

The Advancement of Catholicism in Britain as seen by the Nineteenth-Century Portuguese Press



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1. Images of Britain in the Portuguese Catholic Press

The period covered by this paper, which was dominated in Portugal by the acid wit and revolutionary spirit of the members of the so-called “Geração de 70”, was profoundly marked by the spread of several currents of thought advocating different attitudes towards society, politics, science and, in consequence, religion. Foremost amongst the movements traversing the period were Socialism, Republicanism, Positivism and Evolutionism, all of which questioned religious thought and not infrequently provoked frontal opposition to the Catholic Church and its representatives.

Many of the periodicals which appeared at this time were vehicles for the new ideas issuing from the so-called “civilized” Europe, basing their approach to the real world on Positivist thinking and the concept of Evolution.ⁱ They strove, simultaneously, to combat the decadence of the institutions and the laws whilst blatantly and ironically denouncing the pettiness and the corruption of Portuguese Society and pointing the way towards the reform of customs and behaviour in politics, education and religion.ⁱⁱ

Over this period, the number of Portuguese periodicals increased substantiallyⁱⁱⁱ and a whole generation took an interest in what went on abroad, always a direct or indirect indication of the cultural state of the nation. Although ‘foreign’ was usually synonymous with French culture, there were also echoes in the Portuguese periodical press of a Great Britain which was experiencing the economic and cultural apogee of the Victorian era.

The press, as a form of communication, expresses the anxieties of the times and conveys an awareness of how society will evolve through a discourse which is, in itself, a writing of mediation. By not restricting to being a mere reflection of the concerns of its readership, the press creates new interests amongst its readers and gains the power to clarify, change, mystify or even cloud events, as well as the ability to exercise ideological pressure according to predefined objectives. It is clear, therefore, that rather than merely reflecting reality, journalism (which was, by far, the principal form of mass communication in the nineteenth century) portrays events in accordance with a system of variable conventions and interests which influences the selection, presentation, and analysis of the facts.

In this context, the interests of the readers of the religious periodicals, the ones which will be dealt with in this paper, and the mediating role exercised by their contributors, are both of the utmost relevance. When conveying a message, writers reconstruct and retransmit the information at their disposal, often with the aim of achieving a measure of empathy with their readers. In this way, the standards, values and preferences of the readership exert an influence over the production of the texts appearing in the press, in general terms, and more specifically, in the case in point, the press of a religious nature. In this way, the orientation of the articles under study was influenced *a priori* by an implicit or anticipated readership, clearly demonstrating that the authors were well aware of the characteristics, habits and tastes of their readers. Thus it can be said that the receptive instance plays a significant part in

defining what image of the foreign country is primarily conveyed, whilst, at the same time, the latter efficiently discloses the problems inherent to the receptive culture.

As personal perception and the values and training of the contributors are manifest in the portrayal of events in these Catholic periodicals, it would be a mistake to underestimate the role of the author as a mediator of a cultural image. Although the vast majority of the articles under study were anonymous it should be kept in mind that the contributors were obviously Catholics, had some mastery of the English language and probably did not diverge greatly in profile from Silva Ramos, the founder of several Catholic periodicals and one of the few authors who signed the published articles.

A priest, university lecturer and an author, Luis Maria da Silva Ramos (1841-1921) was awarded a doctorate in Theology by Coimbra University, and was appointed Professor there in 1874. He lectured at the Seminaries of Braga and Coimbra, occupied the Chair of the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra University and was a member of the Philosophical Academy of St Thomas Aquinas, in Bologna, the Philosophical-Scholastic Society of St Thomas Aquinas, in Barcelona and also the Society of St Paul for the Dissemination of the Catholic Press, in Rome. Luis da Silva Ramos was the founder and director of several Catholic periodicals, including *A Civilização Católica* (Porto, 1878-1888) which is distinguished by the number of articles signed by Silva Ramos himself with references to the progress of Catholicism in Anglican Great Britain.^{iv}

The main sources used by authors of the articles were British periodicals with a considerable readership such as *The Times*, *The Morning Chronicle* or *The Illustrated London News*, which were relatively widely read in Portugal.^v

The intentionality of the author(s), the horizon(s) of expectation of the reader(s) and the auto-identitary projection which occurs in the acts of production and reception, are aspects which require reassessment in the case of any text which has been previously translated, such as the articles under analysis, most of which were very probably translated from English periodicals. In his work, the translator is obliged to come to terms with his multifaceted role as reader, interpreter, receptor, transmitter, co-author or re-creator. Consequently the act of translation is not merely a question of representation but also the reinterpretation of the 'Other'.

