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Review

Notices

SIR RICHARD TERRY AND THE MUSIC AT ST. DOMINIC'S PRIORY CHURCH, NEWCASTLE: 1930-1939

T.E. Muir

Musically speaking, St Dominic's Priory Church, Newcastle, is best known for its apparently brief association with Sir Richard Terry. A Northumberland man, after his conversion to Catholicism he was organist and sang alto at the church between 1895-6. From there he moved on to become music master at Downside Abbey before establishing his reputation as a choirmaster and promoter of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century renaissance polyphonic music at Westminster Cathedral between 1901 and 1923. As shall be seen, his activity at Downside has an important bearing on the music performed at St Dominic's in the 1930s.[1]

For the moment, it is sufficient to observe that in 1899, whilst still at Downside, he published his *Mass of St Dominic*, dedicated to the prior, Edmund Buckler, and the choir at St Dominic's.[2] Not only was this Mass widely known in the English Catholic world, it also throws light on the calibre of the musical establishment at St Dominic's both when it was written and in the 1930s. Indeed, during the latter period it was performed there on eight occasions. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the musical repertory at that time was defined during the two decades before the First World War.

Unlike Terry's subsequent Masses and the renaissance polyphony he espoused, the work is characterised by the use of fairly up-to-date and sophisticated chromatic harmonic devices. These require a high degree of 'sight singing' ability, something that Terry always stressed whilst at Westminster. This, however, is mitigated by the solid support provided by the organ part, despite the fact that often this does not merely accompany but contributes independent elements that form an integral part of the whole ensemble. Clearly, Terry wrote this with the instrument at St Dominic's in mind. Built in 1883 by Henry Willis it has three manuals and a pedal board.[3] Its power and number of stops alone explain the wide range of dynamics used throughout the Mass. In turn, this suggests that the choir there must have been fairly large. Specific instructions in the *Credo* also show that boy trebles sang the upper parts. Yet this may not necessarily mean that women singers were excluded, since in the other movements the highest voices are designated as 'sopranos'. On the other hand, the absence of solo parts and the conservative vocal ranges required for all the voices indicates that, although the St Dominic's choir had good 'readers', it lacked singers with highly cultivated voices.

This Mass represents the tip of what turns out to be a very large iceberg. Scattered references in the accounts show that Terry's immediate successors were paid £50 a year.[4] Indeed, judged by its total expenditure on music, St Dominic's was one of the foremost Catholic musical establishments in the area, as Table 1 illustrates.

Table 1: *Musical expenditure in selected churches of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle*

Church	Year	Sum spent that year	Source[6]
St Dominic's Priory church	1924	£76-18-5d	Account book 1917-24 in the photocopy room at the priory
St Andrew, Newcastle	1930	£13-19-0d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 21st, 1931.
St Anthony of Padua, Newcastle	1930	£6-17-3d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 30th, 1931
St Bede, South Shields	1930	Nil	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Feb 1st, 1931
St Cuthbert, Durham	1930	£21-0-0d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Feb 1st, 1931
St Godric, Durham	1930	£0-2-6d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 31st, 1931
St Joseph, Gateshead	1930	£110-1-6d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 23rd, 1931
St Mary, Bishop Auckland	1930	£12-0-0d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Feb 3rd, 1931
St Mary, Hartlepool	1930	£41-17-6d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 29th, 1931
St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle	1931	£69-17-4d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Feb 2nd, 1932 and Jan 5th, 1933
	1932	£106-8-11d	
Our Lady and St Oswin, Tynemouth	1930	£6-8-0d	Returns of mission accounts and liabilities to the diocese. Jan 31st, 1931.

The principal evidence, however, can be found in the regular monthly announcements of forthcoming musical programmes in *Saint Dominic's Parish Bulletin* between 1930-1936 and in 1939.[5] The great advantage of such material over surviving collections of sheet music is that they show what was actually performed, as distinct from what was merely available. When placed on a relational database, analysis throws light, not just on the musical scene, but on the whole character of the priory establishment. Next to the liturgy, music was one of the most important factors animating the life and spirit of worship within a Catholic building. In particular, the choice of repertoire reveals how up-to-date or archaic were its attitudes, what was the balance between native British and international – sometimes specifically Papal –influences, and how much local variation and independence occurred at grass-roots level within a Church that put a premium on highly centralised uniformity.

At the same time, the limitations of such evidence need to be appreciated. Apart from Terry's *Mass of St Dominic*, there are hardly any surviving samples of sheet music, let alone contemporary recordings, at the priory. So it is difficult to deduce much about the actual quality or character of performances. Nor do programmes in themselves tell much about how, when or from where such sheet music was acquired. Some deductions, however, can be made by comparison with scores held elsewhere. Most importantly of all, the programmes do not cover the whole gamut of musical activity. To appreciate this it is first necessary to describe the general historical and liturgical background that prevailed by the 1930s.

The Historical and Liturgical Background

Dominicans first reappeared in Newcastle after the Reformation in 1860 when Fr Rodolph Suffield, a secular priest working at St Andrew's, joined the Order. St Dominic's Priory and church were built between 1869-1873 to designs by Edward Hansom.[7] It was opened on 10 October, 1873, by no less a figure than Henry Edward, Cardinal Manning. Hansom, it is interesting to note, had been educated at Downside. Moreover, he used this connection and his work at St Dominic's to secure from his old school friend Prior Bernard Murphy, OSB, the commission to design and rebuild the monastic church and monastic buildings at Downside.[8] In the early twentieth century St Dominic's had a community of between nine and eleven people. This remained the situation in the 1930s. Indeed, two of the community – Edward O'Dea and Augustine Hogg – had been there in 1913. Apart from this, there seems to have been a considerable turnover after 1930. Only two of the 1931 community – Augustine Hogg and Alfred Pike – were still present in 1939. Meanwhile, O'Dea had been succeeded as prior by Patrick Wilde (1932), Adrian English (1936) and Paulinus Sweeney (1939). Yet, despite such changes, the liturgical routine seems to have remained essentially the same as that obtaining in the late nineteenth century.[9] Assuming that the Choral Office, although not mentioned after the War, continued to be recited, the only major change seems to have been the abandonment of the first service of Compline and Benediction on Sunday afternoons at 3.30 pm (Table 2).

Table 2: *Regular services advertised at St Dominic's Priory Church for 1931*[10]

Sundays	Mass: 7.00, 8.00, 9.00, 10.30, and 11.55 (11.00 in 1913) am
	Compline, Stations of the Cross and Benediction: 6.30 pm
Holidays	Mass: 7.00, 7.30, 8.30, and 10.00 am
Weekdays	Mass: 7.00, 7.30, 8.30 and 10.00 am
Confessions	Thursday: 7.45-8.00 pm (in French) First Fridays: 6-9.00 pm Saturdays: 10-11.00 am, 4-9.00 pm.

The main conclusions to be drawn from such information are that St Dominic's served a large, heterogeneous and shifting congregation. This is indicated not just by the size of the church, but by the number of services and confessions offered at different times. Clearly they were intended to meet the demands not just of a large number of people, but to differentiate between the varied commitments of social groupings among them. Indeed, during 1913 confessions were offered in Flemish, Dutch, German and Italian, as well as French. Newcastle, after all, was a major port with a substantial coal and shipbuilding industries. These provided employment not just for a large working class seafaring and immigrant community, but for the higher echelons of business and professional classes represented by people such as Edward Hansom. To meet such wide-ranging requirements, a large monastic community was needed.

Deficiencies in the musical programmes advertised in the parish magazine are apparent. Usually only details of the Mass Ordinary and Offertory antiphon or motet are provided. Clearly they relate to High Mass on Sunday morning. No information is forthcoming about music performed at other parts of this liturgy, let alone for services held at other times. It is obvious, though, that much more plainchant must have been sung than the ten items listed in the programmes. This would have occurred not just at the Proper of High Mass, but at Compline and during the Choral Office.[11] In particular, since the programmes list the performance of only fourteen polyphonic Responsories during the Holy Week Triduum, plainchant settings must have been used for the other thirteen. The evidence for such singing exists in the form of liturgical plainchant books published in the late 1920s and early 1930s stored in the sacristy.[12] Indeed, the presence of a Dominican Antiphoner dating from 1862 in the library shows that this was a tradition reaching back to the earliest days of the priory. It is important to note, however, that this was the powerful, heavy, slow-moving 'measured' chant developed in the late Middle Ages and associated in the late-Renaissance period with composers such as Palestrina, Guidetti, Soriano and Anerio.[13] Almost certainly this was the plainchant heard at St Dominic's by Terry in the late 1890s. Following Pius X's motu proprio *Col Nostro* of 1904 it was replaced by the style of chant familiar to most Catholics today. This came in

two varieties, both of which had been developed at Solesmes. The absence of rhythmic signs from its later plainchant books indicates that St Dominic's used the system advocated by Joseph Pothier, chairman of the Papal Commission responsible for Vatican Typical Editions produced in the 1900s. Here the rhythm of the music and text were supposed to be the same. However, St Dominic's also has a few copies of *Plainsong for Schools*, first published in 1930 and 1934.[14] These have the rhythmical signs produced by André Mocquéreau, which deliberately set up tensions between the rhythm of the music and the text. This system was endorsed by some Dominican plainchant specialists, notably Justin Field, some of whose compositions were occasionally performed at St Dominic's.[15]

The presence of plainchant books in the sacristy, coupled with the relative paucity of references to it in the published programmes, suggests two things. First, as one would expect, the main protagonists for plainchant were members of the Dominican community. Second, as far as the choir was concerned, plainchant was not high in its order of priorities since, even if they performed it, usually they did not advertise the fact. The same point applies to hymns and carols. Only five items are specifically referred to in the programmes.[16] It is inconceivable that hymns were not sung on other occasions, especially at Benediction. The items mentioned in the programmes therefore relate to music performed as anthems by the choir, as had often been the case in English Catholic churches during the mid nineteenth century. Indeed, on the twenty-four occasions that *Adeste Fideles* was performed, the programmes state that this was in the anthem arrangement by Vincent Novello.

The choral repertoire at St Dominic's High Mass during the 1930s

Bearing these limitations in mind, we can now examine the contents of the musical programmes advertised in the parish bulletin. First, the programmes only show the occasions when the choir performed by itself. At such times congregational participation was excluded. This is suggested not just by the fact that the programmes only deal with High Mass; more tellingly, all the items, apart perhaps from one or two of the hymns, involve part-singing, which congregations usually cannot manage, and only then with prior rehearsal. Moreover, many works date from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and these might have been sung unaccompanied. This relates to the internal layout of the church. The organ is positioned on the north side of the chancel, where it would provide good support for the community singing of the Office. This is some distance from the west gallery, however, where the choir might have been deployed, as was the case in a majority of Catholic churches. Yet, on occasions when the choir sang unaccompanied, this was no longer a difficulty. This also implies that the choir, as a separate body and physically some distance from the Dominican community up in the chancel, had some degree of independence. This in turn fits in with the different attitudes towards plainchant displayed by the two groups noted earlier.

Second, it should be observed that eighty-five pieces were sung on 899 separate occasions. The ratio between the two figures indicates that the repertoire was changing very slowly. In other words the choir was in the grip of an annual routine. Indeed, this was probably one reason why it could provide so much music in any given year since, if the music was more or less the same, less rehearsal was needed. The slowness of change also opens up the possibility that the basic repertoire had been established a long time before, perhaps even before the Great War. This would correspond with the unchanging pattern of liturgical provision noted above.

Next, if the music is analysed according to when it was first composed, it will be seen that there is a concentration on Renaissance polyphonic music of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries together with an emphasis on pieces composed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whereas little attention was paid to music from the period in between – the Baroque and Classical Viennese styles (see Table 3).

Table 3: *Musical repertoire and performances at St Dominic's Priory Church analysed according to periods of its composition*

Period of composition[18]	No. of pieces performed	No. of performances
Renaissance Polyphonic		
1501-1600	8	80
1551-1600	1	9
1551-1650	20	255
Subtotal	29	344
Baroque and Classical-Viennese		
1651-1750	1	2
1701-1750	2	17
1701-1800	2	33
1751-1800	1	23
Subtotal	6	75
Late 19th and early 20th centuries		
1801-1900	11	126
1851-1950[19]	21	277
Subtotal	32	403
No data	18	96
(Plainchant)	(10)	(50)

In the Catholic world such patterns were the consequence of the vigorous promotion of plainchant, Renaissance polyphonic music and imitations thereof by the Cecilian Societies, the first of which was founded in Germany by Franz Xavier Witt. Established in 1867 these had a strong ultramontane accent, hence their emphasis on music by composers with close 'Roman' associations such as

Palestrina and Victoria. Music of this sort was therefore actively promoted by leading ultramontanes in Britain, especially Cardinals Wiseman, Manning and Vaughan. Terry himself owed his appointment at Westminster to Vaughan. Later, in 1906, he became secretary of the London Society of St Cecilia.[17]

Cecilian campaigning was encapsulated in Pius X's motu proprio decree *Tra Le Sollectudini*, issued in 1903.[20] Here the highest accolades in church music were reserved for plainchant and, next to it, Renaissance polyphony. Conversely, the allegedly secular and operatic styles endemic in Baroque and Viennese Classical music were excoriated. Such policies throw interesting light on Catholic attitudes towards the outside world. The deliberately archaising element is obvious; and represents a rejection of the contemporary world. It can be seen not just in music, but in neo-Romanesque architecture – exemplified by St Dominic's, as well as in interior decorations and vestments. The object was to cocoon Catholics from pernicious secular influences, which of course would be glaringly obvious in an industrial centre such as Newcastle. In many respects this represents a reversal of policies pursued in the early nineteenth century. At that time, as a result of vigorous promotion by Vincent Novello, music in the classical Viennese style was widely performed; and this suggests that Catholics were sufficiently confident to use secular contemporary means to promote their religious cause.

Yet such conclusions, although superficially valid, conceal more complex undercurrents. At St Dominic's, Renaissance polyphony was complemented by the performance of more contemporary works using fairly up-to-date musical devices. Terry's *Mass of St Dominic* and his *Mass of St Gregory* are examples. So is William Sewell's *Mass of St Philip Neri*. These, however, are balanced by the frequent performance of Cecilian compositions by composers such as Adolfo Kaim, Oreste Ravanello and Lorenzo Perosi that were written in an imitative Renaissance-polyphonic style. Indeed, some are even based on plainchant themes. Here Catholics were being contemporary *and* archaic at the same time. They were appealing to strands in contemporary opinion – especially Romantic opinion – opposed to the industrial world by a deliberate recall of the past. In short, an archaic policy could prove an effective device for proselytising and confirming Catholics in their faith.

Nonetheless, by the 1930s, certain inconsistencies had appeared. For a start, compositions that had seemed 'modern' in the late nineteenth century now often appeared to be rather old fashioned. More fundamentally such ideas were predicated on the assumption that the Renaissance polyphonic style had grown out of and was intimately related to plainchant. In the nineteenth century this had made sense. Much Renaissance polyphony was built around plainchant thematic material (usually referred to as a *cantus firmus*); and, as has been suggested, the 'measured' style of plainchant familiar to nineteenth-century listeners was a product of the Renaissance. Indeed, it often moved at about the same speed and with a similar rhythmic pattern to that found in the *cantus firmus* used in polyphonic compositions. In such circumstances the planting of a

mixture of plainchant, Renaissance polyphony and contemporary imitations of it in a neo-Romanesque building like St Dominic's was aesthetically, liturgically and doctrinally appropriate. After all, a key strand in the Catholic faith is the acceptance of an historical continuity with the past. The trouble was that by the 1930s the connection between Renaissance polyphony and plainchant had been significantly weakened as a result of the transformation of the latter by Solesmes. Such plainchant was quieter, moved faster, and was characterised by smooth-flowing melodic lines based on the principle of a single indivisible note length. The object almost seems to have been to make it as different as possible from all other musical styles. Indeed, Pothier thought that it had originated as a variety of inflected oratory rather than as a form of melody. Now, if Catholics in the 1930s associated the medieval world represented by Gothic architecture with this form of plainchant, then Renaissance polyphony would sound out of place in a building like St Dominic's. In this context the divide between the emphasis on plainchant by the Dominican community and the relative lack of attention displayed by the choir acquires added significance. In turn this helps explain why in certain places, such as Downside, even Renaissance polyphony was abandoned in favour of an all plainchant diet during the 1930s.

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An analysis by period of composition can be complemented by an analysis of works according to the nationality of their composers (see Table 4a). In particular, this throws light on the relationship between British national and international influences within the English Catholic community. This is important because, throughout the nineteenth century, there was a perception among non-Catholics that English Catholics had a divided loyalty, and that they were a conduit for alien foreign ideas and attitudes. In terms of repertoire, there is a fairly even balance between British and foreign compositions, the latter dominated by Austro-German contributions. On the face of it this suggests that 'Roman' papal elements – represented by Italian composers such as Perosi or Palestrina – were relatively minor.

When performances are examined, however, a different picture emerges. The British contribution, though substantial, is pushed into third place by performances of Italian and Austro-German compositions. Moreover, since the Spanish composer Victoria worked in Rome for much of his life, it is appropriate to view the fifty-nine performances of his works in a 'Roman' light too. When added to the fifty-seven renditions of Palestrina and the eighty of Viadana, this produces a total of 198 performances. It should also be appreciated that performances of Italian, and especially the Austro-German music, were boosted by the popularity of late nineteenth-century Cecilian composers such as Vincenz Goller (98 performances), Kaim (61 performances), Perosi (59 performances) Ravanello (34 performances) (see Table 4b).

Table 4a: *Analysis of repertoire and performances of music at St Dominic's Priory Church, Newcastle in the 1930s*

Country	No. of compositions from that country that were performed	No. of performances of compositions from that country
Britain	17	213
Germany-Austria	15	232
Italy	6	267
Spain	6	77
France	5	29
Flanders	1 (by Lassus)	9
No data	18	72

Table 4b: *Performances of compositions from different countries analysed by historical period.*

Country	No. of performances of compositions from that country
Britain	
1501-1600	14
1551-1650	106
Subtotal	120
1701-1800	26
1851-1950	67
Subtotal	93
Germany-Austria	
1551-1600	9
1651-1750	2
1701-1750	17
1751-1800	23
Subtotal	42
1801-1900	81
1851-1950	99
Subtotal	180

Performances of British compositions show the pattern in reverse. Apart from eleven performances of works by Terry there is hardly anything by British Cecilians. Indeed, ten of these eleven performances are of the *Mass of St Dominic* and the *Mass of St Gregory*, neither of which are Cecilian in character. Moreover, the complete absence of works by Joseph Seymour and Joseph Smith shows that, unlike at Ushaw College or certain centres in Lancashire, the Irish

Cecilian Society had a negligible impact.[21] Instead, at St Dominic's performances of works by late sixteenth-century polyphonists, especially Byrd (106 performances), constitute the largest single grouping. This, surely, must be the consequence of Terry's promotion of such compositions at Downside and Westminster Cathedral. The great advantage of this approach was that it finessed the question of dual Catholic allegiances. In his book *Catholic Church Music*, Terry argued that English polyphonists were musicians working within an international Catholic community. With such music it was possible to be both Catholic and English.[22]

Sources of music performed at St Dominic's Priory Church, Newcastle

It was remarked earlier that hardly any sheet music survives. In theory, then, it is difficult to establish how, when, and from where St Dominic's repertoire was built up. In practice, however, by consulting publishers' catalogues and sheet music from other collections to see what was available, it is possible to make some deductions and educated guesses. Two strands can be identified. First, the impact of Richard Terry is worth careful consideration, despite the brevity of his employment at the church. As shown earlier, Terry's own compositions had only a limited impact on the repertoire but he edited published series of Renaissance polyphonic compositions and imitations thereof. In this capacity the following pieces performed at St Dominic's can be identified with some degree of confidence. These can be divided between publications dating from the 1900s and those prepared in the 1930s. The date for the latter, however, does not mean that Terry had not made manuscript copies of these works earlier. On the contrary, it is known he had them performed at Westminster Cathedral before 1914.[23] (Table 5) The significance of this point will become apparent below. The second possible source are the publications by Editions Musicales, Paris, dating from the 1890s and 1900s, many of them produced under the aegis of Charles Bordes, a major promoter of Renaissance polyphonic music in France.(Table 6)

Table 6: *Compositions performed at St Dominic's Priory Church, Newcastle, published in Paris by Editions Musicales in the 1890s and 1900s*

Composer	Work
Orlando Lassus	*Missa 'Octavi Toni'* (ed. Georges Renard)
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	*Plange Quasi* *Jerusalem Surge*
Ludovico Viadana	*Eram Quasis Agnus* *Tenebrae Facta Sunt*
Thomas Luis de Victoria	*Tenebrae Facta Sunt*

Table 5: *Compositions performed at St Dominic's Priory Church edited by Richard Terry*

Composer	Title of work	Publication details
William Byrd	*O Sacrum Convivium*	*Tudor Motets* No. 17, Novello and Co., London, 1934
	Mass in Five Parts	Edited in collaboration with W. Barclay Squire, Leipzig/London; Breitkopf and Haertel. c.1900.
Miguel Eslava	*O Bone Pastor*	*Downside Motets* Vol. 6, Downside 1901 (Dyeline edition) or Cary and Co. London, c.1905
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	*O Bone Jesu*	*Polyphonic Motets*, Cary and Co. London, 1931
Thomas Tallis	*O Bone Pastor*[24]	*Downside Motets* Vol. 6. Downside 1901 (Dyeline edition) or London, Cary and Co. c. 1905
Ludovico Viadana	*Mass L'Hora Passa*	*Downside Masses*. Cary and Co. London, 1905
Thomas Luis da Victoria	*Ave Maria*	*Polyphonic Motets,* Cary and Co. London, 1931
	Jesu Dulcis Memoria	*Downside Motets* Vol. 2. Downside c. 1900 (Dyeline edition) or Cary and Co. London, c.1905.
	Popule Meus	*Polyphonic Motets*. Cary and Co. London 1931. This was also available in 1890s editions by Albert E. Tozer, *Motets Ancient and Modern*, Cary and Co. London, and ed. Joseph Smith, (Pohlmann Dublin).

