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Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790)

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MARMADUKE TUNSTALL, GENTLEMAN HISTORIAN

Peter Phillips

'My second wife was brought to bed of a son 22nd of July 1743' was how his sixty-three-year-old father, Cuthbert, recorded the birth of Marmaduke Constable. Cuthbert Constable (nee Tunstall) of Burton Constable had married Elizabeth Heneage in 1735 following the death of his first wife, Amey Clifford, four years earlier. After his childhood at Burton Constable, Marmaduke was sent to the English College, Douai, at about the age of fourteen and he was then tutored privately in Paris. In 1760, at the age of seventeen, he was recalled to England on the death of his bachelor uncle (also named Marmaduke Tunstall) and assumed the name of Tunstall as a condition of inheriting the estate of Wycliffe, worth some £2,300 a year, from his namesake.

Marmaduke Tunstall, as he had now become, was a studious young man with a particular liking for literature and natural history: he was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries at the age of twenty-one. He published *Ornithologia Britannica* in 1771 and was subsequently elected Fellow of the Royal Society: the Hon. Daines Barrington, his proposer on that occasion, described him as 'a gentleman of most general erudition ...' Tunstall created his own natural history museum in London and he later moved it to Wycliffe. Daniel Solander sent him specimens collected by James Cook on his second voyage (1772-5). The museum was particularly famous for its collection of birds which ultimately numbered some six hundred specimens (and eventually came into the possession of the Hancock Museum, Newcastle). Moreover, his 'collection of books, manuscripts, paintings, prints, coins, gems &c., [was] not every day to be seen' and was valued at over £20,000. Tunstall became a substantial figure in British scientific and intellectual circles and he corresponded with many of the learned men of the day. Although he did not publish much, he wrote copious notes on his reading and researches. Thomas Bewick told Ralph Beilby that he 'would be amazed at M. Tunstals industry' in recording all that 'came under his own observation'. Interestingly, Tunstall dismissed Gilbert White's now famous *Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne* (1789) as a work by a 'rather curious but pedantic little parson of Hampshire …'

In 1776 Tunstall married the Lincolnshire Catholic Mary Markham who was related to the Salvins of Croxdale. As it always had been, Catholicism was an important part of life at Wycliffe but, it seems, old recusant habits died hard. When Bewick visited Wycliffe to make drawings of birds in 1791 (the year of the second Catholic Relief Act) he wrote to Beilby:

> The family at Wycliffe Hall are all Roman Catholicks – have prayers (in a Chappell within the House) twice a day – the doors are lock'd and all is quiet during the time of service – but they don't mind me I am left alone at my employment – there is no drinking – no excess – a single glass of wine or so is all ....

Though evidently devout and abstemious, Tunstall's 'enlarged liberality of thought' arising from his association with the leading thinkers of the day, made him something of an ecclesiastical liberal as well, which did not always commend him to the vicars apostolic. He looked forward to a day when a general religious toleration would

prevail and he always spoke with great respect of the Church of England. He maintained a close friendship with Thomas Zouch, the Anglican incumbent at Wycliffe. Tunstall, according his taxidermist (a Deist), was ‘at a great expense in privately contributing *very greatly* towards the pewing of Wycliffe Church’. Tunstall willingly stood as godfather to a Quaker child; and he quite admired John Wesley, ‘the old Patriarch of the Methodists’.

Tunstall died suddenly from a severe attack of pneumonia on 11 October 1790, aged forty-eight and childless. As was quite usual for Catholic landowning gentlemen in his position, he was buried in the chancel of his parish church. Obituaries are not always objective but Tunstall’s were universally approving: his amiability, shyness, homeliness and benevolence were generally remarked upon. He was known locally as ‘the poor man’s friend’ whose ‘deeds of charity’ were so many that it was hard to say whether ‘his Domesticks, his Tenants or the Poor’ would ‘most lament his death’.[1]

Wycliffe Hall, 1793 which, Tunstall, said, was ‘beautifully situated on the banks of the Tees, a romantic, rocky river’, a view memorably captured in paint some years later by William M. Turner.

Amongst the Lingard papers preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, there is a fascinating eight-page letter on the subject of English history from Tunstall to the Revd William Gibson and John Silvertop of Minsteracres, written in January 1781, when Gibson was on the point of leaving to take up his post as President of Douai.[2] How it comes to be among Lingard’s letters is not known: it might have been passed on to the young Lingard by Gibson at Douai, or perhaps later at Crook, or Ushaw, or possibly left at Minsteracres and given to Lingard by his close friend, George Silvertop (John’s son), who was to arrange the contract for Lingard’s own *History of England* with the publisher Mawman. That Lingard preserved it is surely not without significance. The letter certainly offers a profound insight into the historical acumen of a northern Catholic squire, and complements his other intellectual interests and attainments. The letter (unpublished hitherto) is printed below, preserving its original

spelling and somewhat idiosyncratic punctuation. A bibliographical and historiographical essay follows.

Wall plaque in Wycliffe church

William Gibson

* * *

Dear Sir,

Your kind favour I duely received & should make an apology for not having sooner acknowledged. – Mr Silvertop and yourself do me great honor in applying to me about English history, in which I am very well assured you are both infinitely better versed than myself; however whatever lights & undigested ideas on choice of authors etc I may have acquired by the hasty devouring of many books in my lifetime, are heartily at your & Mr Silvertop's service. – oh there have ever been in this turbulent country almost from the abdication of the Romans, so many parties factions & revolutions, which have at times made it the admiration and terror, at others the contempt and derision of Europe, in which it was scarce possible to be neutral, an impartial history of it can never be expected at least from a native, even had history-writing been the genius of this country; this perhaps makes more books necessary to tumble over to arrive at any perfect knowledge of it, than for that of almost ant other nation & by reading authors of different parties & combating prejudice by prejudice, endeavour to investigate at least somewhat of the truth: memorials & authorities, from whence the historian deduces his facts, should be often had recourse to, as quotations frequently appear totally contrary to the original meaning & the same facts represented very different, according as the compiler chooses to place them in a light

that flatters his prejudice or favourite opinion, not that I mean these heavy folios are to be read over, but only consulted in doubtful cases & where the author's party gives cause of suspicion: – the history of early times, nay as far down as Henry 7th, which is little better than a compilation of Acts of Tyranny, murder, breach of faith, submission & servility to Tyrants, rebellion & insolence towards moderate & weak Sovereigns, which disposition according to a late French author we still in part retain, *esclaves sous Cromwell, mais Tyrans sous leur Rois*, requires not many books; it is pleasing however to trace out in these lawless days, the first glimmering & insensible dawn of what at last shone forth in our boasted Constitution, the great Charter, was at first little more than a triumph of the haughty Barons over their weakened Sovereign, substituting their lawless power in place of the King's; the so much quoted Article *nullus liber homo etc* did little for the body of the people, who were mostly in Villenage, nay even the *liberi hominess* were by the Feudal tenure in some sort dependent on the imperious Barons & were inserted in it, more for a gloss, than any real advantage intended them; yet on this inconsiderable beginning was formed the basis of our constitution, the alterations in the Feudal system & rise of the lower house were very gradual & slow, the Commons at the beginning were very much contemned by the Barons, who esteemed themselves the only Parliament, the Knights or representatives of counties indeed were more regarded & at first distinct from the Burgesses, who meddled then in nothing, but the particular grievances, in the small trade of their little boroughs, it was almost a continued struggle between the King and the Barons till Henry 7th – the wars indeed between York and Lancaster, exhausted much of their force against one another & in the end exterminated most of the old powerful families; the permission of alienating lands then obtained, the cutting of entails by the device of final recoveries & the humbling [of] the two great houses of Howard and Buckingham under Henry 8th joined to the many forfeitures & attainders on the change of religions, to which most of them were averse, totally broke their power & spirit, the few remaining took shelter under the crown, as they have mostly done ever since: in this period, when the nobles were depressed & the commons not as yet come forth, the house of Tudor were perhaps as absolute & uncontrouled tyrants as ever reigned, which nothing shows stronger than the change of religion at least 3 times under them, without any very formidable rebellions ensuing, but in the latter end of Elizabeth, so high was the popular spirit become, that nothing but the great awe conceived of her & her able & successful ministry, made the commons then emerging fast into consequence & growing powerful by trade etc bear this Yoke. The young Cromwellians, for some of them were so early in Parliament began to murmur much, but were roughly repressed & durst not exert themselves till her death, when they broke out & strengthened by the succeeding timid reign, desisted not, till their final triumph over Royalty & the remnants of Nobility in the person of Charles. – [I] often think the misfortunes of the Stewarts were more owing to the period they lived in, than their own misconduct, had they been earlier, the power they are accused of aiming at, would have been willingly acquiesced in & probably would have been more moderately used than by the Tudors, as they *were* not cruel and only endeavoured to keep up the power of the crown as they found it, had they been later, they probably would have been content with the degree of it allowed by the

Constitution: republicanism unnatural to this country seemed to live die with one Man & perhaps continued longer as he was in the end nearly the king without the name, on the restoration, this country justly indignant against the canting religionists & feeling the power of a junto of commoners, as grievous as that of the Barons, naturally fickle, heartily returned toward Monarchy & had their dissolute Prince employed his eminent abilities popular faction would possibly have been crushed for ever, but the many abuses under his Tragi-comic reign disgusted the people so much & the cry of religion against his successor had so much influence, that the disaffected joined with the *Old Party* & tho' not able so soon to revive republicanism, yet united to abridge the powers of Monarchy & plausibly appeared to join in reconciling Monarchy & Republicanism, under a more limited and confined form; but as these parties can never coalesce, the popular party has ever since been desirous still higher to their darling Commonwealth & the Royal party naturally to the other side, which has created struggles still subsisting & perhaps likely to continue till one side again predominates yet whatever may be the fate of the Monarchy for a time it must I think ever have a speedy resurrection, as it is so congenial to the nature & constitution of this country: excuse this long digression I have insensibly been led into, come at last to the subject. – The histories of England which have the best reputation are Hume, Rapin, Carte & Smollett, the two first in particular; Hume I own in my favourite both for stile, observations etc as also for not dwelling too long on trivial objects, tho' he has his faults & prejudices & sometimes I think rather alters the sense of his quotations; he mostly gives his authorities, which may be consulted, his history of the Stewarts is his most elaborate performance & his first work, he stands accused by many of partiality towards that unfortunate race, tho' I think rather unjustly; Rapin however is not an unpleasing historian, tho' has strong prejudices & is entirely on the other side, may help to counterbalance or still more Mrs Maccaulay, who is avowedly a Republican: the Saxon period is not much interesting except the reign of the truly great Alfred, Asserius Menevensis was his nearly contemporary historian, one Bicknel has wrote a life of him lately as also of the Black prince, not unpleasing compilations: the old chronicles of Matthew Paris & Westminster & particularly Froissart tho' of little value in themselves may in a large library be of use to consult, Lord Littleton's Henry 2nd is a work of much merit, Bede, Spelman's Councils, William of Malmesbury & other authors in Wharton's Anglia Sacra as also Collier's Church history moderately wrote, are useful for Ecclesiastical Matters, the Wars between the houses of York & Lancaster are related so confusedly in our best authors of those illiterate times, that no good idea can be formed of them, more may be learned from some impartial foreign writers particularly honest Philip de Comines. Many Memoirs letters etc illustrate much [of] the English history particularly in the great Rebellion Straffords letters & Clarendon's works during the Republick, Rushworths, Whitelocks, Nalson's & Ludlows Memoirs & even many periodical works in which sort this country has great merit, particularly of Swift, Bolingbroke, Wharton, Buckingham etc from these must be principally collected the history since the revolution, perhaps you may smile, when I mention again Mrs Maccaulay as rather a favourite of mine in her history to the end of Walpole's ministry, lately published, where her idol republicanism is not in the way, she is by no means partial

& censures every party in its turn, has is my opinion no small merit, speaks her sentiments with freedom which few authors dare in times so near light. – Blackstone's works, the only law book I could read with pleasure, give I think the best idea of our laws, as much perhaps as a Gentleman, not of that profession, may want; a little book published by one Dalrymple pleased me much in an explanation of the feudal system, supposed by many introduced at the Conquest, but proved by him to be of earlier date & only new modelled according to the Norman forms at that Epoch; several late publications as Macpherson's historical memoirs, Dalrymple's, Berwicks letters etc etc throw much light in many periods, particularly the obscure era of the revolution and the many springs from which it originated: in short a person who is desirous to be a thorough Proficient in our history must form one for himself out of many discordant & partial relations, which are at best only a *rudis indigestaque moles*. – Some say Robertson is now employed on a history of England, if so, by his former writings, we may expect something of much merit, indeed the best accounts of this Island from natives of Britain have been from North of the Tweed. – See what you have brought on you, [I] fear you have long since heartily repented writing to me on this subject, know however I have been long ashamed of this tedious uninteresting scribble, but the Cacoethes scribendi, seems rather in fashion.

[I] Am truly happy to find Alma Mater is likely to be so fortunate as to come under your care, as I shall ever have the warmest wishes for its welfare, it has sent out many worthy and great men & I hope will long continue to do; as times alter, many things may undoubtedly be improved by an able hand, particularly in modern literature, we talk a deal in our days of outward ornament and varnish, but we seem too much to make all consist in it, decoration is surely an addition to a valuable intrinsic, but where the whole ornament without the intrinsic, as too often the case at present, notwithstanding modern prejudice, must be ever deemed by every man of sense, of very slight consideration. – from your good nature alone can I hope for any forgiveness for the trouble of this enormous epistle. – Mrs Tunstall joins me in best complements to Mr Silvertop & desires the same to yourself, we were happy to hear of Mrs Silvertop's safe delivery. – at last conclude by assuring you I ever am with true regard & esteem

Yours much obliged & very humble Servant, Marmaduke Tunstall

Wycliffe January 28th 1781

We have hear a deep snow & drifted in many places. – many other valuable works highly illustrating the English history might be added, as almost all Camden's, Dugdale's Maddox's and Somner's works, the Biographia Britannica, of which is a new edition, the Parliamentary history to the restoration 24 vols continued in Greys debates; an excellent & curious work in 2 vols is just published by one Gough in English *topography*, with many very ancient maps etc.

* * *

David Hume (1711-1776) is one of Tunstall's favourite historians but, as we see, Tunstall is ready to acknowledge 'his faults and prejudices' and his occasionally 'rather alter[ing] the sense of his quotations'. Hume, whose first volume of the

History of England, covering the reigns of James I and Charles I, came out in 1754, went on to establish himself as one of the most popular British historians but he was initially disliked as being far too partial to the Stuart kings for English taste in the eighteenth century. As John Kenyon makes clear, Hume was remarkably cavalier about sources and generally 'indifferent to manuscript collections': he made no use of the British Museum, apart from the inclusion in his *History* of a letter discovered there and published by Catherine Macaulay, but he did see the memoirs of James II while visiting the Scots College in Paris and learnt of the secret Treaty of Dover. Encouraging Dalrymple to follow this up, Hume went on to make use of what Dalrymple found.[3]

Tunstall offers the 'strong prejudices' of Rapin, or the 'avowedly republican' Catherine Macaulay (1731-1791), also 'a favourite', as a counterbalance. Macaulay, whose researches were far more thorough than those of Hume, worked in the State Paper Office and in the British Museum while preparing her eight-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover* (1763-1783).[4] Paul Rapin de Thoyras, an exiled Huguenot who had thrown in his lot with William III, landing with him at Torbay in 1688 and subsequently playing a part in the Irish campaign, published his highly regarded *Histoire de l'Angleterre* in 1723 (a continuation to 1689 followed posthumously in 1727), translated into English by Nicholas Tindal as *The History of England as well Ecclesiastical as Civil* (1726-1731).[5] Rapin relied on the massive source volumes of English treaties which were being collated and published by Thomas Rymer: the work began to appear in 1704 and volume 16 of the *Foedera* had already gone to press at Rymer's death in 1713. Tunstall also recommends the work of the staunchly Jacobite, Thomas Carte (1686-1754), whose *History* nevertheless made good use of documentary sources as well as the more popular *History of England* compiled by the novelist Tobias Smollett between 1757 and 1765.

Hume's Scottish contemporary, William Robertson (1721-1793), who had written a *History of Scotland*, and whose masterpiece *The Emperor Charles V* had been published in 1769, was rumoured to be working on a *History of England*. In this, Tunstall considered, 'we may expect something of much merit', and he would probably have been right; sadly nothing seems to have come of the project.

Tunstall's letter offers a good sampling of the major sources of British History and he peppers his list with the occasional judicious comment.[6] There is Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Asser's *Life of Alfred*, the great chroniclers, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Matthew of Westminster, Froissart. Tunstall moves on to consider the great upsurge of antiquarian scholarship which marked the late sixteenth and seventeenth century and was focussed on the work of the Society of Antiquaries, founded in 1572.[7] He refers specifically to Camden, Spelman, Dugdale, Madox, Somner, and we might illustrate his selection with such works as Camden's *Britannia* (1568) and the *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Regnante Elizebethae* (1615, translated into English 1625); Spelman's collection of the councils and decrees of the English church to the Norman Conquest (1639), Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicon*, the first volume of which came

out in 1655; the works on charters by the legal antiquary, Thomas Madox, and the fine Anglo-Saxon scholarship of William Somner. Also mentioned by Tunstall is William Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691), a collection of the lives of the archbishops and bishops of the English sees up to 1540. The preface to this work has a valuable survey of sources which includes the work of Wharton's Catholic continental contemporary, the Maurist, Jean Mabillon (1632-1707).

