposed to support both candidates, but a strong feeling prevailed that the answers to the deputation were ambiguous, and an amendment was proposed in these terms: "that in view of the arbitrary and precipitate conduct "of the Liberal Association, the meeting was not justified in "recommending the Catholic electors to take any particular "course." This suggestion was adopted by forty votes to twenty-one. Messrs. Yates and Whitty did not regard themselves as in any way bound by this vote, and issued a manifesto to the Catholic electors in favour of the Liberal candidates. The next night, Messrs. Bidwill, Corbally, Browne, Cullen, Rankin, and Prendiville, appeared on the Liberal platform. All these gentlemen, save Mr. John Yates, were Irishmen, and their action was regarded as a direct challenge to the rising school of Irish Nationalists, who

were more anxious to raise the Home Rule issue at this election than to have the contest fought around the problematical amendment of a clause in the Education Act of Mr. W. E. Forster. The ultra-Catholic members of the Club had joined hands with the latter in refusing to support the Liberal candidates. The Home Rule Association then met, and were addressed by Mr. John Ferguson of Glasgow,* Mr. John Denvir, and Mr. Alfred Crilly.† It was decided to invite Mr. James Samuelson to stand as the Liberal Home Rule candidate. This gentleman had, however, accepted an invitation to contest the Borough of Birkenhead in the Liberal interest, and was therefore unable to comply with the request of the Irish Home Rulers. His selection would have given the Liberal party a splendid chance of winning the two majority seats. Liverpool was then a three-membered constituency, and each elector was only permitted by the law to vote for two candidates, an arrangement which secured one seat for the minority. Mr. W. S. Caine, annoyed at the attitude of the "Catholic Times," which had strongly recommended the adoption of a Catholic candidate, a policy which he attributed to Father Nugent, made an ungracious attack on its owner for having attended a meeting to honour the new mayor, Mr. A. B. Walker. Mr. Caine contrasted Father Nugent's action at the Town Hall with the temperance demonstration held the next night, when Archbishop Manning attended to give his blessing to the League of the Cross, Father Nugent's new organisation. This did not make for Mr. Caine's success at the poll. Mr. Samuelson,‡ on the other hand, would have had the undivided support of both Irishmen and Catholics. The Home Rule Association issued an appeal to their supporters to abstain from taking any part in the election, a policy which secured the defeat of Mr. Caine. In Scotland Ward, only sixty-three per cent. of the Irish electors went to the poll for Rathbone and Caine, the remainder abstaining in obedience to the Home Rulers. Still more serious results flowed from this contest. The Catholic Club held a meeting at which the conduct of those members who had refused to abide by its decision was brought under

* Of the firm of Cameron and Ferguson, publishers; a Protestant Nationalist, and a leading member of the Glasgow City Council until his death a few years ago.

† A prominent figure in Irish politics in Liverpool. Held the post of secretary to the Financial Reform Association. A witty, eloquent, and genial Irishman.

‡ He was the brother of Alderman Bernard Samuelson. In November, 1885, he stood for the Kirkdale Division, when Mr. John Redmond, now leader of the Irish Party, stood in the Nationalist interest.

review. These gentlemen then joined officially the Liberal organisation, leaving the field free for Irish Nationalists to direct the Irish vote, and putting an end to Catholic organisations as such during the episcopate of Bishop O'Reilly. The previous November, Mr. J. Neale Lomax went to the poll at a School Board election, when Mr. James Fairhurst gained a seat, as a protest against the policy of the Catholic Club. It was clear that a cleavage had taken place in the Catholic leadership, and the Catholic Club gradually ceased to possess any political influence in the town. The division in the Catholic ranks manifested itself even more openly on two occasions in quick succession. In February, 1874, Messrs. Booth and Hakes, at the School Board, proposed that no school fees should be paid in necessitous cases if the children attended a denominational school. Dr. Hakes was a member of the Evangelical Church party, and knew that from the establishment of the School Board, the Church schools had received one thousand and seven pounds, and the Catholic schools during the same period six hundred and thirty-three pounds. His proposal occupied two full days' discussion, in the course of which he laid it down as his conviction that, "Roman Catholics were instructed in such a way as only to fit "them for gaols or workhouses." The motion was defeated by a combination of all parties, one of the majority being Dr. Cross of Islington. This gentleman was invited to stand for St. Anne's Ward, in the Conservative interest, in the month of March, whereupon Mr. Joseph Ball called upon the Orange electors to vote for the Liberal candidate.

Victory for the latter seemed certain when the great bulk of the Catholic electors upset all calculations by voting for Dr. Cross, who secured an easy victory. A week later, April 8th, 1874, the Liberal party retaliated. Mr. John Prendiville was nominated for a seat on the Select Vestry, along with Mr. Charles Doherty, a retiring Catholic member. The extreme wing of the Liberal party, not satisfied with the voting at St. Nicholas' vestry, demanded a poll for the purpose of defeating both candidates. The leaders took up the attitude that as the churchwardens' list included Mr. Doherty, the Liberal voters be urged to support him. The poll was opened on April 8th, and continued day by day, until the same day in May, when, seeing no hope of ultimate success, Mr. Prendiville withdrew after receiving 10,191 votes from 8,661 electors. The one cry of the dissentient Liberals was, "who voted against Mr. J. J. Stitt? John "Prendiville!" an effective reference to the Exchange Ward contest of 1871. On the other hand the Irish leaders who

had counselled abstention at the parliamentary elections, a policy which Mr. Prendiville defied, were very lukewarm in his support as the poll shewed. That a combination of Tories, Liberals, and angry Nationalists should secure the defeat of an excellent Catholic gentleman was to be regretted, but the one lesson to be drawn from this unfortunate contest and the St. Anne's Ward election, was that Liberal Irishmen, like Mr. James Whitty and Mr. C. J. Corbally, could no longer direct the Irish vote, and that even Mr. John Yates had ceased to be a political factor of importance. The Liberal Catholic had had his day. The future lay with the Irish Nationalist, then preparing to take an important part in the public life of Liverpool. In October, 1875, the Irish party took the field openly against all comers, by boldly nominating Mr. Laurence Connolly for Scotland Ward, against the retiring Liberal, Mr. William Williams. To challenge the claim of a friendly Home Rule Liberal to represent an Irish ward, especially when his personal and political record was spotless, and one who was backed by the Rector of St. Anthony's, was a rude awakening to the moderate Irishman, and a warning to both political parties. The "Catholic "Times" backed Mr. Connolly's candidature, and taunted the Catholic Club with "fondly supposing itself to govern "Catholic opinion in Liverpool. In his election address, Mr. Connolly declared himself a Home Ruler pure and simple, and expressed the opinion that the liquor trade ought to be placed "on a more satisfactory basis." He advocated Sunday closing of all public houses, and was "convinced that much of the crime and drink was due to the "impoverished dwellings" of the labouring classes. Dr. Alexander Murray Bligh was the chairman of the committee which carried on this memorable fight, which terminated in an Irish victory by 928 votes. Mr. Connolly retained his seat until November, 1886, when his duties as Nationalist member for Longford, and the responsibilities of the huge fruit business he had built up, compelled him to retire.

The Liberal party threatened reprisals, not against the Nationalists, but with curious inconsistency and ingratitude against the Catholic Irishmen who had been their thick and thin supporters. Mr. Edward Browne, one of the main supporters of Rathbone and Caine, though officially selected again to stand for Pitt Street Ward by the Liberal leaders, lost sufficient Liberal support to be defeated by ten votes. Sufficient for them that he was both Irish and Catholic, and therefore united by a double tie to the Nationalist nominee for Scotland Ward.

On August 18th, 1876, Mr. James Whitty passed away. Born in Ballyteague, Co. Wexford, he began business in Bradford, in 1839, as a woollen merchant, removing to Liverpool in 1846. In Price Street the firm of Whitty and Whelan laid the foundations of a prosperous business, and in the midst of his many engagements Mr. Whitty found time to enter the Select Vestry, where, as has been already related, he rendered brilliant service to his fellow Catholics. Later on, both in the Town Council and School Board, his keen wit and intellectual resource secured many concessions to the poor people whom he delighted to represent. His death was a severe blow to Catholic interests, and the great demonstration which accompanied the final obsequies testified to the high esteem in which he was held by all sections of the community. The monument in Ford cemetery, erected by public subscription, bears an inscription which epitomises his personal worth and public spirit, "A man of rare talent, "persuasive eloquence, and untiring zeal; these qualities he "devoted to the service of the poor of Liverpool, irrespective "of creed or country." A warm-hearted, patriotic Irishman, anxious to serve his native land, he was unable, like many of his day and generation, to rightly appraise the value to Ireland of the new and aggressive policy of the Home Rule party. Nevertheless, like John Rosson at an earlier date, he stood, during thirty years' public service, the leader of the Catholic party, the foremost of its defenders, the most successful in achievements. The Home Rulers now resolved to add another member to the Town Council, and selected Mr. Charles MacArdle, a well-known cotton broker, who was returned unopposed for Vauxhall Ward, a fact which induced Father Nugent, who supported Mr. MacArdle, to comment severely on the "impotency of the Catholic Club to grapple "with the situation." The Liberal party sought in vain to secure a candidate to contest the Home Rule supremacy, their last hope being a Liverpool Irishman, who, strange to relate, became some years later one of Parnell's lieutenants* in Parliament. Mr. MacArdle remained in the Council for nine years, and continued to be a member of the School Board until the dissolution of that authority on the passing of Balfour's Education Act in 1902.†

In November, 1876, the Irish party resolved on the bolder step of ousting the retiring Irish Catholic members for Vauxhall and Scotland Wards. In the first named ward Colonel P. S. Bidwill offered himself for re-election. He

* Mr. Garrett Byrne.
† Died January, 1906.

had become very unpopular by publishing on the day following the death of Bishop Goss, a private letter on the delicate question of the Temporal Power. Such a breach of confidence brought down the severest censures from priests and people. Dr. Andrew Commins was selected by the Home Rule Association to oppose Bidwill, and at a meeting held in Oriel Street, presided over by Councillor Charles MacArdle, the issue was made clear. Ireland's demand for Home Rule must be pressed home on any and every occasion. In Scotland Ward, Dr. A. M. Bligh raised the Irish flag against Councillor John MacArdle. The "Mercury" devoted a special leader* to this interesting development and prophetically warned the electors of the results certain to flow from a Home Rule victory in both wards. "Much more than the "Municipal elections will depend upon the issue of this "struggle. Should the Home Rulers† succeed in electing Dr. "Bligh, it will be immediately telegraphed to Ireland and "America that the first seaport in the world has chosen Home "Rulers for its representation in the local parliament, and "an effort will be made immediately to secure a Home Ruler "as a minority candidate for the representation of the "borough." The priests were hopelessly divided in both wards; some supporting the moderate men on the ground of past services, some supporting the advanced movement. Dr. O'Reilly made no sign. The literature issued by the Liberal Irishmen reflected grave discredit upon them, while they did not scruple to break up the Home Rule meetings by brute force. Mr. Philip Smith,‡ Great Howard Street, nominated Colonel Bidwill; Mr. S. B. Guion, the well-known shipowner, and Mr. Leicester, the miller, were the nominators of Mr. John MacArdle. Dr. Bligh only won Scotland Ward by 212 votes, a narrow majority when compared with Mr. Connolly's 928, a year earlier, and Dr. Commins defeated Colonel Bidwell by 191 votes. The following year Mr. Patrick de Lacy Garton, was nominated by the Nationalist party against the retiring Catholic Liberal, Mr. James Fairhurst, in Scotland Ward. The latter named gentleman had done yeoman service for his co-religionists, but was not anxious to fight a contested election. The "Mercury" appealed to him to stand again, promising him that the full Conservative vote would be recorded in his favour, in order to stem the tide of Home Rule successes. He declined to divide his co-religionists, and though strenuous

*Oct. 19, 1879.