A potential overlap between these two strands becomes possible, and significant, when the fourteen Tenebrae Responsories in St Dominic's repertoire are considered. One of these – Vincent Novello's *In Manas Tuas* – can be set aside immediately since it had been well known to English Catholics throughout the nineteenth century. Terry's setting of *In Monte Olivetti* can also be discounted, although, interestingly enough, it suggests that St Dominic's had copies of his *Music for the Morning Office on Palm Sunday*, first published by Cary and Co., London, in 1909. The remaining twelve items were all composed in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. In three cases no publication data is available.[25] Table 6, however, shows that four others were published by

Editions Musicales. Copies of two these (*Plange Quasi* and *Jerusalem Surge* by Palestrina) still survive at Downside. Both also appear in Franz Xavier Haberl's monumental edition of *Palestrina Werke*, which, in addition, contains a setting of *Sepulto Domino* by the same composer. A complete copy of the entire edition, formerly owned by Terry himself, survives at Downside.[26] It is entirely possible, then, that St Dominic's obtained the music from this source rather than Editions Musicales. The suspicion is confirmed by the fact that during the 1930s the other four Responsories (Giovanni Croce's *O Vos Omnes*, Jacob Handl's *Ecce Quomodo Moritur*, Viadana's *Sicut Cervus* and Victoria's *Sepulto Domino*) were only available in the series *Musica Divina*, edited by Charles Proske, a copy of which can be found at Downside.[27] This series also contains versions of Viadana's *Eram Quasi Agnus* and Victoria's *Tenebrae Facta Sunt*, as well as Lassus' *Missa Octavi Toni*. So it is more than likely that this was the source used by St Dominic's for these works, rather than publications by Editions Musicales.

All this suggests that St Dominic's obtained much of its Renaissance polyphonic repertoire through Terry, either when he was working there in 1895-6 or, much more likely, between 1896 and 1901 when he was working at Downside. The latter possibility fits in with other facts. Terry's *Mass of St Dominic* was his second Mass. In other words it was composed after his *Mass of St Gregory*, which is dedicated to Abbot Ford of Downside. It explains the prominence of late nineteenth-century Cecilian compositions in the repertory, all of which were published before the Great War, as well as the limited presence of 'modern' late nineteenth-century works by Gounod and Saint Saens. Moreover, if the only source for many Renaissance polyphonic works was the monumental collections published by Haberl and Proske, then manuscript parts must have been copied for the choir.[28] This means that during the 1900s St Dominic's repertoire must have been rather unusual in some respects. If that repertoire remained substantially unchanged in the 1930s, however, this implies that the choir then stood still after the Great War, a fact confirmed by the slow rate of change at that time in its programmes. St Dominic's is therefore an extreme manifestation of the way that English Catholic music to a large extent became frozen in the inter-war years.

The great exception to this, of course, appears to have been the drive to promote the widespread performance of plainchant. Yet at St Dominic's it has been observed that this took place within the Dominican community and had less effect on the choir. In any case, it represents a *consolidation* of existing repertoire that had been remodelled and, to some extent, rediscovered before the 1914. It does not represent a development in terms of new compositions or even (during the 1930s) in performance style. In this respect it was no different from the parallel campaign to promote Renaissance polyphony. In both cases the deliberate promotion of music in archaic styles produced vigorous change in the 1900s but meant that, in the long run, a relatively static environment would then ensue. Consolidation rather than new development was the watchword. If this

was the case in music, and if music is supposed in various ways to expose the character of the organisation with which it is associated, then this may have been a feature in other aspects of English Catholic life during that period. As Sheridan Gilley has argued, this was 'an era of steady expansion largely untroubled by internal dissent'.[29]

Notes and References

1. Hilda Andrews, *Westminster Retrospect: A Memoir of Sir Richard Terry,* (1948): pp. 1-4 (childhood in the North East); p. 20 (at St Dominic's), pp. 33-54 (work at Downside).

2. Richard Terry, *Mass of St Dominic (No. 2)* (1899).

3. For further details see the National Pipe Organ Register at www.bios.org.uk N04102. See also the article by Peter Locke elsewhere in this edition.

4. Terry, it would appear, was paid £40 p.a. This can be deduced from his estimate in 1920 that the average Catholic organist could expect remuneration of this sort of amount. This is almost certainly too high, but is likely to reflect his own experience at St Dominic's: 'The future of the Organist', 'Cantor', *Westminster Cathedral Chronicle,* No. 148 p 155 (August 1920)

5. A set of copies can be found in the community library at St Dominic's Priory.

6. The returns of mission accounts and liabilities can be found in the Visitation Records stored in the diocesan archives of Hexham and Newcastle. These are organised by parish.

7. B. Hodgson: 'The Dominicans in Newcastle: 1539-1992, Part II', *Northern Catholic History* 33 (1992) pp. 31-2. For a new account of Suffield's Dominican career as a preacher and retreat giver see Tony Cross, 'Robert Rodolph Suffield's Dominican decade (1860-1870)', *Recusant History* 28/1 (May 2006) pp. 103-128

8. T.E. Muir, 'Vision and Reality: Edward Hansom's Work at Stonyhurst and Downside', Geoffrey Scott (Ed.), *English Benedictine Congregation History Symposium 1996,* pp. 39-41 and 52, fn. 24 citing a letter dated 13 April, 1871, from Prior George Vincent King at St Dominic's forwarded by Hansom to Prior Bernard Murphy at Downside.

9. *The Catholic Directory:* (1883) p 140; (1899) p. 158; (1900) p. 160; (1913) pp. 244-5; (1924) pp. 192-3; (1930) p. 168; (1931) p. 172; (1932) p. 172; (1933) p. 172; (1934) p. 172; (1936) p. 181; (1938) p. 187; (1939) p. 187.

10. Ibid. (1931) p. 172.

11. In this connection it is worth noting that the priory has Albert Tozer, *The Proper of the Mass,* Vol. 1 (Fischer and Bro., New York, 1905/1934R/1949R). However, a note in the flyleaf indicates that this was bought for a 'Mr Quigley', the organist, on 1 August, 1953.

12. Hyacinth M. Corner, OP (Ed.), *Ecclesiasticum Officium juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum auctoritate Apostolica approbatum. Triduo Ante Pascha et Dominica Resurrectionis*. (Vatican Press, Rome, 1927). *Graduale juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum,* (Vatican Press, Rome, 1928). Hyancinth M. Corner OP (Ed.), *Processionale juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Vatican Press, Rome, 1930). *Antiphonarium sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum*. (In Hospitio Generalis, Rome, 1933).

13. Mark Anthony Brulé and A.V. Jandel (Eds.), *Antiphonarium juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum,* (H. Dessain and P.J. Hanicq Mechlin). The preface states that this was an updated version of the Dominican antiphoner published in 1736 dedicated to Clement XII.

14. [Dominic Willson OSB (Ed.)]: *Plainsong for Schools*. Part 1 and 2, (Liverpool, 1930 and 1934).

15. Justin Field OP, *The Simplicity of Plainsong*. (J. Fischer and Bro., New York, No. 6483. 1931). See also James Harrison OP: *How to Sing Plainchant, Chiefly for Dominican Choirs.* (St Dominic's Press, Ditchley, 1920).

16. In addition there are two other references to the singing of a group of hymns.

17. Andrews (1948) p. 97.

18. To cope with the fact that composers' lives often do not fit neatly into consecutive fifty-year periods, a system of overlapping fifty and hundred-year time spans has been adopted. Thus, whereas Mozart (1756-1791) falls into the 1751-1800 slot, Palestrina (1525-1594) belongs to the period 1501-1600. Similarly Lorenzo Perosi (1872-1956) has been assigned to the period 1851-1950.

19. Most of the music in this period was composed before 1914.

20. For an English translation see Richard Terry, *The Music of the Roman Rite,* (1931) pp. 253-63.

21. For example, works by Smith and Seymour can be found in the collections from St Augustine's, Preston, St Gregory's, Preston and St Mary's, Burnley. The first two are stored in the Talbot Library, Preston.

22. Richard Terry, *Catholic Church Music,* (1907) pp. 59, 178-9, 183, 192, 196.

23. Andrews, (1948), pp. 61, 71-2, 76, 83-9, 104-112.

24. Better known today as the setting *If Ye Love Me*.

25. These are Viadana's *Aestimatus Sum*, *Caligaverunt Oculi Mei*, and *Recessit Pastor Noster*.

26. Franz Xavier Haberl (Ed.), *Palestrina Werke* Supplement 3, (Breitkopf and Haertel, Leipzig, 1892). The set of volumes at Downside is the only original complete set that I know. A reprinted set dating from after 1945 can be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. There is also an incomplete set in Douai Abbey Library where the Swinburnes, organists at St Dominic's, were educated. However, this does not include the supplements where these Responsories can be found and, in any case, they were originally obtained by a Benedictine based at Malvern.

27. Charles Proske (Ed.), *Musica Divina sive thesaurus concentium selectissima omni cultui divina totui anni,* Vol.1 (Masses) (Ratisbon 1853); Vol. 4. Liber Vespertinus (Ratisbon 1863)

28. The same point probably applies for performances of Byrd's *Mass in Four Parts*, which until Edmund Fellowes' Stainer and Bell edition of 1922 was only available in limited quantities in W.S. Rockstro & William Barclay Squire (Eds.) Byrd: *Mass in Four Parts*. (Novello & Co., 1890). Terry had access to this version at Downside; Andrews (1948) p. 46.

29. Sheridan Gilley, 'The years of equipoise 1892-1943', Vincent Alan McLelland and Michael Hodgetts (Eds.), *From Without the Flaminian Gate. 150 years of Catholicism in England and Wales 1850-2000* (1999) p. 21. Gilley, by discounting the significance of the Modernist controversy, argues that this was a feature not just of the 1930s, but of the whole period between 1892 and 1943.

THE ORGAN IN ST DOMINIC'S PRIORY CHURCH, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

Peter Locke

Records testify to a small instrument (presumably second-hand) in St Dominic's following its opening. Undoubtedly, however, the music of this church (which was for many years noted for its choral tradition) was seen as sufficiently important to warrant a new organ of substantial proportions, and, perhaps above all, to be constructed by craftsmen of the first rank. In 1873, a proposal for a large, three-manual and pedal organ was submitted by the firm of T.C. Lewis, one of the great nineteenth-century organ builders. A few years earlier Lewis had secured a foothold in Catholic Newcastle through his construction of the organ for the new cathedral of St Mary on Clayton Street West. This was, by contemporary accounts, an exceptionally fine instrument, and it might not be too much to say that its success may have influenced the authorities at St Dominic's in considering Lewis for the construction of a new organ for the priory church.

In submitting his proposal, Lewis envisaged an installation on a grand scale. It was to have forty speaking stops distributed over three manuals and pedals, with the pipework of the Great and Pedal situated on three separate soundboards: one for the smaller scale fluework, the second for the larger scale fluework, and the third for the reeds. This was a characteristic feature of a number of Lewis's larger instruments; he generally surpassed his British contemporaries with such organised and sophisticated internal arrangements. It is only possible to speculate on what might have been if this project had been realised. Certainly it would have been a magnificent instrument, as anyone who has heard Lewis's ringing Diapason choruses can confirm[1]. But nothing came of his proposal, and ten years would pass before St Dominic's would get the instrument of the scale and quality required, albeit on a more modest scale.

It was not to Lewis that the Dominicans turned for their new instrument, however, but to the celebrated Henry Willis (1821-1901) the founder of a dynasty of organ builders which continued into the twentieth-century, notably in Henry Willis (III), the builder of the organ in Westminster Cathedral. Henry Willis (I) remains perhaps the most significant figure in the development of the British organ during the nineteenth century and, while his position as the first-among-equals of the great English organ builders may owe a little to the vagaries of posterity, time (not to mention the passing whims of organists and organ consultants), has been less favourable to Lewis's work – the fate of the organ in the St Mary's cathedral being a case in point. Willis's pre-eminent position can be justified by the sheer volume of his output and the consistently high tonal and mechanical quality which he was able to maintain. Importantly, he had the resources to build large instruments for high profile ecclesiastical and public establishments in and around the capital[2] and the provinces[3] as well as organs in churches, cathedrals and concert halls from the south-west of England to the Highlands of Scotland. Whilst many of these instruments have undergone mechanical modifications and enlargement of their tonal resources, the essential tonal characteristics of the originals remain substantially intact and discernible. The epithet 'Father' was bestowed on Henry Willis in recognition of the high

standards of craftsmanship and artistic excellence he achieved in organ building.'

Willis built two substantial instruments for Dominican churches in England during 1883: one for the church at Haverstock Hill in London, and a slightly smaller instrument for the church in Newcastle. Of note in the specification of the Haverstock Hill organ is the more substantial pedal division, which includes a three-rank Mixture. Willis had different factors to accommodate in Newcastle: a smaller building, a less resonant acoustic, and consequently a slightly more modest tonal scheme. The physical situation of the organ will also have presented a challenge. The issue of the siting of an organ in a Victorian Catholic church is an interesting one, and merits some discussion.

Visitors to St Dominic's will notice the gallery above the porch. This presumably would have been considered as a location for a *schola* and a (modest sized) organ. This was the general practice in Catholic parish churches at the time in England and America.[4] Organs were required to accompany comparatively simple choral settings of the Ordinary of the Mass, and to accompany the plainsong – often no more than the Proper recited to a psalm-tone. As far as the resources of the organ and the technical equipment of the organist would permit, the other role of the instrument would be for the organist to provide preludes and interludes (and perhaps a final postlude) at appropriate points during divine service.

At St Dominic's, however, the sung liturgy was performed not by a parish *schola* in a gallery, but by the community 'in choir'. The requirement would therefore have been for an organ situated near or in the choir, and close to the singers. In theory, and taking into account the quality and style of much of the Latin choral music sung at the time, a small and indeed quite indifferent instrument could have been deemed sufficient for the requirements of the sung liturgy. The authorities at St Dominic's were, however, obviously well informed enough to realise that such an instrument would be useless if called upon to support a large congregation in the nave, and would be hopelessly inadequate in any substantial solo role. If it was at all considered, it would have been deemed neither necessary or desirable to have both an accompanimental organ in the choir, together with a grand organ in the west gallery for solo playing. It is also doubtful whether such an arrangement would have survived intact to this day. In any case, this would seem an unusual concept for organ builders – and organists – steeped in the British tradition of combining the requirements of a choir-accompanimental and 'grand' organ in the one instrument. So, as at Haverstock Hill, it was decided to have a substantial instrument located close to the choir. In both churches, the organ is situated in an ecclesiastical north-easterly situation. This appears to have been the preference of Willis in many churches of similar proportions. An additional problem for Willis in Newcastle was the space available for this fairly substantial instrument. Alterations were made to St Joseph's chapel in order to create a space behind in which the instrument could be installed. Looking from the ecclesiastical south side of the sanctuary, one can see easily how the instrument appears to have been 'shoe-horned' into the small space available. It seems as if the whole instrument should be slightly further

forward (ecclesiastically westwards). One can only speculate as to how happy Willis was with this.

Notwithstanding the constraints of the available space, Willis succeeded in building a first-class instrument in both tonal and mechanical respects. In his own words, he built an organ 'to be similar in scale and power to, and to have all the excellencies of, the instrument at Haverstock Hill'. It is worth mentioning some features of this instrument which make it, from the historical standpoint, noteworthy. Tonally, the organ shows Willis's characteristic features and distribution of registers for an organ of this size. Thus it provides a fine local example of Willis's tonal thinking and his tonal ideals, which reflect a certain degree of conservatism (for example, in his adherence to the English type of Diapason chorus culminating in a 'Sesquialtera' Mixture), coupled with a broad view of the symphonic nature of the nineteenth-century instrument. The tonal scheme has been subjected to no alterations whatsoever, and contains many fine examples of Willis's flue and reed voicing. Mechanically, the organ retains the original key to pipe mechanism. Importantly, this mechanism includes the Willis patent 'Pneumatic Lever' action, which acts on the 'Great' key action and coupling. This represented an improvement on existing systems (the pneumatic lever was already in widespread use: notably in the organs of Cavaille-Coll), and it is a testimony to Willis's engineering skill and innovation that this mechanism is still working.

From 1959 to 1989 the organ was in the care of the distinguished firm of Harrison & Harrison of Durham. However, apart from the addition of an electric blowing apparatus, and the furnishing of the flue pipes with tuning-slides, the organ received no major attention outside the usual run of tuning and maintenance visits until 1990, when a partial overhaul was undertaken by John Lightbown of Tynemouth. This appears to have consisted largely of releathering the pneumatic levers of the Great action and coupling, releathering the pneumatic motors of the pedal division, together with some cleaning and repair work. In 1997 the organ returned to the care of Harrison & Harrison. Today, the organ is in far from pristine condition. Dirt continues to accumulate in the interior and much of the pipework is in a dilapidated condition. Aside from physical repairs to the pipework, the pipe speech needs to be re-set. Furthermore, continuing deterioration in the leatherwork of the wind reservoirs points to the increasing likelihood of eventual total failure in the winding system.[5] Nevertheless, this invaluable one hundred and twenty year-old organ continues to attract acclaim from far and wide, and is increasingly used for recitals and teaching. It still adorns the sung liturgies of the Church, even though these have changed enormously since the organ was installed. On account of its size, age and tonal characteristics it remains perhaps the premier Willis organ in the north-east.[6]

Notes and References

1. Exemplified in St George's church, in Cullercoats, his only surviving unaltered organ in the north-east. There is a restored three-manual Lewis instrument in St Hilda's, South Shields).

2. The organ in St Paul's Cathedral, and that in the Alexandra Palace are two examples.

3. The organ in Durham Cathedral is a local example.

4. Catholic churches in France remain famous for their magnificent west-gallery organs; these, however, were conceived for a predominantly solo role. Smaller organs within the sanctuary or apse accompanied the *schola*.

5. The organ at Haverstock Hill was restored some years ago by Manders of London.

6. The most recent *Visitor's Guide* to St Dominic's, by Michael Johnston, has the following note: 'To the left of the chancel stands the Father Willis organ, installed in 1883 by the firm of Henry Willis and Sons, at a cost of £1,350. It replaced a smaller organ. It is a 3 manual instrument of 30 speaking stops including a clear chorus, fine orchestral voices and a variety of flute and string tones. The organ has not been rebuilt and the original console and action are intact.'

PORTRAIT OF A RECUSANT LADY

A.M.C. Forster

[Reprinted with permission from *Ushaw Magazine* 65 (1956)]

Ten years after Elizabeth I ascended the English throne, her government was persuaded — and not without reason — that the Catholic Church in England was on its deathbed. Ten years later, the very existence of the government-founded 'National Church' was at stake. Cuthbert Mayne had already died and one hundred and twelve more of his brethren from Douai College were to give their lives before the end of the Queen's reign. Nor were they alone in their heroism: Edmund Campion, the proto-martyr of the English Jesuits and scores of otherwise obscure English men and women died willingly to defend, in Campion's words: 'All that was once the glory of England, the island of saints and the most devoted child of the see of Peter.'

But what of the comparatively obscure Catholics who did not die, whose names are best known to us through the recusancy lists? Not all of them are heroic in the usually accepted meaning of the word, yet this must not be denied them: they kept the faith which they could so very easily have abandoned. And because of this, they, the immediate spiritual children of the martyrs, are indeed our parents in God. Such a one was Mrs. Rebecca Salvin.

She was born Rebecca Collingwood, about 1563, one of the eldest of fourteen. Her father, of Eslington in the valley of the Aln (where presumably she was born) held land at Whittingham, Titlington and Ryle in Northumberland. Her mother was Dorothy Bowes, of Dalden in County Durham, who brought to her husband land in Dalden and the manor of Eppleden. Rebecca would, most likely, have been baptised in the parish church of Whittingham, then served by a Marian priest, Sir Richard Kitching. He had been installed in 1556, and was to continue there till his death in 1573. His religion, and the religion of his flock, it is perhaps difficult to define. By tradition and conviction they were Catholic, with only the formal acceptance of a certain oath, and of a new form of service, read in the English tongue, to distinguish them from their forefathers. We, who view them in perspective, see in that very acceptance the act of apostasy which cut them off from the Catholic Church.