The War of the Roses, Tunstall suggests, 'are related so confusedly in our best authors of those illiterate times, that no good idea can be formed of them, more can be learned from some impartial foreign writers'. Here he recommends particularly the *Memoirs* of Philippe de Comines (1445-1511) which cover the period 1464-1498 and deserve to be recognized as the first French modern work of political history.

For the seventeenth century there is a mass of material (memoirs, letters, collections of State Papers), illustrating all sides of the political debate which dominated the Civil War, and its aftermath. Tunstall lists Strafford, Clarendon, John Rushworth, Bulstrode Whitelocke, John Nalson, and the regicide Edmund Ludlow. Thomas Wentworth, first Earl of Strafford, was principal advisor to Charles I who, after a failure to impeach him during the Long Parliament, was executed in May 1641 after the passing of an Act of Attainder. Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, always a moderate, opposed Strafford's execution and during the Civil War served the king as Chancellor of the Exchequer, fleeing with the Prince of Wales to Jersey in 1646. He returned with Charles II in 1660, but was impeached in 1667 following his involvement in the Anglo-Dutch War and fled to France, where he completed the work, started during his earlier exile in 1641, which became a major source for the study of Civil War: *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, published posthumously in three volumes (1702, 1703, 1704). John Nalson's *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, covering the years 1639-1649 and very much a royalist tract, came out in two volumes in 1682 and 1683. These works can be counterbalanced by the four volumes of John Rushworth's *Historical Collections* (1659, 1663, 1692, 1701) and his verbatim account of the trial of Stafford (1680) as well as Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698). Bulstrode Whitelock's *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1682) completes the collection.[8] Tunstall adds the periodical works of the period, 'in which sort this country has great merit, particularly of Swift, Bolingbroke, Wharton, Buckingham, etc.'

With further insistence about the need carefully to weigh evidence and to balance opposing interpretations, Tunstall offers sources for a consideration of 'the obscure era of the revolution [of 1688] and the many springs from which it originated'. For this purpose Tunstall suggests Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, based on research both at the Quai D'Orsay and Kensington Palace, which brought to light evidence of intrigues with the court of Louis XIV, not only on the part of James II, but also by members of the Whig opposition.[9] This damning evidence is to be backed up by the work of James Macpherson. Macpherson, who had already made a name for himself by his translations of 'Ossian', exposed as a forgery by Samuel Johnson, and followed by a series of historical works, published extracts from papers that were once in the possession of Thomas Carte (*Original Papers*

containing the Secret History of Great Britain 1775).[10] The material had already been seen in London by Dalrymple and included extracts from the memoirs of James II in the Scots College, Paris, and other papers associated with David Nairne, under-secretary to Melfort, Secretary of State to James at the court of St Germain which dealt with the covert approaches to James II by various ministers in the Whig government, not least Marlborough himself. Tunstall completes the picture with the memoirs of James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick (1670-1734), natural son of James II, recently published with an introduction by no less a person than Montesquieu (1777).

Of more general works, Tunstall recommends Alexander Bicknell's *Life of Alfred* (1777) and his *History of Edward Prince of Wales, commonly termed the Black Prince*, which came out in the same year. For Henry II, he suggests Lord Littleton as 'a work of much merit'. A recent study of the feudal system, an *Essay towards a General History of Feudal Property on Great Britain under various Heads* (1757) by Dalrymple which offered a subtle probing of the myth of the 'Norman Yoke' is also mentioned. Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765 ff.) provide a good source for law. On parliament, Tunstall recommends the standard *Parliamentary or Old Constitutional History of England*, covering the period to 1660 and published in twenty-four volumes between 1751 and 1761, together with Anchitel Grey's ten-volume *Parliamentary Debates* from 1667 to 1694 (1763). There is Jeremy Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (1708-14), 'moderately wrote', to which we might presumably add Collier's *Historical Dictionary* (1701-1721). Tunstall also refers to a two-volume work by Richard Gough on British topography recently published (1780). In addition, it might be noted that Gough also edited a new edition of Camden's *Britannia*, with much additional material (a labour involving seven years in translating and nine in printing with eventual publication in 1789), as well as contributing to the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. At the time of Tunstall's letter two volumes of this work had come out under the editorship of the nonconformist divine and biographer, Andrew Kippis. These, too, are included in the letter but the work was to come to an abrupt end with the article on Fastolf, which concluded the fifth volume of 1793, further volumes failed to materialize.

Tunstall's survey of historical authorities offers clear refutation of the disparaging remarks Lingard makes to Charles Butler in a letter of 1814 about the state of historical scholarship in Britain: 'most of our writers of English history are mere copiers of one another.'[11] This is unfair. Such works as Dodd's *Church History* (1737-1742) and the volumes produced by scholars of the Religious Orders, represented, for example, by the Benedictines Serenus Cressy and Benet Weldon, seem more concerned with questions of self-definition and a sense of identity within the Catholic community.[12] In an opposing Catholic camp, the doughty campaigner, John Milner, was wrestling with another sort of Catholic history and presented his *History of Winchester* (1798) to the public as an attempt to 'pave the way for a genuine Catholic History of England'.[13] Milner was a controversialist, and a fiery one at that. Tunstall's letter suggests the beginnings of a turning away from the traditional approach to historiography as it had been practised within the Catholic community

and a gradual, but most evident, move towards a more scholarly approach to sources in the writing of English history.

Notes & References

1. The foregoing brief biography and citations are drawn from: G.T. Fox, *Memoirs of Marmaduke Tunstall, late of Wycliffe* (Newcastle Typographical Society, vol. 6, 1828); M.J. Boyd & L. Jessop, 'A 'truly amiable gentleman': new light on the life and work of Marmaduke Tunstall (1743-1790) of Wycliffe, North Yorkshire', *Archives of Natural History* 25 (2), 1998, 221-236. See also *ODNB.* Tunstall's highly engaging letters [Bodleian Library English Letters, C229], mostly between Tunstall and William Constable his half-brother (son of his father's first marriage) have been extensively used in L. Gooch, ' 'The Religion for a Gentleman': The Northern Catholic Gentry in the Eighteenth Century', *Recusant History* vol. 23, no. 4 (1997), esp. pp. 561-4.

2. Marmaduke Tunstall to William Gibson, 28 January 28 1781, CUL Add. Ms 9418/2/25. The letter is printed by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. For the provenance of this collection see P. Phillips, *Lingard Remembered*, Catholic Record Society Monograph No. 6, 2004, pp. 192-193. A few years later (9 January 1785), Henry Rutter, the chaplain at Minsteracres, could comment to his uncle, Robert Banister: 'the Squire has a good many books of his own collecting, some very expensive ones, chiefly in relation to English history, but I seldom ask for the key', cf. L. Gooch, *The Revival of English Catholicism*, North West Catholic History Society, Wigan, 1995, p. 77).

3. J. Kenyon, *The History Men*, *the Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance* (1983), p. 53. Kenyon tells us that the letter discovered by Catherine Macaulay is quoted in D. Hume, *History of England*, (5 vols., 1864), vol. 4, p. 578n.

4. See B. Hill, *The Republican Virago: The Life and Times of Catherine Macaulay, Historian*, (Oxford, 1992); B. B. Schnorrenberg, 'The Brood-Hen of Faction: Mrs. Macaulay and Radical Politics, 1765-75', *Albion*, 11 (1979), pp. 33-45.

5. See H. Trevor-Roper, 'A Huguenot Historian: Paul Rapin', I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800*, (1987) pp. 3-19.

6. A useful survey of these historians and their sources is provided by Kenyon, *History Men*.

7. H. Butterfield, *The Englishman and his History*, pp. 31-40. See also C. Hill 'The Norman Yoke', *Puritanism and Revolution*, (1962) pp. 50-122, page cited p. 60. Both Hill and Butterfield point out that this Society, which earned the disapproval of James I and ceased meeting, had close associations with the parliamentary opposition and is one of the points which mark the forging of the Whig interpretation of history.

8. For a discussion of these works see Kenyon, *History Men,* pp. 29-34.

9. Volume 1 was published in 1771, volume 2 following in 1773. Dalrymple, though possibly for his own purposes, was also a prime mover in the abortive attempts to repeal the penal laws in Scotland in 1778. See R. K. Donovan, 'Sir John Dalrymple and the Origins of Roman Catholic Relief, 1775-1778', *Recusant History*, vol. 17, No. 2 (1984) pp. 188-196.

10. See G. Davies, 'James Macpherson and the Nairne Papers', *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920) pp. 367-376. Some have questioned the authenticity of these papers but Davies makes a very strong case for their acceptance.

11. CUL Add. Ms 9418/1B/80, (John Lingard to Charles Butler, 29 November 1814).

12. Both, as it happens, Anglican converts. On Cressy see D. Lunn, *The English Benedictines*, (1980) passim, but esp. pp. 131-133. For his involvement with the circle which grew up around Lucius Carey at Great Tew see the delightful essay by H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Great Tew Circle', *Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans*, (1989) pp. 166-230. On Weldon, see G. Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone*, (Downside, 1992) passim.

13. Quotation cited by E. Duffy, 'Doctor Douglass and Mister Berington – An Eighteenth Century Retraction', *Downside Review*, vol. 8, no. 292 (July 1970), p. 260.

FROM VALLEY TO HILLTOP: THE TRANSFER OF THE NEWHOUSE MISSION TO ESH LAUDE

David Milburn

In Esh Winning, four miles north west of Durham city, is the site of one of the oldest Catholic mission centres in the diocese. The martyr St John Boste was captured there in a house by the Deerness river in 1593 and suffered execution in Durham the next year. The future of Catholicism in the valley lay neither with the neighbouring Neville family of Brancepeth, nor with the Hodgsons of Greencroft, but with the Smythe (Smyth, Smith) family of Aycliffe who through marriage in the middle years of the sixteenth century had come to acquire the Esh estate (of Norman origin) on the hilltop separating the Deerness and Browney valleys. The then head of the family seems at first to have accepted the religious changes introduced by Queen Elizabeth, but not for long. He took part in the ill-fated Rising of the North of 1569 led by the Neville and Percy families, but managed to avoid execution and confiscation of his estates, presumably through influential friends. Northern Catholics lay low for many years after the failure of the rebellion. The times were more tolerant a century later and, despite their wellknown recusancy, the Smythes appear to have prospered, for not only did they extend their landholdings in the neighbourhood but they also found the wherewithal to replace their uncomfortable medieval manor house with a fashionable E-shaped hall. (It, in turn, made way for a new house in 1856).

Deprived of bishops, the scattered Catholics of England (in total about 40,000) at the beginning of the seventeenth century looked to the nobility and gentry for support. Their houses offered protection to the priests who came from the continent to minister to the small and vulnerable Catholic flock. Officially they were chaplains – and often treated as servants – but most of them also took care of Catholic tenants (as well as others) on the estates that could be reached on foot or on horseback. Mass was said in a room earmarked for the purpose, but with the coming of more tolerant times separate chapels came into use and there are many examples of this evolution. Esh, however, was an exception.

In 1651 an offer was made by the Smythe family to provide for a priest not at Esh itself but down in the Deerness valley in the hamlet of Newhouse. We do not know the reason, but we can perhaps deduce it from the terms of the contract[1]:

> that one priest of the Secular Clergy of England may for the comfort of our neighbours have a convenient lodging with provision for fire and meat for one horse and two kine in the most convenient place for the purposes with a stipend or annuity of ten pounds to be paid unto him.

A shift in the population would have had little to do with it. People were used to walking great distances. Esh to Newhouse is only two miles by road, and if the downhill track is followed, the distance is halved. A more likely reason is the severity of the weather on the completely exposed hilltop.[2] This may not be an

entirely convincing reason for establishing the new mission in the valley, nevertheless it would help to explain that odd word 'comfort' in the contract. It is not one that comes easily to the minds of clerics in their provision of amenities for the laity. Whatever the reason, with this enterprise the Smythe family, as is well known, founded the first independent Catholic mission in our region, if not the first in the whole of England. It covered the whole of the county west of Durham, far too large an area for even the hardiest missioner to look after effectively. Maybe this was why, despite the inducement of a £10 annual salary, it was over forty years before a priest took up the offer – John Simpson (Symson, Simson, *vere* Torbet), who came to Newhouse in 1693. He died in 1727, leaving all his money (£550) for the benefit of the mission.

We do not know exactly when the chapel was built, but it seems to have been in existence by 1730 at the latest. Perhaps Simpson's bequest was used for that purpose. It was situated between the west end of the priest's house and another house known locally nowadays as Duffy's farm. These two farmsteads stood apart from the other houses in the hamlet. After a period of uncertain tenancy the Durham-born priest Ferdinand Ashmall (he liked to be known as Ferdinando, possibly because he was educated at the English College, Lisbon) took charge of the mission in 1744. At the same time the Smythes renewed the lease

> of that dwelling house with the garden etc called or known by the name of Newhouse, together with a close or parcel of ground there, now divided into two fields commonly known as the Priest's Field with common right upon the moor or common called Moor Gate Moor for one Horse and Two cows. All which premises are situate in the Chapelry of Esh and now in the possession or occupation of Ferdinand Ashmall, Gent. together with one Annuity or Rent charge of Fifteen Pounds a year... to have and to hold them for 99 years from the first day of May next, ensuing and paying Sir Edward Smythe his heirs and assigns the rent of Forty Shillings.

Ashmall had been for some time chaplain to Mrs Mary Salvin in Durham prior to this appointment. Probably the longest-lived of our priests, and incapacitated from the age of ninety-five he died at Newhouse on 5 February 1798 at the age of one hundred and four. From the little we know of his extremely long tenure of office, we can guess that he believed more in mission than maintenance. At his death the whole property had a neglected air about it, and the chapel itself was unfit for use.

Long before this, the Smythe family had moved from Esh to their larger estate at Acton Burnell in Shropshire and Esh Hall was occupied by his local land agent. Though far away, the family clearly kept up an interest in their Durham estate. Indeed, Sir Edward Smythe (born 1758) for some time had thought of moving the Newhouse mission up the hill, where there would be 'a chapel and house ... on a more permanent footing, with a view to its becoming a fixed incumbency for a clergyman.'[3] He had spared Ashmall the inconvenience, but he

took action immediately the old missioner's death was reported to him. Peter Holford, Smythe's land agent at Acton Burnell, represented the baronet at the priest's funeral at Newhouse chapel, after which he spent some time at Esh, and it was from there that ten days later he wrote to Sir Edward informing him that he had come to a decision about the site for the new chapel.[4]

The news spread quickly. For years the small congregation had risked life and limb to attend 'Prayers' at the chapel in the valley, and they were ready to move. But all was not plain sailing. A letter to Smythe from Thomas Eyre, Bishop William Gibson's vicar general, raised what seemed to be an insuperable difficulty. (Eyre is better known to us as President of Crook Hall and then the first President of Ushaw College, the foundations of which would be laid five years later within sight of the hilltop mission):

> We on our part beg leave to assure you that we have nothing more at heart than to answer these your good wishes as far as it is in our power. As we cannot at present shew any authority for our moving a step upon that ground ... we have no doubt but you will see the necessity of your signing some Deed or Instrument as will at all events put us in quiet possession of the premises alluded to, during the term of the present lease of Newhouse, at the same time specifying their extent.[5]

I interpret this as a reference to the land in question being in entail to Sir Edward's eldest son who was born in 1787. He would not come of age for another ten years. However, the law (as the Catholic lawyers – specialists in conveyancing – would have quickly pointed out) allowed the parties in such cases to get round the problem by an exchange of land. So there was little or no hold up in the transaction after all. The parties to the exchange agreed verbally, shook hands, and the deal went ahead on the understanding that in return for giving some of his land on the hilltop to the clergy, they in turn would give Smythe their property at Newhouse.

Building work began almost at once and continued at such a satisfactory pace that Mr Holford was able to return on 8 June that year to lay the foundation stone in the presence of Thomas Eyre and John Yates, Ashmall's successor at Newhouse. According to a copy of the text enclosed within the stone, the clergy were given a ninety-nine year lease for a house and a chapel. The lands were formally exchanged on 31 July. In return for handing back to the Smythe family

> a dwelling house, with garden, yards, outhouses and appurtenances, together with two closes or fields commonly known by the name of Priest's Field, with common right upon the Moor or Common called Murgate Farm for one horse and two cows

(that is, the terms of the 1651 benefaction), Bishop Gibson received 'a certain close called the Salutation Field.'[6] Although the agreement excluded mining rights and royalties, much to the chagrin of later incumbents, it did include a small cottage. Some time later Sir Edward cancelled the ninety-nine year lease and granted the bishop freehold.