† The "Mercury" editorial wrote the words "Home Rulers" with small initial letters—"home rulers."

‡ Vice-Chairman of the Select Vestry, 1895.

efforts were made to secure a Catholic candidate they failed, whereupon a Conservative candidate entered the lists, only to be defeated by 846 votes. One outstanding difficulty remained to be solved; that was the membership for Vauxhall Ward of Mr. John Yates. The Home Rule party wisely resolved not to oppose his re-election. Had they done so they would have lost the moral prestige which had already been gained by them, and most certainly the clergy to a man would have taken sides with Mr. Yates. It would have been difficult for the Bishop to have held his peace in the event of Irish opposition to the veteran Catholic leader. Fortunately better counsels prevailed, and Mr. Yates held his seat without opposition until the ever memorable contest in 1886, when even the powerful influence of Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, failed to defeat this fine type of English Catholic Liberal.

The Home Rule party was now in the ascendant. It claimed the sole right to direct the Irish vote, and resolutely refused to support any candidate who did not put in the forefront of his political programme Ireland's demand for self-government. Father Nugent having made some observations at a public meeting, which were regarded as reflecting upon the Home Rule movement in Liverpool, Mr. W. J. Oliver, on behalf of the Home Rule Association, demanded an immediate explanation or withdrawal. The words which gave offence were these: "Some people have taunted me with "not taking a more prominent and active part in the great "Irish questions of the day. Few would dare call in question "my deep and long continued interest in the best concerns "of the Irish people. But I will never be found in the train "of men in whom I have no faith—who discuss national "questions in public houses, and who desecrate the green flag "of our race with excess of drink." Father Nugent did not look with a kindly eye on the large number of Irish publicans who were taking an active part in the Home Rule movement, and it was to them that the above quoted observations were addressed. In his reply to the protest of Mr. Oliver, he stated that the Home Rule Association was not before his mind when he made his speech, nor were his allusions to drink levelled against its officers or leaders. He was only too ready to acknowledge that Drs. Commins, Bligh and John Bligh, Messrs. Denvir, MacArdle and Connolly, were seeking to raise the character of the Irish people of the town, both by example and by precept. This little controversy shewed how jealous the Irish leaders were of the good name of the Home Rule Association, and their determination to oppose either priest or laymen who sought to discredit the Irish movement.

With the avowed object of putting pronounced Home Rulers in every public position, the Irish party interfered in both School Board and Poor Law elections, two departments of public activity heretofore left entirely in the hands of the Catholic clergy and laity. At the Select Vestry elections of 1879, they nominated Dr. John Bligh against Mr. J. Miles, who was a Liberal with strong Irish and Catholic sympathies, and kept the poll open for two days. Having secured a majority of 380 voters, but not of votes, owing to the then law of votes in proportion to rateable value, Dr. Bligh was withdrawn.

At the School Board election of the same year the Catholics decided to increase their representation from four to five members. Mr. Edward Browne having, to the great regret of his co-religionists, withdrawn his name, the Home Rulers demanded that Mr. William Madden, solicitor, and Mr. Edward Magee, should be accepted. As a compromise Dr. John Bligh was proposed by the clergy, and at a meeting of representative Catholics, held in St. Nicholas' Schools, Dr. O'Reilly presiding, it was resolved to re-nominate Messrs. Segar, Walton and Yates, with the addition of Dr. Bligh and Mr. Rowland Wilkinson. As victory was quite impossible without the hearty co-operation of the Home Rulers, the name of Mr. Wilkinson was withdrawn a few days before the poll, and Dr. Patrick Canavan* substituted. Catholic interests were safe in Irish hands, and it was fortunate for both sections of Catholics that an open rupture was avoided.

From every point of view the Bishop's strictly neutral position was abundantly justified and helped materially the principal objects which he had in mind to be carried out successfully. On the day of his consecration there were 121 churches in the diocese, served by 133 seculars and 88 regulars. Twenty years later he bequeathed to his successor the services of 254 secular priests, 150 regulars, and 161 churches. The first important act he performed was to raise a memorial to his brilliant predecessor. To his practical mind statues in marble or memorials in brass might be left to more favourable times; no more fitting memento could be raised to perpetuate the memory of a bishop, who had in the last four years of his life increased the school accommodation in Liverpool alone by five thousand places, than another building in which to train the little ones he loved so dearly. The outcome of the subscription list was the Bishop Goss Memorial Schools, attached to the Church of

*In later years Dr. Canavan removed to Bootle from Great George Square, and became a member of the School Board and Town Council of that borough.

St. Joseph. Lady Stapleton Bretherton headed the list of subscribers with five hundred pounds; Messrs. Henry Sharples, Francis Reynolds, James Reynolds, Henry Jump, John Mercer and D. Gordon Stuart subscribing one hundred pounds each. The remainder of the money was obtained by the generous offerings of all classes of Catholics anxious to do honour to the memory of Bishop Goss.

Eleven hundred square yards of land were purchased at the heavy initial cost of four thousand pounds; and the school buildings entailed the expenditure of a further six thousand pounds. On April 16th, 1877, the schools were formally opened by the Vicar-General, Monsignor Fisher, in a simple address to the assembled school children, who began their school career by reciting the De Profundis for the late Bishop. The Brothers of the Christian Schools, and the Sisters of Notre Dame, were entrusted with the supervision of the new schools. In March, 1876, the adjoining church collapsed. Steps were taken immediately to provide a new church, and with such success that on the evening of the 15th August, the foundation stone was laid by Bishop O'Reilly, who opened the new church on March 19th, 1878. Father Maurice Duggan, rector of the mission for 25 years, retired during this year, his successor being Father Robert Bridge, afterwards vice-rector of St. Joseph's seminary at Upholland.

The development of the south end of the town induced the Bishop to consider the provision of a new church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, to replace the school chapel which afforded accommodation for only fourteen hundred in a district containing five thousand Catholics. Dr. O'Reilly presided at the public meeting held on December 12th, 1875, to consider ways and means, and in the course of his address paid a high tribute to the Sunday collectors who had gathered five thousand pounds in the course of the previous nine years. At this gathering he announced his intention of building a new church between High Park Street* and St. Anne's, Edge Hill, to meet the wants of a rapidly growing population, as already the better paid artisan and clerk were migrating from the crowded central districts. The new church of Mount Carmel was completed in the summer of 1878, and opened by the Bishop on July 21st.

In the extreme north of the town, then outside the Municipal boundaries, the Rev. J. P. Nugent, after a severe struggle of six years, had the pleasure of seeing the completion of the new church of the Blessed Sacrament, and its

NOTE.—The Goss Memorial Window in St. Alexander's was unveiled on May 7, 1876.

* The Church of St. Bernard, Kingsley Road.

opening by the Bishop on June 16th, 1878. On the boundary line of Liverpool and Bootle, Dr. O'Reilly saw the necessity of providing extra Church accommodation, and on November 3rd, 1878, he opened a temporary chapel, dedicated to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, and served from St. Alexander's.

Close by, in Kirkdale Road, he purchased a Masonic Hall in December, 1877, and on February 3rd, 1878, the mission of St. Alphonsus' began its career under the guidance of the Rev. E. J. Birchall.

Meanwhile the Bishop, with great heartiness, was pushing on the all-important work of building carefully planned and well-equipped permanent schools. Father O'Donovan, rector of St. Bridget's, had undertaken the heavy responsibility of building new schools in Limekiln Lane. "I "hope you will strain every effort to provide a new school," Dr. O'Reilly wrote to him at the close of the year 1875. The district was a very poor one, inhabited entirely by a labouring population, whose scanty earnings ill provided for daily needs, but the zealous Irish priest rose superior to every obstacle, and on January 7th, 1878, the splendid schools of St. Bridget were formally opened by the Vicar-General. Few, if any, of the Catholic schools of the town have so high a record for efficiency and excellent results, and visitors of other creeds, inspectors and educationalists of all classes, have related in generous terms their high appreciation of the fine work done within the walls of St. Bridget's under the direction of Father O'Donovan.