Sir Cuthbert Collingwood had followed the times and drifted into conformity. He was a busy and harrassed man, striving to keep peace on the Border at a time when it had never been more turbulent. Raids and forays were everyday occurrences. In 1587 the Scots came down to the very doors of Eslington, killed several men and carried off a son of the house, Sir Cuthbert himself narrowly escaping capture.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, that Rebecca Collingwood, when first we make her acquaintance, was living, not at Eslington but in County Durham. She emerges as a person with definite views of her own. She had ceased to drift with the times, rejected all forms of compromise, and *refused* to attend the service of the established Church. She was a *Recusant.* Her name, together with those of William Blakiston and his wife, appears in a list of recusants of Blakiston in the parish of Norton, convicted 4th July, 1597, and fined

£80 each.[2] The William Blakiston with whom she had found a home, was her first cousin, their mothers being sisters. His wife was Alice Claxton, a relative of the William Claxton of Waterhouse, in whose house John Boste was taken in 1596. The Blakistons were convicted more than once, and in 1593 two thirds of all their property in Dalden, Chilton, Coxhoe, Blakiston, Fulthorpe and Winyard, were seized into the hands of the Queen.[3]

In 1597 Rebecca Collingwood was married to Thomas Salvin, of the family of Croxdale, an old and honourable family. Anthony Salvin, a pioneer of recusants, refused to take the Oath on the accession of Elizabeth, and was deprived of all his benefices.[4] He had been a prebendary of Durham, and Vicar General. Thomas was his nephew. At the time of the latter's marriage with Rebecca he was an elderly widower in affluent circumstances, who had connections with the city of Durham; possibly he had had a mercantile career there. He lived in some comfort, and set up his coach, a luxury at that period when most ladies of Rebecca's station were content to travel riding pillion behind a man-servant. She must have been something of a personage when she went visiting among the family circle; and what a circle it was, with Claverings, Carnabys, Thorntons, Swinburnes and Forcers all included! It was possibly either at Croxdale, or in the city, in the quarter of Elvet which she came to know so well, that the first years of her married life were spent. Knowing some of the incidents of those years, we can only conjecture how they would affect her. There was the terrible epidemic of 1597 which swept through the county, and carried off many victims in Durham city. There was the martyrdom there, in 1600, of the priest Thomas Palliser and his companions, John Talbot and John Norton, which she may have witnessed. Such a thing is not improbable, for the last named gentleman was a sort of connection of her own, his kinswoman, Joane Norton, having married Gerard Salvin, Rebecca's brother-in-law. Then in 1603 there was the visit of King James, travelling south on his accession to the throne. He stayed four days in Durham, feted by the city. Possibly the coach and horses rumbled across Elvet bridge, bearing Rebecca in all her finery to do honour to the occasion. She would go to the festivities with a good heart, for to the Catholics it seemed that, with the passing of the old Queen, better days might be in store for them, a hope so soon to be dispelled.

Shortly after this, Thomas Salvin bought a house and land at Heworth in the parish of Aycliffe, and Thornton Hall in Coniscliffe. To the latter place the family removed, and in 1609 'Rebecca wife of Thomas Salvin of Thornton, gentleman' was convicted again.[5] He died there that same year, and from his will we get some idea of his character. We gather that he had conformed, but was without bigotry or prejudice. He seems to have been an affectionate husband and a kindly and charitable man. He remembers the poor, and especially the 'poor prisoners'. Possibly there were friends of his own imprisoned in the North Bailey in those days. Among the bequests to his wife are the coach and horses; then he goes on to say,

> For that my said wife is not capable of dower thirds or jointure, being not obedient to the lawes, yet my heartie desire… is during the minority of my said sonne she be

found with all things necessarie for her and in as good sorte as she haith been maynteyned in my time, and after my sonne shall come of aidge, I bequeath him to do the like, as in all dewtye and nature he is bounde. And I doubte nothing but he will…[6]

Rebecca was left with a family of five, ranging from John, aged twelve years, to Peter aged three months. A sixth child, Dorothy, had died the previous year. She remained at Thornton Hall and proceeded, despite the difficulties of the times, to bring up her children in her own faith, taking her eldest boy away from a Protestant school and sending him to a seminary abroad.[7] She was still living at Thornton in 1615, when she was again convicted, at the Sessions of the Peace at Durham, on 19th April, and fined £60.[8] After this we lose sight of her, until her next recorded conviction, which was in 1628, when she was described as of the parish of St. Oswald's, Durham.[9] Her sons John and Robert, and their wives, were also convicted. Within the next year or so, all three compounded, i.e., agreed to pay an annual sum, calculated at two thirds of the revenue from their lands, in lieu of fines.[10] Rebecca compounded for £15 per annum; John, who held a portion of the Heworth estate, for £3; and Robert for £2 per annum on property in Raby, held possibly in right of his wife. In 1632, we find Rebecca's portion of Heworth farmed out to a certain Gabriel Redman, who speculated widely in recusants' lands. He rented her two thirds, estimated as worth £4 a year, for an annual payment to the Crown of £1.6.8., any money collected in excess of this to be retained to his own use.[11]

Some time before 1636 Thornton Hall was sold, and in the years which followed, Rebecca was investing money. For £1,000 she bought two rent-charges, payable for life, of £40 each. Another £1,000 was lent on bond to her nephew, Sir Henry Anderson, Alderman of Newcastle. She had also a rent-charge out of Dalden, amounting to £56 a year. Altogether she was not badly off, even though, as a recusant, she forfeited two thirds of her income. In fact she no longer appears as the poor widow, dependent for her maintenance on the good will of her son. Possibly he had treated her with a generosity which he was afterwards to rue, for at some time during the years 1630-1640 John Salvin abandoned the Catholic faith, and his mother adopted a course which she doubtless hoped might bring him to his senses: she cut off supplies and drew the purse-strings tight.

Under these circumstances he allowed himself to be drawn into a highly questionable affair. In 1642 a Mr. Peter Smart of Durham who had been formerly victimized on account of his Puritan tendencies, was having his revenge upon Dr. John Cosin, a prominent Anglican divine, charging him with having indulged in ritualistic and popish ceremonies.[12] During the impeachment of Dr. Cosin, John Salvin appeared as a witness against him. Further, he alleged that his mother and her brother George Collingwood, against whose injustice he bitterly protested, were living, as other papists, under the protection and encouragement of Dr. Cosin.[13] The whole statement reads like the violent invective of some hot Puritan, such as Mr. Smart himself, and a reasonable conclusion seems to be that John Salvin, possibly for

a consideration, and caring nothing for Dr. Cosin and his popish ways, merely lent it the support of his name. He was certainly in low water, financially, at the time. Whatever the truth of the matter, it must have occasioned his mother deep distress.

Rebecca was then living in Elvet, possibly in the house occupied by her son Robert, and she must have been well acquainted with the young Jesuit priest who was sheltered by the Forcers at the Harberhouse, just outside Durham, and who attended to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in the district. He was a slight, delicate looking man, this priest, with a quiet voice and a pleasant smile. He was always welcome wherever he went, but most at home in the houses of the very poor. He would travel into Durham on foot, meanly dressed and looking like a bailiff or upper servant, and to the child or domestic who opened the door to him he would hand his stick, requesting gravely that his *horse* might be well looked after. His name was Ralph Corby, and when he was ordained priest and sent to Durham in 1632,[14] he was, in a sense, returning home, for, though most of his life had been spent out of England, his grandfather, whose name he bore, had lived at Hett, and ended his life of a hundred years, in Durham City.[15] The priest had a wonderful family record: two brothers in the Society, two sisters Benedictines, his father and mother also in religion, he a Jesuit laybrother, she a Benedictine nun at Ghent.

The first action of the Civil War was fought in Durham in 1640, when the army of Scottish Covenanters under Lesley crossed the Tyne at Newburn, routed an English force opposed to them in Stella haugh, and occupied the whole of Northumberland and Durham. Panic was widespread. Mines ceased working, quaysides were deserted, shops put up their shutters and people fled from their homes. The Covenanters, at the beginning, behaved in an orderly manner, refraining from looting property, that of the Papists only excepted. Later, for their own maintenance, they levied a general contribution, and confiscated the revenues of the See and Cathedral of Durham.

To meet the growing need for money, Parliament, in 1642, adopted the policy of sequestration. *Delinquents,* i.e., those engaged in arms against the Parliament, were punished by total sequestration of their estates. *Recusants* were subject to the old penalty of two thirds forfeiture; many of these were delinquents also, and so lost all. Rebecca, as a woman and eighty years of age, was classed as a recusant. She was still legally entitled to her third; but it failed to reach her, for those who should have paid the money, had other uses for it. She began to be in need.

In 1644 the Scots again invaded England, and as the final stages of the campaign were fought out, twice the Royalist forces were beaten back to the gates of Durham. She must have grown accustomed to the sight of hungry men clamouring at the doors for food and billets: the food all too scarce, the billets all too unhealthy! The epidemic which broke out in those days raged for the best part of two years and left gaps in many a home. From ‘Mr. Salvyne’s house’ a nameless soldier was carried to his grave;[16] the plague perhaps had brushed her very skirts! Yet she lived on: lived to weep for the young of her race, cut off in their prime, Gerard Salvin at Northallerton

and Francis at Marston Moor, Sir John Clavering in a London gaol, Benedict Collingwood at Naseby. Perhaps the greatest shock of all was in July, 1644, a week after the disaster of Marston Moor. A party of soldiers of the Parliament cleaning up the Derwent valley, reached Hamsterley, once the home of her sister Anne Swinburne. There they came on Fr. Ralph Corby, just preparing to say his Mass, and carried him off, still vested as he was, to Sunderland, whence he was sent by sea to London, He was martyred at Tyburn the September following.

King Charles went to the scaffold, and a Protector ruled in his stead. Under the Committee for Compounding the sequestrations went on. In 1653 Rebecca's case came up, and she settled down to fight for her rights.[17] On 2nd December she submitted her case, stating her sources of income, and begging that the third part allowed her by law might be paid her; but her income was largely derived from interest on loans, and her debtors, themselves penalised and bankrupt, were unable to pay. Moreover, portions of her estate were claimed on behalf of relatives, in particular three grandchildren, Rebecca Horsley, Dorothy Crouch and Thomas Salvin. The case dragged on and, on 3rd August, 1654, a plea was put in: 'Mrs. Salvin begs despatch, having hardly bread to put in her mouth.'

About this time, however, John Salvin reappeared in a more favourable light. He had succeeded, in 1651, in making over his property at Heworth to his kinsman, Robert Collingwood, and his son-in-law, Gilbert Crouch, in trust for his children, reserving to himself an annual allowance of £56. In this way the estate was freed from sequestration.[18] Having thus provided for his family, he was free to follow his conscience; for when, as a condition of his retaining his income under the trust, he was tendered the Oath of Abjuration,[19] he refused to take it, and thereby forfeited two thirds of his allowance. He was, once more, a recusant, and we can only hope that his mother had the happiness of knowing it.

At last, on 9th January, 1655, the Committee for Compounding issued an order that a statement regarding the debts of Mrs. Salvin be drawn up and submitted to the Lord Protector. After this, as the weeks passed and grew into months, she must have waited, sick at heart and weary of life. We get a last impression of her, an old woman, looking out upon the ruins of the world she had known, the destruction and beggary of her own caste, the hopelessness of everything! An old woman, not perhaps particularly wise nor extraordinarily saintly, with a quality of hardness that was so necessary, yet could have such regrettable results, but one who had had the wisdom to choose the *unum necessarium,* and the courage, at all costs, to hold on to it; for this surely, many sins will have been forgiven her.

So, with little more than her memories to support her, she waited for the end. What memories they were! The tramping of armies, the passing of kings, bells pealing for the defeat of the Armada, homesteads ablaze along the Border. As she, whose life had spanned so wide a gulf of time, drifted out onto the ocean of eternity, what was the sound that lingered in her ears? Was it the wailing of the hungry child below or the

calling of the curlews over the green vale of Aln? They laid her to rest in St. Oswald's, on 10th January, 1656.

Notes and References

1. Bain, Calendar of Border Papers, vol I, p. 571.

2. Recusancy Rolls, Pipe Series E. 377/9.

3. Ibid R. 377/8.

4. Surtees Society vol 139 p. 113.

5. Pipe Series E 377/17

6. Surtees Society vol. 142 p. 41.

7. *Petition of John Salvin,* Richardson, *Reprints and Imprints, Hist.* vol. I.

8. *Recusants of 1614* (List printed for Sir C. Sharp).

9. Sharp Mss, 110, Prior's Kitchen, Durham. The Recusancy Rolls for these years have not yet been properly consulted.

10. Ushaw Composition Mss, pp. 48, 89.

11. Pipe Series E. 377/41.

12. Surtees Society vol. 34, Appendix A, pp. 197 *et seq*.

13. Richardson, op. cit.

14. Foley, *Records* vol. III pp. 68 *et seq*

15. 'Jan 5, 1617, Ralph Corbie, late of Hett' buried. Parish Register, St Oswald's, Durham. He had some association with the Salvin family. In a letter to his son Gerard (Bl. Ralph's father) dated May 1591, he says: 'I doe serve my mr. Salven still'.

16. Parish Register, St Oswald's, Durham.

17. Surtees Society, vol. 111, pp. 328 *et seq*.

18. ibid, p. 327.

19. The wording of the oath is given in full at ibid p. 411.

CAVEAT FOR A CARDINAL: THE PUBLIC LIFE OF USHAW'S MERRY del VAL
Part 3, RELATIONSHIP WITH USHAW COLLEGE

David Milburn

Institutions mark us for life. Ushaw College in its time has produced a not insignificant number of priests and laymen who shook off the dust from their feet as they left and never returned. At the other extreme there have been those for whom the college became a surrogate mother, and who at every turn took the opportunity of re-living their happy days there. It is well known that Cardinal Merry del Val retained close links with Ushaw from the time he set foot inside its walls in 1883 until his untimely death in 1930. Whatever the explanation for it, during the brief period at the college he undoubtedly developed a highly emotional life-long attachment to Ushaw. It is as though he left his heart there. Paradoxically, the more he was pushed up the hierarchical ladder, the more the place seemed to attract him. Only twice, however, once in 1893 and then in 1927, did he manage to return – albeit briefly. His letters preserved at Ushaw seem to me, at any rate, to demonstrate how much this northern bastion of Catholicism helped to shape his outlook. The rigidity of the Ushaw system served only to exaggerate the conservatism he inherited from his family, closing his mind to anything that might possibly be construed as liberal, while the intense happiness he found there managed to sustain his spirits throughout years of exacting public service for which he sensed himself to be temperamentally unsuited. Considering that the young man resided at the college for less than two years, this is perhaps a surprising claim to make, but let the reader decide. *Tolle lege*.

The strenuous efforts of Mgr Charles Newsham,[1] its fifth president (1837-63), brought Ushaw College to the forefront of the English Catholic educational institutions, in the process outraging those of the new northern bishops appointed in the wake of the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850 who had hoped to own and manage the college. Side-lined by Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop William Hogarth of Hexham both of whom strongly supported Newsham's claim to independence, they found a champion in the bullish Bishop of Liverpool, Alexander Goss, who in 1858 appealed to Rome for a ruling on the matter. Five years later, shortly after Newsham's death, Rome decided in favour of the co-interested bishops.

One writer has referred to Ushaw under Newsham's direction as the 'Athens of the North', and it is to their credit that the new bishop-governors did not immediately abandon his aim of producing well-educated laymen as well as priests. Yet, as time went on, such was the pressure to seek a substantial increase in the number of priests to serve the needs of a rapidly expanding Catholic population in the new industrial areas of northern England that lay students had to cede place to students destined for the priesthood. By the 1870s, despite the opposition of the bishop of the local diocese of Hexham, the governors took a decision to raise the fees for lay students at the college, thus accelerating the process by which some of the colleges owned by the English religious orders had begun to challenge Ushaw's educational supremacy. Though the number of students at Ushaw continued to rise, (necessitating an

extension to the refectory to over one hundred feet in 1876, and the replacement of the 1847 Pugin chapel by one three times it size from the designs of Dunn and Hansom in the 1880s) the proportion of lay students fell off dramatically. Actually, the new chapel was long overdue, but it stands today as a memorial to Ushaw's seismic shift away from a top public school to a seminary for the training of priests, and a regional seminary at that, governed by the co-interested members of the northern hierarchy. During the building work begun in the spring of 1882 all but the youngest students in the community used Newsham's 1856 pleasantly proportioned museum as a temporary chapel, and it was here that the young student Raphael Merry del Val joined the other students in their prayers when he arrived at Ushaw on the 10 October 1883, his eighteenth birthday.

There, among the superiors with whom he would be in daily contact, were: Mgr William Wrennall, president, James Lennon,vice-president (whom, incidentally, the bishop-governors chose to succeed Wrennall when he resigned in the November of 1885 in protest against the increase of fees for lay students), Thomas Croskell, procurator, Robert Thornton, prefect of discipline and the priest who would teach him, Arthur de Stoop, who joined the staff in 1882 and left in 1885. Among the students about his own age were: Joe Broadhead, his future correspondent, the future bishops Richard Collins, Francis Mostyn and Richard (Dick) Preston, as well as the future historian Horace Mann. Arthur Hinsley a future cardinal archbishop of Westminster, was somewhat younger, as was one of the college's most eminent laymen, Joe Scott, who came to prominence in the U.S.A. as prosecutor in the Charlie Chaplin paternity case in the mid-twentieth century. With the new academic year already six weeks old, Raphael's name is found along with those of others at the end of the already completed list of staff and students officially recorded in the college diary. It is from this source that we know (presumably after some sort of interview and assessment) that he was placed, not in the first year of philosophy, as might have been expected, but in the second. It may be that he had already completed part of the philosophy course in Belgium before returning to England, or perhaps the authorities had instructions to shorten his course in anticipation of his eventual move to Rome Whatever the reason, it meant that he forfeited the chance of beginning studies for a B.A. at London University.

This aristocratic and sometimes abstracted foreigner with sad eyes seems to have settled in very quickly, eager to play a full part in community life. It is recorded that as an enthusiastic tennis player he was appalled by the state of the court allotted to the theologians, and in his second year at the college along with others he set about repairing and extending it to an officially recognised size. He seems to have some success, because the *Ushaw Magazine* launched in 1891 regularly records the results of inter-class regular games. Other sports which interested him were swimming, cricket and riding. It goes without saying that he had to forego the horses during term, but it is also true that he lost out on swimming and cricket, because both the covered-in pool and cricket pavilion came a full ten years later, largely owing to the interest of Thomas Wilkinson who combined his work as the local bishop with the presidency of Ushaw. The students of Merry del Val's day used an open-air pool in the Deerness

valley below the college. On one occasion Raphael, always ready for a challenge, accepted a dare to crack the ice and swim a few strokes. The same spirit also induced the young man to try his hand at the college's traditional game of 'cat', struck out each year on St Cuthbert's Day (20 March). Played with a ball of pitch and tar, cat sometimes led to severe injury; Lafcadio Hearn, whose writings are still revered by the Japanese, lost one of his eyes in the game and Merry del Val, too, suffered permanent injury to one of his hands. While in Canada as Apostolic Delegate in 1895, he was able to see the extent of the damage for himself on one of the earliest X-ray plates to be taken, the process having been introduced that same year.

The young man also played the piano and enjoyed acting. During his brief sojourn at the college he took part in at least two time-consuming productions. If they were meant for general entertainment they would have been staged in Newsham's 'Exhibition' hall of 1849-51, a relatively small room which had been the college's first chapel, gothicised and adorned with a hammer-beam roof, designed to add solemnity to the annual theological examinations to which guests were invited. (It was extended and equipped with a stage in 1889.) The young Merry del Val enjoyed his stay at Ushaw. At the same time he began to love all things English, his spiritual life developing an understanding of the past sufferings of English Catholics and a deep devotion to the priest-martyrs of Douai College. The camaraderie he experienced at the college stood him in good stead during all his years in Rome where he felt himself to be (and was treated by the other curial officials as) an outsider.

In the new academic year of 1884 he should have begun to study theology. Instead, though tonsured and given the four minor orders, he was put to teaching French mainly to juniors but his task extended, according to Godfrey Dix, a distinguished layman who used to visit the college in the 1940s and 1950s to at least one older class (Poetry). Dix remembered his teacher as dignified and genial He was not the only French master: one of the priests, Francis Mostyn later bishop, had overall charge, and under him Merry del Val worked *ex parte* as the diary puts it, alongside an older student, James Milburn. Though officially in his first year of theology, the likelihood is that during his time at Ushaw Merry del Val never had to open a book of theology. The custom of student teachers stretched back to Douai. They eventually took up their theology studies, but up to three years later, depending how long they had been kept back to teach. However, though not obliged to attend, out of curiosity the young Merry del Val may well have seized the opportunity of listening to the equally young Wilfrid Ward,who had been a student at Ushaw 1878-1881, and returned there in 1884 at the request of the English bishops to lecture on 'Modern Infidelity.'[2] Teaching the young boys in the Junior Seminary (another of Newsham's building enterprises) led Merry del Val to take an interest in their patron St Aloysius, about whose life he later contributed an article to the very first issue of the *Ushaw Magazine* to mark the third centenary of the saint's death. The same edition contained an account of the Catholic Colleges' pilgrimage to Rome that year, in which the young Mgr Merry del Val is mentioned welcoming the Durham contingent at Rome's railway station and later presenting its members to Pope Leo XIII in private audience.

(By this date he had been appointed as one of the customary four private papal chamberlains.) That same year at a special audience for the English pilgrims led by Cardinal Vaughan, the Duke of Norfolk and a number of English bishops including the retired Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, Henry O'Callaghan, he read out the pope's Latin response to Vaughan's profession of loyalty behalf of English Catholics. This done, the pope requested him to summarise it in English, which he did very much to the satisfaction to the thousand pilgrims present. Other than that, however, and mainly on account of the fragile state of health of the pope (who was celebrating his golden jubilee as a bishop) he had to excuse himself from the various activities of what had been up to that time the largest English pilgrimage ever to visit Rome.