The strip of land which Mr Holford had chosen for the site of the new chapel lay to the east of Esh village, and is still known today as Esh Laude. John Yates, the first incumbent, always referred to it as Esh 'land', which, though some have thought it to be his personal rendition of his native Lancashire 'lound' or 'lond', is exactly what it is, just a strip of land, but for long enough it caused confusion. The name 'Esh Loude' crops up at least four times among the eighteenth-century entries in the Anglican register of the village. In the course of the nineteenth century there were those who wished to suppress 'Laude' on the grounds that it was quite meaningless, but the parishioners have always clung to its use. It serves to distinguish this enclave from the rest of the village half a mile away to the west, and it also helps to differentiate the Catholic church from its Anglican counterpart in the village. If, as a few argue, it also adds an air of grandeur to the site, it could be said that an even grander title might have stuck as early as 1800 when one correspondent of Mr Yates addressed his letter to 'Ash-la Chapelle'.

Following the purchase of the 'land', the clergy got down to the practical matter of financing the new venture. They looked first to Sir Edward Smythe; since he had encouraged the transfer, he would surely now launch the appeal with a handsome contribution of his own? Not a bit of it: he had already given land worth £200 and times were difficult. Nevertheless, under pressure from Eyre he consented to a bond of £400 as a security:

> If I understand Mr Eyre right, his proposals are fair and equitable, and the bond of £400 is to be given up to me when I have fulfilled what he requires without me being at any expense which I cannot really afford in my present circumstances or I would do it most liberally and willingly.[7]

Clearly they needed a fund-raiser, and Yates showed himself to be just that. Cap in hand he went seeking help from friends and supporters throughout the northern counties, returning some time later with £451-5s-6d, which was more than the estimated cost of the new chapel. His accounts show that he avoided making (or was perhaps forbidden to make) direct appeals to congregations, most of which were also struggling to keep their heads above water. With the exception of £5-11s-0d from the Newhouse congregation, the list is made up almost entirely of contributions from almost one hundred individuals headed by Bishop Gibson who gave ten guineas. It ends with Thomas Eyre who gave £200-0s-0d. This munificent sum was not, of course, a personal gift but a grant from two separate funds in his keeping, one of them established by the Maires of Durham. Yates adds, 'N.B. My expences in traveling to obtain subscriptions amounted to £10-0s-0d wh I paid out of my own pocket.'[8] The clergy were a suspicious lot, but if they thought he had overpaid himself, they should have known better. A frugal man, he would make severe economies when he took up residence in the new house at Esh, restricting himself to the kitchen.

Some of the receipts for work done on the site are extant. One acknowledged 'work done gratis: Francis Foreman, John Foreman, John Cumming, John

Pinckney, John Taylor, Robert Springer, Thomas Taylor Middleheads.' Another is for 'loading stones, lime, sand, etc.' Two dated 1799 and 1801 show that John Proctor was paid for his work in 'winning thirty loads of stones' and 'wheeling stones from the quarry to my premises.' Using local stone must have saved a great deal of money. Another receipt reads: '1800, August 6. Mason work at the Chaple. B. Jackson 9 days £1-2s-6d. Aug 9 J. Hales 9 days ...'[9] According to a memorandum in Eyre's own hand the new chapel was expected to cost £400. In the event, it went over budget by half as much again, £100 of which, he claimed, to be the result of Holford's insisting that the chapel should be lengthened by ten feet 'more than was originally designed and contrary to the opinion of everyone else.'[9] This seems to suggest that it was the original intention to build a new chapel no larger than the one they had at Newhouse which, in view of the rather static population, would have been the obvious thing to do. But Yates was actually complaining not so much about the increase in size or the extra cost involved as the refusal of Holford, usually a generous man, to contribute towards the work:

> We never received any pecuniary assistance from Mr Holford ... we had every reason to presume that it was his intention to have come forward and subscribe handsomely towards defraying the expenses of such enlargement.[10]

That much was expected of Holford is not surprising when we remember that he was lord of the manor of Wootton Wawen, in Warwickshire in his own right. In 1781 his daughter Catherine had married Sir Edward Smythe, and from that time onwards he had become manager of Smythe's estates. Perhaps Yates was unaware that at this time Holford was also overseeing the building of a chapel at Acton Burnell which took five years to complete. Officially opened in 1802, finishing touches were still being put to it two years later. A memorial tablet in the chapel records Holford's great generosity. One might add that from 1800 Holford's health had begun to fail, and Smythe had to assume some of the responsibilities for the Wootton estate.

Holford died in July 1803 at the age of seventy-five. It is worth recalling his unusual career. The priest of the same name who died in 1722 was an uncle who, early in life and unknown to his parents, had become a Catholic. Peter did exactly the same, leaving Cambridge University where he was studying Divinity to seek instruction from Bishop Richard Challoner in London, and his sister joined him. Disowned by their parents, they went abroad, where his sister entered a convent, and he himself, counselled by friends at Douai not to join the army, lived in retirement at Cambrai before returning to England. There he met and married a niece of Lord Carrington on whose death he succeeded to the Wootton estate. As someone of rank, we can understand his irritation with the treatment he had received at the hands of the clergy.[11]

The refusal of Holford to help them out of their financial difficulties led the clergy back again to Smythe. They had discovered that the £15 annuity granted to Newhouse in the deed of 1651 had not been paid regularly from 1714 when

the family had moved from Esh to Acton Burnell. Previous incumbents of Newhouse had drawn attention to this, Robert Carnaby (*vere* Luke Gardiner) in particular. Because of special difficulties in coping, he had made a claim in 1736 for twenty-two years' back payment, and promptly received two separate sums of £301 and £500. Since then no further claims had been made, possibly because Ferdinand Ashmall had money of his own. Faced with the possibility of work coming to a halt or even being given up altogether, Thomas Eyre thought it fair to press the clergy's claim for payment of £300 including bills for repairs to the property at Newhouse. The demand came at a difficult time for Smythe and at once he referred the matter to his lawyer, Mr Francis Witham of Gray's Inn, who found a useful way of staying payment by pointing out that repairs to the property had always been understood to be the clergy's responsibility. Since they had failed to keep it in good order Sir Edward could not be expected to hand over £300.[12] Desperate for money, the clergy then turned to John Taylor, Sir Edward's local agent who lived in Esh Hall. He, a well known and respected member of the congregation and a man of some means, lent them £200. This, together with another £100 from an unspecified source (probably resources at Eyre's disposal) assured the completion of the chapel.[13]

All the while, a very modest building had been taking shape. Roofed with heavy stone slabs, a common practice locally, extremely plain inside and out, lacking even an exterior cross and windowless on the side of the road, the chapel was furnished with a simple wooden altar supporting an equally unpretentious tabernacle designed in the style of an Ionic temple like 'the one used in the first chapel at Ushaw.' Of this original structure only one window and a door are easily identifiable today.[14] The chapel was ready for use by the end of the year. Yates no doubt risked life and limb, as did the members of his congregation, to celebrate the last Mass at Newhouse on the Sunday after Christmas and on New Year's Day offered the first Mass at Esh. Brought from Newhouse were two old silver chalices, a small silver pyx and three silver stands for the holy oils, an old missal with a few old vestments, some ragged and patched linen albs not fit to be worn; five large glass candlesticks, four small brass candlesticks, and an ivory crucifix.[15] There does not seem to have been much else in the way of furnishings. Receipts refer only to two holy water pots price 3/- and two pews for which he had placed an order with one of the men engaged on the construction of the chapel:

> 1799.
> Mr Yates to Wm. Foreman Dr for maken & fixen two pews in Esh chapel From May 29 to June 7. To 18 days work @ 2s-4d per day £2-2s-0d. To 8 days work @ 2s per day £0-16s-0d. Paid for hinges, latches, glue £0-5s-9d. Received October the contents as above of Mr Yates [signed Wm Foreman]

These were probably not the only pews in the chapel. Although a locally born priest, Thomas Taylor of Cornsay House (d. 1818), made a gift of benches to the chapel some time later, it is possible that pews from Newhouse (technically

Smythe property) would have been taken to Esh, for what could be salvaged from the old chapel was transferred to the new with Smythe's consent.[16]

The records show that from the time the land was purchased the builders had pushed ahead as fast as possible with the building of the chapel to the exclusion of almost everything else. The school may have been started at this time, but its complicated story will have to be told on another occasion. If we exclude it from the building schedule we are left, as far as can be ascertained, with the small cottage which had come with the land purchase. It still stands – just inside the gates – and is indeed tiny. Repairs to 'Mrs Chadwick's room' were obviously deemed urgent, but I have no ready answer to the question who she was or why she was living in the cottage. Indeed, we do not know why the cottage was in such an isolated place in the first place.[17] Perhaps Mrs Chadwick was a former tenant of the Smythes and had been allowed to continue living in the property. It is more likely that she came up from Newhouse in view of the urgency to have someone on the site. Or she may have been a teacher. (Towards the end of his life Mr Ashmall had two female helpers living in his house.)

According to a memorandum of Yates, work on the priest's house began in June 1802. By 1804 the major work had been finished, complete with stables and a coach-house built around a courtyard. The provision of a back kitchen and horse-mount came later.[18] To the casual observer the complex would appear to be another of the farms in the neighbourhood. This was done quite deliberately because Catholics still lacked security and the Church authorities preferred not to advertise the presence of the chapel too openly. Subsequent additions and alterations to the buildings have not completely destroyed the impression of a farmstead. Many first-time visitors to Esh Laude have passed by unaware that this was the church they were looking for.

There had been no luxury for Ashmall at Newhouse, in fact, not even any comfort, despite his real or supposed wealth, and such conditions, it seems, prevailed at Esh as long as Yates was there for, from what we know of Yates, it is likely that he took every stick with him. There is still in existence an inventory drawn up by Ashmall of the contents of the cottage at Newhouse. The items listed give a good idea of the conditions in which some of these rural missioners lived at this time, and are worth recording: Three sets of drawers, one of them ancient: two round oak tables, one large, one small, an oak night table, two 'crazy' chairs, two old bedsteads, one of them broken: three very old feather beds and three old rotten bolsters, two old pillows, and old rotten quilt, a pair of brown curtains and curtain rod, three old pictures, an earthen pot, a warming pan, and two irons for altar breads. Kitchen equipment was just as luxurious: a knife box and rolling pin, brass mortar and pestle, chopping knife, cleaver, a small brass ladle, a pair of iron collop tongs, an iron fork, a spit with one iron skewer, a racking crock, a grid iron, a coffee pot, an old brass pot with brass lid, a broken copper pan and a small brass pan, a brass marmite, a broken pewter funnel, seventeen pewter plates, seven pewter dishes, a fire shovel, tongues, poker and coal raker, a small set of very indifferent fire-irons, an iron pot, frying

pan, a ‘miserable’ grater, two tin pans -one broken, tree pan lids, an old tin cullender, and an old fish drainer. [19]

On 15 June 1805 John Taylor, who had acted as treasurer since the inception of the work in 1798, presented an interim balance, and in 1809 the final reckoning.[20] All bills had been paid, and the chapel now benefitted from a handsome endowment of £400 from the Misses Taylor of Cornsay and an anonymous benefaction of £595.[21]

John Yates died many years later in 1827 at the age of sixty-two. He had done more than anyone to ensure that the long desired move from Newhouse to Esh had been effected relatively smoothly. More than that, he had managed to give an air of continuity between the old and the new, which is reflected in the mission’s first baptismal register. He began it at Newhouse in November 1795 when he went to assist Ashmall and continued it until his death without giving the slightest hint that a transfer had taken place.[22] His frugality was such that when, in 1827, young William Fletcher, nephew of a distinguished Lancashire priest, came from Ushaw College to the combined missions of Brooms (Leadgate) and Esh in his first appointment, the state of the house so appalled him that he quickly moved to the Brooms.[23]

Postscript on the date of the opening of Esh Chapel.

It is extraordinary how much confusion there is about the chronology. It has been established that the foundation stone of the new chapel was laid in June 1798 and that John Yates celebrated his last Mass at Newhouse on the Sunday after Christmas and that the congregation gathered for their first Mass in the new chapel at Esh on the first day of the New Year. But was this in 1799 or 1800? Roger Glassbrook, incumbent at Esh 1839-41, complying with a government directive to place the chapel’s earliest baptismal register in the Public Record Office for safe keeping, wrote in a covering note that the Esh mission had been ‘founded in 1790’.[24] The older county histories, if they mention opening of the church it at all, do not specify the date. The Rev. Ralph Platt, in his unpublished memoir about the survival of a Catholic presence in the Deerness valley was the first, as far as I know, to state that the chapel was completed in 1800, and from then on others followed suit: for instance, Evan Buller in *Records and Recollections of St Cuthbert’s College, Ushaw* (1889) and the Rev Matthew Culley in ‘Newhouse: A Sequel to the Life of the Ven. John Boste’, *Ushaw Magazine* (1903). We find it, too, in the outline history of Esh published in *Northern Catholic Calendar 1934*, and stated most authoritatively of all by the Rev William Vincent Smith, to whose intensive researches our diocese is so indebted.[25] The most misleading of all is the entry in B.W. Kelly, *Dictionary of English Catholic Missions* (1907) which quotes Glassbrook on the foundation year of the mission and adds that the ‘old chapel was built about 1799 and was served for some time by Fr Ashmall who lived to be 105.’

The early records would not have helped these writers, even if they had used them. The baptismal register, as I have already noted, ignores the transfer from valley to hilltop. The sermon given on the occasion of the opening of the chapel, which might have helped us, was extant in 1873 but has since disappeared. Most of the receipts reflect the failure of the clergy to pay their bills on time and/or do not distinguish between work on the church from that on the house. The civil records do not help us either. The 1791 Catholic Relief Act required Catholics to register their chapels. Some registration certificates for Durham chapels still survive.[26] Newhouse is one of them but not Esh, presumably because it had been a replacement for the older chapel. The same reason probably explains why there is no mention of Esh in the *Clerk's Order Book*, in which all court transactions were recorded. Even John Smith of the Brooms, the diarist who meticulously recorded significant events in the life of the local Catholic communities, lets us down, being happy enough to mention the opening of the new chapel (St Andrew's) in Newcastle on 18 February 1798, but omitting any reference to this great event at Esh – an area with which he was particularly familiar.[27] From its inception, the *Catholic Directory of England and Wales* adhered consistently to the date 1799, traditionally accepted by the congregation, though without proof. Not so *Northern Catholic Calendar* which broke with tradition in 1980 when there appeared the notice 'Newhouse 1651-1799, Esh 1800'. And that has continued to be the case down to the present time.

This uncertainty undoubtedly led to a postponement of the chapel's second centenary which should have taken place either on New Year's Day 1999 or the following year. The Claretian Fathers, who had moved to Esh from Langley Park after the death of the Rev Godfrey Bryce, were, however, able to arrange a celebration just before they moved out of the diocese, well clear of the disputed dates. At long last we have certainty. I have already mentioned that the Rev William Vincent Smith had authoritatively stated the date to be 1800 in his compilation 'Northumberland and Durham Missions' (c.1930s), presumably on the authority of Ralph Platt. However, he later produced a second typescript entitled 'County Durham Mass Centres' (1945) which I mistakenly took to be a copy of the 1930s compilation. A chance remark of our beloved Robin Gard sent me back to it. When we turn to the entry under Esh in this second manuscript we find on page 68: 'The Clergy Agent noted in his books that on the Sunday after Christmas 1798 was celebrated the last Mass at Newhouse and that the first Mass at Esh was said on Jan.1, 1799'. The Clergy Agent, if I am not mistaken, was none other than Thomas Eyre who kept an official record of such events for the bishop and for posterity. We could not have had a more official confirmation of the date. Doubt no longer. I hope the Catholics of Esh Laude will take note before the next centenary!

Notes and References

Abbreviations

DCRO	Durham County Record Office
DV	D. Milburn, *Continuity of Catholicism in the Deerness Valley* 1993.
NCRO	Northumberland County Record Office (which then housed the appropriate documents from the Diocesan Archives)
Platt	R. Platt, 'Memoir of Local Catholicism 1873', typescript, Ushaw Archives
RCD	Roman Catholic Diocese [of Hexham and Newcastle]
UEC	Ushaw, Eyre Correspondence
UM	*Ushaw Magazine*
UOS	Ushaw Archives Old Series
WVSA	W.V.Smith, 'Transcripts of the Diocesan Archives'
WVSM	W.V. Smith, 'Northumberland and Durham Missions' (typescript)
WVSD	W.V. Smith, '18th century County Durham Mass Centres' (typescript)

1. Unless otherwise stated, all citations are from NCRO Series RCD 4, 11-14, folders of unsorted papers belonging to the Hexham and Newcastle Diocese.

2. In my student days at Ushaw College nearby we regularly used to inspect the fifteen-foot winter snowdrifts which cut off Esh village from the surrounding communities for days at a time.

3. Draft letter of Thomas Eyre 15/2/1798 (the day of Ashmall's funeral).

4. Ibid; *UM* (1903) p. 102; Platt p. 134.

5. Draft letter to Smythe at Woolton [*sic*] Hall, Holford's residence. Eyre's drafts were in fact his copies.

6. Called 'Salutation Field' because it was here that pilgrims coming to Durham from the west caught their first sight of the cathedral. The hill to the east of the city was known as 'Signing hill'.