In the same year, Father Pierse Power completed the new schools of St. John, which were opened on June 17th, 1878, by the Vicar-General, in the name of the Bishop who had already won the reputation of a builder of churches and schools. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were placed in charge of the boys' departments of both schools, and marked their entrance into Liverpool by establishing in Shaw Street a male pupil teachers' centre, under the patronage of the Sacred Heart, on March 1st, 1878. The Nuns of Notre Dame, who had charge of the girls' and infants' departments, had gradually forged ahead and lifted the Catholic body above and beyond every denomination in the land by their extraordinary successes in the Queen's Scholarship examinations and the unique results of the Training College. In 1872, in face of candidates from every corner of the land, Mount Pleasant secured one place in the first ten, and thirteen in the first hundred, while in 1875 and 1878 they won first place, and in the latter year gained also the second, sixth and twelfth places. For nine years

the students of Notre Dame carried off the prizes offered by the Liverpool Council of Education to the Liverpool student gaining the highest place in the Queen's Scholarship examination. Such a succession of triumphs astonished non-Catholic educationalists, who paid high tribute to the brilliant services rendered to elementary education by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Dr. O'Reilly, visiting the College in December, 1878, told the Sisters with what satisfaction he was able to tell Pope Leo the Thirteenth, in a recent visit to Rome, that one thousand trained teachers had been sent out from Mount Pleasant since its foundation, and how delighted His Holiness was to hear that a Catholic girl had come out first in an examination for which 2,000 students had entered. The success of Mount Pleasant entailed unpleasant consequences. Mr. Robert Lowe did many stupid acts in his capacity as a Liberal Minister, but none more so than his foolish attempt to strangle the Training Colleges by the introduction of the vicious principle of payment by results. Under this regulation the Training Colleges were not paid any grants until the trained teacher had been, at intervals of one year, inspected at his or her school, and gained favourable reports from the Inspectors. Mr. Lowe further laid it down that one-fourth of the cost of the student's education must be provided by fees and subscriptions. In other words, only the well-to-do were to be permitted to enter the teaching profession, and this was decreed by a Liberal Minister. An entrance fee of five pounds had now to be exacted from the successful Queen's Scholar, and the Sisters of Notre Dame had to wait two or more years to receive the grant which they had so well earned. The first fruits of repressive and reactionary regulations were the destruction of the Catholic Training College at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, after eight years' successful working. Mount Pleasant withstood the storm, thanks mainly to the wisdom of its gifted Superior, Sister Mary Theresa.* She circularised the clergy to engage teachers who had been two years in training, and to retain them so that the grant might not be lost, and by her endeavours a Committee was formed representing the dioceses of Liverpool, Salford, Shrewsbury, Beverley and Birmingham, to devise ways and means of thwarting the new penal regulations. For ten years, thanks to Liberal administration, Mount Pleasant was the only Catholic girls' Training College in England, and during that period saved the Catholic body from educational shipwreck.

* Founder of Everton Valley Collegiate School, now one of the foremost secondary schools in the country.

In 1876 the new High School buildings, designed by Mr. Edmund Kirby, were completed and opened on January 10th of that year, a worthy addition to the buildings already provided on the Mount Pleasant site.

The Government Report for 1877 tells the tale of continued Catholic progress. In that year the children, belonging as they did to the poorest class of the community, earned on examination results an average amount of 14s. 1¼d. per head, as compared with 14s. 2¾d. by the wealthy Anglican schools, and 14s. 5d. by the rate endowed scholars of the Board Schools. As the aggregate income from all sources was only £1 11s. 1¼d. per head, the brilliant successes attained by the Catholics, handicapped as they were most severely by this small income, eloquently testifies to the self-sacrifices and teaching ability of their teachers, both lay and religious.*

Filled with zeal for the service of the poor, Dr. O'Reilly introduced the Little Sisters of the Poor into Liverpool, in 1874. The newcomers began their great work of charity in Hope Street, where they provided accommodation for sixty inmates, and five years later their progress was such that the Bishop blessed the foundation stone of their new home in Belmont Road, on April 24th.

The Little Sisters have saved many hundreds of old people from the fate of entering the workhouse, and have set an example to Poor Law administrators of how to deal with the deserving poor. Inside these homes a refuge has been found free from the necessary official restraint, which, however well meant, can never be the same as personal service given not for salary but for the love of God. There are no more familiar figures in the town than the Little Sisters, and none more widely respected by the general community.

The Sisters of Charity opened a new reformatory school for girls in May Place, in November, 1876, and when the industrial school in Mason Street was condemned by the Home Office in 1879, a bazaar was organised, and with the proceeds was built the new school at Freshfield.

The School Board, in the early years of its existence, tried a curious experiment to withdraw children from

*On the death of Sister Mary of St. Philip in 1904, the most brilliant of all the Superiors of Mount Pleasant, Sir Francis Sandford, secretary of the Education Department, wrote: "She is a woman who might fearlessly place her hand even on the helm of State." In 1899, the late Mr. William Rathbone suggested to the writer that Sister Mary should be co-opted on the Technical Instruction Committee, which then carried on the work of the Technical Instruction Acts. The invitation was conveyed and declined.

denominational schools, the bait being one penny per week school fee. Despite the warnings of many members who predicted failure for the experiment, a building was rented in Love Lane. Whatever chance a new Board School might have in a district where there was an obsolete church school with high school fees, there was certainly little chance in a Catholic neighbourhood. Father Ross, O.S.B., made up his mind to demonstrate to the School Board that Catholic children would only attend a Catholic school. The days of 1832 were past, never to return.

After a trial of eight months the School Board closed the Love Lane building, having spent £1,144 on the experiment, receiving only £5 3s. 2d. in school fees. As the editorial in the "Daily Post"* tersely put the case: "The Roman "Catholics of the Love Lane district were not content with "not patronising the school. The priest tabooed it; the "people stoned it." Nor was Catholic hostility merely confined to Board Schools. The Council of Education had been previously formed. Its scheme of rewards and scholarships for elementary schools, demanded success in a Scriptural examination, as an essential condition. Here, at the very outset, shipwreck threatened an organisation which aimed at helping the children of all classes, because an examination was insisted upon which would effectually exclude all Catholics from the benefits of the new scheme. It was not that an examination in Scriptural knowledge was objected to, but the method of conducting the same. A Town's meeting was summoned at the Town Hall, to give the Council of Education the seal of approval of the municipality. It was at this gathering that leading Catholics protested against the scheme, and refused to give any further assistance to the movement unless Catholic children were permitted to select an alternative paper. The Town's meeting had to be adjourned in consequence. Eventually the eloquent advocacy of the Catholic claim by the Rev. Charles Beard, minister in charge of the Renshaw Street Unitarian Chapel, brought about the desired result, and one more victory for Catholic principles recorded.

The Liverpool School Board established a new institution for the correction of boy truants, an experiment of much value for the Liverpool of the seventies. Both Catholic and Protestant children were committed to the Hightown School, and housed in separate buildings. Mr. S. G. Rathbone, who was the initiator of this experiment and anxious that no religious difficulty should arise to

* See "Daily Post," May 12, 1874.

prevent its success, supported the demand of the four Catholic members for pure Catholic teaching. The Board declined on the ground that the Act of 1870 forbade the expenditure of public money on dogmatic teaching. After some lengthy debates, the School Board gave permission for the use of the Douai Bible, but decided that any Catholic prayer books must be provided voluntarily. To permit their use was sufficient strain on the School Board conscience, without going to the extreme of paying for them. Mr. S. G. Rathbone finally set the whole matter right. The children were to be given religious instruction separately, and allowed out on Sundays to attend Mass, and a Catholic master was appointed to supervise them. No Catholic pictures or objects of devotion could be exhibited in the school room, the bare elementary rights conceded by statute were permitted. It may well be doubted whether any man but a Rathbone could have prevented vigorous Catholic opposition to a project conducted on such lines. The establishment of Day Industrial Schools by the School Board created another religious difficulty. These schools were to be mixed like the Hightown Truants' Schools, and Bishop O'Reilly displayed great reluctance in giving sanction to Catholic children attending them. Here the Catholic members won a substantial victory, supported by a broad-minded, sympathetic Home Office Department. The provisions for religious teaching; appointment of Catholic teachers in proportion to school population; the right of the parochial clergy to nominate certain teachers to give religious instruction or to give it themselves; and the selection of the superintendent and deputy of each school, from Catholics and Protestants alternately, finally induced Bishop O'Reilly to withdraw his opposition. The whole system has worked satisfactorily in Liverpool, though needing the constant vigilance of Catholic representatives on the Board, but in a large measure the admirable rules of the Home Office are responsible for the success of these mixed schools. On the side of higher education Catholic Liverpool was progressing favourably. In 1876, the Jesuits at St. Francis Xavier's erected the new college in Salisbury Street, at a cost of £30,000, to meet the growing demand of the middle classes of Liverpool and vicinity for higher education. In 1853, the number of scholars in the old building, on the site of the present presbytery, was but twenty-four, increased to sixty-one in 1858. At the end of the year 1867, one hundred and eighty-seven were enrolled, and when Forster's Act revolutionised elementary education, two hundred and sixty boys were attending the classical or commercial courses.

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Seven years after the opening of the new building the students increased to three hundred and sixty, and by the close of the year 1885, four hundred boys were on the rolls. When the jubilee of the foundation was celebrated in 1892, it was stated that three thousand five hundred students had passed through the college, a great number filling important positions in the professional life of the town and country. Sir Joseph Walton, Judge of the High Court, Mr. Walter Whitty,* Mr. William Madden,† are but a few of the barristers; Messrs. J. S. Bradley, J. P. McKenna,‡ H. J. Holme, J. A. O'Hare, P. E. O'Hare,§ Lynch, Stannanought, P. C. Kelly,|| Gradwell, McEvoy,¶ and T. P. Maguire, solicitors practising in the city; numerous medical men, including Clarke, Callan, Dr. Baxter,** Murphy, Mackarel and Rafter, and a host of commercial men, who have freely given their services to the public in one capacity or another.†† Up to the year 1892, no less than eighty students at the College had entered the sacred ministry. Of these, quite contrary to popular expectation, only twenty-two joined the Society of Jesus, while forty-four became secular priests. Five became monks of St. Benedict, three Franciscans, three Redemptorists, two Oblates of Mary Immaculate, and one entered the Dominican order. Monsignor Verdon, Bishop of Dunedin, New Zealand, was a former student under the Jesuit Fathers. Some of the most brilliant members of the Jesuit Society have served at St. Francis Xavier's as rectors or on the College staff, and it will be long ere the memory of Fathers Sumner, Thomas Porter, George Porter, Harris, Donnelly, and Hayes‡‡ will be forgotten by former students of the College. The successes of the boys in the Oxford Local Examinations, which they entered for the first time in the year 1877, have been one long unbroken record of successes. Down to the moment of writing the first place among Liver-

* Son of the late Mr. James Whitty.

† Served on the School Board and Town Council.

‡ Member of the Liverpool School Board.

§ Member for Scotland Ward until his death.

|| Member for Brunswick Ward in the present City Council.

¶ Served three years as member for Low Hill Ward.

** Member for St. Anne's Ward and Justice of the Peace. Served for years on the West Derby Board of Guardians. Mr. George Lynskey, LL.B., son of Mr. G. J. Lynskey, City Councillor, who has just passed a series of brilliant examinations in the law, is one of the latest successful students of the College.