The religious periodicals chosen for analysis in this paper were mostly weeklies, fortnightlies or monthlies and can be broadly classified as being cultural and literary rather than predominantly topical or political in character.

Although the daily newspapers, the majority of which were of a topical and political nature, were the most widely read and are therefore fundamental to the study of history of the press and Portuguese culture in the nineteenth century, they are not necessarily the most important for the study of the image of Great Britain disseminated by Portuguese journalists in the second half of the century. This justifies our choice of publications of a simultaneously instructive and recreational vocation, intended for less well-educated and informed readers, which included titles such as *Leituras Populares* (Lisboa, 1865-1880) *O Ramalhete do Cristão* (Lisboa, 1871-1877), *A Família* (Lisboa, 1878) *O Mensageiro Popular* (Porto, 1885-1889) or *A Civilização Cristã* (Lisboa, 1889-1890).

The principal characteristic of these Catholic publications was their educational purpose, not infrequently alleviated by a measure of leisure content. Allied to the strategy of educating through amusement, there was the desire to provide moral support to the family, intimately linked to the Christian ideals and values of the

family and work. The example of the introduction to the first issue of *A Civilização Cristã* is particularly revealing:

“Another champion is born, a peaceful champion, a fighter for Good and the Faith, which will present itself in an easy and pleasant way (...). This is a religious and moralising journal. Whatever diverges from these two principles will have no place in its pages. Its aim is to offer healthy reading matter for the family, as reading is indispensable. Read but do not allow the imagination and the heart to lose their way and let virtue remain unharmed.” (Figueira 2)

The tone of moral struggle and mission which emanates from the previous extract underlines the fact that the main concern of these religious publications was to teach the lesson of the Catholic faith, particularly to the great mass of the population, as a form of combat against the voices of agnosticism and atheism. The dissemination of Socialist and /or Republican ideas, the publicising of new scientific discoveries (especially Evolutionism) and the defence of a secular culture which was hostile towards theological ideas led many to question Christian doctrine and the teachings of the Gospels. These periodicals therefore were designed to spread the Catholic faith and religious principles, in an attempt to fight agnosticism and atheism which were feared to be growing. The following extract from the programme of *O Mensageiro Popular* is illustrative of this point:

“Its main aim is (...) to correct the many errors which are broadcast daily against the Catholic Doctrine, without which neither the individual, nor the family, nor indeed nations can be at peace (...) Down with the priests, many say today: We want freedom (...). How can you have Freedom without priests? Without Religion it is impossible to have freedom, and without priests it is impossible to have Religion (...) Neither Napoleon nor Bismarck, these two great Statesmen (...) wanted freedom like the Socialists intend to offer (...).

Science is not against it, nor can it be; because true science and true Religion are two rivers running side by side and springing from the same source, which is God.”
 (“Programa do Mensageiro Popular” 785-786)

2. “The Century of the Great Catholic Restoration”: The Progress of Catholicism in the British Isles

It is precisely within the scope of this evangelical and moralising function that there are constant references to the progress of Catholicism in the British Isles. An apparently surprising fact, it was, however, considered paradigmatic in a nation whose History was marked by religious conflicts, whose official religion was Anglicanism, but at the same time it was considered one of the most highly developed countries of the world, not only in technological and scientific matters, but also as far as the defence of personal freedom is concerned. It will be recalled that in 1833, a few years before the coronation of Queen Victoria, the new Parliament included Irish Catholics and members of Nonconformist Churches, in a manifestation of a certain tolerance towards different religious convictions. The periodicals under study refer to the variety of religious confessions with the purpose of showing that the British people who decided to embrace Catholicism had done it due to true conviction and not because there were not many other alternatives to the established Church.^{vi} In 1886, for example the situation in Great Britain had changed substantially to the advantage of Catholicism, as the periodicals noted:

“The recently held parliamentary elections represent a new step forward for Catholicism in that country. The former House included sixty Catholic members, all of whom were Irish with the lone exception of one English member. The present House includes eighty three Catholic members of whom seventy-nine are Irish, three English and one Scot. It is the first time after the so called reform of Henry VIII, that a

Catholic member was elected in Scotland.” (“Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra” 512)

The revocation of the Text and Corporation Act (1828), the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829) and above all the Oxford Movement, to be dealt with later in this paper, which occurred at this University in the beginning of the eighteenth-thirties, doubtlessly contributed towards greater tolerance in society regarding different religious beliefs, particularly Catholicism. Whereas in the middle of the nineteenth century there had still been much popular agitation against the Catholic Church in England, in the period under study there appears to have greater tolerance towards other religious confessions on the part of the established Church. It will be recalled, for example, that tests of a religious character for admission to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were abolished in 1871.

It is within this framework that the constant news items concerning the growth of Catholicism in Great Britain can be explained. The aspects which were most frequently mentioned in the articles were as follows: conversions to Catholicism; the foundation of new churches, convents and monasteries; the re-establishment of religious orders; ceremonies carried out in accordance with Catholic rites; appointments of Catholics to political posts of responsibility; relations between the Vatican and the British Government; and constantly updated information of a statistical nature regarding the growing number of members of the Catholic Church and Catholic practices, both in Great Britain and in parts of the British Empire.

As far as the conversion to Catholicism of Anglicans or members of other confessions are concerned, the articles paid special attention to the cases of the upper echelons of the Clergy, the aristocracy, political figures and/or their families, members of Parliament and the Diplomatic Corps and also academics or intellectuals. The following passage is just one of the many examples it would be possible to offer:

“The conversions of many distinguished personages who move in High Society have been announced in recent times. Lord South, Lord Granard, the Countess of Portalington have embraced Catholicism. There is also talk of a student of Oxford University who was preparing to be ordained in the Anglican Church, a vicar of a parish in the West of England and the superior of a community of ladies (...). In an English Catholic newspaper there are revelations which terrify the established Church, the conversions of the following dignitaries being noted, amongst others:

The Earl of Granville, former Prime Minister in the Russell Cabinet is the brother of the famous Lady Georgina Fullerton who is considered to be one of the most eminent Catholic writers.

The mother of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Privy Seal, is a catholic.

Mr. Gladstone’s sister is also a Catholic.

Sir George Grey, former Minister of the Realm, has many Catholics amongst his relatives and amongst them there is a sister-in-law who is a nun.

Mr. Monsell, the former deputy chairman of the Board of Trade, was recently converted to Catholicism

Sir Rounfiell Palmer has a brother who is a Catholic. The aunt of Sir Robert Collier is a catholic, too.

Mr. Coleridge, a lawyer, who is expected to become the future attorney-general in a Liberal Cabinet, has a brother who is a Jesuit priest.

In the present Ministry, the Duke of Marlborough has a Catholic sister-in-law, Lady Portalington.

The sister of Lord Stanley, Lady Emma Talbot, has a brother who is a priest and many other Catholic relatives (...).

The same newspaper relates that not a week passes without Catholicism making recruits in the English aristocracy (...).

All this is marvellous!!” (“Progresso do Catolicismo em Inglaterra” 242-243)^{vii}

The writers also provide evidence of conversions to Catholicism occurring in the different dominions of the British Empire, such as Malta, Hong- Kong and Australia.^{viii}

The foundation of new churches, convents and monasteries, as well as the re-establishment of the religious orders in Great Britain were also announced with jubilation in the periodicals, which wasted no opportunity to damage with these news items those who raised their voices against the Church in Portugal:

“In England Catholicism advances in an extraordinary fashion.^{ix} This is what we read in a magazine from abroad: This is the century of the great Catholic restoration in England. A few weeks ago Msgr. Coffin, the Bishop of Southwork [sic] (...) consecrated the Convent of Parkminster in the County of Sussex. (...) The Church of the Dominicans on Haverstoch- Hill [sic] was opened for worship.