7. Platt p. 192. A letter of 15/2/1798 gives £300, and one of 1875 refers to a £600 bond.

8. UOS/G 10, nd, copy in RCD 4, 11.

9. Ibid. 11/9/1807.

10. WVSA I, p. 136: 1/9/1807.

11. RCD 4, 11, and information from Dom Daniel Rees at Downside Abbey and the Revd Maurice Abbott (then) of Ince Blundell Hall; J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, vol. 3 (1887), pp.342-3.

12. WVSA 1, p. 129: 14/7/1805.

13. Eyre 11/9/1805. A letter from John Yates dated 1/9/1807 mentions that this sum still had not been paid back and speaks of Lady Smythe's being upset to think that this burden of debt was still hanging over the heads of the small Esh congregation.

14. N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: County Durham* (rev. 1996) p. 269; Platt, p. 137, who gives the cost as £324.11s.1d.

15. Ushaw OS/G 10.

16. Platt p. 137. Taylor left Yates £1,300 in his will, cf. G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests, Vol. 4: 1716-1800*,(1977) pp. 275-6.

17. UEC 311, back of notebook.

18. RCD 4, 11: 'An account of the money expended in building the new chapel in the Salutation Field.'

19. Yates left £224-7s-11d for the poor of the mission.

22. This register is in two parts: 1795-1828 and 1829-37. DCRO M5/2 (microfilm)

21. UOS/G 10

23. The Brooms had a rapidly expanding population. From there he moved to Durham in 1838. William Hogarth, first Bishop of Hexham, appointed him canon and vicar general. He died in 1856 and he was buried at Ushaw.

24. J.O. Payne, *Old English Catholic Missions* (1889) pp. 4/5 quoting a note on the fly-leaf of the register: *Liber Baptizatorum* Book II where it is also noted, 'Rev. Roger Glassbrook venit ad Esh-Laude an. 1837.'

25. He also states that the later church built at Newhouse dates from 1883. More correctly, the church was opened in 1871 and extended in 1883.

26. DCRO Q/R/RM 1, 17 dated 15/10/1791.

27. Diary 1778-1811, UOS/D 20.

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Cheeseburn Grange, Stamfordham. J.A. Hansom's Gothic wing c.1860 for Edward Riddell; wing demolished c.1973. [See following article on Hansom.]

A NOMADIC MISSION: THE NORTHERN WORKS OF THE CATHOLIC ARCHITECT J. A. HANSOM, 1803-82

Penelope Harris

Battered, bruised and bankrupt at twenty-seven years old, Joseph Aloysius Hansom limped away from one of his most prestigious works: the Birmingham Town Hall. Twelve months later he had designed the Hansom Cab, the reputation for which constantly overshadows his architectural work; and established the journal *The Builder*, the longest running business weekly in the United Kingdom, which flourishes to this day under the name of *Building*. That this was the start of a prestigious career, favoured by many Catholic patrons, with a legacy of churches, convents, schools and other work throughout the British Isles, from Dornie to Penzance, and the pseudonym given to him of 'The Catholic architect', is at first hard to reconcile.[1]

Hansom was brought up in an old Catholic family living in Micklegate, York, close to the Bar Convent of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin. Both his father and his uncle ran well-established building firms from their adjacent properties and Hansom became a Freeman of the city in 1827. He, and seven of his siblings were baptised in the convent, as were two uncles, one aunt and his eldest daughter Emily Anne. The link was so strong that, when setting up the Catholic Record Society, Hansom's youngest son, Joseph Stanislaus, spent much time trying to reconstitute the history of the convent, an arduous task as many records had been lost in a fire.[2]

Hansom's father released him from his articles in the family business, and sent him to Halifax, where he trained with the architect John Oates. On returning to York he unsuccessfully applied for the post of architect and general surveyor, and instead entered into a partnership with Edward Welch (1806-1868), a fellow student from the Oates practice. Hansom was hard-working, passionately dedicated to his profession, and was keen to take advantage of all new developments such as the use of iron and terracotta. He was intellectually astute, as his son remarked: he 'never missed an opportunity of improving his mind, and would take up and study the most abstruse subjects'. Moreover, Hansom was something of a paternalist: in 1842 he stated that 'the welfare of his pupils as people as well as students' would be considered; that 'every interest of the superior would be bound up with that of his pupil', and that tutors would 'pay strict attention to the morals, habits and health' of the students.[3]

Hansom and Welch's first commission in York was the design of the Dispensary in 1827, a much-needed replacement of an existing building which was too small for the growing demand. Apart from his particular interest in Gothic design, Oates was also a follower of the Classical tradition. This showed up in Hansom's construction of the Dispensary and influenced other early work. Hansom's enlargement of Collingham vicarage in 1828 appears, however, not to have been a joint venture with Welch.[4] Three churches, two of which were won in competitions, and a bridge at Middleham followed.

A suspension bridge across the River Ure at Middleham, and a later bridge over the road at Ampleforth, are examples of his engineering skills. Similarities in style and technique at Middleham can be seen in Telford's Britannia Bridge over the Menai Strait. Described as 'elegant' and costing 'about £1000', the bridge was built for Ralph Riddell (1771-1831), an early hint of Hansom's future dependency upon the Catholic gentry for patronage.[5]

Protracted discussion over seating capacity and a heated dispute within the parish at Acomb as to which of the two well-known local architects, P. Atkinson Junior (1780-1843) or G.T. Andrews (1805-1855) should design the Anglican church of St Stephen, resulted in a surprise decision to offer it to Hansom & Welch. The project comprised the removal of an existing but dilapidated church dating back to the twelfth century (apart from the chancel which was preserved), and the erection of a new church and steeple, comprising west tower, nave and transepts. Work commenced in 1829 and the church was consecrated in 1831. The chancel was added in 1851, but not by Hansom. Fawcett describes the local wrangling at some length and also clarifies the occasional misattribution to Atkinson. With regard to Hansom's religious persuasion, he also explains that 'at the time, in York, Catholicism was not a significant impediment'.[6]

St James' church at Myton, Kingston-upon-Hull, was built in 1831 to a specification supplied by the Church Commissioners to obviate the previous use of a schoolroom. Again Hansom & Welch were competing against Atkinson, who complained bitterly of unfairness when the young newcomers were chosen in his place. Another competitor was a local architect, Mr Williams. The remit for a 'plain substantial building' gave little scope for any imaginative artwork and Hansom was subsequently blamed for 'great carelessness' in the preparation of the foundations. The design called for vaulting, that is to say, raising the building on a basement to save it from dry rot due to it being situated on a site which was 'low and damp'. This did not entirely solve the problem, however, and considerable subsidence resulted. It stabilised over time, but not before Hansom had been penalised. In Hansom's defence he was working during a wet winter and the planned work on local drainage was not carried out, causing excessive seepage underneath the church. Some attempts were made to rectify the situation, but as Hansom & Welch were now fully committed in Birmingham they had to back away.[7]

The last church to be built in this area during this period was the Catholic St John the Evangelist at Easingwold. This mission can be dated to 1145AD and it was once a twin of Ampleforth.[8] From the social historian's point of view, two aspects here are significant. Firstly, it reinforced a connection between Bishop William Ullathorne (1806-1889) and the Hansom family. Ullathorne had started his pastoral work here and it was he who befriended Joseph's younger brother Charles during difficult times in Birmingham. Secondly, the ornate rood-screen which Charles Hansom designed for St Anne's at Edge Hill, Liverpool, was re-sited at Easingwold in 1892. (It remained there until it was removed in 1964.)

Hansom won another competition launched by the Church Commissioners, this time at Toxteth Park in Liverpool. Here he began to sow the seeds of his move to the south and shows him as a prime exponent in the art of networking. It was this connection which led him firstly to work on the Isle of Anglesey, the playground of wealthy Liverpool business people, and then to enter the competition for Birmingham Town Hall. The builders he used at Toxteth were William Thomas and William Kendall, who went with him to Birmingham. St John the Baptist was built in Early English style and seated 1,800 people. It was described unflatteringly by the surveyor to the Church Commissioners as being 'tolerably satisfactory'. It was demolished in 1957, following irreparable bomb damage sustained during the Second World War.[9]

Some explanation is now due for the repeated references to Birmingham. Whilst working for their Liverpool/Anglesey clients, Hansom & Welch both entered the competition for the design of Birmingham Town Hall in a bid to bring their names into the public domain and to encourage more prestigious commissions. In this they were highly successful, but not in the way they intended![10] They were pressurised into being architects, builders *and* financiers, the latter being their downfall. Their work was highly acclaimed but funding ran out at the eleventh hour and they were forced into bankruptcy. An undercurrent to all this was an association with Robert Owen (1771-1858), founder of the Co-operative movement. Hansom's involvement with politics at local and national level was frowned upon and he was briefly called 'the Socialist architect'. Though Owen was an atheist, he and Hansom shared many beliefs. Through his time in Birmingham, and particularly some of his writings in *The Builder*, Hansom demonstrated his great social awareness, sensitivity towards his fellow men, his underlying wish to alleviate poor living conditions and, above all, to provide educational opportunities.

The partnership with Welch broke up. Hansom was already disenchanted with work for the Church Commissioners and now turned away from competitions which he felt to be a corrupt and unfair process. In a state of severe poverty he had, in effect, to start his career all over again. His move to Hinckley in Leicestershire was a critical turning point. The bizarre offer of a post as financial manager to a nearby Warwickshire businessman also gave him freedom to pursue his own design work. There followed a number of secular works, another town hall and a workhouse, but more importantly the chance to create a network of Catholic contacts. The simultaneous building of two sizeable convents, the Priory of St Mary's at Princethorpe and the Convent of the Rosary at Atherstone,[11] were sufficient to attract the attention of the Jesuits. He was invited by Fr Randall Lythgoe SJ (1793-1855) to develop St Mary's College at Spinkhill, and then St Beuno's College in Wales.[12] Continuing the Lythgoe connection, he moved to Preston where he built the Talbot Schools and St Walburge's Church. His reputation was now fully established and he was soon greatly in demand. Whilst the Preston period 1847 to 1855, was his most prolific for church-building, it was by no means confined to the local area. This

geographical diversification was typical throughout his career.[13] Apart from London later in life, Preston is his longest recorded base, although even this was interrupted by a brief spell in Edinburgh and a return to his home city of York.

There is a noticeable gap between Hansom's early work in the north, which ceased in 1833 and which resumed in 1849. However he maintained his family connections (his youngest son, Joseph Stanislaus, with whom he went into partnership in 1869 was born in York in 1845), and was able to reinforce the relationship he had with the local Catholic community which was vital to his career. The two works which commenced in 1849 were St George's church in York and an input into the development of Ushaw College.

York, St George

Hansom had built a church, presbytery and school in Preston and he did likewise at York, in this case jointly with his brother Charles. A central location for St George's church was initially envisaged, but this was vetoed, mainly by the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, on the grounds that existing antiquities might be harmed. The outcome was satisfactory, however, when a new site was found on the corner of Margaret Street and George Street, opposite the ancient churchyard, the new church being erected on the site of the medieval rectory. A bonus was its proximity to the Walmgate area where many Irish immigrants had settled. The foundation stone was laid on 25 October 1849, with an estimated crowd of over 4,000 in attendance. The church was designed in the Early Decorated style, with a three-gabled roof, a chancel and south porch, together with a double belfry. Ralph Weatherley of Micklegate was the builder. The window above the main altar was made by Hardman of Birmingham, (a life-time personal connection which Hansom maintained).[14] The church was

designed to provide seating for five hundred people and the combined cost of site and building amounted to £3,550. Bishop James Gillis (1802-1864), Vicar Apostolic of the Eastern District of Scotland, presided at the opening ceremony in the following September. In his speech at the reception in the evening, Bishop John Briggs (1789-1861), Vicar Apostolic of Yorkshire District, rejoiced that 'Catholics would no longer have to enter in an underhand fashion as they did at the old chapel'. St George's was destined to become the first Catholic cathedral in Yorkshire since the Reformation, coinciding with the enthronement of Dr Briggs as first Bishop of Beverley. The parish school was completed in 1851. It was subsidised by a grant from the Catholic Poor Schools Committee and the girls and infants were taught by a group of nuns from the Bar Convent.[15] The presbytery and chapter room followed in 1856/7.

At Ushaw College one might describe Hansom as acting as second fiddle to the two Pugins, where they tended to monopolise the ecclesiastical work and Hansom undertook important, though some might say lesser, domestic work. Nonetheless, Hansom's work is now mostly category Grade II listed. To date few details have been unearthed, thus only a simple chronology is given:

1849 Exhibition Hall (conversion of chapel to theatre); Library; Study Place.
1850 Bounds; Ball Places; Racket Courts.
1851 Farm buildings.
1852 Terrace and front laid out; Cemetery (Cloister, containing the graves of most of the bishops of Hexham and Newcastle).
1854 Lavatories.

One recent discovery indicates that the total cost for the Hall amounted to £1,712.19s.0d. and that Hansom's eldest son, Henry John, worked with him at the time. The account from Hardman's in Birmingham, presumably for windows, amounted to £475.13s.4d. The Library and terrace were reputedly executed in conjunction with Joseph's brother Charles. The Library is worthy of note inasmuch as it amalgamated previous libraries and was augmented by the private collection of the Revd Thomas Wilkinson. A namesake and future Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle and President of Ushaw College, Thomas W. Wilkinson (1825-1909), paid for the building, as indeed he did for a large part of Hansom's St Thomas of Canterbury at Wolsingham.[16]

The following year Hansom designed two more Catholic churches. The Sacred Heart of Our Blessed Lord at Howden was comparatively humble in nature but nevertheless charming, a typical church built to cater for the growing Catholic community of Irish immigrants and sited at the very edge of the town. Traditionally a Catholic stronghold, where many priests were captured between 1570 and 1616, and home to such families as the Vavasours, there were only three Catholic families in Howden in 1764. By 1850 there were 150 persons. Barred from the town hall, the local priest, Fr Robert Cooke (1821-1882), erected a temporary chapel in a small terraced house in St John Street. This in turn led to the church of the Sacred Heart. Along with Hansom at the laying of

the foundation stone were Bishop Briggs, Charles Langdale, Philip Stourton and William Constable Maxwell. They met again at the opening ten months later. Referring to the design of the church, Denis Evinson notes Hansom's use of 'the depressed arch', which he called a 'childish irregularity'. He goes on to say that a 'more sophisticated example of Hansom's perversity' was used at the church he was shortly to build at Wolsingham. The overall style was Early English, a feature of which was the slender octagonal turret at the north west corner of the nave. Mr Barnett of York supplied the stained glass windows, one of which was at the expense of Mrs Maxwell of Everingham. The east window was supplied by Barnett free of charge. The main contractor was Mr Weatherley, whom Hansom had employed to build St George's in York.[17]

There were very few Catholics in Hartlepool at the turn of the century, and in 1825 the closest church was at Hutton Henry. Bishop Briggs opened a church in Hartlepool in 1834, but no trace of it remains. During the ten years between 1830 and 1840 the population of the town nearly doubled, mainly due to Irish immigrants working on the railways or in the docks. Street collections were taken and, together with private donations, a sum of £4,000 was raised. The list of donors included the bishop, local gentry, Hansom, and Barnett, (presumably the stained-glass maker). Nicholas Wiseman, first Archbishop of Westminster preached at the opening ceremony. Mr Lawrenson, organiser of the collections, paid for the peal of bells. They were rung to welcome Wiseman on his first visit to the North following his appointment.[18]

As already intimated, Hansom's path was neither simple nor smooth. Between 1852 and 1856 he had twenty-four different major works under way, between Leith near Edinburgh and Worcester in the south. He then appears to have undergone a period of ill-health perhaps because of overwork.[19] In 1853 he received a very substantial commission for The Church of Immaculate Conception at Mount St Mary at Leeds. Fr Robert Cooke had moved to Leeds in 1851 to set up a mission there, hence the Hansom connection. (Cooke was soon to become Vice-Provincial and then Provincial of the Order of Oblates of Mary Immaculate.) It was the Leeds church which was indicative that things were going wrong for him. The design was in place and the foundation stone laid by Bishop Peter Augustine Baines (1787-1843), Bishop of Beverley, on 24 May. There was an appropriate gathering of dignitaries and an estimated crowd of 2,000 people. The church was to be located on a raised site known as 'The Bank', an area synonymous with the Irish community. The church was to be on a grand scale, 'the character sought to be attained in the whole structure is that of altitude'. The design was likened to Kirkstall Abbey. The eventual aim was for five aisles, side chapels and seating for three thousand people. 'Houses for the religious', schools, gardens and terrace were also part of the scheme. The newspaper report at the time gives no indication of any problems, but for some as yet unexplained reason the job was relinquished and handed to another architect. This would not have been given up lightly and must have been a bitter blow. W. W. Wardell (1824-1899), appears to have completed the job three

years later. When the church opened in 1859 £12,000 had been spent and only the nave and aisles were complete. The chancels and transepts were added by E.W. Pugin in 1866.[20]

At the same time he was commissioned to build St Thomas of Canterbury at Wolsingham and somehow Hansom must have kept going, for it was completed albeit without the bell-tower on the south-west corner. The development of this town is a prime example of the national trend: the Irish potato famine leading to a high number of settlers in the area to work on the railways and in the mining industry. At one stage the Irish out-numbered the locals by more than four to one. As already stated, Fr Wilkinson was very much involved in the building of this church. At the start of his career he was sent to the area to found a new mission. From an initial congregation of five he gathered Catholics from surrounding villages. The surge in numbers was so great that it attracted the attention of Cardinal Wiseman. A site was purchased and Hansom was engaged. Priests from neighbouring towns contributed, collections were made and much of the labour was provided gratuitously by the locals. The church was opened on 5 September 1853. It is the only Catholic church in Weardale.[21]

Wolsingham, St Thomas of Canterbury

Though the design of every church is individual, Evinson perceived a common pattern in the churches at York, Howden, Hartlepool and Wolsingham, based on Hansom's St Mary at Ryde, Isle of Wight. Two further comments by Evinson specifically referring to Wolsingham are on the 'perverse constructural arrangements' and Hansom's 'deliberately incorrect roofing arrangements'. He also refers to the use of blank arches, a blurring of the divisions between bays or

a shift in the position of the clerestory. Another comment on the design was that 'scarcely anyone need be prevented from seeing the altar'.[22] This is something about which Hansom cared greatly – a reflection of his compassionate and philanthropic ideals in caring for the disadvantaged. He often refers to the difficulties of those at the back, the poorer members of the congregation, and how he tried to overcome them by such means as with his aisleless church at Preston.