The college diary does not specify the date of Merry del Val's departure from Ushaw. As he was bound for Rome in the autumn, he may have left before the end of the summer term, but the presumption surely must be that he stayed on to see his pupils through their examinations and, if so, the likelihood is that he left with the rest of the staff and students on 30 July 1885 at the end of the annual Exhibition Week (known later as Grand Week) celebrations, which that year included the formal opening of the new St Cuthbert's chapel (without its elaborate 'wedding cake' altar erected in 1891. He would see that on his return to the college in 1893).

At last we can turn to the cardinal's correspondence with his school friend Joe Broadhead.[3] When Broadhead entered Ushaw in 1874 at the age of thirteen he joined a class well known for its solidarity and friendship. From 1884, while still a student, he taught mathematics to the juniors until March 1889 when he was hurriedly ordained so that he could join the senior staff as Prefect of Discipline in the House, that is, all the students from about fourteen through to those in philosophy aged eighteen to twenty. In 1895, five years into Bishop Thomas Wilkinson's presidency, he became college procurator, a no mean task to undertake at a time of financial instability, but it was an office in which excelled and held until his death in 1929, despite growing ill health. Courteous and affable, Wilkinson struck up an immediate and lasting friendship with the young Merry del Val. The Ushaw alumnus Joe Scott later remarked on their closeness, recalling how they always hurried in tandem to their respective duties in the Junior House. Actually, they had much in common, including an interest in and ability at games as well as a talent for acting. According to a list compiled later, Joe Broadhead took part in *Les Cloches de Corneville* in 1882 and, according to later recollection, on 3 January 1884 he played the villain in the philosophers' production of the popular melodrama *The Ticket of Leave Man* alongside Merry del Val as the detective Alfred Edwards, though neither of their names appear on the playbill. Broadhead, like most of his predecessors (and successors), put buildings first; his heart lay in its sticks and stones, and likely as not he more than anyone else stimulated Merry del Val's abiding (and some would think unhealthy) interest in all things Ushavian. Joe Scott's remark about Broadhead that 'No one represented the spirit of Ushaw more truly than this robust soul' certainly rings true. We sense as much in the letters Merry del Val wrote to him, the salient points of which may now be quoted.

Some of the letters are typed on the official notepaper of the Secretariat of State, but most are handwritten on plain paper but the collection is probably incomplete. Shortly after the cardinal's death in 1930, his friend Mother Forbes of the Society of the Sacred Heart had set about writing a memoir of his life and was loaned the collection by one of the teaching staff, Edward Towers, who had studied theology in Rome at the height of the modernist scare and, on returning to the college to teach, had been instrumental in putting an end to the college's brief flirtation with the University of Durham. In the spring of 1931, Mgr Canali, the cardinal's former private secretary (and now his executor) wrote to Mgr William Brown, the Ushaw president, that having read a rough draft of Mother Forbes' text he took exception to the way she had disclosed matters of a most confidential nature, such as certain countries, and the names of political leaders still living. He pointed out that they were private letters and never intended for publication. Since their publication might revive past animosities, would Mgr Brown do what he could to right matters? As we have it today, the cardinal's correspondence in no way gives ground for Mgr Canali's alarm. Neither does Mother Forbes' memoir.[4] So it would be easy to conclude that Mgr Canali had simply over-reacted, if it were not for the fact that Mother Forbes' own correspondence hints at all sorts of delays and obstacles in trying to get her book published. So there does seem to be some doubt about the completeness of the present collection, which an examination of Mother Forbes' papers in the archive of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Dublin may be able to remove. Be that as it may, we have sufficient material at hand to be able to pursue our objective of assessing Merry del Val's devotedness to Ushaw.

The cardinal's letters to Broadhead begin in 1900. On 18 April, writing as the new president of the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici and just after his nomination as an archbishop, he chides his friend for addressing him as 'Your Grace', resenting it as a want of real friendship. Less than three months later he criticises the editor of the *Ushaw Magazine* for publishing a lot of nonsense about him, adding, 'as for poor old Dick Preston, [recently created auxiliary to Bishop Wilkinson of Hexham and Newcastle] you have made him look like one of the English Martyrs in a prison cell on the eve of execution.' He was hopeful of a visit to Ushaw in the September (letter of 7 July), but to his disappointment that came to nothing. On October 29, in the wake the conclave of 1903 which elected Pius X, the new cardinal is heavy-hearted: 'I am overwhelmed with work, and this new honour [Secretary of State] appears to me in the light of a death sentence.' On 30 December, commenting on the disastrous year 1906 he wrote:

> Times are bad, and my mission one long hard struggle for the Faith and the rights of Holy Church… The English press though by no means the only one, is systematically unfair and untruthful as regards the Church in this great conflict… the struggle is simply and solely the struggle for Christianity, for God and religion throughout the world… your poor old friend is going to do his duty to the end.

At the beginning of 1907 he wired £20 towards the college centenary fund and wrote later, 'If there were the remotest chance of my being able to come over for the celebration, I should not require two minutes to decide. I should simply fly' (27

January). In 1908 he commented on the arrangements being made for the centenary. Hearing that Wilfrid Ward was not to be one of the speakers at the celebrations, he expressed his delight: 'We don't want this humbug at Ushaw where we like the genuine article.'[5] He could not attend the celebrations, but was sending Fr. John Norris of the Oratory to represent him. (17 January)

Half way through 1910 he sympathised with the college on the early loss of its president, Mgr. Joseph Corbishley, and congratulated Broadhead on his appointment as the new vice-president. About himself, commenting on the hostility that he had incurred as a result of a brush with the American president, he lamented 'Dear Joe, I have had more than I want of this office, which never had any attractions for me, and it is time I moved on and withdrew to private life' (10 May). Fifteen months later, after escaping for a few hours to Monte Mario, ten minutes from the Vatican, he felt better, but was 'tired and my poor head can't go on for ever' (1 September 1911). At the end of that year, having received a photograph of Broadhead's room, he wished he could live close by:

> When I come, I shall leave my robes behind me. The delight of being a nobody is what would attract me most. I am very well despite everything, and that is saying a good deal. (29 December).

On 24 October 1912 after a 'first rate show which honoured the flag', (a Mass in St Peter's for the English national pilgrimage) he had a word with the pilgrims who included the Duke of Norfolk and eight bishops, one of them Richard Collins of Hexham and Newcastle. On Christmas Day 1912 he sent his greetings to Broadhead with the comment that he often dreamt of a visit to Ushaw.

That is followed by a letter dated 1 June 1913 in which he is more explicit: 'The night before receiving your last letter I dreamed that I was arriving in Durham and giving you a hug on the platform!' Grand Week, he hoped, would go satisfactorily. His own workload had increased as a result of the Holy Father's illness. Six weeks later he apologised for not being able to obtain a private audience for Edward Towers, one of the Ushaw staff, and also commented on Broadhead's enterprise in building new lecture rooms by the library (28 August). Before the end of the year he had arranged for Broadhead to be made a monsignor, 'A Christmas gift for Ushaw' (16/24 December). Easter of the following year brought the Ushaw president William Brown to Rome.

> I have done my best…When he came up for the adoration of the cross in St Peter's, two big tears started into my eyes. Was it foolish? Perhaps, but I did not try to drive them back, for they brought memories of Ushaw and of you all. (10 April)

Later that year, though finding it very difficult to come to terms with the loss of his beloved Pius X, he was nevertheless relieved to be free of his duties as Secretary of State, and quite naturally began to think of the possibility of a visit to England: 'When I do get to Ushaw, there must be no receiving me in state. You know how I should dislike it' (27 October). In his new apartments next to St Peter's he placed above his bed the 'photos which I brought away in 1885 and which I have always had with me' (19 December). We would learn in January 1916 that he had hung them on

the wall in front of the bed, so that he saw them every morning when he woke up. Copies of the *Ushaw Magazine* regularly kept him in touch with the old place which, like all British institutions, was beginning to suffer from war-time restrictions. The course of the first World War worried him a great deal; he was anxious in particular about the fate of his relatives and friends, mentioning more than once his cousin Francis de Zulueta, whose father, the cardinal's uncle, had been a great friend of Bob Laing in their 'cat' days (May 1915, October 1918). When the war ended he enjoyed hearing about the great influx of students into the college, though he questioned the wisdom of the bishops' decision to relax the rules for the war veterans.

When Broadhead's health began to deteriorate early in the 1920s Merry del Val cheered him up by sending a newly-cast bronze bust of himself to 'Ushaw, where it might be found worthy of a place by the side of some stuffed birds in the museum', should his friend Broadhead not want to claim it 'for auld lang syne' (July 1921). In 1923 he mentioned the 'Grand Week' (July) as he did the Christmas midnight Mass, expecting it to be 'as ever inspiring and beautiful', a thought he jotted down just before going into St Peter's to celebrate the Christmas morning Mass. In 1924 he commented on English church affairs: the succession to Westminster, the appointment of Joseph Thorman as the new bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, and the creation of the new diocese of Lancaster, all of which came within his remit as a member of the consistorial congregation (4 March/21 December). Two years later he wrote from Montecatini where he was taking the waters on his way to Assisi as papal legate, delighted to have had the opportunity of consecrating Arthur Hinsley 'for the sake of the English College [where Hinsley had been rector] and Ushaw'.

In July 1927 he let Broadhead into 'a dead secret, but not for you', revealing his plan to visit England incognito. Obviously there were other engagements to keep, and when he travelled up from London at the end of the following month it was already vacation time. This suited him very well, however, for he was able to explore every crook and cranny with boyish enthusiasm during the two days and three nights that he spent in the company of his friend Joe Broadhead. Typically, though, he sacrificed some of his precious time to visit a cousin in the convent of the Sacred Heart in Newcastle, and to bring back to the college Mgr Brown, its president, from the Dominican nursing home where he had been recuperating. He also visited the cathedral in Durham, afterwards calling in at a photographer's shop to check his films in the studio's dark room. On his return to Rome he wrote, 'The dear old place is dearer than ever', but his hopes of re-visiting the college later that year to meet the college staff and students were soon dashed. Nevertheless, as a constant reminder of this memorable occasion, he immediately fitted a replica of Durham's famous sanctuary knocker to his study door.

These extracts from the cardinal's letters should leave us in no doubt about his generally unhappy state of mind during his long exile at the Vatican, where he felt so much out of place, forced by circumstances to face the firing squad of the host of papal enemies, and reminded daily of the hopelessness of achieving his life-long aspiration to be the kind of priest for which Ushaw had trained him., A family friend told me that Father Denis Shiel of the Birmingham Oratory maintained that Merry del

Val suffered from depression; if that was true then he would need the happy memories of Ushaw to keep him going. What we read here also seems to support the view taken by some of the more recent historians of the period that this apparently iron-fisted, unyielding, heartless churchman acted in the manner only out of a sense of obligation to the wishes of his master Pius X, and then only until he reached a point (from 1911 onwards) where he felt it necessary to soften his approach, perhaps even in defiance of the pope's wishes.[6]

During the time it has taken me to put together these articles about this particular Ushaw- trained cardinal, I have begun to realise how few people nowadays have ever heard of him. Merry who? Or even Mary who? *Sic transeat gloria mundi.* Whether we approve of his policies or not, it cannot be denied that he occupied a significant place in early twentieth-century papal history. Hagiography is not history, but neither is history hagiography. If, as I expect, Ushaw is prepared to find a place for Merry del Val in its forthcoming exhibition to mark the second centenary of its foundation, I, for one, am prepared to say that his portrait will not be the only one about which viewers will have mixed feelings. And, if what I have written here helps some critics to catch a glimmer of the humanity in a churchman dubbed 'the pope's trouble-shooter' and 'a *mafioso* in ecclesiastical purple,' so much the better. It may be nearer the truth.[7]

Notes and References

1. His portrait graces the cover of *Northern Catholic History* [*NCH*] No. 47 (2006).

2. I have already commented on the growth of their mutual antagonism in *NCH* No. 47, pp. 43/44.

3. Merry del Val Corrrespondence, Ushaw College Archives.

4. Cf. *NCH* No. 47 (2006), p.44

5. F.A Forbes, *Raphael Merry del Val, A Character Sketch*, (London 1932).

6. On being elevated to the cardinalate, Merry del Val took the motto *da mihi animas, cetera tolle*, but his pupil Joe Scott recalled that he had one long before as a student at Ushaw: *ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari* which he urged his pupils to accept as 'a most wonderful disciplinary code to live by'. *Ushaw Magazine* 61 (1951), p.220.

7. Further material on Merry del Val will be found in *Ushaw Magazine* [*UM*] 'College Notes', 1891-1952 passim. The 'Notes' for 1959 (p.29) refer to the introduction of the cause for his canonisation. See also the following articles: J. B., 'Vacation leaves from a Proc's Notebook', *UM* 37 (1927); J. Scott, 'Monsignor Broadhead – A Memoir', *UM* 39 (1929), p.151ff; Anon., Obituary notice: *UM* 40 (1930), p. 44ff; R. Meagher, 'Some Records and Recollections of Cardinal Merry del Val', *UM* 41 (1931), p.82ff; J. Scott, 'Down Memory Lane' *UM* 59 (1949), p.1ff; G. Dix, 'Memories of 1880-1886', *UM* 60 (1950), p.5ff.

CATHOLIC RESIDENTIAL CHILD-CARE IN NEWCASTLE 1872-1945

Leo Gooch

Introduction[1]

In the century following 1850 more than one hundred English parliamentary statutes were enacted to address the problems that gave rise to child poverty and criminality, and the measures ordered usually involved placing children in residential care. The variety of institutions was fourfold though there was some overlap between them. Under the poor law of 1834, destitute families could be relieved in the parochial or union *workhouse,* to which a school was attached, until the family became self-supporting again. An act of 1854 enabled voluntary bodies to open a *reformatory school* for convicted delinquents under the age of sixteen formerly committed to adult prisons. An act of 1866 authorised the creation of a residential *industrial school* in which magistrates (with or without the parent's consent) could confine children under the age of fourteen who were found begging, who were obviously destitute and without visible means of support, who frequented evil company, who were out of control, or who were persistent truants. Hence the industrial school was for children at risk who might be prevented from falling into a criminal way of life; and they were usually kept in care until the age of sixteen. An *orphanage* or *home*, (occasionally called a *refuge*) was for children who had lost one or more of their parents and whose family had thereby fallen on hard times. The orphanage movement in England began as a secular initiative in 1758 although it had long been a feature of Catholic Europe, inspired largely by St Vincent de Paul (1576-1660). Orphanages were usually privately managed (i.e., by voluntary rather than state bodies). Workhouses were merely custodial whereas the other institutions housed, fed, clothed, educated and trained children for useful work. To receive public funds they had to be certified, regulated and inspected by the Home Office.

So as to safeguard their faith, the Church sought to care for all Catholic children separate from state and other denominational institutions, but national and local government was vehemently opposed to any discrimination on grounds of religion. In 1856 Charles Eyre, priest at St Mary's, Newcastle, applied to say Mass and conduct Sunday school in the workhouse but permission was refused and a major public controversy was waged in the newspapers.[2] Hence the creation and maintenance of a system of residential care for Catholic children became one of the Church's principal aims. For many years, however, there was continued friction with officialdom as to how Catholic children were to be treated and how Catholic facilities were to be financed.

Catholic Emancipation took place in 1829 and the Restoration of the Hierarchy followed in 1850. Until that time the Church was prevented by a lack of resources, both human and institutional, from addressing effectively the social ills afflicting its people. That is not to say that nothing was done, for the clergy and the middle class laity always sought to alleviate social problems at the parochial level.[3] Societies or guilds were formed around the country for self-

help purposes: the Catholic Friendly Society of Newcastle was established in September 1823. There is substantial evidence that priests were assiduous in attending people in their homes in stark contrast to the clergy of the established church who, it was observed, 'had fled the poor areas [whereas] the fidelity and devotion of the Roman Catholic [priest] never shrinks from ministering to the poor'. The death of four priests in the cholera epidemic in Newcastle at mid-century was but one example – Charles Eyre was fortunate to survive a bout of cholera in 1848.[4]

The Church's newly-won political freedom and restored ecclesiastical status allowed the bishops to address the problem more systematically and they invited the new religious orders into their dioceses to undertake works of charity and the education of the poor; as a result, legions of priests, sisters and brothers descended on the towns and cities of England.[5] The most numerous of all the women's congregations were the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul who opened forty-six houses in England with 407 sisters by the end of the century. These sisters would become the chief agents of the bishops of Hexham and Newcastle for the residential care of children, while their lay colleagues, the Brothers of St Vincent de Paul did (and still do) provide much of the outdoor relief for all categories of poor people.

The origins of Catholic residential child-care in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle date from the episcopate of James Chadwick who succeeded William Hogarth in 1866 – the year of the major act of parliament dealing with juvenile delinquency. Henceforth Catholic children could be transferred to a Catholic institution, if a place was available, and be maintained out of the poor rates; the Church therefore began to plan for its own care-homes though they would obviously take some time to establish. The Church never considered maintaining its own workhouses (such were their negative connotations) but priests were permitted, albeit under sufferance in most cases, to visit and instruct children in them. In 1862 Catholic inmates gained the right to attend Mass and for children to be sent to a Catholic school if one was available locally. In 1870 there were sixty-four English reformatories housing 5,211 offenders. Seven were Catholic institutions, four for boys and three for girls. The national total of Catholics in these establishments was 984 boys and 197 girls, which represented 19% and 4% respectively. Catholic girls from the north east were placed in the Yorkshire Catholic Girls' Reformatory, Howard Hill, Sheffield, managed by the Sisters of Charity. The Catholic reformatory for boys in the north was at Market Weighton in the East Riding, but for many years Catholic boys in the north east were placed in the *Wellesley* Training Ship at South Shields or the reformatory at Netherton, near Morpeth: 'special arrangements being made for their instruction by a priest, and for their attendance at Catholic worship'. At the same time there were sixty-two English industrial schools, housing 5,331 residents. Eleven were Catholic establishments: seven for boys and four for girls. The total number of Catholic boys was 929 and there were 490 girls: 17.5% and 9% respectively. These figures show that the number of Catholic boys in each category was roughly similar and formed a disturbingly high proportion of the whole; although the number of girls was much lower, there were twice as many 'at risk'

than had been convicted. It is pertinent to add one other statistic; in 1870 there were some two million children of school age in the country, of whom five per cent (102,000) were Catholic, attending 354 Catholic schools. Hence, only some 2.5% of all Catholic children were in need of residential care. The Catholic population was, however, increasing rapidly and there could be no place for complacency. [All statistics given in this paragraph are taken from *Terra Incognita*].

Five major institutions were founded in the north-east by the end of the century: St Mary's, Tudhoe (1872), St James & St Elizabeth Chadwick Memorial Schools, Newcastle (1883), St Joseph's, Darlington (1892, originally named St Vincent's), St Vincent's, Newcastle (1894), and St Peter's, Gainford (1900). The history of the homes in County Durham will be covered in a separate article, and two establishments in the north-west of the diocese will be mentioned here only in passing. Until 1924 Cumberland and Westmoreland were part of the diocese and there appears to have been an orphanage at Natland, near Kendal, in which there were twenty-four boys. In June 1872 Miss Anne Dunne of Newcastle left Bishop Chadwick funds for a diocesan orphanage and, having decided to entrust the project to the Sisters of Mercy in Wigton in Cumberland, work began on the building two months later; it was opened and dedicated to the Sacred Heart in June 1873 and there were soon twenty-one residents. The parish priest was James Rooney who would become the key figure in diocesan child-care and he will appear frequently in what follows. For many years the Wigton establishment was described as 'The Diocesan Orphanage' but strangely in the *Northern Catholic Calendar* of 1876 it was said that it took 'a very limited number *free,* for others the pension is 12 guineas per annum'. In March 1882 a section of the premises became a Certified Poor Law School and was enlarged to conform to the requirements of certification for sixty girls. The orphanage section remained separate although they were advertised as one establishment in 1890.[7]

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The Chadwick Memorial Industrial Schools

An appeal fund was opened in 1882 to provide two diocesan industrial schools in Newcastle on Tyne as a memorial to James Chadwick, second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, who died in May that year. [The fund was also to pay for the erection of Chadwick's tomb at Ushaw, designed by Dunn and Hansom Ltd.] St James's school for boys was established in the grandstand of the old race course on the Gosforth side of Newcastle Town Moor and opened in January 1883. Two acres of surrounding land were also bought.[8] St Elizabeth's school for girls was founded in February 1883 in Ashburton House, immediately adjacent to St James's, but concern was soon expressed that the boys and girls were too close and the schools were sealed off from each other. Together the schools became known as the Bishop Chadwick Memorial Industrial Schools. The initial cost of the project was £7,000 and at first the schools were managed for the diocese by a priest who was also the chaplain: firstly Philip Piper and then, from August 1885, William Wickwar who had been the first headmaster of St Cuthbert's Grammar School in

Newcastle.[9] The bishop also established a Management Committee, initially of priests but from 1885 a number of lay gentlemen were included; Edward Leadbitter, Esquire, was shortly elected chairman.