†† Councillor Austin Harford, J.P., Liverpool; and ex-Alderman Walter Cole, Dublin City Council, were students at St. Francis Xavier's College.

‡‡ Elected English Assistant to the new Jesuit General Died in Rome, 1906.

pool students has always been won by St. Francis Xavier's boys, and as often as not, in one section or another, they have beaten the whole of the boys in every secondary school in England.*

Turning from educational matters, it deserves notice that during Bishop O'Reilly's episcopate, and under his sage counsel great concessions were won from the three Boards of Guardians. A vigorous fight was waged to secure the appointment of a paid chaplain in the case of the Select Vestry, and the barest consideration from the Toxteth and West Derby Boards, both of which had inherited the worst traditions of the Satchells and Bremners of Brownlow Hill. In January, 1876, Mr. Digby Smith, a Catholic vestryman, withdrew a notice of motion for the appointment of a chaplain, on the ground that it was useless to persevere further in the matter. In face of repeated defeats, it required a considerable amount of moral courage to renew the struggle in the Vestry Board Room. Mr. William Rathbone had joined the Board a little before this date, and publicly expressed his "regret to learn "that there was no chance of carrying Mr. Digby Smith's "motion. It had seemed to him as a matter of discipline, it "would be better to have the priest an officer of the Parish, "and, as a matter of justice, if the richer denomination had "a paid chaplain, the poorer were entitled, indeed more "entitled."

Several times during the year 1877, Mr. Cosgrove, a Catholic Vestryman, raised the question, and during the succeeding three years, Mr. Philip Smith, made the question his own. In June, 1880, the nearest approach to victory was the voting on Mr. F. J. MacAdam's motion, which was lost by eleven votes to ten. Mr. Edmund Kirby† won the fight at the Birkenhead Board by his personality. He had no powerful backing of Catholic colleagues and no Rathbone, with the prestige of his name and family, to assist him, yet he won a notable victory, which was the prelude to the victory in Brownlow Hill. Mr. Garrett M. Byrne, a former Vestryman, and now a member of that section of the Home Rule Members of Parliament which gave its allegiance to the Protestant Parnell, called the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the excuse offered by the West Derby Board of Guardians for rejecting Father Hall's motion; the excuse being that such payments were not legal. Mr. A. M.

* Out of 42 Senior City Scholarships, tenable at the Liverpool University, offered by the Liverpool City Council, since 1904, St. Francis Xavier's boys have won 20; 9 falling to the Catholic Institute or the Mount Pleasant and Everton Valley girls.

† The well-known architect, Mr. E. Kirby, F.R.B.I.A.

Sullivan, M.P. for Meath, also spoke in the debate on the intolerant conduct of the Select Vestry and West Derby Guardians. He knew Liverpool well, both Catholic and Irish, and his speech made a powerful impression on the Liberal Ministry, and drew from the President of the Local Government Board the important statement that, while the appointment of a Catholic chaplain was not legal, it was distinctly proper to appoint a priest or minister of a Dissenting body as religious instructor. Mr. Philip Smith, on November 16th, 1880, renewed the demand, whereupon Mr. Joseph Woodcock, the Conservative leader in Brownlow Hill, moved as an amendment that the Select Vestry was prepared to receive and favourably consider an application for payment from persons rendering service to the inmates in the form of religious instruction. Mr. Smith shrewdly accepted Mr. Woodcock's amendment, and in a few weeks, Father O'Donnell, who had given thirteen years' ungrudging service, was appointed religious instructor at a salary of £150; and the priest at the Kirkdale schools, on making his application, was awarded £75 per annum. The long drawn out fight of forty years was at an end.

The Toxteth Union now called for vigorous action from the Catholics of St. Patrick's and Mount Carmel parishes. The Catholic vote in both parishes had increased enormously, and had secured a large Liberal representation on the Board, but was not strong enough to secure direct representation owing to the property franchise being left undisturbed. It was powerful enough, however, to compel the Guardians to take action in the case of a boy named McCourt who, apprenticed to a tradesman in a Welsh town, found himself debarred from attending Mass. A deputation from the Catholic Club waited on the Toxteth Board, and secured a vote in favour of compelling the boy's employers to observe the "covenant" he had made with the Guardians. It was at this meeting that Mr. John Yates, on behalf of Bishop O'Reilly, made the announcement that it was intended to ask the whole of the Guardians of the three Liverpool Boards, to hand over to his direct care all the Catholic children in the workhouses, at the same cost per child as was borne by the ratepayers. The Bishop O'Reilly Poor Law School, at Leyfield, West Derby, perpetuates the proposals made that day, but which were not agreed to during the Bishop's lifetime. The inmates of the Toxteth Workhouse were not allowed the privilege of hearing Mass within its walls, and had to walk to St. Anne's, Edge Hill. Unmindful of the experience of the Select Vestry, the dominant party refused to make any concession until Novem-

ber, 1878, when they were caught napping, as by a majority of one vote Catholics secured the use of a room for Divine service. The victory was short lived. A fortnight later it was rescinded. The Catholics made a compact with the Liberal party at the Easter elections of 1879, for the purpose of ousting some of the retiring Conservative Guardians. Two Catholic candidates were placed on the Liberal list, but, though all the Liberals were returned, the two Catholics were defeated. Liberal Toxteth did not like Toryism; neither did it relish the prospect of a Catholic sitting in the High Park Street Board Room. The Bishop gave his views on this extraordinary contest a few days after the polling. "The "black spot was Toxteth, where Catholics were refused the "smallest privileges. While the Liberal representatives were "returned by as many votes as would have sufficed, if dis- "tributed, to have returned three Catholic candidates, not "a single one was elected. The so-called Liberals of Toxteth "Park were a disgrace to their professions, and he hoped "Catholics would bear in mind that they could not always "depend on professions. At the next elections, even if they "incurred the odium of the Liberals, they should make "Catholic interests a test of all candidates."* This unexpected pronouncement expressed the feeling of every Catholic elector who had worked hard to secure the Liberal victory. The following year's contests equalised the Liberal and Conservative representation, but the two Catholic candidates were again defeated. Negotiations were opened between the Liberal leaders and the Catholic body, and in 1881, as the result of a great and sustained effort, the Conservatives were routed. Led by Mr. Edward Paull,† a fine type of sturdy Quaker Liberal, the victors, by ten votes to five, not only put an end to the intolerant policy of previous Boards, but resolved to pay a stipend of seventy-five pounds to a Catholic chaplain. Father Edward Goethals, rector of St. Patrick's, played an important part in securing this final victory, and one of his curates, Father Fanning‡ became the first chaplain to the Smithdown Road Workhouse.

West Derby now stood alone in obstinate refusal to concede anything to Catholics. It had rejected Father Hall's proposals by twenty votes to seven, and on one occasion in 1880, when the Vicar-General wrote a polite letter informing the Board of Father McEntegart's withdrawal from serving the Catholic inmates at Walton Workhouse, and expressing

* "Mercury," April 23, 1879.

† Councillor for Great George Ward; Alderman and Justice of the Peace.

‡ Father Fanning held the position until his death, September 10, 1909.

the hope that the new nominee would be acceptable, the irate Guardians decided "that the letter be utterly dis-"regarded." A Catholic Association was founded to organise the voters inside the area of the Union, and to educate the electors on the merits of the Catholic claim. In the two first years of its existence the Association carried eight Catholic candidates to the Guardians and the Local Board. Many years were still to pass by before West Derby hoisted the flag of religious equality. In 1877, a controversy broke out in the "Catholic Times" between Father Tobin of Chorley, and the chaplain of Kirkdale schools, as to the dangers to faith resulting from sending boys to colliery districts in north and north-east Lancashire. Father Tobin insisted that this policy of the Liverpool Guardians meant certain loss of faith, and he quoted his own letters to certain employers of labour in his district who would not afford facilities to their young Catholic employees to attend Mass. Father Bonte admitted the fact. On January 12th, 1877, he wrote that 150 boys had been "located unfavourably, "and have lost or are losing their faith." The decay of the spirit of the Catholic Club had brought in its train the breaking up of the fine work inaugurated by Father Gibson and Mr. J. Neale Lomax, of finding situations for Catholic boys in Catholic families or in surroundings which merited the approval of the local clergy. Politics had wrecked the Catholic Club, especially its adherence to Liberalism, and no other organisation had as yet arisen, despite spasmodic attempts here and there in the town. The letters of Father Tobin aroused the attention of Catholics of all shades of opinion; the Select Vestry itself joining in the work by insisting on certain conditions being observed by the employers.

Bishop O'Reilly did not lose sight of the main objects of the Catholic school, that of providing a sound religious training. From the point of view of secular knowledge the schools were as efficient as any in the country. The results of the examinations in the year 1872, shewed that the Catholic schools stood first with 61·88 of passes, against 61·57 in the British; 60·47 in the Anglican and 49·15 in the Board Schools. In 1875 the last named had forged ahead reaching 61·89 against 59·61 in Catholic and 58·17 in Anglican Schools. To test the quality of the religious instruction the Bishop instituted an annual religious examination, and appointed Canon Carr* to perform the duty of examiner. The result was a

*Now Monsignor Carr, Vicar General, and Provost of the Chapter; in the sixtieth year of his priesthood.

surprise. The boys' schools in Liverpool only gained 14 per cent. of marks, as against 40 per cent. in the girls and 77 in the infants' departments. In some of the leading schools of the town, Canon Carr reported "the ignorance of prayers, "catechism, and necessary religious knowledge as extra-"ordinary." Excluding St. Anne's and Mount Carmel, there were 27,096 children, and reckoning these two schools as having two thousand between the ages of three and fourteen, 29,096 Catholic children resided in the town. Only 22,334 were on the rolls, and worse still only 14,000 were in attendance on the day the Canon held his examination. What was noticeable in the report was the superiority of the girls' schools as compared with the boys'. This led Father Holden, in his report, to observe that "boys' schools have certainly "not the benefit of teachers so well organised and zealously "devoted to religious education." At every visitation Dr. O'Reilly referred to this deplorable state of affairs, and not least among the many worthy works of his episcopate ranks the splendid improvement in religious education in the Liverpool schools.