On 14th July, the Poignton Marists inaugurated the Church of Saint Mary. Another is being built, with a monastery for the Premonstratensians expelled from France. The Duke of Norfolk is taking great interest in this work. At Belworth a Gothic temple dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi has been inaugurated. Finally a vast church dedicated to Mary Star of the Sea has been erected at Hastings due to the generosity of the poet Patmore. (...) This church was solemnly consecrated on the day of the Visitation by Msgr. Coffin assisted by several other distinguished ecclesiastics.

It can be seen that in England, a Protestant country, monks are free because they are allowed to build churches and convents. Here in Portugal the day is rare when the ‘Conimbricense’ does not cry out against the religious orders which it imagines contrary to freedom and even against the development of education! Credite Posteris!” (“Crónica” 350)^x

Ceremonies carried out according to Catholic rites were frequently reported in the articles under study: masses, christenings, processions and pilgrimages, amongst others. *A Família* (Lisboa, 1878) went as far as to publish the timetables of Catholic religious services in several English parishes, in an attempt to demonstrate the extreme zeal of the parish clergy in a Protestant country, but where the advancement of Catholicism was constant.

Also worthy of note are news items concerning the cult of the image of Saints (abolished by the Reformation), amongst which there was special mention of an image of St. Peter in one of London's churches, a copy of one in the Vatican, and also the figure of the Virgin Mary in St. Paul's Cathedral:

"Catholicism makes greater and greater advances in England. In the great Cathedral of St. Paul, in London, (...) the administrators have decided to place the image of the Holy Virgin with a halo in the Cathedral.

We will have the rare and consoling satisfaction of seeing one of most moving and interesting symbols of our Faith in the famous cathedral of the Reformation. If this comes about, in an obvious contradiction to Protestant doctrine, which does not allow the cult of images, it will undoubtedly be the prognosis of one of the most brilliant victories of the She whom the Church hails as triumphant against all heresies (...)." ("Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra" 22)^{xi}

As far as the appointment of Catholics to political office was concerned, and recording the importance of the approval of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), the authors considered that the responsibilities exercised by the English Catholics since then, had been no more than the just reward for their loyalty and dedication to the country's institutions and their respect for the British Crown. Nevertheless any appointment of a Catholic to public office was reported with jubilation by the periodicals, which saw it as yet another proof of the vitality and advancement of the

Church of Rome in Great Britain. In this political and religious context, the efforts to restore diplomatic relations between the British Government and the Holy See were of crucial importance to Catholics. Special emphasis was given to the Duke of Norfolk's visit to Rome in the winter of 1888 and, above all, to the position of the British Government regarding the crisis between the Italian Government and the Pope in 1889. Quoting excerpts from the most important London daily newspapers, the writers expressed confidence regarding the British Government's defence of the Pontiff, manifested in the attitudes and words of its leading representatives.

The statistical data regarding the number of Catholic churchgoers, institutions and practises in Great Britain and its Colonies around the World was presented as documentation of an almost official and scientifically irrefutable character, providing proof of the extraordinary progress of Catholicism in British dominions. The following is a case in point:

"England moves little by little towards the truth, and the moment can almost be calculated when all of it will convert and join the Catholic brotherhood. The firm progress of Catholicism in this realm is the evidence of the work that is being carried out in its midst, well shown by the following facts:

The Catholics, whom Anglican Protestantism had thought to have annihilated for ever in England, busy themselves in multiplying religious buildings, decorating temples, endowing monasteries. They educate, preach, convert and create a following of many of those who are outside the Church, by their example. At the end of three centuries and despite persecution 1,500,000 are part of the population of England and their Church grows year by year.

And the proof is that [since] a year ago the number of members of the clergy, churches, chapels, convents and monasteries has increased at a rate which clearly shows this significant progress. At the beginning of 1867 there were 1608 priests, today there are 1639; the number of churches and chapels, which was at that time

1207 now totals 1283; there were 220 nunneries, now there are 227; there were 63 monasteries whilst today there are 67. So there is an increase of 31 priests, 76 churches and chapels, 7 nunneries and 4 monasteries. (...) To demonstrate even further the advancement of Catholicism, we can compare these statistics with those of 1843." ("Progresso do Catolicismo em Inglaterra" 241)^{xii}

3. Manning and Newman and the Oxford Movement

Within the scope of the articles covering the progress of Catholicism in Great Britain the activities of Cardinal Manning and John Henry Newman received particular attention.

Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) was Newman's successor as one of the principal mentors of the Oxford Movement and when converted to Catholicism Manning succeeded Wiseman^{xiii} as Archbishop of Westminster, in 1865. Ten years later he was created Cardinal. In addition to publishing a number of controversial works of a religious nature, Manning was also a great preacher, a tireless defender of the Irish Cause and also carried out charitable and social works in a true crusade against the vice and poverty which flourished in the underprivileged classes. His participation in the working class struggle for better wages and working conditions was a determining factor, for example, in the case of the agreement which was reached with the owners during the London Dock Strike of 1889.^{xiv}

In a caption of an engraving published in *Os Dois Mundos* (Paris/Lisboa, 1877-1881), which showed a portrait of Manning a few years after being appointed Cardinal, the writer presented a character sketch of the prelate which began by underlining his conversion to the Catholicism despite occupying high office at the time in the hierarchy of the Anglican Church:

“The present Archbishop of Westminster is the son of William Manning, a London tradesman, and was born at Totteridge (...) on the 15 July 1808. Educated in the Protestant religion at Oxford, he was, in 1834, one of the leading preachers at the celebrated University. (...) After having been one of the leading members of the Church of England for some time (a number of the ultra High Church party), in 1851 he resigned from all his offices of responsibility and converted to Roman Apostolic Catholicism. (...) On the death of Cardinal Wiseman, Manning was appointed Archbishop of Westminster, in 1865.

(...) He is a man of great sincerity and energy. (...) He works with heart and soul to raise the moral and social level of his flock. He has been a strenuous advocate of temperance, and many of the faithful of the Catholic Church in London are recruited amongst the Irish poor. The upper classes in England respect him greatly however, for his wisdom and strength of character.

(...) Cardinal Manning (...) is a sincere man, a true friend of the Church and a true Roman Apostolic Catholic. He works in favour of the temporal power of the Pope and believes deeply in his Infallibility, as it is a dogma approved in the Ecumenical Council, which is the same as saying by the Supreme Court of the Church, of which there is no appeal.” (“O Cardeal Mannig” 118-119)^{xv}

In addition to the social work that Manning carried out in favour of the underprivileged classes, the periodicals also reported on his speeches in support of freedom and the abolition of slavery, on the events he promoted to foster relations between English-speaking Catholics and their demonstrations of affection towards the distinguished prelate. Also noteworthy are the translations of excerpts of his letters, or his pastoral sermons published in the periodicals, as well as a certain identification between the political and social proposals put forward by Manning and the convictions of the writers of the articles regarding the social responsibility of the Church and the definition of its role and that of the State in improving the living and working conditions of factory workers:

“Cardinal Manning, the Archbishop of Westminster, the advocate of Papal infallibility, comments, in conciliatory and convincing terms, on the different phases of the labour question, which at present is causing unrest all round Europe. (...) The Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster (...) wants the limitation and in certain conditions, the prohibition of work for women and children, Sunday as a legal rest day, arbitration in the event of failure of State intervention, and even the legislative fixing of salaries and their review every three or five years. He has the merit of defining the issue with great clarity. He is a supporter of the welfare state and places that state under the moral authority of the Church.” (“A Igreja e a Sociedade” 340)^{xvi}

It is a well known fact that John Henry Newman (1801-1890), a leading figure of the Oxford Movement, moved away from the Anglicanism in 1843, and was ordained as a priest in Rome, in 1846. Towards the end of 1847 he instituted a congregation of priests at Birmingham, affiliated to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Between 1854 and 1858 he was Dean of the Catholic University of Dublin and in 1879 he was created a Cardinal. When reported in the periodicals under study the latter event provided the pretext for the publication of articles concerning Newman’s life and work, as well as a series of reflections on the Oxford Movement. *A Civilização Católica* (Porto, 1878-1883) described the elevation of John Henry Newman in the following way:

“The Catholic members of the House of Commons are preparing to send an expressive congratulatory message to Dr. Newman, on the occasion of his elevation to the Cardinalate. In this document Dr. Newman’s efforts to promote education in Ireland and the establishment of the Catholic University are remembered and due thanks are given for the understanding he has always shown towards the Catholics of that country. (...)”