St James's comprised a chapel, dormitory, kitchen, school, workshops and a yard; there were two acres of garden. There were only forty-five boys in care in the year of the school's opening but it was hoped to accommodate many more. In his first official report on the school of 19 May 1883, the Home Office inspector noted that 'The situation is an excellent one. There is plenty of room for extension; the air is fresh and invigorating; and there is abundant scope for a large and valuable institution'. He was also much impressed with its management and remarked that the boys were 'very happy and contented; no complaints about food or harsh treatment'. He certified the school for a maximum of one hundred and twenty boys. Occupancy would actually rise to 129 in the next two years: thirty-nine boys from Newcastle, fifty-eight from County Durham, twenty-eight from Cumberland, three from Northumberland and one from Bolton.[10]

The diocese would have liked to take fifty more boys if possible but the Home Office would only sanction an increase of thirty, that is, up to one hundred and fifty. No further rise would be permitted until the workshops were enlarged and an infirmary was provided. In fact, extensions and improvements were in constant progress. In 1886 the inspector reported: 'The new dormitory and school-room are in use, new kitchen and scullery arranged, reading-room provided, and workshops improved'. Such was the demand for accommodation, however, that in 1886 there was some discussion about moving all the girls out of St Elizabeth's to St Joseph's, Darlington, to make room for boys under the age of ten, but nothing came of it and the architectural firm of Dunn and Hansom was consulted about rebuilding the workshops and the erection of an infirmary; they advised that the new works would cost £600.

The boys were given both elementary education and industrial training. In overall day-to-day charge was a lay superintendent (Mr Francis Dickson, with an annual salary of £100), and the teaching staff included a schoolmaster (Mr Lee, then Mr Lazzari, who got 26 shillings a week and a house), an assistant master (10 shillings a week and board and lodging) and a yard-master. In 1886 the inspector reported favourably on the progress made in the education of the boys although

> Handwriting and arithmetic require a little more careful attention. But the teachers are working diligently and the boys take an interest in their work. Order and attention in the school quite satisfactory. I could not wish for better order or more earnest effort on the part of the children.

He also said that the boys 'looked clean, hearty and vigorous, as well as cheerful and bright'. The boys were taken to the seaside occasionally and a harmonium was bought for their entertainment. In March 1885,

> a band of brass instruments was purchased from Besson & Co., London. The boys have made rapid progress in their playing, and have on different

occasions performed before the public'.

The trades-instructors were a tailor (twenty-four shillings a week), a shoemaker (thirty shillings a week) and a joiner or carpenter. (fifteen shillings a week and board). Some boys were given agricultural training on a twelve-acre farm nearby which was managed by Mr Francis Wickwar, the chaplain's brother.[11] In 1886 the farm and garden were in 'good working order and [had] been for some time past making a substantial return' from the sale of milk and other produce. In 1887 the committee agreed to rent three more fields of twenty-eight acres. The school also made a little income from the hiring out of boys to farms nearby on licence. A pony and trap was used to carry firewood from the carpenter's shop around the streets for sale at '3s. 3d. per 100 bundles'. In 1886 the income gained by the industrial departments amounted to £88.

Twenty-four boys were admitted during 1886 with an average age of eleven and whose condition was described as lamentable. Thirteen were truants, nine were destitute, and two had committed petty theft; ten were orphans. Half of the boys had a rudimentary knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic but the rest 'were wholly Ignorant'. Two boys had been to Confession and two had made their first Holy Communion but none had been confirmed. '22 could not say a Prayer, and some of these could not Bless themselves, and did not know how many Persons there were in God'. Of the twenty-one boys discharged that year, the superintendent had to report unsatisfactorily on only one, whereas 'more than half have obtained good situations. The trades of shoemaking, tailoring and joinery have been pushed forward with fair success.' (The chapel benches were made by the boys.)

A crisis in the school's management arose in 1888. It appears that there was some careless book-keeping, there were shortcomings in the boys' dietary, and the tailor was a drunk. The committee decided to sack everyone and the Wickwars resigned immediately (the priest was appointed to West Hartlepool). Robert Thornton was appointed manager-chaplain, Anthony O'Callaghan of the Catholic training ship HMS Clarence on the Mersey became the new lay superintendent with his wife as matron, at a joint salary of £120 a year, and Sergeant Bond, ex-Army, was the new cook.[12] Doubtless, these were the circumstances that led to the establishment of a diocesan Childrens' Homes and Care Committee under the chairmanship of James Rooney, now Vicar General, to oversee and implement diocesan child-care policy. At any rate, full discipline had been restored by the time Bishop Wilkinson made a formal visit in August 1888; he returned the following July to confirm ninety-three boys and sixty-nine girls. The official annual report for that year was thought sufficiently good as to be published in the newspapers.

There were 163 boys in the school in 1890 which was well above the certified number and it was known that places were needed for another one hundred and twenty boys in non-Catholic institutions elsewhere in the region.[13] The inspector, however, would only approve an increase of ten residents, although if a building extension was carried out he would authorise an intake of forty junior boys (aged under ten) superintended by a matron. At the same time, it was

evident in some cases that the discharge of boys when they reached the age of sixteen was unwise and the diocese was given permission (and maintenance of 2/6d a week) to allow a small number to remain at St James's until their circumstances improved or a separate hostel was provided.[14]

No records of the management committee survive to explain why in 1902 the school was handed over to the Presentation Brothers, with Brother Calasanctius as Superintendent. Three years later, presumably because the premises had outlived their usefulness, the school was moved into the convent school of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Stanwix, Carlisle.

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At first, both Memorial schools came under the one management but in June 1885 the committee was told that the Sisters of Charity had volunteered to take charge of St Elizabeth's. The all male committee seized the chance and told the Sisters that 'they would gladly accept their services and do everything in their power to make them comfortable'. Accordingly, on 1 January 1886 the accounts and management were handed over to the new superintendent, Sister Winefred Dymock. (The establishment was known thereafter as the Ashburton House Industrial School.) Within six months Fr. Wickwar their chaplain informed the committee that the girls' school was 'much improved'. Four girls had been in residence at the start but by the time the Sisters took charge there were thirty-one, a total which almost doubled in the succeeding year and reached seventy-eight in 1890. Of the twenty-seven girls admitted in 1886, thirteen were orphans and eight were illegitimate. Ten of the girls were 'voluntary cases' and fourteen had been committed by the authorities. Half of the girls could read and write but the others were 'totally ignorant'.

The official inspection reports of the period were no less complimentary than those of the boys' school; the inspector remarked on 'the efficiency and good organisation' of the Sisters although 'a good School Room, a larger Refectory, better Bath Rooms and outside Offices' were much needed, and these were soon in course of building. The girls were divided into two Preparatory classes and three Standards for their school work. Their industrial work lay in laundering and needlework, for which the school earned £50 and £39 respectively during 1886. Sr Winefred made a general appeal in her annual report:

> This year we shall be very glad of orders for needlework, knitting, etc., and shall be obliged if you will kindly mention this to any of your friends. During the course of the year we hope also to open a workroom for church embroidery, etc., and when the new laundry is built we shall be glad of laundry work.

Like the boys at St James's, the girls were given treats of tea parties and concerts; they were taken to the pantomime at the Tyne Theatre, the Circus and the Panorama and they enjoyed days out at the seaside.

Numbers continued to rise and within ten years the permitted occupancy of over one hundred girls was exceeded. Numbers fell after the turn of the century and the school closed in 1906, when the remaining twenty girls were transferred

to St Joseph's in Darlington.

St Vincent's Orphanage

In August 1890 Canon Rooney strongly urged the creation of a diocesan home for 'little' boys in addition to St James's and his plea was soon heeded. In June 1892, Bishop Wilkinson issued a pastoral letter entitled 'The foundation of St Vincent's Boys' Orphanage and the care of destitute Catholic children who are in danger of being lost to the faith' in which he stressed the risks to those children placed in non-Catholic institutions as well as those who were destitute through no fault of their own. He pointed out that although there were two girls' orphanages in the diocese, 'for orphan boys there has been hitherto absolutely no provision'. He had therefore sought to lease a suitable property, at a moderate rent and near a church, somewhere in Northumberland and Durham but he had been unsuccessful and he had decided to buy a house instead. He had lighted upon a property in Brunel Terrace, near St Michael's church in Elswick, Newcastle, which, with 'the providential help of kind friends', he had bought for £2,500 and had spent a further sum of about £500 on alterations and law costs. The property belonged to a Mr Cruddas who also owned the adjoining property and a large field running southwards to the Scotswood Road which became the Cruddas Recreation Ground. The orphanage was to be managed by the Sisters of Charity, 'whose experience in such work is evidenced by the success of similar institutions under their charge in various parts of the country.' At the request of Canon James Rooney and Canon Joseph Dunn, Missionary Rector of St Michael's, Ma Soeur Petre and two other Sisters moved from Darlington to open and take charge of the new institution.[15]

The bishop appealed for contributions towards both the capital costs and the ongoing maintenance of the home. Subsistence payments would be received from the Boards of Guardians for such children as were taken from the workhouses but the maintenance of other destitute children depended entirely upon the charity of the faithful in the diocese. He would institute an annual collection throughout the diocese for the home's support but he also invited congregations to support children from their own localities, schools were asked to open a 'Children's Fund for the Orphanage', and the Brothers of St Vincent de Paul were exhorted 'to discover any little ones whose faith or morals may be in great danger and to procure the means requisite to bring them up under the care now provided for them'. Admissions during the first years of the orphanage's existence quickly rose to fifty-one boys ranging from one to ten years of age. The first child to be received was a three-year-old orphan who died a few months later. Since charitable contributions fell way short of the bishop's expectations, after two years it was decided to apply for an Industrial School Certificate.

The managers of an orphanage could seek certification by the government as an industrial school and in that way receive rate-aid for its support.[6] This was a major financial incentive as the Church had been quick to appreciate; the accounts of the Chadwick Memorial School for 1886 show that the running costs that year amounted to around £2,550, of which some £2,200 was paid by

the Treasury, the County Councils and the School Boards. These were discretionary powers, however, and, such was the scale of the problem, it was important not to antagonize or prejudice local authorities against the Catholic institutions. In his Lent pastoral letter of 1894 Bishop Thomas W. Wilkinson wrote that the total number of Catholic boys and girls in north-eastern workhouses was more than five hundred, of whom one hundred were under six years old, and that he needed £14,000 to build new homes to get them out of secular institutions. He was, therefore, at some pains to praise Boards of Guardians for their cooperation and he also took care to forestall any suggestion that Catholic institutions might be educationally inferior:

> Full efficiency of secular teaching is assured in such Homes just as in Workhouse Schools… In the Catholic Institution, every requisite must be supplied for the temporal welfare of the children so that, whilst the religious training is assured, the secular training shall be such as to meet all requirements.

At any rate, as requested, the Home Office certified St Vincent's for sixty boys from five to ten years of age and some children in that age group were transferred from St James's. The diocese shortly bought the adjoining house and numbers were allowed to rise to seventy. The admissions register of St Vincent's Boys' Industrial School shows that 272 boys were taken into care in the twenty-five years from 16 March 1894 to 3 June 1919. Thirty-six were admitted in the first year and fifty-four during the second. The school was fully occupied within three years; indeed, some thirty boys had to be transferred temporarily to St James's to avoid overcrowding. Admissions then fell back to around twenty each year and were very much lower until the First World War and the 'twenties when admissions rose again. Notwithstanding the terms of the certificate, boys were accepted between the ages of four to thirteen though three-quarters of them were between eight and eleven. Almost all the boys were placed in the school by magistrates or school boards and were committed until their sixteenth birthday. Hence the majority of boys spent between five and eight years in care and it is noteworthy that hardly any absconded. They came from all parts of the diocese. Half were from the Tyneside towns but Wearside was well represented and so was Teeside to a lesser extent. Boys were also sent from the north-west, and some were accepted from other dioceses: thirty boys were taken in from Liverpool between 1897 and 1902, six from Manchester, six from Yorkshire and four from London. Most cases involved a single boy but brothers were admitted in twenty-two cases.

After St Vincent's became an industrial school the proportion of orphaned, illegitimate or destitute boys admitted was never more than a fifth. Some boys of respectable parents were admitted for an uncharacteristic lapse or for more serious disobedience such as the eleven-year-old whose parents were of 'good character. Lad in habit of leaving home for days. Will not attend school – out of control'. A single parent sometimes asked for a place: 'Father represents he is unable to control the boy. Used best endeavours to get him to school without success'. But most admissions were of boys in very poor social conditions and at

risk, or who had committed a minor offence.

The chief reason for committing a boy was vagrancy, or wandering as it was generally known; some forty per cent of cases fell into that category. Many boys had been staying out at night, one even slept in an ash-pit. Further enquiries showed that in most of these cases the boys were beyond parental control or the parents had abdicated responsibility. Truancy occurred in some thirty per cent of cases, many of which involved parental indifference or non-compliance with an attendance order. Larceny was cited in around twenty cases though the swag was unusual: women's clothing, stationery, a watch, a penknife; in only one case was money specified. One boy was convicted of stealing iron bolts and rivets and another of 'breaking into a poultry house and killing chickens'. Few boys were confined for only one reason; almost invariably some combination of circumstances brought them to the attention of the authorities. A vagrant was usually a persistent truant, and a beggar would often prove to have been severely neglected or subjected to cruelty.

The overwhelming majority of cases arose from inadequate parenting. On a number of occasions the register noted that a boy was 'not bad but has grown up uncared for'. Frequently a boy came from a broken home in which one or other of the parents was dead, had deserted or was in prison (often for neglect). The absence of a father at sea or on active service during the First World War led a number of boys to misbehave. Occasionally a parent was described as 'affected by lunacy' or 'suffering paralysis'. In many cases one or both parents were habitual drinkers. A number of boys were said to be living in immoral surroundings, by which was usually meant 'frequenting the company of reputed thieves' or 'residing with common prostitutes'. One boy's father was 'sober but associate[d] with prostitutes'. In one or two cases a boy's mother was a prostitute or kept a brothel; one even took her five-year-old son to her engagements. Two thirds of the boys from Liverpool were living in such circumstances and were probably sent to Newcastle to get them as far away as possible from danger such as the eight-year-old boy whose 'father had eighteen convictions for felony, drunkenness, assault and wounding. Boy good'. It is clear from these records that the aims both of Church and State were met at St Vincent's. Vulnerable boys were saved from dangerous social circumstances largely brought about by the shortcomings of their parents rather than their own misdemeanours.

St Vincent's had debts of £3,000 in 1926 and the superior's accounting system was seriously deficient. She explained that the number of boys maintained by the local authorities was sixty and the fees (ten shillings per week per child) yielded an annual income of £1,560, but since other boys were taken in without public funding, the overall running costs amounted to £2,300, hence the shortfall of £740 had to come from the diocese and from charitable donations. At around this time the industrial certification was given up (or withdrawn) and St Vincent's reverted to its original status as an orphanage financed partly by the local authorities but largely by the diocese, fund-raising events ('St Vincent's Pound Day', church-collections, flag-days) and whatever

small contributions the families of the resident boys could make.

Although a diocesan *Childrens' Homes and Care Committee* was first established in 1888 (at the instigation of Canon Rooney) with overall responsibility for policy and administration, centralised supervision seems to have been ineffective, for the homes continued to act semi-autonomously and not entirely efficiently – as the financial management of St Vincent's demonstrated. In November 1929 Bishop Joseph Thorman appointed a new Diocesan Homes Committee, made up of priests, under the chairmanship of Canon Rooney. The first task of the committee was to consider the future of St Vincent's. Firstly, its closure was not thought desirable. Secondly, its subsidy by those at Darlington, Gainford and Tudhoe might not be feasible. Thirdly, it was thought unlikely that the Newcastle Guardians would concur with its re-designation as a poor law school. The bishop therefore agreed to authorise an overdraft of up to £4,000 – the existing limit was £2,500. The superior was told, however, to reduce the number of boys to sixty as soon as possible and not to let the overall total rise above that; she was also instructed to be more methodical in her book-keeping.

Repairs to St Vincent's were urgently required in 1930, however, but the overdraft was falling only slowly and £1,200 was still owed. But, the account went into credit in 1931: the flag-day that year brought in £397; two legacies amounting to £450 were received, and a St Patrick's Day event raised £550. On the other hand, other donations were down and some (unspecified) services in kind had been withdrawn. The maintained children had gone. Economies of all kinds were therefore sought. The committee said that the sisters should not hire taxis when they went into the parishes to take up collections. Indignantly, they retorted that the collection was £248 while the taxi bill came to only £13. But the committee insisted that if buses were unsuitable then the parishes should be allowed to take the collections themselves. It was deemed advisable to devote a diocesan collection entirely to the benefit of St Vincent's. But it was acknowledged that the financial situation was bound to vary from year to year. Indeed, for the number of boys would fall to around forty over the next decade and other bequests would be received (in 1940 there was one of £415 from a Mr Waugh) and the income from flag-days rose: the collection in 1941 brought in £566, the highest ever.

Few details of the daily life at St Vincent's are known. In 1937 there were thirteen sisters who each got an honorarium of £7 a year; that was increased to £15 in 1941. The parish priest of St Michael's acted as chaplain to the home and the committee instructed the superior to give him £15 at Christmas and £10 at Easter – but only as a gesture of goodwill, 'without letting [him] think that the money was a salary'. In fact, the priest repaid the sisters with an equal sum for the work they did for him. In 1930 St Vincent's had a free on-call arrangement with Dr Bland, a local non-Catholic doctor, but the committee required this to be put onto a formal basis and the doctor agreed to a salary of £30. (A non-Catholic dentist giving free treatment was not offered new terms; a cobbler was taken on at £1 a week in 1933.) The health of the children was usually good.

Exceptionally, an outbreak of diptheria in 1940 led to seventeen boys being transferred to the isolation hospital. The boys were educated in the home except that from 1934 fees of £15 a year each were paid for six boys to attend St Aloysius; it was decided to increase the number to twelve and three more later on. From 1935/6 the younger boys went to the new parochial infant school of St Michael's. Discipline was presumably good, at any rate, no problems were reported to the committee. Some school-leavers went to the Parbold Farm Training Colony and others went into industry, including the local factory of Vickers Armstrong.

Despite all the financial uncertainties, the bishop forbade any suggestion of closure or of reorganisation. In March 1936, however, the Ministry of Health recommended change since a Catholic Junior Approved School was urgently needed in the region for up to 163 boys. St Vincent's was suggested for the purpose; the bishops of Leeds and Middlesbrough agreed but Bishop Thorman quickly dismissed that idea and put forward his own plan to convert St Peter's at Gainford. The committee agreed that St Vincent's, which was wholly voluntary, should be left alone; it was too small to become an approved school but, more importantly, it was an 'asset as long as it was paying its way', and if the sisters left Newcastle a connection would be broken through which over the 'last six years about sixty [boys] have been kept free of cost to diocesan funds' (that is, on charitable donations). A new superior at St Vincent's did nothing to help, however, for she 'increased expenditure rapidly even though the number of boys had declined' and she was unable to explain what had happened; the Provincial was asked to remove her and send someone more capable and in June 1937 a new superior was appointed.

St Vincent's was briefly caught up in the effects of the Spanish Civil War. The Basque province was deeply Catholic and conservative but since the Republicans had granted the region political autonomy, the people became cautiously sympathetic to the partly Communist republican movement. During the Nationalist offensive in the north-west of Spain in the late spring of 1937 it was decided to evacuate the Basque children out of the country and some four thousand of them arrived in England in May. The Catholic hierarchy made immediate arrangements for their shelter, and over half (227) of the four hundred children who came to the north-east were taken into the Catholic homes at Darlington, Gainford, Newcastle and Tudhoe, in groups ranging from six girls to one hundred and forty boys accompanied by one or two priests and a few nuns. The hierarchy soon realised, however, that their involvement had been interpreted as support for the Franco regime; moreover, Spanish parents began to clamour for the return of their children. Bishop Joseph McCormack, who had been consecrated only four months earlier, said the children should never have been brought out and had agreed 'with reluctance' to have them but there was nothing for it now but to look after them and safeguard their faith. [NCC 1938 pp. 117/8] It did not help that no public money was available for the children's support, and a Basque Children's Refugee Fund, under the chairmanship of Fr Parker, Secretary to the Diocesan Homes Committee, had to be opened. The fund raised £5,634 but it was thought necessary to issue a general appeal for St

Vincent's because the parish was 'not blessed with much of the wealth of this world'.

Bishop McCormack's antipathy to the Basque evacuation was exacerbated when the Spanish consul in Newcastle visited St Vincent's and made a scene and had to be asked to leave. Fr Parker was in no doubt that the consul was an unfit person to be allowed into the home again but the consul wrote to the press alleging that he had been denied access to St Vincent's and charged the diocese with Fascist sympathies. The bishop was appalled and sought the speedy repatriation of the children, or just their removal from the diocese, ostensibly because he wanted to proceed with the conversion of St Peter's. In September he was said to approve of 'agitation' for the purpose and that letters to members of parliament should be sent. By April 1938 the children had all been removed to Scarborough, Leicester or Camberley, and the balance of the relief fund of £554 was given to St Joseph's home in Darlington[16]. The departure of the children allowed the diocese to go ahead with its reorganisation but then the outbreak of the Second World War brought about further delay.

In May 1939, the Ministry of Heath and the Newcastle civic authorities ordered the evacuation of St Vincent's into safer rural premises. Later that year the orphanage was re-located to Cheeseburn Grange, the mansion near Stamfordham belonging to the Riddell family which had been a Catholic chaplaincy since recusant times.[17] The Grange could accommodate forty boys and it was usually full. Some six months after the move, the diocese offered the house in Brunel Terrace to the Newcastle Council at the peppercorn rent of £1 a year, presumably to avoid leaving it empty. The authorities actually made an *ex gratia* payment £50 and it was occupied by the Transport Department; at the end of 1941 it was handed over to National Fire Service.