Following up the temperance work to which he devoted so much time and attention, Father Nugent founded Branches of the League of the Cross at St. Joseph's, Mount Carmel, St. Anthony's, Eldon Street, St. Alexander's, and St. Michael's, numbering 11,192 members, of whom the weekly visitations shewed that 75 per cent. were fulfilling their promise of total abstention from intoxicating liquor. Besides these there were over 18,000 members in other parts of the town. The weekly meetings were held in the League Hall, William Brown Street, on the site of the present Reading Room and Art Gallery, and here in January 26th, 1874, Archbishop Manning, to shew his appreciation of Father Nugent's work, addressed a monstre meeting. He was accompanied by Bishop O'Reilly who expressed his personal views on the question of total abstinence in the following terms. He was not a total abstainer himself, and in his experience had found men whom he did not advise to take the pledge, because they were in no danger and did not need to do so: "His experience had "shewn him too, that nothing but total abstinence would "keep some men from degrading themselves or keep women "from debasing themselves, or would keep parents from being "a curse to their children." In a humorous speech he impressed the audience with the sincerity of Dr. Manning's views, "who would not take a drink even to prolong a life "so useful to the Church in England." A limited company

was formed to secure permanent headquarters for the League of the Cross Crusade, which resulted in the building of the well-known League Hall at the junction of Rose Place and Cazneau Street.

In 1874 two prominent members of the Catholic community passed away, in the persons of Mr. Edward Chaloner and Mr. Henry Sharples. The former died on February 12th, aged 75 years, and was interred in the Old Swan Church, under the Sacred Heart* altar. His life had been one of consistent usefulness to the Church in Liverpool; his purse ever open to meet the varied demands of a poor and struggling Catholic population; churches, charities, and especially their schools. It is to be regretted that in these days the fine schools in Norfolk Street are better known as St. Vincent's, rather than as the Chaloner Schools. His memory deserves to be held in kindly remembrance by his Catholic fellow-townsmen. Dr. O'Reilly, who held him in high esteem, paid him the tribute of singing the Requiem Mass at Saint Oswald's. Mr. Henry Sharples died on December 17th, of the same year. Like Mr. Chaloner he was engaged in the timber trade.† Born in Liverpool in 1808, he had witnessed the growth of the sparse Catholic population to the enormous numbers for whom church and school accommodation could not be provided fast enough. One of the first three Catholic Town Councillors, he became also one of the first Catholic magistrates, and was specially associated with the girls' orphanage, first in Mount Pleasant and later in Falkner Street, and took a lively interest in the Clarence Reformatory Ship. An Oscott man, his intellectual attainments were considerable, and helped considerably to win for him a high place in the affections of his fellow-citizens of all parties. Bishop Sharples, coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic, was his brother, and died at his residence in the Old Swan. Underneath the Lady Chapel of St. Oswald's, which he had built, lies the body of Mr. Henry Sharples awaiting the final resurrection.

Mr. Michael James Whitty died suddenly on June 10th, 1873, aged 78 years. A native of Ferns, Co. Wexford, where his father carried on the business of a maltster and owner of small coasting vessels, Mr. Whitty entered the College of Maynooth as an ecclesiastical student. In 1821 he proceeded to London, with the intention of pursuing a literary career. Here he wrote "Tales of Irish Life," illustrated by his friend,

*Mr. E. Chaloner paid for the erection of the side chapel in which his remains lie.

†His grandfather was the first man to import timber into Liverpool.

George Cruikshank, the eminent caricaturist, and a history of the rebellion organised by Robert Emmett. After spending some years as editor of the London and Dublin Magazine, he came to Liverpool on the invitation of Mr. Robert Rockliff, of the well-known Liverpool firm of publishers and stationers, and edited the Liverpool Journal. His erratic genius induced him to resign this position to become Chief Constable or head of the watchmen, and in this responsible post he had ample opportunity of displaying his talent for organisation. He founded the Fire Brigade as a branch of the Police service, and during his twelve years of office considerably increased the efficiency of the Police force. The temptation to again wield the pen instead of the truncheon proved irresistible; the result being the foundation of the first penny newspaper in England.

We have already seen specimens of his capacity as a leader writer and critic, in his many controversies with the late Bishop, the "Northern Press," and his intervention in Catholic politics, where his strong character revealed itself in bold relief. That he was a thorn in the side of the Catholic party, and on many occasions did serious harm among non-Catholics by the form and character of his attacks on the Pope and Church government, was beyond question, and made him intensely unpopular with the leaders of the Catholic community. In a well-written appreciation of the deceased journalist, another side of his character was set forth: "Though seeming the most dogmatic, disputatious, "and self-assertive of men, he was naturally one of the most "retiring; as careless of the mere personal part of the matter, "as he was of everything merely personal—attire, social "precedence, and all things else of the kind. Known to do "acts stealthily, physically the most repulsive, to ameliorate "suffering in the obscurest and most outcast walks of life."

A feature of the present issues of the "Daily Post," "Talk on 'Change," was originated by Mr. Whitty, who gathered in person the gossip prevalent in the news-room.

His remains were interred in Anfield Cemetery, Father Guy, O.S.B., and Father Chapman, reading the burial service. Among the mourners present were Major Greig, Head Constable, Mr. Barry Sullivan, the eminent tragedian, and Mr. (now Sir) Edward R. Russell, who continues to edit the "Liverpool Daily Post."

The provision of so many new churches and schools premised the increasing growth of the Catholic population, a supposition strengthened by the fact that so many of the churches were erected on the confines of the old borough.

This, however, was not warranted by the actual facts. In a census taken by the Anglican authorities in 1881, the total number of Catholics was set down as 140,115, out of a total of 552,425. Father Austin Powell disputed the accuracy of the figures.* The total number of births in Liverpool in the year 1879, amounted to 21,277, of which number 6,850 were baptised in the Catholic churches, excluding St. Alexander's on the border lines of Liverpool and Bootle. Father Powell put the case thus: "As the total births are to the Catholic "births, so is the total population to the Catholic population." The result of this calculation gave the number of Catholics as 177,849, or 32 per cent. of the population. He further argued that the birth rate shewed 38·9 per thousand persons, or one birth for every 25½ persons. Taking the mean figures for the years 1879 and 1880, and multiplying them by 25½, the Catholic population in 1881 was 176,026.

Father T. E. Gibson, on the contrary, accepted the Anglican figure as approximately correct. Twenty years earlier he had compiled figures by using as a multiple, not 25½, but 22, and later on the rather low figure of 20. His figures for thirty years were as follows: —

	Catholic Baptisms.	Population.	Increase.
1851 ...	5,508 ...	110,610 ...	—
1861 ...	6,454 ...	129,080 ...	17·17
1871 ...	6,673 ...	133,460 ...	3·39
1880 ...	7,357 ...	147,140 ...	10·25

Between the final estimates of the two priests there was a difference of over 25,000 persons which needed some explanation. None was forthcoming. Father Powell, while admitting a higher death rate in certain well known Catholic districts, still maintained that the only rational way of estimating the population was to compare the Catholic births with the total births and multiply them by a figure which represented the number of births to a thousand of the total population.

An Irish statistician, writing under the initials "G. S." from Dublin, strengthened Father Powell's contention. The census for 1851 shewed that there were 85,000 Irish born persons in Liverpool, and as the census for 1861 shewed almost the same number, those removed by death or migration must have had their places filled by direct migration from Ireland. "If we assume that the English born children or "descendants of the 85,000 Irish born in 1851 are but equal

* "Catholic Times," December 16, 1881.

" in numbers to their parents of Irish birth, there are 170,000 " Irish in Liverpool and 30,000 in the vicinity."

Four years later, when the Redistribution Act of 1885 raised the question of defining the boundaries of the new single member constituencies, the writer was one of two persons who counted the Irish names on the list of electors, with the result that over 15,000 distinctively Irish surnames were found on the list. This did not include many Norman or less pronouncedly Irish surnames, and of course excluded all English surnames. There could be no doubt that, including the English Catholic population, the larger Irish families and the great number of unmarried young Irish labourers, Father Powell's figures were much nearer the mark than Father Gibson's. Father Nugent's testimony on this debatable point is of some importance. In a report which he drew up he stated that in the year 1851, the official census gave the population of Liverpool as numbering 375,955. " It was then considered, owing to the immense " influx from Ireland, from 1846 to that date (1851), that " the Catholic body was one-third of the inhabitants. If " the population was 375,955, and the Catholic body was " one-third, then there would be 125,318 Catholics. In 1852 " the Catholic baptisms were 5,632, which, multiplied by " $22\frac{1}{2}$, equalled 126,720; near the average of one-third. It " was then found that the borough of Liverpool doubled " itself in twenty-five years." Eleven years later the number of Catholic baptisms had increased to 6,915, which represented a population of 135,587; an increase of 8,867 persons!

What had become of the difference? Had they become merely nominal Catholics, as Bishop Goss had asserted? Father Gibson gave the numbers attending Sunday Mass in 1871 and 1881 as respectively 51,250 and 57,687, and the numbers observing the Easter precept as 42,354 and 57,295. The increase does not correspond with the natural increase

NOTE.—Writing in 1899, Father Nugent adds: "The baptisms in the whole diocese were 14,565, and it is supposed that half that number would represent the baptisms in the City; *i.e.* $7,282 \times 22\frac{1}{2} = 163,845$. But this cannot be correct, as it would only give an increase of 367 baptisms in 37 years. If the Catholic population 50 years ago was 126,720, and if Liverpool doubles its population in 25 years, surely the Catholic population doubles itself in 50 years. Father Nugent's opinion was that the multiple of 25 instead of $22\frac{1}{2}$ was the sounder method of calculating the Catholic population. This, he stated, was the view held by Cardinals Manning and Vaughan, and Canons Toole, Oakley and Kershaw. He agreed with Father Powell, however, that the "rational way" was to compare the Catholic births with the total births, and multiply them by a figure which represented the births per thousand of the entire population.

of population, and Father Powell threw some light on the undoubted leakage by his assertion that marriages are no test because below the average, and "a large number are not "solemnised in the Catholic Church."

No more significant proof of the decadence of the Faith amongst the lower orders can be adduced than the "large "number" marrying inside the walls of the Protestant Churches. It implied a refusal to receive the Sacraments before marriage rather than any unlawful union, and proved that such persons were only Catholics in name. No doubt they sent their children to Catholic schools, as many must have been mixed marriages. An examination, in 1896, of the register of an Anglican school in the heart of the parish of Liverpool, shewed 33 per cent. of names of Celtic Irish origin. These children were no doubt the offspring of mixed unions, but neither Father Powell nor Father Gibson make any reference to this source of leakage in their communications to the press.