On receiving the Pontifical emissary who had come to deliver the official notification of the high office he had been granted, the illustrious Cardinal Newman delivered a memorable speech which caused a profound sensation in Great Britain.” (“Varia” 228 and “Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra” 283)

The same periodical had already published a biographical sketch of Newman by Luís Maria da Silva Ramos, who emphasised from the outset that this appointment had been one of the greatest triumphs in the history of Catholicism. In this article the author praised the priest's oratorical, intellectual and moral attributes, his tireless solitary quest for the truth (achieved through lengthy study and with the help of Divine grace), his natural vocation for religious life and the crucial moment of his conversion to Catholicism:

“On 9 October 1845 Newman was received into the true Church of Jesus Christ (...), Divine Grace triumphed, Catholic truth won a new victory and the Church welcomed another worthy son, whose example would be the motive for new and magnificent conquests. Newman's conversion was a real event in the Catholic world: Anglicanism keenly felt the loss of what was perhaps its most brilliant ornament, and such was Newman's reputation that there was no one amongst the Protestants who spoke ill of his conversion to Catholicism. A superb orator, an illustrious literate and theologian, Newman, by converting to Catholicism, found the truth he was searching for, delivered a profound blow to the Anglican High Church and inaugurated an era of glory and triumph for the immaculate Spouse of Jesus Christ. (...) The ancient Isle of Saints is growing ever closer to the centre of Catholic Unity.

(...) Newman's conversion is thus a great argument in favour of the divine institution of the Catholic Church and a terrible disappointment for Protestantism. It is no wonder then that the conversion of this famous man should have caused the extraordinary sensation that it did in the waning ranks of Protestantism.” (Ramos 200-201)

Newman's literary gifts were also much praised by the writers of the articles under study, who provided a thorough list of his most important published works, including his autobiography, *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (1846).

The evaluation of the Oxford Movement in the periodicals presented a view which was somewhat distorted by lack of impartiality towards events of a religious character. Although it is true that Newman ended up by converting to Catholicism, it is no less true that the Oxford Movement was not a Catholic movement. Indeed, it arose in the heart of the Anglican Church, mainly as a reaction towards a certain religious rationalism which then flourished, and also against the inefficiency of its practices, particularly in support of the underprivileged classes. The struggle against poverty, commented in the writings of several of the contributors to the periodicals was, alongside the defence of the Holy Scriptures, one of the great objectives of this movement. The aim was therefore for the members of the Anglican clergy not merely to devote themselves to theological reflection in theoretical terms, but rather to comply with their religious, social and charitable duties in a stricter manner, whilst endeavouring to resist the influence of liberalism in theological thinking. Newman would refer to the latter in the address he gave on being raised to the Cardinalate, as the excerpts from the articles showed:

“It is necessary to resist the spirit of Liberalism which is invading the religious camp, and is spreading out over the earth like a wide snare. Liberalism in religion is equal to indifference and the final result of this error is the negation of all religious life which will inevitably lead towards social dissolution. Society rejects Christianity and Governments attempt to solve social and religious problems without Christianity. Everywhere social apostasy exists, taking on different guises according to the country. In England apostasy threatens to achieve a rowdy triumph. England’s present constitution contributes powerfully towards the success of religious Liberalism. (...) the Church will come out of the struggle triumphant although how it will succeed, is still unknown (...).” (“Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra” 283-284)

The Oxford Movement is generally accepted to have begun in 1833 when John Keble gave a sermon “On National Apostasy”. The controversy it caused, which became

known as the Tractarian Controversy, began to gain many supporters, especially through the influence of the action of Pusey and John Henry Newman. Criticism of the Anglican Church reached its peak precisely with an essay by Newman entitled XC Tract, published in 1841. In this text Newman basically defended the idea that the Church was an autonomous body, instituted by God. Thus, as the State had been dechristianised, although Newman did not demand separation between the two institutions, he sought greater independence for the Church and stricter doctrinal obedience.