In 1945 Bishop Joseph McCormack replaced the Committee with a *Diocesan Rescue Society*, under Fr John Vincent Smith and an Advisory Council, and gave it a wider remit than its predecessor. As the bishop explained to the clergy in an *ad clerum*, it was 'to interest itself in and be responsible to me and to you for every phase of Child Welfare, Rescue and Protection work'. He intended to supplement the income for these purposes from Advent and Lenten Alms with a 'Good Shepherd Sunday' collection made by the schoolchildren. The Rescue Society was given oversight of three residential children's establishments: St Mary's, Tudhoe, with one hundred and fifty boys, St Joseph's in Darlington with one hundred and thirty girls, and St Vincent's, with fifty three boys.

In fact, it was not all clear what the diocese intended to do with the St Vincent's orphans at the end of the war because the bishop decided to offer the Brunel Terrace property as a remand home for Catholic boys. The proposal was soon made redundant, however, with the decision to convert St Peter's at Gainford for that purpose and the St Vincent's community returned to Newcastle in January 1945. It was then evident that the property in Brunel Terrace, which was described as 'a poor building with no amenities to make up for its discomfort and unsuitability', could no longer serve as an orphanage for some forty to fifty young boys. The house would better serve as a hostel for up

to fifteen working youths who were above the permitted age for residence in St Vincent's. A search for new premises soon showed that West Denton Hall on the Hexham road west of Newcastle with thirteen acres of farmland would be suitable for an orphanage and negotiations for its purchase were opened in November 1947. The hall was acquired in June 1948 by the Rescue Society and some £20,000 was spent on its purchase and conversion by the architect Mr Burke and the contractor Mr Shield. The new home was occupied in August 1950 and formally opened in October by the Vicar General, Monsignor Cunningham. There were seven dormitories, three playrooms, a reading-room, refectory and a chapel.[18]

The home continued in its traditional ways for almost twenty years but then the concept of caring for children in large residential establishments was abandoned by the Children's Act of 1969 and St Vincent's Orphanage came to an end.[19] The property was divided into three smaller 'Family Group Homes' each accommodating up to sixteen children. With that, an entirely new phase in diocesan welfare policy opened, the history of which is left to some future writer.

Notes and References

1. This article is based largely on the following records in the archives of St Cuthbert's Care, Newcastle, for access to which I am most grateful. Entries are all dated and can be found without difficulty, therefore individual references are not given:

Chadwick Memorial Industrial School Management Committee Minute Book 10 April 1885-20 October 1890

St Vincent's Boys Industrial School Register, 16 March 1894 – 3 June 1919

Diocesan Homes Committee Minute Book, 7 December 1926; 19 November 1929 – 19 February 1942

2. J.M. Lawlor, 'Charles Eyre [1817-1902]', *Northern Catholic History* [*NCH*] No. 19, p. 24.

3. At the beginning of the century a London-based body called Associated Catholic Charities advertised its aims as 'educating, clothing and apprenticing the children of poor Catholics and providing an asylum for destitute orphans'. In Liverpool a private Catholic orphanage for fifty girls opened in 1815.

4. J.C. Street, *The Night Side of Newcastle* (1865) p.4; See also J. Rewcastle, *Newcastle As It Is* (1854, p.36, n6; 'Inquiry into the Condition of the Poor of Newcastle upon Tyne 1850' (*Newcastle Chronicle* 1850); R. Welford, *Men of Mark Twixt Tyne and Tweed*, (1895) III p.678.

5. By 1850 there were fourteen female orders in fifty-three convents and ten male orders with 275 priests across the country though many of these were the 'old' enclosed orders of Benedictines and Carmelites which had returned to the country on their expulsion from their continental houses at the time of the French Revolution.

6. Act of Parliament 25 & 26 Vict. C. 43; Norman, p 186]

7. The Sisters had been in Wigton since 1857. The opening date is taken from St Cuthbert's parish history but *NCC* 1883 gives it as 1870. As late as 1938 a debt on Wigton was being carried by the diocese.

8. The first official annual report of May 1883 said the school had 'been at work since the

beginning of year' and the *NCC* for 1884 more precisely gives 10 January 1883, but in later years the *NCC* repeatedly and incorrectly gives January 1882. In the same year, Bishop Bewick bought a field in the locality for a Catholic cemetery.

9. Piper was probably ill since he died in the following year aged 38.

10. On 6 December 1883, a lecture in Newcastle on 'Nobody's Children, or, The Street Arabs' on behalf of the school was given by Fr James Nugent, the well known 'apostle of charity' in Liverpool.

11. One shilling was the equivalent of ten new-pence in modern currency. Mr George Taylor Smith, a committee member, presented a cow to the farm and Mr Wickwar was authorised to buy another for £10.

12. It may be conjectured whether the suggestion that hand grenades be used as fire alarms in the home came from the sergeant.

13. There were 63 in the *Wellesley* Training Ship, 14 in the Greens Homes, and 43 in Durham County School.

14. There had been a short-lived orphanage run by Dominican Sisters at Shieldfield in east Newcastle around 1883 but now the Dominicans 'unanimously' opposed the suggestion that a hostel be established at Red Barns in the same locality.

15. J. Lenders, *History of St Michael's Parish, Newcastle-on-Tyne* (1931) p.176-180.

16. Two Spanish priests in Darlington would not return to Spain for fear of their lives and one, Fr Gorossari went to Belgium, but the other, Fr Orbezogo, stayed on at St Joseph's. In 1940 he asked for a post in the diocese but the bishop told him there was no place for him in England and he should return to Spain where priests were needed. The priest's further appeal was peremptorily rejected; his subsequent movements are not known. D. Watson, 'Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Basque refugees in the North East and Cumbria during the Spanish Civil War', *North East History* vol. 36, 2005, passim.

17. In February 1940 Mr Riddell-Blount received a billeting allowance, and he made over a one-acre field as a playing ground for the boys. Sister Magdalen was appointed superior in June 1940.

18. The estates of East and West Denton were owned by the Catholic Errington family in the seventeenth century. Mark Errington, who later became an active Jacobite in the rising of 1715, sold West Denton Hall in 1688 to John Blackett and it remained in that family for almost a century. It then came into the possession of George Baker of Elemore, Durham, who was a High Anglican with strong Catholic sympathies. His daughter, Isabella Judith, married the industrialist and coal-owner Joseph Lamb (1781-1859) and they moved into West Denton Hall. Lamb, a pro-Catholic, spoke publicly in favour of Catholic relief in the year of Catholic Emancipation. The family retained the estate until 1913 and, after other occupancies, it was put up for sale.

19. Fr Smith would publish a quarterly magazine *The Fold* for some years to chronicle events in the homes. The first edition came out in June 1947 but a full set has not been traced.

NEWCASTLE CATENIANS AND THE GREAT WAR

James Hagerty and Kevin Kennair

The Catenian Association is a voluntary organization of Catholic laymen whose origins lie in the early years of the twentieth century. Founded in Manchester in 1908 as the Chums Benevolent Association, its original and essential characteristics were typical of many male societies established in the period before the First World War, or The Great War as it was known to contemporaries. The Chums were Catholic professional and businessmen who were excluded from non-Catholic organizations such as the Freemasons. Drawing upon the traditions and principles of both medieval guilds and contemporary friendly societies, they met socially in 'Circles' and provided mutual economic benefits. They also fostered the careers of Catholic youth and financed the education of Catholic children. Although the Association itself was non-political, Catenians as individuals and in groups played important roles in the social and political development of their communities. Catenians were involved in trade and professional organizations and many of its members were engaged in local politics and public life. Within two years Circles were established in London, Leeds, and Liverpool. The Association was unusual in that priests were excluded, but the patronage of Francis Bourne, fourth Archbishop of Westminster and Louis Charles Casartelli, fourth Bishop of Salford, ensured its protection and survival.[1]

The Newcastle Circle

On Ash Wednesday 1910 Bishop Casartelli wrote to Richard Collins, sixth Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, 'on behalf of the excellent Association of Catholic business and professional men styled "Chums" which is flourishing in this city and doing great good'. He added: 'a branch has already been opened in London (with His Grace's approval)…' Casartelli informed Collins that representatives of the Chums would visit Newcastle and hoped that they would be 'met favourably'. On the same day Casartelli also wrote to George Foggin, Chief Medical Officer for the Newcastle Education Committee and a leading Catholic in the town, soliciting his interest.[2] Bishop Collins gave his approval and Foggin gathered sufficient support for a Newcastle Circle to be inaugurated on 26 October 1910. Foggin was the Founder President.[3]

Days before the formation of the Newcastle Circle, the Chums Benevolent Association adopted as its new emblem a circular interlocking chain (*catena* in Italian) with a cross at its centre. As a result, the Chums Benevolent Association became the Catenian Association.[4] When the Newcastle Circle, the fifth in the Association, was granted a charter there were approximately two hundred and fifty members in five Circles; by the outbreak of war in 1914 there were twenty-seven Circles with 1,593 members or Brothers as they were termed within the association. Newcastle Circle had eighty-eight members.[5] Like other male organizations, the Catenian Association was seriously affected by the outbreak of war against Germany

in August 1914.

Newcastle Catenians and the Tyneside Irish

When Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, called for volunteers, a group of prominent Irish gentlemen on Tyneside proposed the formation of a 'Pals' battalion drawn from the ranks of the Irish community in the north-east. Newcastle Catenians immediately used their economic power and political influence among Catholics across the region to support the venture. There were over 200,000 Catholics in the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle and the Irish-Catholic vote was substantial.[6] The United Irish League, for example, could determine the outcome of local elections.[7] Among Catenians, John F Weidner (No. 8 on the roll of the Newcastle Circle), Walter Lee (No. 10) and John Fitzgerald (No. 125) were eminent local politicians. Weidner, a wealthy ship-owner, was Sheriff of Newcastle in 1897 and the city's Mayor in 1912-1913. Fitzgerald was Sheriff in 1906 and Mayor in 1914-1915, and Lee was Sheriff in 1907 and he became Mayor in 1919. Catenian ranks also included retailers and members of the medical, legal and teaching professions.[8]

In the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* on 12 September 1914, local Irish politicians and businessmen informed the public that they intended to raise a local battalion for Kitchener's New Army. 'Pals' regiments had received War Office approval and it was suggested that 'an Irish Regiment be formed on Tyneside, which Irishmen of all classes and denominations can join'. Many Irishmen had already joined the colours but others were called upon to attend a meeting at the Irish National Club, Collingwood Hall, Clayton Street, Newcastle, on 13 September to promote the new regiment. The signatories included Alderman John O'Hanlon (Mayor of Wallsend), John Gorman and John Mahoney (President and Secretary of the Irish National Club), James McLarney (Secretary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians), and two Catenians – John Farnon (No. 11) and Joseph Fewster (No. 76).[9]

By 18 September nearly six hundred men had offered their services but the War Office initially rejected a distinctively Irish contribution. This setback, however, did not dampen the enthusiasm of those who wished to see a Tyneside Irish 'regiment' and their efforts were rewarded on 15 October when the War Office sanctioned the raising of Irish battalions to be attached to the Northumberland Fusiliers. By mid-November three battalions had been raised. When a fourth was raised in January 1915 the number of men involved had reached five thousand five hundred. These battalions became the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Battalions of the 103rd (Tyneside Irish) Infantry Brigade. Instead of being attached to the 16th Irish Division as intended by their promoters, however, the Brigade was incorporated as the 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th (Service) Battalions of the Northumberland Fusiliers within the 34th Division.[10]

Catenians were actively involved as members or 'friends' of the Tyneside Irish Committees. Several were members of the Tyneside Irish Executive Committee responsible for recruiting, accommodating and equipping the brigade. One of the

most important was Felix Lavery (No. 34). Originally from County Down, the Lavery family had espoused the cause of Charles Stuart Parnell and were immersed in Tyneside Irish politics. Lavery was the intermediary between the Irish Catholic community and Johnstone Wallace, an Ulsterman who, as Lord Mayor of Newcastle, had persuaded the War Office to support a Tyneside Irish battalion. Lavery convened a meeting on 14 October at which the Irish Catholic caucus agreed to collaborate with the Lord Mayor. Other Catenians on the Executive Committee were Patrick Bennett (No. 25) who was a member of Durham County Council and practised law in Newcastle; Joseph Fewster, 'well known in the public life of Newcastle'; Michael Holohan (No. 30), a teacher at St Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle; Patrick O'Rorke (No. 58) 'an enthusiastic worker in the cause of Irish nationalism' who 'accomplished much good work for the brigade'; John Edward Conway (No. 41) a Newcastle businessman; Anthony F Donald (No. 7), a hatter and hosier in Newcastle and a city councillor; and John L Bernasconi (No. 40), an auctioneer and valuer in Newcastle.[11]

Catenians were also members of the General Committee. Nicholas Grattan-Doyle (No. 52) of Wexford, a magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant for County Durham, was Joint Chairman. The Chairman of the committee in 1917 was M J Sheridan (No. 86), Controller of Customs, Registrar of Shipping, and Naval Prize Officer for the Admiralty Courts of the Tyne. The Catenian Vice-President was Alderman John Fitzgerald, a Tipperary man and wine specialist who became Mayor of Newcastle in 1914-15 and Chairman of the local Munitions Committee. John Mulcahy (No. 24) was one of the joint secretaries to whom enrolment forms for the Tyneside Irish had to be submitted. He was a solicitor of Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, and an organizer of the United Irish League. Another Catenian solicitor on the committee was J Megoran Middleton (No. 22), a member of the Newcastle Education Committee and the Newcastle Board of Guardians. John Farnon, a draper and bedding specialist of Nun Street, Newcastle, was another member. He was a magistrate, Chairman of Gosforth Urban District Council, and a member of the Newcastle Board of Guardians. Other Catenians on the committee included dental surgeon Thomas R Haggarty (No. 9) and J M Costelloe (No. 73), the businessman son of W J Costelloe (No. 16) who had been Mayor of Gateshead. Drs McFadyen Miller (No. 28) of Felling Lodge and D F O'Kelly (No. 100) assisted the Brigade as medical officers. Both McFadyen and Holohan, later enlisted.

Strong ecclesiastical support was also forthcoming. Bishop Collins 'gave his most generous support to the Committee, and by his fine example was a powerful influence throughout Northumberland and Durham in the successful formation of the Brigade'. Richard Lacy, first Bishop of Middlesbrough, gave his support to the 3rd Battalion.[12] Canon Augustine Magill of Our Lady and St Joseph's, Brooms, and former headmaster of St Cuthbert's Grammar School, was a member of the General Committee.[13] Father Thomas Hartley of Blaydon and Dom Edward Morrall OSB of Birtley gave their support through the Catholic Committee. The Catholic Institutes in Ashington, Hebburn, North Shields and Wallsend served as recruiting offices. In

1915 Fr George McBrearty of St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, became Chaplain to the Brigade.[14]

Catenian Combatants

In 1917 twenty-eight out of 101 Brothers in the Newcastle Circle were in the forces but not all in the Tyneside Irish. A Roll of Honour, 'handsomely illuminated by a local lady and mounted in an oak case', was produced as was a photograph album of those on active service.[15] Five Newcastle Brothers died in combat. 2nd Lieutenant John C McShane (No. 66), serving with the Royal Engineers, died of wounds on 28 July 1916 and was buried in Bethune Town Cemetery. Captain John Cuthbert Finlay (No. 105) was adjutant with the 3rd Tyneside Irish when he was killed in action on 23 November 1916. He was buried in the Cite Bonjean Military Cemetery at Armentières. Captain Wilfred Joseph Bunbury (No. 19), of the 4th (Territorial) Battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers was killed in action on 15 April 1917 and was interred at Wancourt British Cemetery. Bunbury had been a stockbroker and had lived in Jesmond. Charles McAllister (No. 42), serving with the Highland Light Infantry, was killed in action on 16 April 1918 and is commemorated on the Ploegsteert Memorial. And James Stewart McGuinness (No. 92) of the Royal Irish Regiment was killed in action on 8 August 1918 and was laid to rest in Westoutre British Cemetery. Like many other Catenians, John Finlay and Charles McAllister were alumni of St Cuthbert's Grammar School.[16]

Catenian families also suffered the loss of their sons, some of whom were actually serving with the Northumberland Fusiliers. 2nd Lieutenant Gerald Fitzgerald, son of Sir John Fitzgerald, was with the 3rd Tyneside Irish when he was killed on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, July 1, 1916. 2nd Lieutenant J J Haggarty, the eighteen-year-old son of Brother Thomas Haggarty, was serving with the Northumberland Fusiliers when he was killed in September 1916. 2nd Lieutenant John Peter Prior, son of Brother Peter Prior (No. 59), was serving with the 1st Tyneside Irish when he died in April 1917. Lieutenant Robert Donald, the son of Brother Anthony Donald, was killed in action in April 1917. He had served with the Northumberland Fusiliers before the war but had joined the 1st Tyneside Irish in 1914. Gunner Charles Weidner of the Royal Field Artillery and who was killed in 1917, was the son of the magistrate, ship-owner and alderman, John F Weidner. 2nd Lieutenant George D Foggin of the Royal Flying Corps and son of the Circle's Founder President, was killed in action in July 1918.[17]

Conclusion

The Newcastle Circle continued to grow throughout the war and by 1918 there were 117 Brothers, many of whom were active and influential in the regional war effort.[18] The Catenian contribution to the Tyneside Irish Brigade was a substantial and important aspect of recruiting and funding the battalions. The magnificent effort of those who raised the battalions and the valour of those who fought and died illustrates

the way in which the Catholic community, so long suspected of being unpatriotic, once again proved that they could be both Catholic and loyal to the country in which they lived and worked. The blood shed by the Tyneside Irish on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, when the 1st and 4th Battalions suffered 1,159 casualties, was testimony to their patriotism. On that day the 34th Division suffered heavier casualties than any other Division. The Tyneside Irish lost 1,328 officers and men throughout the war.[19]

When the 26th battalion was disbanded in 1918 its bass drum was placed in the care of Felix Lavery and it remained in his family's possession until his house was sold in 1955. The drum was then donated to the museum of the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers. The colour of the 25th Battalion was laid up in St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, in a ceremony attended by Fr McBrearty. In 1920 the colours of the 24th, 26th and 27th Battalions were laid up in St Nicholas' Cathedral, Gateshead, and in the Newcastle Guildhall. Subsequently, the colours of the 25th and 26th Battalions vanished completely. The only colour to survive is that of the 27th Brigade which was laid up in St Mary's Cathedral on 7 April 2001. The Roll of Honour in memory of those Newcastle Catenians who served in the war vanished in 1926. The photograph album of those who served also disappeared.[20]

By 1917, two hundred and fifty Catenians, out of 1,951 Brothers in thirty Circles, were in military service. Thirty-one were killed in action or died of wounds. Towards the end of hostilities the Grand Council of the Catenian Association discussed the possibility of a memorial to all those who had given their lives. It concluded that the most appropriate memorial would be to care for the families of those who had died. It was considered to be the most practical extension of the Association's sympathy.[21]

Notes and References

1. P. Lane, *The Catenian Association 1908-1973* (London, 1982).

2. Salford Diocesan Archives, Casartelli Papers, G601-706, Box 157, Casartelli to Collins and Casartelli to Foggin, Ash Wednesday, 1910.

3. Lane, pp.32-33. See also The Catenian Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Circle, Nominal Roll.

4. Lane, pp.36-37.

5. *The Catenian Directory* (1914).

6. *Ibid.*

7. For the influence of Irish-Catholic politicians in the north-east see M Morris and L Gooch, *Down Your Aisles: The Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle 1850-2000* (Hartlepool, 2000), esp. p. 22.

8. *The Catenian Directory* (1914); Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Circle, Nominal Roll. (In what follows, the number in brackets following a man's name indicates his position on the Circle's Nominal Roll.)

9. J.Sheen, *Tyneside Irish* (Barnsley, 1998), p.17.

10. Sheen, Tyneside Irish, pp.

11. F Lavery, 'Who's Who of The Tyneside Irish Brigade', J. Keating, Irish *Heroes in the War* (1917), pp.313-317.

12. Lavery; Sheen, p.27

13. *The Catholic Directory* (1914).

14. Sheen, pp. 22, 27-28, 210; T Johnstone and J Hagerty, 'The Priest in the Armed Forces', *Northern Catholic History*, no.35, 1994, pp.58-66.

15. *Catena* [the journal of the Association] (September 1917).

16. *Catena* (July 1919); Commonwealth War Graves Commission website (CWGC); Sheen, p.208; C Hart, *The Early Story of St Cuthbert's School, Newcastle-on-Tyne* (London, 1941), p.88.

17. Sheen, p.208; CWGC. Major Joseph Merriman Prior served with the Northumberland Yeomanry before the war. He joined the 1st Tyneside Irish in November 1915 and was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel in 1916. It is likely that John Peter was of the same family; Sheen, pp.26, 211.

18. *Catena* (September 1917); CWGC.

19. *Catena* (September 1918); CWGC.

20. *The Catenian Directory* (1919); Sheen, pp. 181, 207, 213, 225, 237, 248; St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle-on-Tyne, website; Newcastle-Upon-Tyne Circle records.

21. The Catenian Association, Grand Council Minutes, 1917; *Catena* (November 1918); *Catena* (June 1919).

THE FATE OF THE DURHAM CHAPTER IN 1559 – ADDENDA

A.I. Doyle

Since Fr Edward Stephens published his article in *Ushaw Magazine* (Vol. 38, 1928), usefully reprinted in *Northern Catholic History* (No. 47, 2006) there has been, not surprisingly, a good deal of other research on the last monks and first canons of Durham cathedral, complementing and not contradicting his judgements.