One of Bishop O'Reilly's greatest achievements was the foundation of the diocesan seminary at Upholland. As Father Nugent wrote on the Bishop's decease, this project was "the cherished child of his heart, even to his last breath;" its foundation the boldest act of his life. In 1875, St. Edward's College, Everton, was extended to accommodate double the number of students, but the Bishop felt the need of providing a larger spiritual and intellectual centre to provide priests for an ever-growing diocese. On the feast of his patron saint, March 19th, 1877, he commenced the task, and set an excellent example to his flock by heading the subscription list with two sums of £1,700 and £2,000 bequeathed to him as personal gifts by Mr. Gilbert Hayes and Mrs. Santamaria, respectively. His clergy responded handsomely to this call with the sum of £8,408, the total subscriptions amounting to £34,659 11s. 8d., towards an outlay of £58,000.* Exactly two years after the scheme had been launched the Bishop laid the foundation stone, and on September 22nd, 1883, Upholland Seminary was opened* with four professors and thirty-one students. The diocese of Liverpool, especially the large towns, had had to depend to a considerable extent upon the services of Irish priests "lent" for short periods by their respective bishops, and splendid service was rendered by them, especially among their own people of Irish birth or descent. The common link of nationality enabled priests and people to work much more harmoniously than was possible with clergy of English birth or

* See Ushaw Magazine. Father Kelly's sketch of Dr. O'Reilly.

training, due in the main to the prevailing political relations between Ireland and Westminster. Fortunately, many young Irish Levites "volunteered for the English mission" and their permanent residence in the diocese kept up the strong Irish tradition of unity between priests and people. Sympathy is a precious gift, and between the Irish priest and the poor Irish dwellers in the crowded streets, it was much more generously and openly extended than was possible between the clergy of the English race, belonging in the main to the sturdy yeoman class in the northern portion of the diocese. The latter had not the opportunity of appreciating the many-sided character of the Irish race, and, it is much to be feared, were not so intimately acquainted with Ireland's unhappy history, even of the first half of the nineteenth century. With the passage of time, the gradual amelioration of the oppressive system of Irish landlordism, and the steady decrease of Irish immigration into Liverpool, the need for Irish born, if not Irish trained, priests has considerably lessened, while on the other hand, the gradual softening of racial prejudices, enabled thousands of Irishmen to value and keenly appreciate the self-sacrifice and apostolic zeal of the sons of St. Cuthbert, and, at a later day, the priests who came out from St. Joseph's, Upholland. This great change was not felt so much in Dr. O'Reilly's lifetime as it is at this moment.

On December 16th, 1883, the Vicar-General, Monsignor Fisher, opened the temporary chapel of St. Francis de Sales, Walton. It was but a stable with a loft, generously lent by Mr. J. Morgan,* and for four years it served the needs of the growing Catholic population in a district which, centuries before, was the cradle of Liverpool Catholicism. Under the guidance of Father Thomas Smith, these four years were utilised to provide more suitable and lasting accommodation, and on October 16th, 1887, the new school chapel in Hale Road was opened by the Bishop In his sermon on that day, Dr. O'Reilly mentioned the interesting fact that, when in 1872 his predecessor laid the responsibility upon Father John P. Nugent of commencing the mission of the Blessed Sacrament, there were only fifty-six Catholics in the whole of Walton. In five years this tiny number had increased to five hundred and sixty. In June, 1886, the population of the new mission of St. Francis de Sales was 1,950, and on the day on which the Bishop was speaking had reached close on 2,400 persons. The township of Walton was added to the City of Liverpool in November, 1895.

* Who, on his wife's death, became a Jesuit priest, and died three months after his ordination.

At the extreme south end, the village of Garston, as it was in the early eighties was served by the Benedictine Fathers at St. Austin's, Grassendale. The increase of the Catholic population created the necessity for a new chapel. A start was made on July 8th, 1883, with a temporary* chapel dedicated to St. Francis of Assissi; new schools being added in the October of the following year. Father Frederick Smith was placed in charge of the new mission, who, in addition to his parochial duties, represented the district for many years on the West Derby Board of Guardians, and acted as one of the Diocesan Inspectors of Schools.‡

The developments of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway carried with them the removal of an old landmark in local Catholic history. St. Mary's, Edmund Street, representing the re-birth of Catholicism, was acquired under an Act of Parliament for railway purposes, and on November 11th, 1883, Mass was said for the last time on the historic site. A temporary chapel was built in Pownall Square, pending the erection of the new church in Highfield Street, which was solemnly opened on July 9th, 1885, by Bishop O'Reilly. Two days previously it had been re-consecrated by Dr. Scarisbrick, O.S.B., Bishop of Port Louis, who had served on the mission at St. Peter's, Seel Street, from 1867 to 1871. This change enabled the latter church to claim the privilege of being the oldest building in Liverpool devoted to Catholic worship. The memorial to Father Sheridan, O.S.B., keeps up the link which binds the new church of St. Mary to the past; the beautiful alabaster altar with its reredos of Caen stone, and its sculptured groups of the Dead Christ and a recumbent figure of Father Sheridan in a fourteenth century tomb, forming one of the finest decorative features of a noble building.

St. Alexander's having been extended in 1884, the temporary chapel of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour was discontinued.

At the other end of the borough of Bootle, another link with the past was broken by the acquisition, under compulsory powers, by the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, of the Church of St. James. On July 20th, 1884, Bishop O'Reilly laid the foundation stone of the new church in Marsh Lane, which he opened in February, 1886. With the completion of the tower, the addition of new altars, pulpit, stained windows and bells, improvements not completed until the year 1900. St. James' may worthily rank as

* New Church opened 1905.
‡ Until his death, November 26, 1909.

a cathedral church, while the splendid elementary schools, and a valuable adjunct in the shape of a Select School, Parochial Hall, etc., justify its claim as the best equipped parish in or near the city.

A worthy compliment was paid to Dean Kelly by the Bishop, in permitting him to lay the foundation stone of the new schools, immediately after his Lordship had performed the same function for the new church.

In another of the outer districts, Wavertree, now included in the borough of Liverpool, Bishop O'Reilly, on October 4th 1885, laid the first stone of the church of Our Lady of Good Help, to take the place of the temporary chapel in the old public offices of the Wavertree Local Board, opened by Bishop Goss in 1871.

On May 24th, 1885, the first stone of the new church of the Sacred Heart was laid to provide for the needs of the increased population, due to the development of the great open space known to an earlier generation as Kensington Fields, and on November 1st, the extension of Our Lady Immaculate, St. Domingo Road, was also opened by the Bishop. This extension perpetuated the memory of Father Michael Carney, B.A., who died a martyr of charity in January, 1885, from an attack of fever, contracted while performing his sacred duties in the infectious diseases hospital in Netherfield Road.

November 22nd, 1885, witnessed the opening of the fine church of St. John, Kirkdale. The district had recently been divided into two parishes, and in his address on this interesting occasion, Bishop O'Reilly said that in 1875 there were only 2,700 Catholics in the neighbourhood. Seven years later the numbers increased to 7,500, and were increasing at the rate of from seven hundred to one thousand per annum.

In the heart of the Scotland Division the last of the temporary churches disappeared with the completion of the new church of St. Sylvester, opened by the Bishop on September 22nd, 1889, seventeen years after Dr. Goss had expressed his hope of erecting a commodious church!

At the School Board elections of 1885, Drs. Canavan and John Bligh declined re-nomination, and Messrs. Michael Fitzpatrick, W. J. Sparrow, LL.D.,* and J. A. Doughan,† were elected in their stead. After considerable discussion it was resolved to run a sixth candidate, Mr. John

* Professor of Law at the Liverpool University, 1908.

† Justice of the Peace, sat in the Council for Exchange Ward for some years; member of the Liverpool Education Committee and Catholic Education Council.

Hand. Though the six candidates were successful serious risk of losing several seats was incurred owing to want of organisation. Isolated Catholic organisations existed here and there, but no central organisation. For some years unsuccessful attempts had been made to promote such a body, but political divisions prevented their realisation. A Catholic Social Club had been founded on February 16th, 1881 at 14, Lime Street, Mr. Charles Russell* in the chair, supported by Count Moore, M.P., and a large number of the clergy. A Catholic Union was also founded, but both proved failures. Mr. Doughan wrote to the "Catholic Times," pointing out the lamentable fact that only 8,878 Catholic electors recorded their votes, compared with 9,250 at the election of 1873.

This falling-off was due entirely to the irritation felt by the Nationalist party at the selection of a certain candidate, and though Mr. Doughan made no reference to the fact, of which he was probably unaware, his efforts to promote a better state of things were well rewarded at the following triennial elections, when the six candidates were triumphantly returned by a solid vote of 10,411 Catholic electors.

Walton, Wavertree, West Derby, and part of Toxteth, though inside the Parliamentary borough of Liverpool, were not included until 1895, in the School Board area. Walton had a separate School Board, on which two Catholic representatives sat, and on the Toxteth Board Mr. Hugh Quinn, solicitor, gained a seat and secured the recognition of St. Charles' Schools, Aigburth Road. The Nationalist party defeated Mr. Charles MacArdle in Vauxhall Ward by electing Mr. Patrick Byrne, and in Great George Ward, Mr. James Ruddin,† one of the Select Vestrymen, gained a seat under Liberal auspices.

In November, 1886, the Nationalist party surprised Liverpool by challenging the re-election of Mr. John Yates for Vauxhall Ward. Here was the spectacle of an Irish Nationalist opposing the return of a veteran English Catholic with a splendid record of work performed for his co-religionists for over half a century. Mr. Yates was a convinced Liberal and Home Ruler, but his speech to a deputation inviting him to stand again annoyed the Nationalist party, who in their strength resolved to brook no insult real or implied. Mr. Parnell sent a letter to Mr. John Denvir wishing him success and "Parnell's message, "'vote for Denvir,'" met the eye on every hoarding. The

* Lord Chief Justice of England.

† Elected Alderman in 1892; Justice of the Peace. Died April, 1904.

clergy refused to desert the old veteran, who won easily, thanks to the Liberal and Conservative electors who voted solidly in his favour; the latter more from a desire to defeat the Irish Nationalist than from any special love for the Liberal candidate. A few months before the contest Mr. Yates was entertained to a banquet, and a handsome presentation made to him in recognition of his past services. Dr. O'Reilly presided at this function to shew his personal esteem.