For the writers of the articles, the Oxford Movement had been, above all, the great driving force behind the Catholic movement in Great Britain, preparing hearts and minds for the great religious transformation which would take place in that nation. Like the Phoenix, England would be reborn for Catholicism. As proof there were the words of Newman himself published in the quarterly *British Critic*:

“In 1841 the ‘Anglo-Catholic’ Newman wrote (...) the following memorable words which were the prelude to his conversation: ‘Our natural affections lead us to unite with Rome: it is she who is our elder sister in the faith, and our mother still; it is she to whom we owe, through the Grace of God, what we are today. In our spiritual infancy it was Rome which protected us: she is the Church from which we separated with such violence. How happy we would be if we could erase the memory of our ingratitude towards her, so that we could reach accord on the causes of our misunderstanding. Then we would renew the precious ties which bound us to her so long ago when the missionaries of the Holy of Holies and first of its Gregories administered the sacred mysteries to our grandfathers the Saxons.’ These words reveal a soul deeply immersed in the History of Catholicism and possessed with the sacred desire to search for the truth. His famous XC Tract, which caused an extraordinary sensation in England, was another step forward for the Catholic Church.” (Ramos 198-199)

4. 'Returning to Catholicism': Final Observations

Seen as a whole, the articles on the advancement of Catholicism in Great Britain were intended to demonstrate the progress of the Catholic movement and the supposed decline of the Anglican Church. The image they conveyed, mediated by a foundation of tradition and faith was that the events they reported — conversions, re-establishment of religious orders, appointment of Catholics to high office, etc. — were the prelude to the return of the whole British nation to Catholicism. Thus Great Britain was seen by the writers of the articles as a nation chosen by God to inscribe pages of great glory into the annals of the Church. The image of Great Britain in the periodicals is that of a nation which was more promising for the blossoming of Catholicism in a near future than other European nations which were officially Roman Catholic, such as Portugal:

“God’s blessings are showering down upon England (...).

Long and cruel was the tempest; much blood was shed at the hands of Protestant heretics; one might have said that the Catholic Religion would never be seen again in the Isle of Saints; God was watching, however, and from one or other spark he brought forth flames, which now give light and warmth to the whole island, even as far as the northern regions which are the most stubborn and obstinate in their errors.

Who could imagine, fifty or so years ago, that England would be considered the nation most devoted to the faith, at the end of that time, and the greatest protector of the Catholic religion? Who could imagine that in the space of half a century, the British crown would protect, in its vast dominions, a greater number of Diocesan Prelates than any other Catholic people?

Who would dare to affirm that in the capital itself, there would be a seminary for foreign Missions, when none used to be tolerated there to the interior?

Who would venture to believe or say that, in just half a century, convents of monks and nuns would be so numerous around the country, many of which were imported from abroad?

In a nutshell: who could say, as everyone says and recognises today, that England would be the Nation of the World where more than any other, the Catholic Church has the greatest hopes, although the Government is Protestant and others Catholic, or designated as such? No one." ("Deus e a Inglaterra" 55)^{xvii}

This image was obviously marked by the not unbiased views of the contributors to the periodicals in which the articles were published, who were writing for a clearly Roman Catholic audience.

Contrary to the impression which is given by the images of Great Britain published in the periodical press in the second half of the nineteenth century, the question of Catholicism in Britain was portrayed neither in the series of texts which offer a model vision of British society, nor in those which convey an image of Great Britain as a dominating and oppressive nation. In fact, the news items or articles of opinion concerning the advancement of Catholicism in the British Isles convey a far more complex image. On the one hand, there is a clearly negative vision of a non-Catholic country whose rupture with Rome took place as the consequence of a political and economic decision, and, as such, was unjustifiable, from a theological viewpoint. On the other hand, there is the vision of a tolerant nation where multiple conversions to Catholicism provided irrefutable proof of the strength of the Roman Catholic Church, even in a country where the State religion was a different one.