In 1939 Barbara N. Wilson obtained a PhD from Durham University with a thesis on 'The Changes of the Reformation Period in Durham and Northumberland' in two volumes (unpublished but available in the University Library), in which Appendix I is a list of the monks of the Cathedral Priory at the Dissolution and what she was able to find out about them thereafter. In 1949 Canon S.L. Greenslade (at that time Cathedral Librarian), published 'The Last Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory' in *Durham University Journal* (Vol. 41, pp. 107-113) from his firsthand investigations of the cathedral archives and other sources. In 1968 Dr A.M.C. Forster published her 'Bishop Tunstall's Priests' in *Recusant History* (Vol. 9, pp. 175-204). In 1973 David Marcombe completed another PhD thesis on 'The Dean and Chapter of Durham 1558-1603', in which he discussed the ex-monks who survived in 1559 and other Catholic sympathisers. He subsequently published an essay mentioning some of the same people: 'A Rude and Heady People: The Local Community and the Rebellion of the Northern Earls [1569]' in *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham 1494-1660,* edited by himself. In 1997 Dr C. Fraser published her 'Catholic Clergy in the Diocese of Durham, 1563' in this periodical (No. 38, pp. 20-27). Not all these scholars seem to have been aware of the work of the others or of Fr Stephens's. In 1975 Dr Christopher Kitching edited *The Royal Visitation of 1559: Act Book for the Northern Province* (Surtees Society, Vol. 187) from the original in the Public Record Office (now re-styled National Archives), in which pages 21-32 are about the diocese of Durham, and known to Fr Stephens through Dom Norbert Birt's book *Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (1907).

In 1559, Dean Robertson (a secular priest), seven canons who were ex-monks and three who were not refused or evaded the royal supremacy and were deprived of the fruits of their benefices, though not all immediately of their appointments, and four seem to have conformed somehow subsequently. Two of them, however, were deprived later: William Todd in 1567 and Stephen Marley as late as 1572. But, as Fr Stephens said, the sympathies of Stephen Marley and his brother (or kinsman) Nicholas (who fled to Louvain in 1563 following the secular priest George Bullock) are revealed by the many printed books they owned as monks, now at Ushaw and elsewhere, which they must have taken with them when banished from Durham, and which passed to their relatives the Tempest family, at Holmside or Stanley, about which Fr Stephens had written in

Ushaw Magazine (Vol. 15, 1905, pp. 24-63) and I did in a Durham Cathedral Lecture (1974) and *Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography: Festschrift for Professor T.A. Birrell* (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 83-93.

George Cliffe, the last survivor of the ex-monks, about whose wavering allegiance Fr Stephens wondered, died with a wife and several children (all minors) in 1596. We do not know when most of his more faithful brethren died, so it could be to him that we owe some of the reminiscences, compiled in the 1580s, of the monastery in its heyday: the so-called *Antiquities* or *Rites of Durham* (best edited by J.T. Fowler in Surtees Society Vol. 107, 1904) but readable in several earlier and later printings).

REVIEWS

David Cross, *Joseph Bouet's Durham: Drawings from the Age of Reform* (Durham County Local History Society in association with Durham University Library, 2005, ISBN 0902958267)

Joseph Bouet's origins are not entirely clear though it seems that he may have been born in Paris in 1791. He came to northern England as a young man and, after spending some time in the area of Morpeth, where he married in 1810, he settled in Durham City probably around 1820 and he lived there until his death in December 1856 earning his living as a teacher of French, a drawing-master and an artist. The majority of his known works, numbering several hundred drawings, are in the collections of the libraries of Durham University and Durham Cathedral. This volume is an illustrated catalogue of his work and reproduces thirty-eight of his pencil drawings, mostly of the 'celebrities of the city of Durham'.

Of interest to readers of this journal is the inclusion in the catalogue (but not among the reproductions) of three named Catholics: Nicholas, Cardinal Wiseman, Ignatius Bonomi, the architect, and Edward Walsh, the Jesuit priest who served in Durham for fifty years. Bouet and Walsh had French origins and Catholicism in common, and they were close neighbours – Bouet at No. 27 Old Elvet, and Walsh at No. 33. Bonomi, of Italian descent, rented a house in Old Elvet from around 1813 to 1827.

Nicholas Wiseman, had known Durham when he attended Ushaw College as a boy. His mother took a house in the city, opposite the Wheatsheaf Inn, and Nicholas was staying with her during a general election campaign in 1810 or 1812 when he was ten or twelve. A boisterous crowd had gathered to hear an election address and Nicholas appeared at his window to watch. The house was known to be a Catholic residence and when he was spotted he became the target of the heckling rather than the speaker. Bouet's portrait (more of a caricature) was one of his later works, and was probably executed in August 1851 during the visit of His Eminence to the region when he attended the opening of the new church at Hartlepool. (Wiseman was both tall and very large; he was once highly amused to be addressed by one old lady as *Your Immense*.)

Ignatius Bonomi (1787-1870), was born in England but was descended from a distinguished Roman family – which included a *beatus.* He was the most important architect to practise in nineteenth-century Durham. At the age of twenty-six he secured the important post as County Bridge Surveyor and was later appointed cathedral architect. Bonomi was resident in the city for about forty years after 1812, firstly in Old Elvet, then in the house he built for himself on Elvet Hill, and latterly in No. 5 North Bailey, with his office at No. 45 opposite. He built Burn Hall and made alterations at Croxdale Hall and Hesleyside. His Catholic ecclesiastical commissions in the north included the churches in Bellingham, Brough, Darlington, Durham, Sunderland and Wigton. (He was also considered for St Anne, Leeds, and Wycliffe in the North Riding.)

Edward Walsh was born in France in 1739 of Irish parents, and was educated in various Jesuit colleges in France and the Low Countries. He entered the Society in 1756 and was ordained around 1767. He spent some years teaching and studying abroad, partly in Rome, before coming to Durham aged thirty-three as missioner, for which he was given faculties in 1772. Walsh became very popular in the city; his cordial relations with the Dean and Chapter led to his being dubbed the 'thirteenth prebendary' of the cathedral. In 1796 the secular priest Henry Rutter, chaplain at Minsteracres, waspishly remarked of Walsh:

> He has travelled much and passes for a very agreeable companion; is great with all the prebendaries and constantly one of their parties. In return for which he gives a grand rout once a year to which all the Gentlemen and Ladies are invited, and at his last was honoured with above 90 persons of the first rank of gentility in the neighbourhood.

Walsh died in 1822 aged eighty-two and was buried in St Oswald's 'Popish Green', where his tombstone can be seen. His obituary in the *Durham Advertiser* observed that he was 'generally respected and esteemed'.

From a Catholic point of view there are some surprising omissions from the catalogue: the Vicars Apostolic William Gibson and his successor Thomas Smith, and the secular missioner William Croskell, all of whom would have been known to Bouet and, indeed, would have lived near him in Old Elvet. Croskell, moreover, had engaged Bonomi to build St Cuthbert's church (1827) in which Bonomi was married ten years later. It seems unlikely that they would have declined to sit for him (both bishops' portraits hang in Ushaw College) and one can only speculate that they may not have been friendly with Bouet, or he may have thought they lacked interest as sitters. That is a pity because we are denied what would surely have been highly engaging and probably provocative *ad vivum* portraits of important Catholic figures of the day.

L. Gooch

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F. Dobson, *The Life and Times of George Silvertop of Minsteracres* (Browne Burton and Associates, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2004, ISBN 0952420708, distributed by Minsteracres Retreat Centre, Co Durham DH8 9RT)

Here in sixteen chapters of large print in hard back a well known local historian seeks to put together the story of one of the north's most active Catholic laymen of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Silvertop family of Stella came into prominence a century before when, having kept out of the 1715 Jacobite Rising, Albert, the head of the family joined Joseph Dunn of Blaydon to force a way into the lucrative coal business, until then the monopoly of the local Protestants. By 1721 he was able to purchase the moorland farm known as Minsteracres, where in view of his newly-acquired status he envisaged building a large house, the cost of which would eventually lead the family into extreme

financial troubles for several years. Albert's great grandson John, educated at Douai, inherited the estate at the death of his father George in 1789 at the age of fifty-two. When British institutions in France were forcibly seized by the revolutionary government in 1793, he took an active part in Bishop William Gibson's search for a replacement, and had the distinction of chairing the meeting at Minsteracres in August 1798 which led directly to the purchase of the Ushaw estate.

When his son George, the focus of this book, succeeded to the estate in 1801, his first task was to pay off the enormous debts incurred by John in building the house at Minsteracres. This work accomplished, he then turned his attention to the on-going Catholic Question, that is, the removal of the remaining legal and political restrictions on English Catholics. Much of what Dobson writes is not new, and he is honest enough to recognise his indebtedness to Mgr Bernard Ward's monumental books on that subject published between 1909 and 1915. The general reader will probably have difficulty following such complex negotiations, not to say in-fighting, involving politicians and churchmen during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, but will be rewarded for their patience as they see George Silvertop emerge into the public arena, prepared to fight for Catholic Emancipation on his own terms, sometimes defying powerful bishops such as John Milner, and nearer home, prominent local clergy such as Thomas Gillow and James Worswick, who rather resented lay intrusion and undoubtedly took exception to his embryonic ecumenism.

Throughout his life George Silvertop took a keen interest in the new seminary at Ushaw, eagerly supporting Monsignor Charles Newsham's efforts from 1837 onwards to ensure that the college would retain its place at the head of the league of English Catholic schools. Towards the end of his book Dobson expresses puzzlement at Silvertop's involvement in what became known in the Catholic circles of the late 1840s as the Sherburne-Heatley affair. Essentially it was about property and money. Ushaw had received both from the Revd Thomas Sherburne and stood to lose a great deal if the case heard in Rome went against them. George Silvertop knew this, and took Ushaw's side. He did not live to see the outcome, nor, for that matter, did he live to see the restoration of the English Catholic hierarchy in 1850. Regarding the former, he would have been disappointed to learn that Ushaw had lost its case; in regard to the latter, I am not at all sure that he would have welcomed it.

The author has rescued the Silvertops from obscurity and he has also thankfully drawn attention to Minsteracres and the Passionist priory which now occupies the site, which, like all Catholic institutions in England today, faces many difficulties and deserves our support.

D. Milburn

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Margaret Harvey, *Lay Religious Life in Late Medieval Durham* (The Boydell Press in association with the AHRB Centre for North-East England History, 2006, ISBN 1843832771.)

What did the English laity think of the clergy in the late medieval period? Rightly, this question is of perennial interest to both secular and ecclesiastical historians, since many of them have it that the Reformation was hardly contested by ordinary people because they were glad to bring down over-bearing clerics and the oppressive regime of the church. In this comprehensive, scholarly study, Margaret Harvey examines the life and organisation of the church in a small city which owed its importance to the presence since 995AD of the shrine of St Cuthbert, its priory and its cathedral and for which there is abundant material illustrating lay attitudes to religious duty and ecclesiastical authority in the pre-Reformation era.

By 1500AD some four thousand souls lived in the six city parishes which had been created long before and which had well-established customs and practices. It is immediately clear that the laity played a significant and lively part in running the affairs of their parishes and participating in all aspects of church life as churchwardens, parish clerks, proctors of guilds or keepers of lights – posts to which they were elected. The rites of passage and the principal seasons were all observed in the usual way, although the Christmas and Easter ceremonies would have been grander than elsewhere because of the presence of the monks and the bishop. Parochial saints' days were celebrated, of course, and the priory's particular feastdays added to the annual round. Corpus Christi was important; it was one of the few feasts celebrated by the whole city together, with special rites including a procession, in which the banners of the craft guilds were paraded, and ending with a play and other secular festivities. Aspects of the agricultural cycle were also marked liturgically.

The church did not confine itself to the strictly ecclesiastical. The old and sick of Durham were well provided for in several hospitals, the most important of which was run by the priory. The cathedral and priory were the main providers of education in the city with a grammar school, a choir school and a chantry school; the priory also maintained Durham College in Oxford for sixteen clerical students (half of them monks). Curiously, Durham made little provision for pilgrims – perhaps travellers were expected to self-reliant.

By and large, relations between clergy and laity were fairly good but the latter were not in the least inhibited from challenging church authority should encroachments on their rights and traditions be attempted. On several occasions the bishop and his representatives were taken before the secular or papal courts. This should not be seen as anti-clericalism but rather as symptomatic of ordinary disputes which were bound to arise in day-to-day transactions between neighbours or between landlords and tenants: among other things the payment of tithes or the amount of coal-royalties could be controversial, and priests were not invariably continent nor were mortuaries always honoured. The

ecclesiastical powers in Durham by no means had it all their own way for the laity won their cases as often as not. There was, moreover, an overlap between the ecclesiastical and secular courts in respect of disputes about marriages, debt, wills, mortuaries, and so on, and the laity was as familiar with canon law as with civil law. Experience gained over the years taught the clergy caution.

Dr Harvey produces evidence to show general approval for the Durham clergy: their social and charitable contribution to city life was obviously appreciated. Concerted hostility towards clerics was rarely found, although dislike of individuals was normal, then as now. Furthermore, people held fast to contemporary devotions as, for example, in the voluntary support of chantries and of the confraternities or guilds (principally Corpus Christi and St Cuthbert) which were maintained right up to the Reformation. Similarly, there is little indication that the imposition by church courts of strict penances for misdemeanours caused undue resentment on the part of the laity; and the extent of public humiliation is striking – fornication often resulted in a whipping in the marketplace, and a second offence (between the same couple) would automatically result in the 'penalty of matrimony' (*sub pena nubendi*). A procession of penitents carrying candles was usually held during the aspersions before the main Mass on Sunday. Private or 'spiritual' penance was not much countenanced in Durham in those days.

The religious institutions of Durham were flourishing on the eve of the Reformation and the way of life described in this book did not come to an abrupt end at the behest of the king: the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536 saw to that. And that revolt against royal supremacy, it is important to note, was precipitated by the common people under the banner of St Cuthbert with some of the lesser clergy. (Tunstal, the bishop, fled the county although as a conservative he must have deplored the intended changes.) The dissolution of Durham priory three years later was also much resented. The same religious grievances led to the Rising of the North thirty years later and when Mass was said in the cathedral, the intending congregation could hardly be accommodated. With this important book Margaret Harvey has not only provided an engrossing study of the period which is valuable enough in itself, but she has added to the growing body of detailed work which is proving that the English people rather than being dissatisfied with the old religion or oppressed by it, were in fact firmly attached to its beliefs and practices.

L. Gooch

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Middlesbrough occasional pubs.

Newcastle biography – friend of Anne

AILRED'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD

Anthony Storey

Ailred (1109-66AD), the monk-historian, was born at Hexham c.1109AD. As a young man he gravitated, as did others, to the Scottish court of Queen Margaret and Malcolm III which was a centre of culture, devotion and civility unmatched elsewhere. He developed close friendships with Margaret's sixth son David (later king) and with his son Henry. Ailred declined advancement in Scotland, however, and became instead a Cistercian monk in the recently founded abbey of Rievaulx. Using the specious excuse of promoting Matilda's claim to the English throne, King David invaded England in 1138AD, intending to seize York while King Stephen was preoccupied with his unruly subjects in the south. The Archbishop of York, who was also Lieutenant of the North, got wind of David's intentions and rallied an army which assembled at York before marching north. The opposing armies met on Cowton Moor three miles north of Northallerton early in the day of Monday 22 August. The ensuing 'Battle of the Standard' has been described as

> one of the greatest – yet unheralded – battles in British history, the first major collision between the nascent kingdoms of England and Scotland, both inexorably intent on occupying the same limited area known as the North.[1]

The Standard which gave the battle its name was a ship's mast fastened to a low carriage which ran on four wheels. A pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament was fixed at the top of the mast and on several cross-pieces were hung the banners of St Peter (York), St Wilfrid (Ripon), St Cuthbert (Durham) and St John (Beverley). The engagement lasted around two hours and was won conclusively by the English. David's army was routed: some twelve thousand Scots were killed and ransoms had to be paid for the repatriation of some fifty Scottish knights. The only English leader to perish was William de Lacy.

Clearly, Ailred's sympathies were divided and his monastery at Rievaulx was not far away from the battleground. Indeed his vivid description shows that he may well have been an eye-witness of the engagement and his account is therefore important. No full version of Aelred's text has been published and so this translation is of some interest.[2]

Relatio venerabilis Aelredi, abbatis Rievallensis, de Standardo

In the year of our Lord 1138, King Stephen being occupied in the south, the Scottish king [David] raised a great army, pressing into his service no small host from the Orkneys and Islands along with the men of his own kingdom. Then with great show and commotion he set about subduing all northern England, depopulating the land with fire and slaughter.

The Northumbrian lords had wind of his coming and, urged on by Archbishop Thurston, they were summoned to the host by Walter Espec, of whom I will tell you later, and came together to determine their plan of resistance.

And so it was that, their courage and high mettle compensating for small numbers, they gathered to meet the invaders in the open plain near Allerton, hoisting there the royal flag which the people term the Standard.

Furthermore, Archbishop Thurston in a pastoral letter [read] throughout the diocese commanded that all who were able to go to the war from every parish, led by their priests with processional cross, banners, relics of saints, should hasten to join the lords to defend Christ's Church against the barbarians.

Foremost of the leaders of the southern army was William, Earl of Albemarle, as yet a young man in his prime, but of no small military experience, who had at his back a great force of men from dales and moorland alike, as skilled in arms as they were outstanding in valour.

Then there was Walter of Ghent, ancient of days with one foot almost in the grave, a gentle man and holy, whose strong right arm lay in his Normans and men of Flanders; – and he indeed went far to bracing the spirit of the whole company by the wisdom and weight of his word.

Gilbert de Lacy too was there without delay and with no small force. He had known exile in King Henry's time and hardened by the trials and labours of his former schooling, he stood all the firmer now.

Well though he loved the king of the Scots, Robert de Brus, also was not missing in this crisis, from the ranks of his own, and with his great young son Adam, brought in a strong force which was the honour of the host, not so much on account of their military strength, as for their youth and fine order.

Seized with such determination to resist the Scot they even induced young Roger of Mowbray, a mere boy, to be there, though placing him wisely in amongst the others in a manner becoming his age. With him the whole panoply of his estates, giving way to none in wisdom, courage or number, gathered with so brave a show as to make of no account their leader's boyish age.

[Ailred omits Bernard de Baliol, William de Percy, William Fossard, Richard de Courcy, Robert de Stuteville, William de Peverill, Galfrid Assaline and Robert de Ferrers.]

Present in their midst was Walter Espec, an old man and full of days, alert as ever, wise in counsel, unseen in peace, far-seeing in war, ever holding fast to friendship with allies and loyalty to his sovereigns. Walter was a man of immense stature, but his mighty limbs were only such as should belong to this giant of mighty calibre. Hair black, long flowing beard, broad and open forehead, and great piercing eyes, a face open to the world and yet able to display each changing mood, such was this man with a voice like a trumpet-call whose majestic ring seemed yet in harmony with his naturally friendly disposition. However, noble of physique, he was nobler yet in Christian goodness; for having no children to succeed him – though robustious relatives were not wanting to him, – of all his best possessions he made Christ his heir. He founded a monastery of canons regular in a most delightful spot called Birch [Kirkham Abbey?], endowing it with many gifts and enriching it with lands, turning over even his great halls, and furnishings, his barns and granges to house the servants

of Christ.

Moreover, he introduced, by the gracious favour of glorious king Henry, the Cistercian order into these parts at a time when England had scarcely heard that name, receiving the brethren from great Clairvaulx itself at the hands of Abbot Bernard, beloved of God. Coming to England in the year of Our Lord 1132 and given a place in a very deep valley on the bank of the river Rye, – whence the monastery's name, Rievaulx, – the monks, by the fame of their religious life, drew many after the pursuit of that highest of studies, and in a short time, many indeed were the houses they founded both in England and Scotland alike. Still not satisfied with these great gifts, Walter founded through these brothers that monastery of highest renown in the marches of Warden.

Moreover, in the year of their arrival in England, some of the monks of St. Mary's, York, drawn by the purity and poverty of the Cistercian life, obtained the help of the venerable Archbishop Thurston to cast off the wealth and comfort which ill became the monastic purity of life, and founded amid the utmost poverty and fervour the house of Fountains on St. Stephen's day (6th. Kal. Jan.). Soon attaching themselves more closely to the Cistercian order, they on their part began founding monasteries throughout the Island of Britain.

The brethren of Waverley, too, until now hidden away in a corner of the land, once it was known that they were of the same order added further to the number of Cistercian houses. And so, whether born of Rievaulx herself or spurred on by her example, monastic houses made our land illustrious and excelling all others of that order in England was Rievaulx Abbey, in her great name and her religious observance.

Now, no one can deny that all this great good must be laid at the door of this man of such energy who, from afar, brought the seed for such a harvest, and himself found the fields for its sowing.

And he it was, revered as a father by the whole army for his age and wisdom, who now mounted the platform they had erected by the Royal Standard, and towering head and shoulders above the throng gave this harangue to rouse the fearful and spur on the brave: 'For you', he began,

> brave young men to listen to me is not without value, for I am one who has learnt by the long experience, of good days and bad, the successions of kings, and the varying fortunes of war to consider well the days gone by, to adjudge our present times, and reading the present from the past so with some shrewdness to read the future also from the present. And indeed if all who are listening to me did but grasp and know and could forsee, as I do, the outcome of today, I would gladly not address you at all, and instead would take a sleep, or play at dice or chess, or if such things should seem ill-suited to my age, I might set myself to reading the history of the past, or settle down, as I often do, to listen to anyone who will recount the deeds of our forbears. But I see that very many of you, while certain of the battle, are wavering in your minds about our victory, full of fears lest the immense host of Scots should swamp our puny

band, – as if victory should depend on numbers rather than be won by courage, or be obtained from God through right determination in a quarrel that is just.