Hansom was still under pressure and he seems to have been panicked into forming a partnership with his younger brother, Charles, who was by this time well settled at Clifton, near Bristol. This was not entirely satisfactory as Hansom continued to work in Lancashire and the far north. However he had reached desperation point in 1854 when he was working for Henry Charles Englefield Silvertop at Minsteracres and felt obliged to ask Charles to come and assist in order that the work could be completed as required, in time for Christmas. The partnership lasted for five years.[23]

Clare Abbey, Darlington

A major work which occupied the two brothers' time was St Clare's Abbey at Darlington. When the sisters first came to England they resided at Bough Hall near Catterick, then at Scorton Hall, both in North Yorkshire. A further move became necessary and the Carmelite community offered them some land at Darlington. Bishop Briggs was reluctant to lose the sisters from his diocese and it was a full year before his agreement could be obtained. This was a project which, according to Charles, Joseph nearly lost. However from the diaries of the meticulous James Firth, Clerk of Works, it appears that Joseph was very much

in charge of the job. It was he who accompanied the sisters when they were seeking a new site, he who liaised regularly with the abbess, and he who visited on a fortnightly basis to supervise the work. Nevertheless, financial records show that they were paid on a 50:50 basis and weekly reports were routinely sent to Clifton. A measure of the respect shown to Hansom was evident when he, along with the bishop, was one of only three people at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone in September 1855 which, according to Firth, was a 'strictly private' affair. Hansom was still living in Preston at the time but he had a personal interest in the convent because his daughter, Winifred, was a pupil there. On 9 June 1857 both he and Mrs Hansom visited, along with Fr Richard Kellet, chaplain at Scorton.[24]

The sisters moved in at the end of 1857. The abbey is described as being appropriately simple and monastic in style, with the exception of the church which is 'often taken to be Puginian'. Two particular features of the church are its gallery and the pull-cord which the nuns used to open and close the door of the tabernacle. As usual, the church was designed to ensure good visibility for the whole congregation. The school closed in 1887 when the community decided to devote more time to contemplation and solitude in silence. They resided at the abbey for exactly one hundred and fifty years before re-locating to Hereford in 2007. They left a property of exceptional quality, especially in that so few changes took place during their stay there.[25]

Hansom returned to Darlington ten years later, when he enlarged the windows of St Augustine's church. He also added the south west tower and porch. The original church was designed by Ignatius Bonomi and opened in 1827. The priest at that time, who also paid one third of the purchase price for the plot, was William Hogarth, later to become first Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, and another very useful contact for Hansom. It was the bishop who commissioned the extension in 1865.

The work at Darlington had an impact on the church which The Hon. Mrs Edward Petre (1811-1886) wanted him to design for her at Selby in memory of her late husband, The Hon. Edward Robert Petre. Correspondence describes how both she and her agent were exasperated, finding it almost impossible to persuade Hansom to make a start. Lady Petre's agent commented on this with some surprise after a visit to his home in Preston. There is no doubt that Darlington was taking a great deal of Hansom's time, but he was also working on the Training College for Catholic Schoolmistresses in Liverpool. As Lady Petre had a particular interest in the college, which she also funded, it is a little surprising that she was not more sympathetic to his predicament. After the death of her husband, Lady Petre joined the Order of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and she remained in Belgium for the rest of her life. She engaged Fr John Rigby to act as her agent and paid him a quarterly salary of £40. Lady Petre's inheritance was considerable and, for once, Hansom had been asked to build a

church where lack of finance was not a drawback. The old chapel, which Lord Petre had established for the use of his tenants in Selby, was to be converted into a school. A new and much larger church was to be built nearby, with an adjacent presbytery. There were also plans for houses for the school teachers.[26]

Correspondence between Lady Petre and her agent illustrates the muddle into which Hansom appears to have got at this time. Because he was under pressure to move forward, advertisements for contractors were placed before drawings were ready. Lady Petre was, in her way, quite a hard task-master and, again under pressure, Hansom started work before the final contract had been signed. For this he was reprimanded. The arrival of Charles on the scene did not seem to help. He wanted to use a builder known to him but not from Yorkshire. Charles also wanted to use Bath stone rather than York. Fr Rigby stated 'surely what would do for the York Minster would do for the Selby new church'. Despite a number of grumbles throughout the contract, the church resulted in one of Hansom's finest. Evinson describes Selby as showing 'a competent handling of Gothic forms', with 'a finely balanced relationship of the various components: chancel, transepts, nave and tower'. A Puginian influence is shown by the placing of the tower at the south side of the nave, with the entrance in the tower. The small gabled projection to the east is a Hansom quirk, but the heart-shaped tracery in the tower and the design of the font may well have been inspired by Selby Abbey nearby. A series of brass tablets around the church commemorates the priests who worked there, the first being John Rigby, who was in office for eighteen years. A larger and more elaborate one acknowledges Lady Petre's benefaction and remembers her husband. The arms of the Petre family are depicted in the side windows.[27]

Selby, St Mary

The dynamics between Joseph and his younger brother Charles have yet to be fully explored. Sometimes they worked together or were in formal partnership, (1855-1859), but at others they were in direct competition. Charles was obviously as bruised as his brother after Birmingham and his comment referring to the second town hall which Joseph built at Lutterworth in 1835-6, that 'building a town hall was something he [Charles] would never do', is very illuminating. Charles was very fortunate in that, whilst still in Birmingham, Fr William (later Bishop) Ullathorne took him under his wing, touring Europe with him and giving him work. However Charles' occasional outbursts of temperament, such as when he parted company with Mary Hallahan at Stone, and reputedly again at Ampleforth were not entirely helpful to his career.[28]

The opportunity to build firstly the chapel, and then a large college extension for the Benedictine order at Ampleforth was a great privilege. The Benedictine Priory of St Laurence the Martyr, founded at Dieulouard, Lorraine in 1619, moved to England in 1793 and settled at Ampleforth in 1807. Charles Hansom's church was the second to be built on the site and opened in 1857. It was built in geometrical cruciform design and the total length was 94 feet. However at the time of its official opening it was little more than a shell and Joseph was brought in to add the fittings. These were described in the *Ampleforth Journal* at the time as being 'richly ornate'. In 1883, one year after his father's death, Joseph Stanislaus Hansom was commissioned to oversee the erection of stalls in the church. The church lasted for nearly a hundred years, when it too was demolished to make way for a larger one. After the completion of the church Joseph Hansom continued to work at Ampleforth and was given responsibility for a large extension to the school buildings, the clock-tower wing or 'New College'. Evinson describes it as being 'one of the most ambitious building schemes by Catholics in the whole of England'. A three-storied building, it was built in a T-shape, 170 feet long by 50 feet at one end and 74 feet at the head. Based on fourteenth- or fifteenth-century colleges, it was both tall and compact, and, as was Hansom's preference, very spacious internally. It was completed in 1861.[29]

Interspersed with his ecclesiastical work, Hansom extended a number of country houses for his private Catholic patrons. Sometimes he followed the style of the original property, and sometimes complemented them by changing to one of a different period. He seems to have enjoyed experimenting with a mix of styles, though, as far as country houses were concerned, he never developed one of his own. The first property on which he worked was the addition of a domestic chapel at Minsteracres in the Gothic style for Henry Silvertop. He subsequently built an extension to the main house, where he followed the style set by John Dobson in 1816. Fr Jules Lenders states that Hansom was chosen because 'he was beginning to make to himself a name in the north through the correctness and beauty of his work'. Inspired by Silvertop's first wife, the church was dedicated to her patron, St Elizabeth of Hungary, the request being for 'something nice, no matter the cost'. It was Silvertop's second marriage, to

the daughter of Edward Joseph Weld of Lulworth Castle, which inspired the extension of the Hall. The library and dining-room were combined, a second storey added and many other changes all ‘on a scale as grand ... with the same lavishness which had attended the construction of the church’. The dining-room was especially designed to accommodate a tapestry brought from Italy. By this time finances were exhausted.[30]

A year after the Minsteracres chapel, but prior to the Hall extension, Hansom reconstructed the south front of Danby Hall for Simon Thomas Scrope at Danby-on-Yore near Middleham, close to the bridge which he had built earlier in his career. The Hall dated back to the fourteenth century and Hansom’s extension was in the Jacobean style, showing some similarity to the design of Hatfield House. He also built towers at the east and west ends. Previously the Hall had been used to hold services for local inhabitants, but for some time prior to Hansom’s extension it had been empty.[31] In 1860 Hansom was working on Brandsby Lodge for Major W. Fletcher Gordon, a comparatively small house, the chapel of which was served from Ampleforth. Hansom added a large wing comprising drawing room and dining-room with bedrooms above. It was described as a large square building in Italian style, built on a site with extensive views. It was owned at one time by Hugh Charles Fairfax-Cholmeley, but by 1896 it was unoccupied.[32] At Cheeseburn Grange near Stamfordham he built a drawing-room and dining-room in the Gothic style for Edward Riddell, again following on from Dobson’s earlier work. The Hansom part of the building was demolished in 1973.[33] (A fireplace and window pelmet fetched £4,100 at auction in Bristol in 1995.)

Lartington Hall, porte-cochère

This spate of domestic work concluded with Lartington Hall in 1862 and Thornburgh House at Leyburn in 1863. The Lartington extension comprised a new entrance: hall, lobby, vestibule and corridor 100 feet long around a ball-room. The vestibule was raised on slender pillars and decorated with the crests of the Witham, Silvertop and Maire families. Wood-carvings by the Florentine architect Bulletti were incorporated as they had been at Minsteracres. Lartington

Hall was owned by The Right Rev Thomas Witham, an exceptional gentleman who, for many years, combined his missionary duties with those of a landowner. He lived there until his death in 1897. Furnishings from Lartington were transferred to Minsteracres early in the twentieth century and the chapel, which had been used as a paint-shop, was re-consecrated by a Church of England bishop in 1919. Hansom also terraced the grounds in front of Lartington Hall, which are Grade II listed. In the grounds he built a porte-cochère, a miniature temple in Renaissance-style. On several occasions Hansom was involved in landscaping the properties he had designed. This without doubt resulted from his close association with the prestigious landscape gardener John Claudius Loudon whom he met during his time in Birmingham.[34]

By focussing specifically on the domestic properties, the inter-connections between Hansom's patrons are more clearly identified. Riddell's eldest surviving son Edward married the second daughter of Simon Scrope, but they had no children and the titles of both Cheeseburn Grange and Thornburgh House passed to Francis Henry Riddell and the extension at Leyburn was carried out for him. It was in the Jacobean style, built on to the existing Georgian building. Originally called Grove House and owned by the Thornburgh family from Westmoreland, it devolved on Ralph Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange in 1774. Hansom extended the south entrance, hall and dining-room. He built two ranges of unequal size with shaped gables and a curved arched loggia in between. Hansom favoured a curved shape, as in his very early Victoria Terrace on the Isle of Anglesey, several buildings in Leicestershire and again at Lartington.[35]

The first of Hansom's last two commissions in this part of the country was St Wilfrid's, Ripon (1862), which was built during a brief and apparently tempestuous partnership with Edward Pugin – an obvious incompatibility which leads one to wonder how it ever came about. Professionally, there is clearly no attempt on Pugin's part to blend his elaborately designed reredos into the unusual and far from plain multi-style Hansom used for the physical structure. Describing 'the chancel of unusual form' as being 'the outstanding feature of the church', *The Builder* considered the overall design to be 'Lombardo-Early Decorated'. Hansom seems to have used St Wilfrid's as an academic exercise to follow enthusiastically the new and fashionable trend to introduce continental characteristics into his design. The Lombardic element is displayed by interspersing occasional bands of pink stone amongst the otherwise plain brown sandstone, by use of pink and white stones over the western wheel window and by different coloured slates for the roof. The lancet windows are more typically English, whereas elements from the medieval chancery of Ripon Cathedral, as at Selby, have been incorporated elsewhere. The chancel and Hardman windows are Germanic. These mixed designs make for an interesting and thought-provoking shape, but the use of horizontal stonework, emulating the nearby Markenfield Hall is not entirely successful: 'the horizontality conflicting with the upward thrust of the steeple'. The sharply sloping pointed tower is a ploy to signify height, where a typical Hansom-steeple which eclipsed the nearby

Protestant church would not have been acceptable. At first glance Pugin's heavily ornate and undeniably spectacular reredos does not sit entirely comfortably in this setting. Yet, on closer inspection of the extraordinary wealth and variety of detail which abounds throughout, it becomes apparent that this was Hansom's master-stroke, and Pugin's contribution becomes an essential component of Hansom's 'academic exercise'. The church was built for the rector, Philip Vavasour of Hazlewood Castle, and post-Hansom connections illustrate the link with the Marquis of Ripon and the altar of Our Lady of the Fountain brought from Studley Royal Chapel.[36]

Lastly, St Charles Borromeo at Tudhoe near Spennymoor (1869) developed from a loft owned by the Salvin family which had hitherto been used for saying Mass. This was an area where Catholic priests were particularly active and potential congregations of miners and manufacturers of iron abounded. The site for church, presbytery and cemetery was donated by Mr H M Salvin. The church was adjacent to the old Tudhoe Academy which had initially been a primary school and was later used by seminary students fleeing from Douai. They were destined to become the first students at Ushaw, one of the most notable being John Lingard. The cost of the church was £5,000, most of which came from the Salvins. Thomas Witham donated one of the stained glass windows, dedicated to his patron saint St Thomas Aquinas. The church extended to 78 feet internally, with a sanctuary of 22 feet and a width of 38 feet. Hansom incorporated an archway into the wall of the nave in anticipation of a Lady Chapel to be added at a later date. It was never built. [37]

J.A. Hansom

This brief dissertation on the northern works of Joseph Hansom is not definitive and should not be considered as the final word. There are gaps where more research has yet to be done and it is necessary to constantly cross-

reference his work with his patrons. In the overall pattern of Hansom's work, the northern area was hugely significant numerically and without doubt his churches at Selby, York and Ripon must rank as some of his best even if they do not compete with St Walburge's and Holy Name in Lancashire,[38] or indeed some of his great works in the south, such as Arundel Cathedral, or the stunning development of the Benedictine Abbey at Fort Augustus in Scotland. Like anyone else Hansom had successes and failures, good times and bad. The problematic Birmingham Town Hall, a situation which took huge courage and unswerving faith to overcome, was both his greatest success and his greatest heartache, but despite being frequently pushed and pulled by circumstance he must have had some moments of satisfaction. He benefitted from the timing of the Catholic Revival and the influx of Irish. He suffered from a lack of funding, poor sites and a hesitancy to accept the Catholic community. Many of his works have survived and are revered but others have been demolished or sadly neglected. Credited with the highest esteem in his day, his name has fallen from national recognition even though he remains much appreciated at a local level. He is still acknowledged as the founder of *The Builder (Building)* but it is doubtful that many of its readers appreciate his full significance. After much effort on the part of the late Denis Evinson, a blue plaque was erected in London in his memory. For a variety of reasons, renewed interest in Hansom's architectural work is gradually raising his profile to a level it justly deserves.

Notes and References

1. The cab was patented on 23 December 1834. Suggestions that Hansom made a fortune from his design are mistaken. *The Builder* dates from December 1842. It was also his intention to run a residential Builders College. Due to lack of capital he sold the proprietary rights to the journal and the college closed. In a joint venture with his brother Charles, he built three churches in Boulogne.