Mr. Yates died on December 31st, 1887, aged 80 years. Born of Protestant parents, in Haslingden, on April 3rd, 1807, he was sent to Sedgley Park to be educated, and as the result became a convert. Coming to Liverpool, he followed the profession of his father, that of a solicitor, and speedily came to be regarded as one of the ornaments of the legal body in the town. On the Select Vestry, the Town Council, School Board, and during his six years' magistracy, he gave abundant evidence of his upright sterling character, and won for himself the esteem of his fellow-citizens of all parties and creeds. He never trimmed his views on Catholic or Irish questions to gain applause, as witness his personal visit to Connemara to expose the Irish Church mission frauds, or to quote Father Nugent, "what he did for the members of "the Young Ireland party in Kirkdale gaol" during the insurrectionary period of 1848. No church or school was erected, no charitable movement founded, no social reform inaugurated, during his long life in Liverpool, without his name being prominently associated with it, either in the shape of money, work or advice. His mortal remains were interred at St. Oswald's, the Bishop presiding at the Requiem Mass. He was succeeded in the Council by a young Irish labourer, Mr. John Gregory Taggart, selected by the Nationalist party, who has proved to be one of the ablest municipal administrators who ever sat in that chamber. Quite recently he has been appointed a Justice of the Peace and Alderman of the city.*

Liverpool Catholics also lost by death, the services of the Recorder, Mr. J. B. Aspinall, who died February 5th, 1886, and Mr. C. J. Corbally, December 2nd, 1887. The latter gentleman was an Irishman, born 1812, who entered the office of his uncle, the late Alderman Sheil, becoming eventually a partner. He, too, sat in the Council for some years as member for Vauxhall Ward, and served on the Burial Board of the Parish of Liverpool. For thirty unbroken years he acted as treasurer of our oldest charity, the Catholic Benevolent Society (a position now held by Mr.

*1908.

J. A. Doughan, J.P.), and acted in the same capacity for the Clarence Reformatory Ship. Few of the Catholics who have been raised to the bench won such a reputation in the magistrates' room for probity and sound judgment.

The General Election of 1885 gave the Catholics of England and Wales an opportunity of forcing to the front the intolerable strain under which they suffered as the result of being compelled to pay the rate for the maintenance of Board Schools, and providing at the same time their own schools and a large portion of the expenses of maintaining them efficiently. Owing to the policy of Mr. Parnell, who sought to obtain the balance of power in the House of Commons, the Catholic body, as such, was enabled to press home the Education question, without any fear of a diversion by the Nationalist party. To prevent the Liberals securing a working majority, Mr. Parnell's manifesto called upon the Irish electors to vote for the Conservative candidates, and so cordially did his followers respond that both parties emerged from the electoral struggle equally balanced, quite unable to carry on the work of government without support from the Irish party. Foreseeing this likely development, Cardinal Manning advised the Catholics of England to put two questions to every candidate: "Will you do your utmost "to place voluntary schools on an equal footing with Board "schools? Will you do your utmost to obtain a Royal "Commission to review the present state of education in "England and Wales, and especially the Act of 1870 and its "administration by the School Boards?"

To these questions the Conservatives gave an answer in the affirmative; the Liberals simply professing general sympathy. Bishop O'Reilly had studiously avoided all reference to political questions in his pastorals, which were almost entirely devoted to spiritual matters, but in this year he wrote directly to his flock on the relation of their political power to the settlement of the education question on lines favourable to denominationalists.

"We are" he wrote, "upon the eve of a General Election, "held for the first time under very altered circumstances. "Vast numbers who, up to this, were not enfranchised will "be entitled to vote.* We speak to you, and in doing so "we have no intention, nay, it is far from our wish, to touch "upon party politics, or even to touch upon matters of "purely worldly interest. It is no concern of ours whether "your politics are what are called Liberal or Conservative. "Upon questions of purely secular interest you are much

* The Act of 1885 extended the household franchise to the Counties.

"better qualified to judge than we are, and it is right and "fitting that you should form your own opinions and to act "upon them. There is, however, one issue at stake, to which "it is our imperative duty to invite your most serious con- "sideration, and that is, the education of your children and "the future of our schools." . . . Quoting the questions framed by Cardinal Manning, the Bishop proceeded: "Insist "upon a clear answer to each of these questions. If the "answer be favourable, give him your vote and all the "support you can command. . . To many of you it may "be painful to vote against the political party with which "you have been long associated. Still, as the calls of conscience "are above those of party, we hope you will look upon it as "a duty to obey your conscience and not count the cost."

The elections of 1885 gave Liverpool its first Catholic Member of Parliament, in the person of Mr. Thomas Power O'Connor. He had sat for the borough of Galway since 1880, and was re-elected in November 1885, but decided to sit for the Scotland Division of Liverpool. Under the able guidance of Mr. John Denvir, the Irish Nationalists of the town made a great effort to so arrange the boundaries of the adjoining division of Exchange that this seat also could be held against all comers by a member of Mr. Parnell's party. Ignoring the strong case made out by the Nationalists the commercial classes in Exchange and Castle Street Municipal Wards were separated by the Boundaries Commissioners, and at an Irish Convention held in Great Crosshall Street,* during the summer of 1885, it was agreed, on the motion of Dr. John Bligh, that "an Irish Nationalist be run "for the Exchange Division, and that Mr. Justin MacCarthy "be requested to stand as our candidate." At a great meeting held next evening in the League Hall, Cazneau Street, this decision was confirmed, on the motion of the present writer, and was conveyed to the versatile novelist, journalist and historian. On Sunday, August 9th, Mr. MacCarthy visited Liverpool, accompanied by his son, and Mr. Timothy Healy, M.P., and publicly accepted the invitation, which, to the annoyance of many Liberals, was endorsed by the Liberal leaders. On the eve of the dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Justin MacCarthy was announced as the candidate for the city of Derry, being sent there by Mr. Parnell as the "only "man" who could win the maiden city for Home Rule. No word or even hint had been previously conveyed to Liverpool of this new departure, and the leading men in the Nationalist

* In a disused Methodist Chapel, opposite Holy Cross Church, now used as a glass warehouse.

party asked themselves what it all meant. If only one man could win Derry, to use Mr. Parnell's own words, why was he sent to Liverpool eight weeks earlier as the candidate for the Exchange Division? Dame Rumour was very busy and further developments were awaited with considerable anxiety. A demonstration was announced for November 16th, in the League Hall, Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and editor of "United Ireland," being announced as the chief speaker. To everyone's amazement Mr. Parnell, on the very day of the meeting, announced that he was coming with Mr. John E. Redmond, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor. He gave reasons for Mr. MacCarthy's withdrawal, and announced his selection of Mr. T. P. O'Connor for the Scotland Division. In the course of his speech he said, "I cannot absolutely say whether we "are sufficiently strong enough to beat both political parties "in the Exchange Division, but our enquiries are still pro- "ceeding, and we hope to have figures which will be conclusive "one way or another in a few days. Until then we do not "consider it advisable to replace the vacancy."

As a matter of absolute fact the figures had been supplied to him long before this meeting, as the sittings of the Revision Courts had been held earlier than usual. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm of that memorable meeting, Mr. Parnell's speech was a serious discouragement to the leading Irishmen, who were quite certain of carrying an Irishman for the Division. The excitement grew when it was announced on the next day that the Liberal party had selected a strong local candidate, Mr. T. E. Stephens, to fight for the seat under the banner of Mr. Gladstone. The Conservative party selected Mr. L. R. Baily, and the election warfare began in earnest. A bolt from the blue fell in the Irish ranks when the unusually well-informed London letter writer of the "Daily Post," just four days after Parnell's speech, penned the following paragraph: "What is remarkable is the "ostracism of Captain O'Shea,* sitting on the Ministerial "benches, but keeping up social relations with Parnell and "his party." This somewhat obscurely worded paragraph aroused intense suspicion in certain Irish circles, and the position was very closely scrutinised, especially when Parliament was dissolved, the writs issued, polling days fixed, and still no word from Mr. Parnell, as to the result of his study of the figures as to the Irish vote in Exchange Division. In every constituency in the three kingdoms, the Irish policy had been decided upon except this one division. Late on the evening of the twentieth of November a telegram was received

* He had negotiated the famous Kilmainham treaty

announcing Parnell himself as the candidate. The same evening, without any request from Liverpool, Captain O'Shea, ignoring the official Liberal candidate, issued his address as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, supported by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Richard Grosvenor.* The Captain was on the spot, but no Parnell nor any address from him. The Nationalist headquarters were in the Temple, Dale Street, and at the mere rumour of Parnell's candidature, canvassers flocked in from all parts of the town to organise the Irish vote. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. O'Connor's candidature was quite neglected to make sure of Parnell's victory in Exchange, and victory was certain in the opinion of the electioneering experts. The more sober spirits asked how could Parnell win with two Liberal candidates in the field? The writer was one of two persons† selected to meet Mr. Parnell on Sunday morning, November 22nd, in the North Western Hotel, Lime Street, and conduct him to a consultation with the local Nationalist leaders in the Temple offices. He made enquiries as to the effect upon the Irish voters of "Mr. O'Shea's" candidature of which he appeared quite well aware, and announced his intention of running Mr. John Barry, M.P. for Wexford, for the Abercromby Division, to keep out Mr. Samuel Smith. The same afternoon he addressed a great meeting in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, and an enormous open-air meeting on St. George's Hall Plateau. He enjoined it as a duty upon every Irish elector to vote for the Conservative candidates "unless some exception be signified by "the Central Executive." The significance of this phrase was not lost on the younger men of the Central Branch, Great Crosshall Street, and during the following twenty-four hours, in a vigorous canvass of Exchange, Vauxhall and St. Anne's Ward, their earnest advice was, "vote for Parnell if he stands, "if not, vote for Parnell's policy, the balance of power, by "voting for Mr. L. R. Baily." It was of importance to these young enthusiasts that Mr. Parnell made no allusion to O'Shea's candidature in his speeches: "the contest will be a "difficult one, but I believe it is just possible for me to win." Mr. T. P. O'Connor, interviewed by the "Central News," declared that "the only gentlemen to whom any exception can "apply are Messrs. Joseph Cowan, Story, Thompson and "Henry Labouchere." Parnell's nomination papers, twenty in number, were signed by priests, merchants, shopkeepers and labourers, while Captain O'Shea handed in but one paper,

* See "Daily Post" leader.

† The other was Mr. James A. Mulhall, now the Irish secretary of the Royal Liver Society.

containing only one influential Liberal signature. Mr. T. E. Stephens was also nominated.