For myself, considering calmly our reason, our course, the need thrust upon us, who we are and against whom we fight today, I stand here fearless, as certain of victory as I am of our joining battle. For what cause have we to despair of victory when to our nation victory has been granted as if in fief by the most high God Himself? Did not our fathers with but a handful of men, overrun the greater part of Gaul erasing from that nation even the name of their country? How often was the Frankish army scattered to the winds? How often did they master the men of Flanders, of Acquitaine, our few against their multitudes?

Why, our fathers and we mastered this very island, which formerly even greater victorious Julius scarce conquered with great loss after many years, yet we were masters in the briefest space, and in as brief a space, receiving their submission, subdued it to our laws. We have seen, – seen with our own eyes, – the king of France and his whole army turn his back on us losing captives to us of all the greatest barons of his realm, some to be ransomed, some made our subjects, some condemned to prison. And who mastered Apulia? Who Sicily, who Calabria, but our brother Norman? Were not both emperors put to flight the same day if not the very hour, father and son alike, at the onslaught of us Normans?

Should we not then, laugh rather than fear that against such men as these the wretched Scots, their bodies half-naked, should come to fight. These are they, – yes, the very same, – who thinking better of resistance yielded to us when William, the Conqueror of England, would press on to Scotland itself right up to Abernith where warlike Malcolm was surrendered to us, and now they provoke their conquerors, who mastered them, to war. Against our lances, swords and arrows they raise a leather strip, a calf-hide for, a shield, braving death with little bravery but with unreasoning contempt. What have we to fear from their overlong spears? From up here I can see those overlong spears of theirs, but what have we to fear from them? Blunt of point and ready to splinter, such wood at a stroke is stricken in pieces; first impact and it cracks, hardly good for one thrust. Parry it with but a stick, and a Scot stands disarmed.

Or is it the numbers that deter us? Greater the number to conquer, greater glory to the Conquerors. What I think about the actual numbers I leave unsaid lest I seem to make less of the glory to be ours.

Or perhaps we are not sure of our cause? But it is no unjust war that we are waging for our king, usurper though his enemies try to dub him. No, the realm was offered and accepted by him, whom the people sought and the clergy elected. Him the bishop anointed and the apostolic see confirmed his royal office. But apart altogether from the king, no one surely will deny our right to take arms for our country, for our wives and children or to repulse the danger threatened to our churches. The matter is urgent. Remember only what they did beyond the Tyne, and expect no less if the Scots should win today. I hardly dare

tell of the slaughter and rapine and fire wrought as by daily custom at the hands of this enemy, – such enormities as are beyond the telling even in the histories of the cruellest tyrants. Tell you I would, did words not fail me and my hearers fly away for horror of it. They spared not age nor rank nor sex. Noble boys and girls were led off to captivity, honest marriage violated by lechery beyond belief. Children, hurled in the air to be caught on point of a spear, provided entertainment for the men of Galwey, while a mother with child is cut asunder and impious hands break her tender child on the rocks. Wearied of this massacre of innocents, they plunged their knives, still unwashed of the blood of their dismembered victims, into the carcases they would devour, while slaking their thirst in the cruel potion of water mixed with human blood. Happy were they, was their cry, whom fortune had brought to this day when they could drink the blood of Gauls.

By chance they found some children in a house, whom taking by the foot, a Galwey man destroyed one by one against a post, and stacking them into a heap he called in laughter to his fellow: ‘See how many Gauls I myself alone have slain this day.’

I shudder to recall how they would enter the Church of God, pollute the sanctuary, and trample underfoot the Sacrament of Christian salvation.

What, my brave men, are we doing? Fighting against men? Not men but beasts in whom is no humanity, no beginning of honour. An enemy whom heaven abhors and earth abominates, whom the oceans vomit forth and the very stars detest. For one reason only has the earth not swallowed them, the thunders of heaven not struck them down, the sea not drowned them all, – that they might be kept for you to conquer and to perish at your hands.

Hallowed be your hands in the blood of sinners, – blessed indeed the hands of those chosen by Christ this day to wreak vengeance on these iniquities. Fall to it and abolish this unspeakable race of murderers from the face of the earth, bury them in hell lest live they longer, the sun should hide his light, the skies refuse us rain, or the fruits of the earth shrivel and die. Consider how in your king’s absence it will accrue to your glory to master a king in battle yourselves without a king’s aid. To you will it fall to be the king’s council, yours the kingdom, by your consent all things will be settled, through whom today a king’s realm has been made safe for his, and for his kingdom’s peace, and for that peace great honour. The king will own that at your hands he has today been crowned anew.

We shall march forth fearless then, together, since ours is the more just cause, and greater strength, pressed by necessity, summoned by glory, assisted by divine aid, for with us will fight the whole court of heaven. Michael will be there with his angels to redress the outrage to his church defiled with human blood, men beheaded on the very altar. Peter and the apostles will fight with you whose churches they have turned now into a stable, now a brothel. The martyrs in array of battle will advance before you whose relics they have burnt, and heaped their shrines with corpses. The Holy virgins, though hesitant to take a

part in war, will yet support us with their prayers. More, I say, Christ himself, taking arms and shield, shall rise up to our aid.

They come at us in pride, but we at them in deep humility. Gorged are they, satiated with the meats they have filched, but we without breaking holy fast stand replete with the Flesh and Blood of Christ. Before them, leaping in the air go acrobats, men and women dervishes, before us the Cross of Christ, and relics of the saints.

But why do I keep you longer? Conquer we certainly must, or else we die. For who would wish himself alive to see a Scottish victory, his wife a victim to their lust, his children riven with a lance?

And saying this he turned upon the Earl of Albemarle, his right hand given, with these words: 'I plight my faith today, that either I shall conquer the Scots, or at their hands I die.' And with like vow did all the nobles bind themselves. Then, to remove, once for all, any hope of flight, they led all horses off the field and decided to do battle on foot, determined to conquer or die.

The king, meanwhile, summoning his lords to him, and all the great barons of his realm, began to discuss together their own plan of battle, the majority favouring this plan, that all the knights in armour should be disposed along with the bowmen in the forefront so that the enemy's armoured knights be met by armour, his soldiery by trained soldiers, and arrow for arrow.

Not so the men of Galwey, who maintained that it was their right to form the front line, initiate attack, and temper by their mettle the rest of the army. Others saw a danger here lest men but poorly armed meeting armour at the first encounter, and unable to withold the shock of battle, it might happen that the front line be put to flight, and then, so easily, the bravest hearts be made to waver.

None the less the Galwey men would have their way, demanding what was theirs by right. 'Why this timidity, O King', they say,

this excessive fear of those mailed tunics that you see? Are not our thighs of steel, our breasts of bronze, our minds empty of fear? When have our feet known that thing called flight, or our backs any thrusting wound? What did their coats of mail serve these Gauls at Clitheroe? Did not the unarmed Galweymen, as they are called, force them to jettison their armour, leave their helmets behind them, and discard their shields? Can you not see O king, in your wisdom what it means to put trust in such things as these, – more weight and hindrance in the press of battle than a source of help? Mail-coated though they were at Clitheroe, we beat them and, with our lances we shall strike them down today, mettle of spirit being the only shield for us.

The king, still seeming rather to lean towards the plan of the knights, Earl Malisse of Stradarne indignantly burst out: 'How is it, O King, that you commit yourself to the Gauls' own tactics, when for all their arms, not one of them shall master me today, unarmoured though I am.' To which Alan of Percy, – famed son of the great Alan, and a most vigorous soldier, proved in all matters of war – taking this amiss,

turned on the Earl: ‘A great boast have you made,’ he said, ‘and with your very life this day you will not be able to redeem it.’ Then, checking them both lest from their altercation a tumult should break out, the king gave way to the Galwey men.

The king’s son drew up the second line, shrewdly disposing his knights and bowmen along with the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale. Of noble face and fine features, this young man was of so retiring a disposition as to seem the least of them all, while commanding an authority which all revered; and at the same time his gentle manner, his taking ways, and his courtesy, endeared him to everyone. Chaste of body, careful of speech and upright of life, so assiduous in Church and attentive to prayer, good to the poor and forthright with evildoers, so respectful to priest or monk, in him monk appeared contending with king for mastery, and king with monk. In all that army there was not to be found one of like integrity whether in attacking or doggedly withholding an attack; braver than all in pursuit of the enemy, he was likewise unmatched in resistance, and always the last to think of retreat. Attached to him now and taking his stand in this line was Eustace, son of John, one of England’s great barons, and a close friend of old to king Henry. A shrewd man of considerable resource in business matters, he had withdrawn allegiance from the English king since he was cornered in court and forced contrary to age-old custom to yield up the castles committed to him by King Henry, wherefore taking offence he had gone over to the enemy to avenge his injury.

The men of Lothian made up the third line, with the Islanders and men of Lorne. The Scots and men of the Marches the king kept at his side, and he deputed some English and French knights to be his personal bodyguard. Such then was the disposition of the northern army.

Being few in number, the southern forces wisely drew up a single close formation. Taking up position, the leading knights so interspersed the bowmen and spearmen amongst themselves, that protected by their heavy arms they could with the greater security be sharp to launch an attack, or be ready to meet one. The older knights meanwhile, to be the support of the rest, were drawn up about the royal standard, some of them posted above the others even up on the wagon itself.

Shield touches shield as they line up, shoulder to shoulder, with pennants flying from lance upraised, their armour flashing splendid in the sun. White in their surplices, priests move in and out among the ranks, their armour, the cross, and relics of the saints, while they fortify the people with exhortation and prayer. All as it ought to be. Then, heavy with years as he was laden with wealth, Robert de Brus stood forth, man of few words and serious manner who spoke with slow ponderous gravity. Although by right the man of the English king, he had from childhood been closely attached to the king of Scotland, so that he had the intimacy of the king’s ear. He, then, a man of veteran knightly family, and experienced enough in matters such as this, sensing instinctively the danger which threatened the king, and in view of his lifelong friendship with him, obtained the consent of his friends to approach the king either to dissuade him from battle, or else in the customary way formally withdraw

his allegiance. For he was bound to the king not only by friendship, but also by fief. Coming therefore before him, ‘I am here, O king,’ he began,

> as your liegeman to give you advice, – advice honourable to you, useful to your realm, and of value to your heirs in days to come. For it belongs to the wise, O king, to consider not only the beginning of things, but also their end and outcome, and not so concentrate on present affairs as to drive the past from memory or blind oneself to what lies ahead. Who is it that you attack today with this countless host behind you? The English, you say, and the Normans. And is it not from these, O king, that you have ever had wise counsel, prompt aid and ready service? And for how long a time, My Lord, I ask you have you been able to place such faith in the Scots as to make you ready now to decline the counsel of the English and reject Norman aid – as if the Scots alone could even serve to protect you against your very Scots? This is indeed a new assurance that you place in the Galwegians as this day you face in arms those very men whom till today you had at your command, allies to your Scots, and the terror of the Galwegians.
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> Think you, O king, the Divine Majesty will look on unmoved while you set forth on the destruction of those very men who won your realm for you and yours, and now maintain its peace? What forces – and auxiliaries besides – did your brother Duncan receive to master Donald’s army, and the lands the tyrant had invaded? Who restored your brother Edgar to his kingdom – more than a brother indeed to you – if it was not our army? And you yourself, O king, that very brother leaving you a portion of his kingdom, did indeed demand it of your brother Alexander, and obtain all that you wished, and that without bloodshed, but not without his fear of the support we had to give you. Recall last year, how against Malcolm, that heir of your father’s anger and persecution, you wielded English aid, and with what willingness, speed, and ready help Walter Espec and so many other English lords, careless of danger, came to meet you at Carlisle; what ships they brought, what arms they supplied, and the flower of their young men striking fear into all your enemies until Malcolm himself left alone, was caught defeated and handed over to you. This fear of us, it was, that quelled his own supporters, and more important, curbed the spirit of the Scots, leaving them – all hope of mastery gone – with no stomach for rebellion. If the Scots now hate us, this enmity is incurred on account of you and yours, for whom we fought them again and again dashing their hope of insurrection and forcing their submission to you and to your will. Well may the Scots now laugh that their revenge on us should be at your hands, since they have nothing of which to be avenged, except that we have loved you, kept faith by you, protected your very being by our arms, and saved your realm for you. Therefore take thought, O king, for yourself, for your realm, above all for that most splendid of young men your son, whom today you expose without counsel, and bereft of all aid to the treachery of the Scots, a ready victim for their mad anger. Beware too lest you be involved in the wicked guilt of those at whose hands will be demanded the slaughter of children, the bewailing of mothers to be, the outraging of priests,

and contempt of God Himself. Against these the blood not merely of a single Abel but of innocents unnumbered cries from the earth. You yourself have been witness, O king, to the terrible cruelties they have committed; seen them you have indeed, I say, and been horrified, have wept over them, striking your breast, proclaiming it to be done against your command, against your will and decree. Prove now, then, that such was the truth by withholding them from a repetition of such wickedness, so that if they do return to it without you they may meet their deserts, if in your absence they prove guilty of such enormities. These alone should be reasons enough if there were no opposition facing you and your victory was assured. But as it is, there stands against you no mean army – smaller indeed than yours in numbers but by so much the stronger in armour and the mettle of its soldiers. You know not, O King, how dangerous is despair when though death itself is certain there yet remains a choice of how we die. You win? Undoubtedly that is death for us; for ourselves that is, and our children; the blood of our priests poured out on the altars, and our wives defiled in shameful lust. Our choice then is made, either we win, or we die gloriously, and in the event we have no doubt of our victory. It is my sorrow then – indeed I cannot withhold my tears that I should have to see my most gracious lord, a loving friend to me and my ally over the years, in whose friendship I have grown old enjoying his munificence in the rich bestowal of many a gift, and the conferring of lands and possessions, after these games straining as children together, after working as one in matters of war, and facing danger together, after these splendid banquets which one realm ministered to the other, after these delightful days hunting and hawking together, that after all this, either I should behold him wantonly throwing himself at death, or shamefully in flight.

At this, overcome with weeping, the speaker could continue no further. And moved by the ties of his love, the king also wept, and at once would come forward there to parley. But his nephew William, high-spirited man and chief instigator of this war, intervened roundly, charging Robert with treachery; and so he turned the king from his purpose. No longer now would Robert delay, but formally and properly withdrawing his allegiance which bound him to the king, he rode back sadly to his lines and the northern army, lances raised, leaving their position moved forward to attack.

Then follows such a sounding of horns, and blaring of trumpets, and the crash of lance striking on lance; the ground is atremble, the air a thunder of sound, and the neighbouring mountains and hills resound to the echo of battle. Meanwhile, Ralph [Nowell], Bishop of the Orkneys, deputed by Archbishop Thurstan to this very task, took his stand on the higher ground and summoned the contestants to strive first to repent their sins, and they, striking their breasts raised their hands beseeching the aid of God. The Bishop pronounced the absolution and with solemn voice added his blessing to which all replied with a mighty shout: Amen, Amen.

This was the cue for the Galweymen who, with their usual thrice repeated terrible roar, so flung themselves on the men of the south that they threw the first line of lancers right back from their ground, but repulsed by the armour of the knights they sensed the spirit and strength of the enemy. And since the light brittle lances of the

Scots were no match for the solid shafts and armour of the knights, drawing their swords they would come in to close quarters. However, flying arrows from the south, teeming from their hidden quivers and showering through the air like pouring rain to strike on breast, on face, and even in the enemy's eyes all but brought this movement to a halt. You should have seen the Galweyman, spiney as a hedgehog, pinned on all sides with arrows yet wielding still his sword, and rushing blindly forward in his madness to strike now his enemy, now the empty air with vain blows. The extreme flanks, smitten with terror, were already taking to flight when that renowned young prince with his all-conquering line, fell upon the wing against him with the ferocity of a lion; scattering the opposing sector of the close-knit southern men in all directions like a spider's web, striking down those few who stood their ground, to find himself well beyond the royal standard. Thinking then, that the rest of the army would follow, in order to remove the enemy's one hope of flight, he turned upon the horse's picket, scattered them and drove them back a further quarter mile. At this magnificent thrust the scarce-armed rank and file fled away in terror. But called back by a wily man's ruse, who hoisted on high a slain man's head and cried out that the king was slain, they (southern men) rushed back upon their attackers with a vehemence. And now, unable to withstand the rain of arrows any longer, and the swords of the regular soldiery, it was the turn of the Galweymen to take to flight, having lost already two of their leaders, Ulric and Donald. But the second line, the Lowlanders, was quite unready for this sudden shock and gave way at once. The king at this leapt from his horse and with those barons who were close about him moved forward at the enemy. But now the Scots, too stricken with panic at the flight of the rest who were falling back on all sides, began themselves to leave the king's line until in a short time all had deserted except the few who stood fast by him. Against these moved up the English force, and they would undoubtedly have slain the king with all those about him, or taken him prisoner had not his own knights by force compelled him, though pledged by oath against flight, to fall back to their horses. Those who had fled now saw the Royal Standard, – figured with a Dragon it was easily recognised – retiring towards them whereby they knew the king had not fallen but was in retreat, and they rallied to him creating at once a formidable barrier to his pursuers.

Meanwhile the prince, that idol of youth, and glory of knighthood, greybeard's delight (*'senum deliciae'*), looking behind him found himself all but alone in the midst of the enemy, whereat he turned smiling to a companion:

> We have done what we could, and as far as we are concerned we have carried the field. But now counsel is as much our need as courage. Never is it worth more put to the proof than when you refuse to break, though fortune frowns, and if unable to defeat the enemy by force of arms, you yet master him by guile. Remove then, all distinctive signs from our apparel and let us move in amongst the enemy unseen, and join with him in his pursuit, until getting right through we can the sooner rejoin the company of my father which I can still see intact though forced to give ground.

Thereupon, plying his spurs, he cut right through the midst of the enemy until passing right beyond them he could slacken pace to ease up his horse. And if you would

know his coolness in danger and his quickwitted mind this peerless young prince, seeing the other knights throw away their arms right and left, he held on to his, patient of the weight until reaching a poor man's cottage he called the man out to him, doffed his corslet, and dismounting at the man's feet, said 'Take, my man what is now but a burden to me, to you may it prove of some use.'

The king had gone far by now, thrusting the while with such order and determination at his pursuers that he even captured some, and kept the rest for the most part at a distance until reaching Carlisle at last he found himself out of danger. Fearful, however, for his son he waited there two days doing nothing further, and finally on the third day, safe and sound, his long-awaited son rode in. Carrying their pursuit afar, the English barons slew numberless Scots and Galwegians, and took prisoner many of the knights. Single knights of both sides came to grief, but of the English leaders all returned safe and sound, and with William Espec, whom the gathered warriors came to honour as leader and father, they rendered thanks a thousand times to Almighty God for a victory they had not expected.

Notes and References

1. A. Rose, *Kings in the North: The House of Percy in British History* (2002) p. 55. A commemorative monument stands near the battle-site on the eastern side of the A167.

2. Ailred's account will found at *Patrologia Latini,* (ed.) J.P. Migne, 195 (Paris 1854), cols. 702 ff. See also (ed.) R. Howlett *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*) (Rolls Series 4 vols. 1884-9) III. An account of the battle derived from a number of sources is at: A.D.H. Leadman, 'The Battle of the Standard', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* volume 10, (1889) pp. 377-387. The significance of Ailred's account is discussed by R. Ransford, 'A Kind of Noah's Ark: Ailred of Rievaulx and National Identity', *Studies in Church History* vol. 18, (1982) pp. 137 ff.

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[Items for inclusion in future lists should be notified to the editor.]

North East Catholic History Society

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Executive Committee

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Parish House, Bardsey Place, Longbenton, Newcastle NE12 8NU

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Miss Anne McCormick (*Outings Secretary*)
33 Powburn Gardens, Newcastle NE4 9UE [Tel. 0191 274 5740]

Mr & Mrs G. Wills (*Treasurers*)
18 Tanfield Road, Newcastle NE15 7DT

Leo Gooch MA, PhD, FRHist.S (*Editor*)
12 Melbourne Place, Wolsingham, Co Durham DL13 3EH

Miss Anne Marshall

Miss Eileen Swallow

Web-site
www.catholic-history.org.uk/nechs

Programme of Lectures and Events

2006

1 March	'The Yorkshire Banishment of the Modernist Jesuit George Tyrell', Robert Murphy
5 April	'The Miracles of St Cuthbert', George Thornton
20 May	Excursion: Weardale
17 June	Excursion: Traquair House
6 September	Annual Mass and AGM
9 September	Excursion: Finchale Priory & Chester le Street
4 October	'The End of Mediaeval Monasticism in the North Riding of Yorkshire', Professor Claire Cross.
1 November	'Behind the Green Baize Door: In Service at Croxdale Hall in the 19th Century', David Butler
6 December	'Ailred, Son of Hexham and Abbot of Rievaulx', George Thornton

2007

7 March	'Charlotte Brontë's Encounter with Catholicism', Robert Murphy
11 April	'Ushaw Inside Out: Recollections of an Octogenarian', Revd Fr David Milburn
19 May	Excursion: Bewcastle and Lanercost (or Naworth)
16 June	Excursion: Mount Grace and Guisborough