2. Application for Freedom of the City of York, York City Archives. Sister Martha Hansom, one of Joseph's aunts, was baptised in the convent chapel, educated at the convent school and spent the rest of her life there, serving for some time as Apothecaress and was buried in the convent cemetery in 1839. Catholic Record Society, Vol 4, p.353.

3. J. Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics from the Breach with Rome in 1534 to the Present Time,* Burns & Oates*,* (1885), p.116. Input is believed to have been derived from his youngest son, Joseph Stanislaus Hansom. *The Builder*, precursor number, 31 December 1842, p.6. Hansom put forward a design for the Metropolitan Music Hall, a building as large as Westminster Hall, catering for 15,000 people and holding the 'organ of the world'. (*Mechanics Magazine vol 26, 1842)* Based on the same engineering principles as those used for suspension bridges, his light-weight iron framework had the potential to pioneer the first skyscraper. Denis Evinson, *Joseph Hansom,* (MA thesis, London, 1966) pp.137/8. Hansom's interest in terracotta may have been inspired by Fr Randal Lythgoe, who was at one time based in Malta. Hansom used terracotta increasingly in his work, especially at Holy Name in Manchester. His obituary suggests that he set up a manufacturing business in the Durham area but this has yet to be identified. Hansom worked with Oates (17xx-1831) on All Saints, Huddersfield, and Holy Trinity, Idle. Oates' interest in the Gothic effectively gave Hansom a head-start on Pugin.

4. Borthwick Institute, University of York, MGA/1828/3.

5. The bridge lasted for nearly 40 years, when it collapsed owing to the weight of cattle crossing over it. T. Whellan & Co., *Whellan History and Topography of North Riding of Yorkshire*, Vol 2.

6. Evinson, p.35. Bill Fawcett, 'Some notes on the Rebuilding of Acomb Parish Church 1828-32', *York Historian,* Vol.14, (1997), p.56.

7. Correspondence files, Prof. S Welsh, RIBA WeS 11/3/7. Evinson, pp. 40/41. Surveyor's Report, 2 March 1830.

8. A. Cramer, OSB, 'St John's Easingwold, A Centenary and a Half 1833-1983', *Ampleforth Journal 84,* 7 November 1983.

9. Evinson, p.37. Victoria County History of York, East Riding, Vol. 1, *Parish Churches*, p.293.

10. Hansom described the outcome of his failed endeavours as having been caused by him being 'obliged to submit or forego the object of [*his*] ambition', that 'bankruptcy has been fixed as the price of my adventure – a perpetual penance', and he questioned whether the townsfolk should glorify the Town Hall 'which has been purchased at higher price than blood by me'. J. Hansom, Architect, *A Statement of Facts relative to the Birmingham Town-Hall, with an Appeal to the Rate-Payers and Inhabitants of Birmingham,* (1834), pp.7,15.

11. St Mary's Priory at Princethorpe was an intermittent on-going job for the Hansom family from 1837 to 1891. Originating from Montargis in 1620, the Benedictine nuns built the first Catholic convent in England since the Reformation. In 1966 it was converted into a Catholic boy's school. The Convent of the Rosary at Atherstone was built in 1837 for Dominican nuns who relocated from Brussels. Built in Elizabethan style, the foundation stone was laid by Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle. It was taken over by a Benedictine order who re-located to Colwich when the property was demolished for housing in 1967.

12. Fr Randall Lythgoe was Provincial of the Jesuits between 1841 and 1848. At Mount St Mary (1842-3), Hansom was asked to extend a college for 60 pupils, 'a handsome addition at minimum outlay'. The original building, first of many taken over by the Jesuits, dates back to the sixteenth century. St Beuno's College (1846-9), Hansom's second Jesuit college, was completely new. This very solid-looking structure was designed to emulate an Oxbridge College. Its most striking feature is the central square tower. St Beuno's was the early training ground for Gerard Manley Hopkins.

13. Built in stages between 1850 and 1866, St Walburge's is one of Hansom's most spectacular churches – an aiseless church with large hammerbeams, rose window, and full-size statues of saints raised high along two sides. It has the tallest steeple in England. Non-local work during the Preston phase (1847-1855) stretched from St Mary, Star of the Sea on the outskirts of Edinburgh and a presbytery for the Jesuits at St George's, Worcester.

14. D. Wilde, *George of Beanhills,*, YES Books (York, 1892), pp. 38/39/41. *Middlesborough Diocesan Year Book (2001)*: 'The 150th Anniversary of St George's Church, York, Monday 4 September 2000', p.89.

15. Wilde, pp. 40/45. *Preston Guardian*, 15 February 1851.

16. Letter from Hansom to Ushaw, 22 December 1859. Ushaw College Archives. R.C. Laing (Ed.), *Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial*, (1895) pp.57/8. Ushaw College Chronology, p.2.

17. B.W. Kelly, *Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions,* (1907), p. 220. K. Powls, *Howden, the Untold Story*, (Goole, 2006). Evinson, p. 194.

18. B. Sharratt, *The Catholic Churches in Hartlepool and West Hartlepool,* (Glasgow 1965),

pp. 1/6/7. *The Newcastle Courant*, 5 September 1851; *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 5 September 1851.

19. Letter Charles Hansom to John Hardman, 25 November 1853, Birmingham City Archives.

20. *The Leeds Mercury*, 28 May 1853. Welsh, WeS 11/3/13.

21. L. Gooch, *Catholicism in Weardale* (1984).

22. Evinson, pp.195/6, 214, 224. Gooch.

23. Letter Charles Hansom to John Hardman, 25 November 1953, Birmingham City Archives.

24. Letter Charles Hansom to John Hardman, January 1855, Birmingham City Archives. The Catholic James Firth remained loyal to Hansom for many years, acting as his Clerk of Works for Holy Name at Manchester (1869-72), St Aloysius at Oxford (1873-75) and Derwent Hall (1876-1880). Chronicles of the Poor Clare Monastery: 5 August 1851 and 11 June 1852. Diary of James Firth, 4 September 1855. An hermetically sealed glass bottle was placed under the stone, containing medals, engravings, a copy of the last Gospel and a roll of parchment with an inscription signed by Jane Mary Joseph Dobson, Abbess.

25. History of Poor Clare Monastery. At the time of writing, the redevelopment of the convent was under consideration.

26. Lord Petre succeeded the Walmsley family as Lord of the Manor of Selby. He never lived there but supported it in many ways and was one of the first directors of the new railway company. W.W. Morrell, *History of Selby*, (London and Selby, 1867), p.178. There were, of course, many Irishmen working on the railway, which is not far from the church. Letters from Rev Rigby to Lady Petre: 28 January 1855 and 2 March 1855, Archives of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. Rigby's comment on Hansom's office was 'I see next to no one in your office ... you ought to have at least a dozen clerks and I only perceive <u>one boy</u>'.

27. Rigby's letters. Applications were received from '20 clients from Hull, York, Leeds, Wakefield and distant places'. Evinson, pp. 223/4.

28. Welsh, WeS 11/2/128,9.

29. *Ampleforth Journal*, 58 (1953) p. 6; 62 (1957) p. 23. Box 202, Ampleforth Archives. Evinson, p.238.

30. J. Lenders, *Minsteracres* (1932), pp. 41/43. (Fr Lenders was chaplain at Minsteracres in the 1920s).

31. Evinson, p. 262.

32. *Kelly's Directory, North Riding of Yorkshire,* p. 43.

33. Evinson, p. 263. N. Pevsner and I. Richmond, *The Buildings of England, Northumberland,* (2002), p. 218.

34. *Bulmer's History and Directory of North Yorkshire,* (1890), p. 588; Evinson, p.329.

35. *Bulmer,* p. 484. Evinson, p. 263.

36. *The Builder,* 17 May 1862, p.356. Evinson, p. 236.

37. Tony Coia and Bob Hall, *Parish of Tudhoe St Charles 1858-2008,* (Crook, 2008), p.19.

38. 'Hansomly done: Church of the Holy Name, Manchester', *Country Life*, 8 April 2009.

SURVIVAL VERSUS REVIVAL: THE ENDURANCE OF TRADITIONAL RELIGION IN EARLY ELIZABETHAN YORKSHIRE

Emma Watson

The county of Yorkshire has something of a reputation amongst scholars of post-Reformation Catholicism as a stronghold of the old faith. Generally, such conclusions have been drawn from work on the widespread recusancy of the 1580s and 1590s, much of which persisted well into the seventeenth century and beyond. There has been a long lasting debate amongst scholars over whether the Catholicism of post-Reformation England was a pre-Reformation survival, or was revived by incoming seminary and Jesuit priests from the 1580s. Probably the best known positions are those of Hugh Aveling and John Bossy, who have argued extensively that the seminary priests arrived just in time to rescue Catholicism in England from the brink of extinction; and of Christopher Haigh who has strongly contested that in many areas the old faith remained strong before the priests arrived.[1] I wish to pose a new challenge to this survival or revival debate, firstly by asking whether it is really possible to apply the same arguments across a whole county, never mind a whole nation, and secondly through the assessment of patterns of the survival of traditional religion across Yorkshire within the framework of both the Elizabethan church and the English Catholic mission. Concentrating on the first decades of the Elizabeth's reign, rather than the last, this article will throw new light on the extent of Catholic survivalism in Yorkshire, and how this was then reflected in later years.

It seems unlikely that Bossy and Aveling accurately reflect the situation in Yorkshire. Seminary priests embarking on the English mission from the 1570s were instructed not to seek converts but to concentrate on ministering to existing Catholics. Furthermore, the secrecy in which they were obliged to work meant that they rarely came into contact with non-Catholics and would therefore have been unable to make many converts outside the circles of existing conservative families. This is evident in the examinations of captured missionary priests. Thomas Clarke who was arrested in London in 1592 after many years spent working in Yorkshire, stated that he had 'never persuaded any to the Romish religion, as he had no conference with any but Catholics.'[2] There must have been a well of conservative feelings in Yorkshire for the missionary priests to tap into initially or they would have been quickly reported to the authorities.[3] That said, the Catholicism of the 1560s was very different from that of the 1520s. Surviving monastic and Marian priests would have taken their vastly differing experiences of Catholicism and religious change into the parish, and even those parishioners who remained Catholic would have retained certain elements of reformed religion, and perhaps adopted some of the ideas of reformed Catholicism coming out of the Council of Trent from 1563. Degrees of conformity varied enormously, even between parishes widely acknowledged to demonstrate strong conservative tendencies, and there is no way of knowing just

how many Yorkshire parishes continued to enjoy undetected crypto-Catholic services well into the reign. It is also uncertain how far the use of such services and the retention of Catholic books and furnishings reflected a conscious desire to oppose the Elizabethan settlement actively, or how far they were simply a lethargic response of parishioners and clergy tired of the costly implementation of religious change.

The aim of this article is to provide an insight into some incidences of conservative belief and practice in early Elizabethan Yorkshire, and to assess their significance both in terms of the post-Reformation religious history of Yorkshire, and in relation to the survival/revival debate. By looking at evidence from a number of disparate deaneries I hope to demonstrate that in Yorkshire the continuity of Catholic practice was as much about tradition and ritual as anti-Protestantism and theological beliefs. Of the deaneries chosen for study, Holderness and Cleveland, situated respectively in the south east and north east of the York diocese, appear to support diametrically opposite sides of the survival argument, whilst Ainsty, situated to the south and west of the city of York, offers what might be considered a more balanced example of reactions to Elizabethan religious change within Yorkshire. Pontefract deanery in the West Riding appears to loosely support the revival argument, yet also shows early signs of Protestantism and little evidence of missionary activity. Finally the archdeaconry of Richmond, which in the sixteenth century was primarily subject the jurisdiction of the diocese of Chester rather than of York, offers an image of continued and strong support for Catholicism. For the purposes of this article it has largely been taken as a whole, though it does contain the three distinct deaneries: Catterick, Boroughbridge and Richmond. My sources are primarily the records of archiepiscopal visitations in the Yorkshire parishes and court records of the Ecclesiastical High Commission for the Northern Province. As the former are in short supply for Richmondshire, however, I have utilised a series of miscellaneous documents, which offer a somewhat different perspective.

I

The accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 ended Mary Tudor's brief restoration of Catholicism, and saw the last of the succession of religious changes imposed by the Tudor monarchs. The injunctions accompanying the 1559 settlement of religion required the unswerving loyalty of the English people to the newly created church, to be expressed by regular attendance and thrice-annual reception of Holy Communion at their parish church. The implementation of these injunctions relied heavily upon local office holders, and in Yorkshire in 1559 the majority of these were religiously conservative. Ten years later, in the midst of the Northern Rebellion, Ralph Sadler famously wrote to Cecil that 'there be in this country not ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings in religion and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition and altogether blinded by the old popish doctrine.'[4] The government had no control over parochial appointments such as churchwardens and, given the acute shortage of Protestant manpower, it was also unable to replace many

conservative Justices of the Peace [JPs] and parish priests. Most progress seems to have been made in the East Riding, for by 1564, when there were few places outside Yorkshire with higher numbers of JPs unsympathetic to the new religion, the East Riding commission was firmly controlled by men who favoured the Elizabethan settlement.[5] In the West Riding too Protestantism had made considerable headway, particularly in the growing industrial towns and their neighbourhoods, and the presence of reformed men such as Thomas Gargrave must have had an impact.[6] Gargrave was increasingly concerned with the need for religious conformity in the north as a guarantee of security, and during Elizabeth's reign he served as vice-president of the Council of the North and a JP for the West Riding, as well as both Sheriff of and MP for Yorkshire.[7]

Cleveland provides a significant contrast, for in 1569 a Cholmley and a Radcliffe were appointed as JPs for the Whitby Strand area. As members of important Catholic families both played a substantial role in later recusancy, and their appointments undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the survival of traditional religion in the Whitby area before the arrival of the missionary priests. Similarly, in Richmondshire prominent religious conservatives often acted as local justices. Well-known Catholics such as Sir William Ingleby of Ripley and Richard Norton of Wath acted as JPs in the 1560s.[8] Members of both families were presented for recusancy later in Elizabeth's reign, and the Nortons were heavily involved in the Northern Rebellion. Gargrave's claim of 1570 that all the gentlemen in Richmondshire were 'evil in religion' was no great exaggeration.[9] Even Robert Hebblethwaite, the Bishop of Chester's commissary in the Richmond archdeaconry, was suspected of being Catholic, and in 1580 the Earl of Huntingdon believed that the continued connivance of churchwardens and local magistrates concealed much recusancy in Richmondshire.[10]

The confessional differences of the local officials of Holderness and Cleveland are clearly reflected in the evidence of non-conformity recorded by the Northern High Commission and archiepiscopal visitations during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. In the returns of the 1567-8 visitation, the evidence from Holderness portrays a remarkable image of large-scale retention of Catholic church furnishings and 'objects of idolatry and superstition.' Holderness, though remote from the centres of authority at York, was closely connected to the Protestant Netherlands through trade, particularly from Hull, yet demonstrates what appears to be the most obstinate resistance to the Elizabethan settlement in Yorkshire in the 1560s. The churchwardens or minister of almost every parish in the deanery were presented during the 1567-8 visitation for either failing to remove elements of Catholicism from their churches, or to re-equip them for Protestant worship, though the vicar of Hull was a notable exception. At Skeffling the commissioners discovered that an altar had been saved, as had a cross from the rood, a holy water stoup and an image.[11] Halsham too retained an altar, and holy water stoups survived in several churches, including Kilnsea, which also had two tabernacles, and Burton Pidsea, which retained vestments, several banners and banner staffs, a sepulchre and a

paschal.[12] The parishes of Leven, Preston, Roos, Tunstall and Wawne all retained various images and paintings, and other items of 'superstitious idolatry' remained in many parishes.[13] At Welwick the situation was more extreme, for the parish appears to have retained virtually everything necessary to say Mass.[14] The visitation returns record that the altar was still standing, and that the church retained an image of John, two holy water vats, pictures, paintings, a cope with images, crucifixes, candlesticks, clappers, and a golden tabernacle. The Holderness parishes were not alone in their failure to comply with orders to remove such items from their churches, but for no other Yorkshire deanery is there such comprehensive evidence of the wholesale retention of objects of traditional religion, and it is clear that the largely Protestant East Riding commission was working hard to enforce religious conformity at parish levels by the late 1560s.