At two o'clock Mr. Parnell quietly withdrew his nomination, and retired from the precincts of the Town Hall. The same evening he appealed to the Irish electors to support Captain O'Shea in these terms: "Mr. O'Shea belongs to the "religion of the majority of Irishmen. If you desire to vote "for him as an Irishman or Catholic, I see no reason why you "should not do so." Nevertheless he worked strenuously for the rejected member for Clare, only to be defeated by some Irish Nationalists, who hated O'Shea and the change of front of the Irish leader, matters which cannot be fully discussed in these pages. O'Shea lost the seat by the narrow margin of fifty-three votes; the other Liberal candidate only polling a few votes. When Gladstone introduced the first Home Rule Bill, a Liberal Home Ruler defeated Mr. Baily in Exchange Division by two hundred votes, and this despite the defection of the influential Liberal Unionists. The election of 1886 puts beyond all doubt that Parnell would have won in 1885 had he gone to the poll. Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy rent his party in twain, and the Unionist party remained in power until 1906, with the short interval of the years between July, 1892, and the election of 1895.

The schools were safe from Liberal interference, if they ever intended to interfere, which may well be doubted, and it was years afterwards before Mr. Balfour carried his one clause Act increasing the imperial grant. It had been well had Mr. Balfour's policy of increased grants been permitted to develop, but militant denominationalists raised the demand—just in itself—for rate aid, forgetting that the adoption of this principle in an England of sub-divided religious thought, introduced an element which appears to have escaped the advocates of the new policy, that of ratepayers' interference and control. The foremost Catholic educationalist in Liverpool was Father William Dubberley, S.J., manager of the Haigh Street schools from 1879 to his death on September 20th, 1896. He threw himself heart and soul into the great work of perfecting elementary education. His unrivalled knowledge of every detail of school management made him a powerful defender of the Catholic schools, and a skilful exponent of the claims of his co-religionists for fair treatment.

The remaining years of Dr. O'Reilly's rule were devoted to his spiritual work. New churches and schools were springing up in all directions, and notably in the rapidly growing suburbs of the old borough, whose parliamentary boundaries were not co-terminous with the municipal. At the time of his

death there were 27 schools in Liverpool, with an average attendance of 22,000 children.

Owing to the generosity of two Liverpool Catholics,* a school chapel was provided at Cabbage Hall, and dedicated to All Saints on September 8th, 1889. The beautiful Church of St. Clare, Sefton Park, also provided by the great generosity of the founders of All Saints, was consecrated on June 3rd, 1890. Father Nugent, on the demolition of St. Mary's, had urged its transference to the neighbourhood of Sefton Park, but permission to do so was not obtained. At the river side of the Sefton Park area, a temporary chapel was erected, and dedicated to St. Charles on September 25th, 1892, followed by the erection of new schools which were opened by the Bishop of Salford. The infants' school at St. Francis Xavier's, blessed and opened in 1879, by Father Thomas Burke, O.P., were further enlarged in 1891, and under the enthusiastic guidance of Father William Pinnington† the fine schools of St. Alphonsus, Stanley Road, were opened in 1889.

Many works of charity were founded during the last decade of Dr. O'Reilly's rule. In 1881, the Catholic Children's Protection Society was founded. This excellent organisation emigrated to Catholic families in Canada many hundreds of children whose prospects in life were hopeless, unless effectually removed from their former surroundings.

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul made a beginning in 1891 with the Homes for Friendless Boys, which has since developed to such an extent as to become one of the recognised charitable institutions whose annual meetings are held in the Town Hall, under the chairmanship of the Lord Mayor. The name of Arthur Chilton Thomas, a veritable Lancashire Ozanam, is indissolubly bound up with this splendid effort to save the friendless Catholic boy. A special committee was formed of one delegate from each conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, to carry on the projected "Home," and an earnest effort made to secure a fund which would enable the promoters to face the heavy expenditure involved. The name of Bishop O'Reilly headed the first subscription list, followed by Messrs. Francis W. Reynolds, Henry Jump, Matheson, Stapleton Bretherton, Cullen, Bradley, Sharples, Doughan, Browne, Walton, Fathers Murphy, S.J., Carr, and Birchall. Many prominent Protestant laymen helped in the good work. Over one hundred boys found a home in the house 105, Shaw Street, during the first six months of its establishment;

* Frank and James Reynolds.

† Member of the West Derby Board of Guardians for some years. In 1908 Member of the Education Council; Liverpool Education Committee. Elected to the Chapter, 1909.

working boys in employment, but not receiving sufficient wages to keep themselves, and boys out of work for whom situations were found, and street arabs whose means of livelihood were as precarious as they were dangerous.

As early as July, 1892, Mr. Chilton Thomas began in the "Xaverian" to call public attention to the splendid possibilities of this great charity, coupled with the necessity for civic legislation, to minimise the dangers of street trading, as Father Nugent had done forty years earlier From thence onwards, he became the leading figure in Catholic rescue work, devoting his life solely to saving the boy for Church and country.

Father John Berry, rector of St. Philip Neri's, opened in 1892 St. Philip's Home for Street Trading Boys in Marble Street, and a few years later took over the management with Mr. Thomas, of the Homes in Shaw Street, which were considerably extended and still bear his name. Owing to failing health in 1897, he was compelled to leave the city, but continued his deep interest in the best work yet undertaken in the diocese to scotch the most fruitful source of so-called Catholic crime. Bishop O'Reilly took a keen interest in the experiment, and one of his last acts before a fatal illness seized him was to visit St. Philip's home in Marble Street, at nine o'clock p.m., where, sitting on a form, he talked to the boys about their labours in the streets, discussed with them their earnings and their personal histories quite in the spirit of his earlier work among the poor in St. Patrick's and St. Vincent's.

In February, 1888, Bishop O'Reilly launched another meritorious scheme for the betterment of the poor children of his diocese. It had long been his earnest desire to secure the removal of every Catholic child in a workhouse school to institutions under his own care. With this object in view he issued a pastoral letter to his flock, in which he frankly expressed his aims. "The Guardians, as a rule, are much "fairer (here) than they appear to be elsewhere, and our poor "children are treated, as far as their religion is concerned, in "a much more liberal spirit. Still, they labour under very "serious disadvantages. They are brought up amongst "children who are not Catholics, and though, to a certain "extent, they receive Catholic teaching, and are allowed to "practise their religion, still the results are generally very "unfavourable. They leave the workhouse schools, little "illuminated with the brightness of their faith, and with but "little fervour in the practice of their holy religion. Indeed "they are often, in a manner, ashamed of their religion, and

" being, as we have said, animated with but little fervour, they " soon fall away from the practice of its teaching. These " poor children help to swell the number of indifferent " Catholics; Catholics in name, they are strangers to every " Catholic instinct."

The worthy Bishop did not live to see the fulfilment of his hopes. Liverpool Guardians were unwilling to fall in with his proposals, but his splendid initiative is worthily and fittingly perpetuated in the Bishop O'Reilly Memorial Poor Law Schools, Leyfield, West Derby. As a matter of fact, a Catholic teacher was not employed in a single workhouse school in England, save in the schools of the Parish of Liverpool, ample testimony to the need for such institutions as projected by Dr. O'Reilly.*

Towards the close of 1893, he was stricken with a serious illness, which culminated in his death, on April the ninth of the following year. It is not often that, in a non-Catholic daily newspaper, one may find a true picture of a Catholic ecclesiastic, priest or Bishop, but the following leader from the " Daily Post," from the pen of Sir Edward Russell, is a true epitome of Dr. O'Reilly's life and work:—

" Dr. O'Reilly enjoyed the unqualified esteem of all who " knew him. He was perhaps somewhat retiring, possibly " somewhat shy. He was consistently and persistently occu- " pied with his own business. He did not include in the scope " of his business any attempt to dominate or pervade society. " We are not commenting on this either in praise or blame. " Possibly it might be the policy of a Roman Catholic Bishop " to keep his church more in evidence socially than Bishop " O'Reilly did. Certainly there have been precedents, both " metropolitan and provincial, in favour of such a course. We " are merely recording the fact that with the late Bishop it " was very different, and that all his labours, great as they " were, were confined within the strict limits of the ecclesias- " tical province. In this we understand, from those who know " the facts, that he was far more successful than appeared " from any display that attracted the attention of the general " community. His episcopate was very remarkable for church " extension, and the solid results that he achieved were the " more notable because obtained in so quiet a manner, and " by means of such steady energy and perseverance.

" Dr. O'Reilly was identified with Liverpool throughout " the whole of his career. The early passages of it lay in a " period and in a neighbourhood—the cholera time in the " poorest parts of Liverpool—which made him thoroughly,

*See Pastoral Letter, July, 1888.

" and indeed agonisingly, familiar with the greatest suffering " and the most terrible needs of the humblest of the people. " This gave a stamp to his ministry and a bent to his episcopal " action. It also led him into understanding and sympathetic " mutual contact with many of the best members of other " communions; and when he came into the full power of his " episcopal office he was enabled to co-operate with the " managers of our great charities, in a manner very much " strengthened and made useful by his striking pastoral ex- " periences. We may presume it to be unlikely that this " respected and lamented prelate will be succeeded by a man " of similar type, but his memory will long be held in kindly " reverence, and it will be recognised that he rendered to his " church in this diocese, exactly the services which it most " needed during the time he held sway."

Canon O'Toole, in the " Catholic Fireside," described him from the point of view of a priest in these words: " The same " sense of duty which had made the memoir of his life simply " the spiritual record of his mission and parish* a few " hundred yards in diameter, still characterised him " as a Bishop.

In his funeral panegyric, Bishop Hedley, O.S.B., said: " As I read him he was of a nature in which the simple, the " childlike, and the affectionate largely predominated. Policy " on a wide or elaborate scale was not congenial to him. His " arrangements were for plain and evident needs; and any " man might know his mind. He loved cheerfulness in " business; he could smile himself, and liked those who dealt " with him to smile also."

The municipality joined the sorrowing Catholics of the city in paying tribute to the simple, hardworking, prayerful prelate; its Lord Mayor, W. B. Bowring, and his predecessor, Mr. R. D. Holt, attending in state, the final obsequies. In his beloved Upholland, the remains of the worthy Bishop lie in peace; an abiding incentive to the future priests from St. Joseph's seminary, to model their life's work in the diocese of Liverpool on his single-hearted devotion to the spiritual welfare of his beloved people.

* St. Vincent de Paul, James Street.

[THE END.]

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