Thus, the advancement of Catholicism in Britain should be understood as an example to be followed in Portugal, a country in which the official religion was Catholicism, but where the constant attacks against it, in this context, had to become obsolete.

NOTES

ⁱ Amongst these publications we should mention the following titles: *O Positivismo* (Porto, 1878-1882) and *Revista de Estudos Livres* (Lisboa, 1883-1887).

ⁱⁱ In this context, we should remember the following periodicals: *As Farpas* (Lisboa, 1871-1883) and *Os Gatos* (Porto, 1889-1894).

⁴ On this matter see Tengarrinha 248 and Terenas 49-205.

⁵ The following is a list of publications to which Silva Ramos contributed which were not included within the scope of this study: *União Católica* (Braga, 1866-1873), *Estrela de Alva* (Braga, 1870-1873), *O Consultor do Clero* (Porto, 1883-1885), *A Ciência Católica* (Coimbra, 1884-1889), *A Caridade* (Porto, 1886-1890) e *A Nação* (Lisboa, 1847-1928).

⁶ It should be noted that improvements in transport and communications, which was one of the primary concerns of the ministries of the Regenerative party, enabled the newspapers to obtain faster and more up-to-date news. The telegraph, which was first installed in Lisbon in 1857, soon became firmly established as a modern vehicle of communication and played a fundamental role in speeding up the news, particularly the reception and publication of news from abroad. The advent of the big news agencies such as the French agency Havas and the German agencies Reuter and Wolf also made international news more up to date.

⁷ On the same subject see also “Unidade Protestante” 74-75 and “Mais Triunfos para o Catolicismo” 48.

⁸ On the same subject see also “Conversão da Inglaterra” 134, “Continuação do Movimento Católico em Inglaterra” 20, “Mais Triunfos para o Catolicismo” 48, Ramos 155, “Crónica Contemporânea. Inglaterra” 283, “Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra” 141, “Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra” 334-335, “Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra” 383, “Notícias do Mundo Católico. Inglaterra” 512, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra” 175-176, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra” 463, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Conversão Ditosa” 448, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Triunfo Católico” 703, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. As Conversões em Inglaterra” 768, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Conversões Notáveis” 831 and “Notícias do Mundo Católico. Triunfos da Igreja em Inglaterra” 542.

⁹ On this subject see “Conversão Notável” 175-176, “Noticiário. Conversão ao Catolicismo” 352 and “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra” 287-288.

¹⁰ The underlining in the quotations is the exclusive responsibility of the author of this paper.

¹¹ On the same subject see also “Progressos do Catolicismo em Inglaterra” 376, “Conventos, Frades e Freiras” 62-64, “Nova Igreja em Londres” 326, Ramos 123, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra” 159-160 and “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Os Salesianos na Inglaterra” 558.

¹² On the same subject see also “Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra” 28, “Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra” 32, “Zelo do

Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra” 36, “Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra” 44 and “Zelo do Clero Paroquial e Regular em Inglaterra” 51-52.

¹³ On the same subject see also “Noticiário. A Igreja Católica na Inglaterra” 224, “Noticiário. Progresso da Igreja Católica na Inglaterra” 304, “A Igreja Católica na Inglaterra” 48, “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo em Inglaterra” 463 and “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. A Religião em Inglaterra” 544.

¹⁴ Curiously, Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman (1802-1865) was one of the contemporary British authors who was most translated during the period in question, so that the periodicals under study carry several articles devoted to this figure. (Cf. Terenas 83, 965-968)

¹⁵ On the life and work of Cardinal Manning see Strachey 11-121.

¹⁶ On the same subject see also “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. Inglaterra” 31-32.

¹⁷ On the same subject see also “Notícias do Mundo Católico ou Progressos do Catolicismo. O Catolicismo em Inglaterra” 839.

¹⁸ On the same subject see also “Gigantomaquia. Quarto Centenário de Martinho Lutero Patriarca de Todos os Gigantes que Têm Combatido a Igreja Católica Prostrado aos Pés de Jesus Cristo Leão da Tribo de Judá. A Sua Vida, as Suas Obras e a Sua Meléfica Influência na Europa. Traduzido da Primeira Edição Italiana” 724-726.

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