By contrast, the deaneries of Ainsty, Pontefract and Cleveland are notable for their lack of reported conservatism. In Pontefract deanery no Catholic books or church furnishings were found in the early Elizabethan archiepiscopal visitations, suggesting that the degree of conformity in this region was exceptionally high. The existence of some remaining conservative sympathies might be suggested by a number of presentments for failure to attend church or receive communion, but the majority of those presented had excuses such as sickness or working away, or had already been excommunicated for other offences, usually sexual immorality.[15] This seems to strengthen the suggestion that any residual conservatism in the Pontefract deanery was weak, although continued bell-ringing for the souls of the dead and a long-term refusal to receive communion in Wakefield confirm that even in a deanery where conformity appears to have predominated, it was not completely uniform.[16] In Ainsty a single failure to receive communion in Bilbrough, and the repeated failure of Seth Brown of Harewood to obey commands to declare certain superstitious books that he kept in his house suggests similarly widespread conformity.[17] In Cleveland too, there is no evidence from the visitation returns that the parish churches remained full of Mass equipment. Not all were yet fully equipped for Protestant services, nor were all providing the requisite number of sermons, but there is no record of altars still standing in churches, or paintings adorning the walls. Janet Corney of Danby was presented for keeping 'certain vestments and other superstitious idolatry' in her house, but her deceased husband had been curate of Danby, which may explain their presence.[18]

On the surface at least it would seem that Cleveland, Pontefract and Ainsty were already conforming by 1567, and the records of the Northern High Commission largely seem to reflect this. Of the extant consistory court papers dealing with religious non-conformity in the 1560s only two relate specifically to Catholic practices, and only the 1564 accusations of conservative practice against Richard Poole, rector of Kirkby Overblow in Ainsty, is relevant here.[19] In the High Commission act books there is little evidence of widespread overt resistance to the religious settlement in Ainsty and Pontefract, although the

implication of the visitation returns that conservative feelings remained strong in the Wakefield area is supported. In Rothwell, near Wakefield, concealed images were discovered in October 1566, and two years later a Latin primer was found and ordered to be defaced and burnt outside Rothwell church.[20] This case was protracted, and local officials seem to have had some difficulty in ensuring that the primer was burnt, possibly reflecting popular local feeling. In Darrington, also near Wakefield, a licence was issued to the churchwardens to seek out, deface and burn any remaining images, though there is no evidence that anything was found. It is of course problematic to attempt to construct an argument from silences within the evidence, but in this case it may be assumed that conforming, or even Protestant, authorities, fearful of the potential threat posed by discontented Catholics issued this licence.[21] Interestingly, given the proportion of cases dealing with religious conservatism in the visitations there in the 1560s, Holderness parishes appear only rarely in the High Commission records and then almost all the cases involved Melchior Smith, vicar of Hessle and Hull, a man who later became a renowned Puritan. Smith was brought before the courts for being too radical and for failing to wear proper clerical dress rather than for conservatism.[22]

It is, however, the act books of the High Commission which first hint that Cleveland was not so conformist as might be presumed from the visitation evidence. In 1562 images were discovered at Kirk Leavington and Birkby,[23] and in early 1568 the churchwardens of Easington were instructed by the court to make full provision of worship books for the Protestant service, and to ensure that children and youths were catechised.[24] This issue had also arisen in the visitation of 1567, at the same time as the vicar of Easington was accused of omitting his quarterly sermons and continuing to say Mass for the dead, suggesting that there was at least some true conservative feeling beneath the apparent lethargy.[25] In the summer of 1569, just a few months before the outbreak of rebellion, the chapelry of East Rounton in the parish of Hutton Rudby was found to lack all the books required for Protestant worship, the parishioners were not receiving holy communion the requisite three times a year, and the chapel had been served for a time by a Scottish priest.[26] The faith of this priest is not specified, nor is his name given, making him impossible to trace, but neither the implication that he might have been a Catholic fleeing the Scottish Reformation or the possibility that he might have had links with Mary Stuart during her imprisonment can be ruled out. Shortly after this, the curate of Middleton upon Leven made clear his dislike of reformed ways by actively working to dissuade a fellow (unnamed) clergyman from the ‘godless state of marriage,’[27] and in October 1569 Edmund Dickson, curate of Guisborough, was imprisoned for keeping images.[28] These few cases, however, are wholly insufficient as evidence of widespread conservatism in Cleveland, but instead suggest that the deanery had only a handful of religious dissidents during the 1560s. The same might be said about Ainsty. Evidence of conservatism was virtually non-existent in the 1567 visitation, but the High Commission

uncovered numerous Catholic objects in the custody of several parishioners of Cawood in late 1563, and at Bilton and Fenton the following year, and in 1564 the bells were rung on the feast of All Hallows at Kirkby Overblow.[29] Again the number of cases is insufficient to build a case for widespread conservatism, but it serves to indicate that conformity was not universal even where it appears to have predominated.

II

I have deliberately left consideration of Richmondshire in the 1560s until last, partly because of a difference in the nature of the available evidence, but also because it provides a rather different story. There are no extant visitation returns for Richmondshire until the late 1570s, merely odd scraps of information amongst other materials. These tell us that in the parish church of Kirkby Malzeard all the 'monuments of idolatry' remained undefaced in the late 1560s, and that a cross was still standing in the rood loft. Additionally, despite the 1559 churchwardens' accounts for the adjacent parish of Masham recording the purchase of a communion book and a psalter, the visitation information states that neither Kirkby or Masham churches possessed a communion table or all the required books. Nor did Richmond have a communion table; an 'old chest' was being used in its place, and the parish also lacked the table of the Ten Commandments that was to be displayed in every church.[30] Furthermore in 1571 the parish of Kirk Hammerton evidently still lacked a bible, paraphrases and other required service books becasuse the vicar, Robert Caldbeck, was presented for refusing to contribute towards the cost of their purchase, an indication perhaps that he held conservative sympathies.[31] More emphatic evidence of the continuation of Catholic practice can be found in a list of Richmondshire men and women who had been reconciled with the Holy See before 1572.[32] Perhaps unsurprisingly a number of them were priests, one of whom was thought to have been a former monk of Peterborough. A Mr Marton, had recently been in Rome, and another, Bovell, was believed to have had dealings with Mary Stuart. The document also states that many of those named had not only been reconciled themselves but were also actively encouraging others to follow suit. It was not only the clergy, however; prominent lay figures such as William Ingleby of Ripley were named as employing priests, and Francis Lascelles and his wife of Downholme were suspected of having been reconciled, clearly indicating that Catholicism in Richmondshire retained some strong and active supporters in the 1560s. That the Earl of Huntingdon, president of the Council of the North from 1571, considered the Ingleby family 'a nest of dangerous traitors' merely serves to reinforce their importance in the continued survival of Catholicism.[33]

Similar evidence can be found in the High Commission records in which Richmondshire features prominently. As early as August 1562 Francis Lascelles, who was later suspected of reconciliation with Rome, was imprisoned in York Castle for 'speaking opprobrious words openly in the church … to the disturbance of divine service set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.'[34] In 1563 the churchwardens at Kirk Hammerton had to be forced by the courts to

ensure that images and other superstitious objects were defaced and broken, an indication that they had not conformed willingly to the ecclesiastical injunctions, and perhaps is a further insight into why their curate might later have refused to purchase Protestant books.[35] A year later the churchwardens at both Ainderby Steeple and Bolton upon Swale were in trouble for not providing service books, and a commission was issued to certain gentlemen of Bolton parish to seek out, deface and destroy images there, an indication that ecclesiastical officials felt there was something to be found and that Bolton's conservatism went beyond simply not providing Protestant worship books.[36] Even in 1570 Catholic goods were still being discovered, for in Hunsingore William Forrest was charged with concealing certain vestments and refusing to hand them over to the authorities to be defaced.[37]

Other presentments confirm that some Catholics were still prepared to actively practise their faith and frequent the sacraments, but there are also some indications that the authorities were trying to take action. In 1564 Walter Strickland of Croft was accused of procuring clerk George Smithson to baptise his child at Middleton Tyas, without licence from his own minister.[38] The following year, William Thompson and Edward Weeks of Boroughbridge were called before the commissioners to answer charges of 'contempt for keeping books, images and other monuments of superstitious religion.'[39] Although Thompson admitted the charges, Weeks did not, but both were nonetheless committed to York castle for their offences.[40] For the commissioners however, imprisonment was insufficient. Both were ordered to burn their books and make public declarations of their errors and offences in both York and Boroughbridge, suggesting that regional officials were concerned about levels of conservatism in the deanery, and about the potential threat to the regime it might pose.[41] By ensuring the Catholic texts were publicly burnt and the offenders humiliated the authorities were clearly hoping to create a precedent that would discourage people from continuing to follow traditional religious beliefs and practices. Two years later, in 1567, un-defaced idols, images and papist books in Latin found in Aysgarth were ordered to be publicly burnt, and ten parishioners involved in their concealment were to undertake humiliating public penances.[42] Once again, it seems that local officials hoped that making examples of offenders would encourage conformity and eliminate any threat from religious conservatives. Yet they never managed to remove completely all traces of Catholicism from Aysgarth, for the church still retains the rood screen and other pieces of carved wood salvaged from Jervaulx Abbey at the time of its suppression in 1537.

In the event, it seems that the local authorities in Richmondshire were right to be worried, for the area was heavily involved in the 1569 Northern Rebellion. In early 1570 a quarter of all Richmondshire parishes were ordered by the High Commission to replace Protestant service books damaged or destroyed during the course of the rebellion and of these over half were in the Catterick deanery, home to a large number of the rebels.[43] Possibly Mary Stuart's earlier presence at Bolton had provided some sort of focus for the rebels, and later records

certainly suggest that non-conformity remained strong in the deanery. Some men, such as Thomas Beckwith of Well, were personally charged with replacing lost and damaged books, and many others, both clerical and lay, were fined for 'offences committed against the laws, statutes and injunctions of the realm.' Others, such as Christopher Hutcheson, clerk, and Robert Ward, both of Richmond, and clerk Christopher Beckwith of Burneston were threatened with imprisonment for their roles in the rebellion.[44] It was in Catterick deanery too that several Masses were celebrated during the rebellion. Robert Hewar was charged with hearing Mass during the time of the late rebellion at Kirkby Fleetham parish church, though he claimed he had simply come upon the service by chance. Richard Percy was charged with the same offence in Bedale.[45] Christopher Simson, the vicar of Kirkby Fleetham admitted that he had said Mass in his parish church, but claimed he was forced to do so.[46] In Hipswell, a chapelry of Catterick parish, James Bower confessed that he had provided the Latin service book that the curate William Knight had used to say Mass there during the rebellion. John Acrige, a one-time chantry priest who had continued to serve as an assistant curate in Richmond, apparently elected by the parishioners, sought reconciliation with Rome on hearing the proclamation of rebellion in 1569. He repented his 'continuance in schism and heresy,' and after the rebellion travelled round the north as a poor pilgrim, offering Mass for fellow Catholics. He was apprehended whilst visiting his sister in Richmond, and died in prison at York in 1585 having refused to abandon his faith.[47]

III

Even with the comparatively large number of cases in Richmondshire, it is likely that many more incidences of conservatism existed in early Elizabethan Yorkshire than appear in the visitation returns and court records, and I would argue that in parts of the county conservatism was so widespread that it was simply not reported. There are obvious dangers in using silence amongst the extant archival material to construct an argument, but I believe that for Yorkshire there is sufficient supporting evidence from later decades to uphold the suggestion that religious conservatism was much more widespread than the records of the 1560s suggest. The deanery of Holderness had Protestant local officials in the 1560s and stood out in the 1567-8 visitation with a much higher recorded level of survival of traditional practice than elsewhere, but it had a very insignificant problem with recusancy later in Elizabeth's reign.[48] By contrast, in the 1560s Cleveland showed little sign of widespread conservative practice yet it went on to become one of the most significant and notorious recusant strong-holds in the country. The distance from York cannot explain why presentments against conservatism were made in Holderness but not Cleveland, but these two deaneries provide excellent examples of the importance of local authorities in implementing religious change. The predominantly reformed outlook of the JPs of Holderness caused the vigorous and diligent seeking out of traditional rituals and preservation of Catholic furnishings, whilst the conservatism of their Cleveland counterparts surely indicates that there must have been a considerable

amount of selective blindness towards conservative practices here in the 1560s. Certainly men whose own preference was Catholic were unlikely to have presented their neighbours for enjoying the same, at least whilst the government was placing no particular pressure upon them to do so. It is likely that in Richmondshire too it was largely ignored by Catholic local officials, and that concerted efforts against traditional religion were only made when more senior government figures became involved, such as in the aftermath of the rebellion.

The presence of numerous ex-monastics in Cleveland benefices also played a part in the continued conservatism of the parishioners, and marks a direct contrast with the number of reformed ministers, such as Melchior Smith of Hull, in Holderness.[49] Pontefract and Richmondshire provide similar contrasts. The small number of monastic houses in Pontefract deanery meant that most parishes were wholly unaffected by the dissolution, and that there was no subsequent surplus of Catholic priests as in Cleveland.[50] In Richmondshire, however, as in Cleveland, several former monks were serving as parish priests in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, giving them scope for considerable influence over their parishioners. William Wright, a former canon of Egglestone priory, held the living of Catterick and in 1570 appeared before the High Commission for saying Mass during the rebellion.[51] Similarly, Thomas Mudde, a former monk of Jervaulx (and subsequently chaplain to the Earl of Northumberland until he was forced into hiding by the failure of the 1569 rebellion) may have provided Catholic services in Richmondshire until his capture at Boroughbridge in 1579, for he had passed continuously from one safe house to another.[52]

In Ainsty there was little evidence of Catholicism by the late 1560s, though it is certain that in at least two parishes the parishioners successfully kept items hidden from the commissioners in 1567. At Spofforth a considerable amount of 'church gear' was found in the home of Leonard Lewtie, some of which was given to him by the churchwardens for safekeeping, and three other parishioners tore up several of the Protestant service books.[53] Cawood parish also retained a handbell after the investigation by High Commission officials in 1563.[54] But in Aberford criticism of the new regime was more explicit. Nicholas and Janet Backhouse and Janet Wilson were presented for reviling the churchwardens by saying 'they are robbers of the church because they did take down the rood loft, cross and other things.' Nicholas explicitly refused permission for his house to be searched during service time to see if he was hiding others who failed to attend church, suggesting, perhaps, that this was the case.[55] In 1571 William Ardington was presented in Adel for being reconciled to Catholicism.[56] In the 1575 and 1578 visitations the situation in Ainsty was similar. Several parishes lacked sermons, and a few were still missing some Protestant service books, but only a handful of parishioners were reported for non-attendance and/or not communicating, though the failure of the churchwardens in several parishes to levy the required fines from absentees suggests that rates of non-attendance might have been higher than the returns imply. This again raises the issue of the

use of silence in the sources, as well as drawing attention to the crucial role of local officials in implementing the reformed religious settlement.[57]

In Pontefract too there is a lack of evidence of continued conservatism in the visitations of the 1570s. In 1575 and 1578 though a small number of parishes lacked Protestant service books or were not receiving the required number of sermons each year, and in Pontefract in 1578 only one parishioner refused to receive communion.[58] In Wakefield and Rothwell, there is no indication in the visitations that the trace of conservative sympathies shown in the 1560s continued into the 1570s, though Hugh Aveling has found evidence that Wakefield continued to stage its medieval Corpus Christi pageant until at least 1576.[59] The cities of York and Chester both also continued to perform pageants until the 1570s, and Diana Newton has addressed their continuance in the north east.[60] A higher concentration of urban, industrial, settlements might provide one explanation for the lack of evidence of the continuation of Catholicism in the Pontefract deanery, as it is commonly accepted by historians that Protestantism put down its earliest and deepest roots in urban areas. Certainly in Halifax there is considerable evidence of early reform, which led ultimately to the town becoming a renowned centre of Puritanism, as well as a significant and prosperous player in the wool trade though, interestingly, the parish retained its medieval rood screen, if in a mutilated condition.[61] The absence of monastic houses may have been another factor, and the presence of landowning families in the area, such as the Maudes and Bests, at the centre of early Protestant activity would been significant in terms of both local influence and clerical provision.[62]

IV

Overwhelmingly, conformity appears to have dominated in both Pontefract and Ainsty in the 1560s and 1570s, with the handful of dissidents insufficient to form any organised resistance to the religious policies of the state. By contrast, in the 1560s Holderness demonstrated what appeared on the surface to be a determined effort to preserve traditional religion, whilst Cleveland appeared to conform. In the 1570s, these positions began to reverse in the extant documentation, if not in fact. In Holderness the prevalence of conformity after 1568 was virtually identical to that in Ainsty. There was one exception: the accusation that Richard Halome, parish clerk of Swine, was a ‘defender and mainteyner of the Romishe religion and [for saying] it will never from his harte’ appeared only in 1575, suggesting that there remained little other support for Catholicism within the parish.[63] Perhaps significantly, Halome was also accused of failing to do his duty as clerk, of failing to attend services and of disobeying the vicar. Occasional traces of traditional religion were discovered in Cleveland during the 1570s visitations, perhaps the number of cases brought before the High Commission during the previous decade had led to greater diligence. In 1575 accusations of popery were made against Sir William Allen, curate, and James Thomson a parishioner of Guisborough. Richard Hildreth, a church-warden at Kirby Sigston, was presented for selling ‘an iron bounde chest, one

cope, ij bells and certein woodd belonging to the church.'[64] In Birkby in 1578 the commissioners discovered the church walls were not whitewashed where 'monuments of superstition' had formerly stood, nor was the rood loft defaced. Across the deanery a growing number of people were presented for non-attendance and not communicating.[65]

These cases are still few in number, but they provide sufficient evidence that even twenty years after the accession of Elizabeth traditional religion remained entrenched in parts of Cleveland and, as many officials there in the 1570s remained religiously conservative, it may again be argued that the conservatism we can uncover in the archives represents only the tip of the iceberg. The number of non-conformists increased throughout the rest of Elizabeth's reign, and although it is uncertain whether this growth was a result of more people rejecting reformed religion or the greater effectiveness of the commissioners, it cannot be denied that the numbers were high enough to cause concern amongst the government representatives in the north. It is likely that this concern only took root during and after the Northern Rebellion. Though often regarded as a rising of Durham and Northumberland, some of the largest contingents of rebels were from Cleveland, particularly Allertonshire, and also from Richmondshire, though it is worth mentioning that Otho Hunt, vicar of Kirkburton and rector of Methley in the Pontefract deanery, was also summoned before the archbishop in 1570 for his involvement.[66] Cleveland features heavily in the post-rebellion High Commission records, and although no Masses are known to have been celebrated in Cleveland churches during the rebellion, the destruction of their Protestant books was widespread. In the early 1570s representatives of almost half the parishes in Cleveland were summoned before the High Commission charged with the provision of books destroyed during the rebellion, and the repeated entries for many suggests a widespread unwillingness to comply.[67]

In the 1570s, as 1560s, the extant evidence indicates that Richmondshire continued to remain strongly Catholic. A number of parishes were still lacking a full complement of service books, and many more had insufficient sermons.[68] In Gilling and Staveley there was no catechising, and at Gilling and Boroughbridge bells were still rung on All Saints Day.[69] Also in Gilling, the peripatetic priest William Gargett was presented for absence from church and communion, and it is not inconceivable that he may have ministered to other Catholics.[70] In addition, a considerable number of parishioners were refusing to attend church or to receive communion, including one Ralph Hudson, of Smeaton, who told the churchwardens that he 'could have as good a devotion elsewhere,'[71] possibly an indication that he had access to Catholic ministry. Clearly, the hold of traditional religion remained strong in the Richmond archdeaconry, and despite the opportunity for the crown to pursue a more rigorous enforcement of the established religion provided by the execution and exile of some of those involved in the Northern Rebellion, the presence of seminary priests in the archdeaconry from at least 1579 when John Wright was captured in

Boroughbridge, makes it clear that the overthrow of Catholicism here was never going to be easy.[72]

After the introduction of the recusancy laws in 1581 it becomes clearer just where the attachment to traditional religion remained strongest in Yorkshire. In Holderness and Ainsty, Protestant local officials ensured that the traces of Catholicism were largely removed before the 1569 rebellion, and in any case these two deaneries were unaffected by the rebellion. The relative ease with which reformed religion was implemented, perhaps coupled with Ainsty's proximity to York and Holderness's links with the Protestant lands of northern Europe, ensured that the majority of parishioners conformed to the 1559 settlement, and suggests that early signs of widespread conservatism in Holderness were much more a result of lethargy, distance from any centre of ecclesiastical control, and perhaps an attachment to familiar rituals than of conscious resistance to Elizabethan Protestantism. Similarly, neither deanery appeared to have hosted many missionary priests. Significantly, the priests who began to arrive from continental Europe from the 1580s did not target the long and largely isolated coastline of Holderness. The relative proximity to trade routes to and from the mouth of the Humber would have increased the danger of detection, but perhaps more importantly the number of Catholic gentry families in Holderness was small. This meant that there were few safe houses in which to receive shelter and sustenance after the voyage, though there is evidence that the Constables of Burton Constable harboured priests until the end of Elizabeth's reign.[73]

Nevertheless both deaneries do show a number of isolated cases which suggest that conformity was not uniform and that the Catholic faith remained attractive to small pockets of the population. There are scattered presentments for recusancy and absence from church and communion during the later years of Elizabeth's reign, as well as occasional clandestine marriages or illicit baptisms outside the parish. 'Relics of popery' were still hidden in places; the parishioners of Garforth in Ainsty were suspected of having access to popish priests in 1582, and Henry Boulton of Hornsea was suspected of harbouring in 1586.[74] Nevertheless, it seems clear that despite the presence of isolated individuals and small communities, the people of Holderness and Ainsty largely conformed. The records for early Elizabethan Holderness suggest that although the deanery had the potential to pose a significant Catholic problem later in the reign, the early exercise of authority by Protestant officials clearly played a crucial role in its later conformity.

The deanery of Pontefract provides a different story, and one which is perhaps surprising given the almost total lack of evidence of any survival of Catholic practice in the 1560s and 1570s. The returns of the visitations of the 1580s show that parishes across the deanery were presenting men and women for failure to attend church or to receive communion, and churchwardens for failing to levy the forfeiture for non-attendance. In the case of John Mallett of Normanton near Wakefield the Privy Council was already dealing with his absence from church

and communion, and that he had been ordered to learn conformity by conference with learned men. It is perhaps significant that the churchwardens of Normanton were amongst those who had not been imposing the required fines.[75] As in Ainsty and Holderness there are also isolated references to the discovery of popish relics, clandestine marriages and baptisms, and occasional recusancy presentments.[76] By the end of Elizabeth's reign the number brought before the church courts for religious non-conformity was continuing to increase. The Pontefract deanery had very few recusancy presentments, however, and there is little evidence of seminary priests working there, which might indicate that at least some of the clearly extensive dissatisfaction with the established church was Puritan rather than Catholic.[77] Towns such as Halifax developed early Puritan communities, but their discontent with the established church was not specifically noted as Puritan in the records at this stage.

In Cleveland and Richmondshire the increased persecution that accompanied the recusancy laws entailed such a dramatic increase in the records of Catholic non-conformity it seems certain that neither region can have had anything other than a strong background of conservatism, despite the contrary picture suggested by some of the other extant evidence. Cleveland had one of the largest recusant communities later in the century England, with over eight hundred presentments for recusancy and almost two hundred cases of absence in the period 1582-1600 as well as numerous cases of clandestine marriage, baptism, and even a secret night-time burial.[78] Obviously some of these were repeat presentments of the same people, but the total of 259 recusancy presentments for 1600 alone, when compared with 44 for Ainsty and a mere 14 for Pontefract and 8 for Holderness gives an idea of the importance of the Cleveland recusants.[79] There are no extant visitation returns for Richmondshire in 1600, so a direct comparison for that year cannot be made. However we do have full returns for the visitation of 1595, and these record the presentation of 308 individuals, and two complete households with an unspecified number of members, across the archdeaconry, against a total of 225 for the Cleveland deanery in the same year. Of these, 135 were presented in the Richmond deanery, 150 and the two households in Boroughbridge, and 23 in Catterick. The latter is a surprisingly low figure given the deanery's level of involvement in the Northern Rebellion, but it might reflect a continued control by Catholic local officials and thus the presentment of only the most persistent offenders to satisfy more senior authorities that something was being done.[80] The figures suggest that the Richmondshire Catholic communities were as strong and thriving as those in Cleveland, and this can be supported with evidence that in Aldborough, crosses made from napkins were still lain on the bodies of the dead in the 1590s,[81] and at Nidd, the vicar Robert Middleton was charged in 1586 with misdemeanours which included continuing to say the Latin Mass and crossing the sacramental bread.[82]

The number of missionary priests in the North Riding in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign doubtless played a part in the size of the recusant community there. Godfrey Anstruther and Richard Challoner have identified over one

hundred Catholic priests active in Yorkshire from the late 1570s, and many of these are known to have been working in the North Riding.[83] Several seem to have returned home after receiving an education and training abroad, and the well-established network of safe houses across the North York Moors, coupled with a significant number of Catholics and its remoteness from York and the ecclesiastical authorities, certainly made Cleveland an attractive landing point for Catholic priests coming onto the English mission. It has been argued that the seminarists were probably the first post-Reformation evangelists that many Cleveland parishioners had seen, and the same could easily be argued for Richmondshire.[84] The experiences of Thomas Mudde provide evidence that Richmondshire too had established networks of Mass houses, and it is known that the Ingleby family of Ripley housed priests with sufficient regularity that Catholics from other parts of Yorkshire went there to be married in a Catholic ceremony.[85] Solomon Swale JP and his family, of Grinton in Swaledale, are also known to have nurtured a Catholic congregation in the parish, for which Swale was imprisoned for a time.[86] Haigh has argued that over half of all missionary priests in England were located in the southeast, which had only 20% of recorded recusants, and has thus represented the mission as a failure. Similarly both Haigh and Bossy have represented Elizabethan Catholicism as an increasingly seigenurial religion, based solely in the houses of the nobility and gentry.[87] Whilst safe-houses were undoubtedly important for Catholic seminary priests, it is nevertheless indisputable that in Yorkshire the priests ministered to a much wider range of people than just the gentry and their households, and that the not insignificant numbers ensured a continuing success in the region much greater than Bossy or Haigh have previously allowed.

V

Taken at face value, the evidence appears to suggest that in Holderness initial conservatism largely gave way to conformity, and perhaps even Protestantism. In Ainsty conformity predominated throughout, whilst in Cleveland initial conformity was replaced by Catholic recusancy. In Pontefract too conformity appears to have been replaced with non-conformity, though this was probably Protestant rather than Catholic, and in Richmondshire there is little to suggest that Catholicism was not continuously dominant, though Richmond itself reputedly had some Puritan non-conformists by the end of Elizabeth's reign.[88] With the exception of Richmondshire, this would appear to indicate that Aveling and Bossy were in fact correct in arguing that the seminarists essentially 'saved' Catholicism in Elizabethan northern England. However, if my own hypothesis is correct, and what appears to be initial conformity in Cleveland was simply a failure by Catholic local authorities to report the conservative activities of their Catholic neighbours, then the survival side of the argument comes to the fore once again. This is reinforced by the evidence from Richmondshire, where Catholicism appears to have thrived throughout, supported by the Catholic gentry who also acted as local and regional officials. Initially, it may have been a lack of clarity over religious issues which allowed Catholic practices to

continue unchecked in some areas, as well as the absence of any organised programme of repression by the government, whilst increased persecution in the aftermath of both the Northern Rebellion and the arrival of missionary priests from the 1580s ensured that more commitment and effort was required to be a Catholic. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in Yorkshire at least, Collinson's argument that Protestants had ceased to be a minority by the 1570s carries little weight. Even taking, as Peter Marshall has done, Protestant in its broadest sense of 'not Catholic,' it is hard to see the 1580s as the time when Collinson's 'Birthpangs of Protestant England' actually produced the baby in Yorkshire, for Catholic practices were by no means utterly eradicated in the county by this time.[89]

The evidence from the areas studied in this article clearly indicates the impossibility of applying large-scale arguments at a regional level, particularly in a county as varied as Yorkshire. Admittedly, Cleveland, Richmondshire and Holderness are atypical, and were studied because they represent opposite extremes, but even Ainsty and Pontefract, chosen because they appeared more balanced, cannot be assumed to be representative. The extent to which Catholics appear to have been integrated into their wider communities suggests that any evidence we have of the continuity or revival of traditional religion can only be part of the story.[90] Further study is undoubtedly needed into other deaneries, and indeed counties, before a conclusion can be reached about the extent of conservatism, conformity and apathy in Yorkshire, and more broadly throughout England. However one thing seems certain; whilst conservatism did not always lead to recusancy, recusancy always stemmed from conservatism.

Notes & References

1. J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1975); H. Aveling, *The Handle and The Axe* (1976); C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *The English Reformation Revised*, ed. C Haigh (Cambridge, 1987) pp.176-208; C. Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 3 (1981), pp.129-147

2. A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England,* (Royal Historical Society, 1993) 62; J.T Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War,* p.193; M.A.E Green, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth 1591-1594* (1867) pp.305-6.

3. E. Watson, '"A Stiff-necked, wilful and obstinate people": The Catholic Laity in the North York Moors, c.1559-1603,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 77 (2005).

4. A. Clifford (ed.), *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler* (Edinburgh, 1809) pp.54-6.

5. Susan E Taylor, 'The Crown and the North of England, 1559-70,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester (1982) pp.17/19; There were exceptions of course, for example John Constable of Burton Constable, who was a member of the Council of the North from 1566-7 despite his known Catholicism.

6. J.T Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (1969) p.169; Gargrave held former monastic lands at Nostell, near Wakefield.

7. Ian W. Archer, 'Gargrave, Sir Thomas (1494/5–1579)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10383, seen 31 May 2007].

8. Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics* (1966) p.78; This was by no means a unique situation in Northern England, Diana Newton has shown that a the authorities in Newcastle similarly continued to demonstrate popish sympathies in the 1570s. D Newton, 'The Impact of Reformation on North-East England: A Preliminary Survey,' *Northern History* XLV:I (2008), p.45.

9. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*, p.169; R Fieldhouse & B Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale* (1978) p.92.

10. Fieldhouse & Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale*, p.96.

11. Borthwick Institute [BI], V1567-8/CB1, f. 187v.

12. BI, V1567-8/CB1, fols 187r, 191r, 192r.

13. BI, V1567-8/CB1, fols 191v, 192v, 193v, 209r-v. Many of the Holderness cases mentioned here, and others, can also be found in the records of the Northern High Commission. BI, HC.AB 3, fols 168v-174r, 175v, 184v.

14. BI, V1567-8/CB1, f. 190v.

15. BI, V1567-8/CB2, f.55r; V1571-2, f.188v; Edmund Flockton of Pontefract claimed sickness, and Edmund Blackburne of Linthwaite, Almondbury parish, claimed he had been working away.

16. BI, V1567-8/CB2, f. 100r; 1567-8/CB1 fols 78v, 79r.

17. BI, V1567-8/CB2, fols 125r, 132r, 154r, 158r, 171r, 187r, 210v, 217v, 223v.

18. BI, V1567-8/CB1, fols 125v, 145v, 199v.

19. BI, HC.CP 1564/2.

20. BI, HC.AB 3, f. 45r; HC.AB 4, fols 33r-v, 34r, 73v, 81r, 86r-v, 97r, 99v, 114v; HC.CP 1569/2.

21. BI, HC.AB 1, f. 13v.

22. BI, HC.AB 1, f. 105r, HC.AB 3, *passim.*

23. BI, HC.AB 1, fols 24r, 27r.

24. BI, HC.AB 3, f.168v.

25. BI, V1567-8/CB1, fols 186v-187r.

26. BI, HC.AB 4, fols 83r, 85v.

27. BI, HC.AB 4, f. 151r.

28. BI, HC.AB 4, fols 188v, 189v, 199v, 206r.

29. BI, HC.AB 1, fols 85r, 112v, 150v, 154r, 158r, 160v, 169r, 178r, 186v-187r.

30. BI, V1567-8/MISC; John Fisher, *The History and Antiquities of Masham and Mashamshire* (1865) p.581 (Kirkby was missing a bible and other books, Masham 'certain books'); J.S Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents in the Diocese of York* (Cambridge, 1948) p.63.

31. BI, V1571-2, f. 86r, 122v.

32. BI, HC MISC 1.

33. Hugh Aveling, *The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790*, (Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society; Literary and Historical Section, 10:4, Leeds, 1963) p.213.

34. BI, HC.AB 1, fols 28v, 29v.

35. BI, HC.AB 1, f. 66r.

36. BI, HC.AB 1, fols 143v, 144r, 144v, 151v, 153v.

37. BI, HC.AB 5, f. 168v.

38. BI, HC.AB 1, f. 145v, 149v, 169v.

39. BI, HC.AB 2, fols 22r, 24v.

40. BI, HC.AB 2, fols 27r, 28r.

41. BI, HC.AB 2, fols 30r-v, 35r.

42. BI, HC.AB 3, fols 104r-105v; HC.CP 1567/1; See Purvis, *Tudor Parish Documents* pp.144-6 and pp.225-7 for transcriptions of documents relating to this case.

43. BI, HC.AB 5, fols 63v-67v; 24 out of 99 parishes were presented for missing books, 13 of these were in the Catterick deanery.

44. BI, HC.AB 5, fols 62r, 73r, 95v-98v, 233v, 236v, 237r.

45. BI, HC.AB 5, fols 124v, 144r. The restoration of the Mass, and of objects such as altar stones and holy water stoups, appears to have been far more common in Durham than in Yorkshire, but once again, a lack of extant evidence cannot be taken to indicate definitively that something did not occur, and there is plenty of evidence that Catholic objects survived the Northern Rebellion in Yorkshire. See D. Newton, 'The Impact of Reformation', p.40 for Durham.

46. BI, HC.AB 5, f. 159v.

47. Kesselring, *Northern Rebellion*, p.67

48. Martin Craven, *Faith in Adversity: The Story of the Early Catholic Missions in Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, (A Souvenir Book, written to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the opening of SS Mary and Joseph Roman Catholic Church at Hedon, 2004) provides details of the survival of Catholicism in Holderness.

49. Claire Cross has produced excellent work on the fate of monks and nuns after the dissolution. See esp. Claire Cross & Noreen Vickers, 'Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Vol.150* (1995); C. Cross, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Yorkshire Church in the Sixteenth Century' in J.C Appleby & P Dalton (eds.) *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997); Claire Cross 'Community Solidarity Among Yorkshire Religious After the Dissolution' in Judith Loades (ed) *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition* (Bangor, 1990).

50. Bill & Sarah Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform: Halifax and its Hinterland,' in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds.) *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998) pp.133-4.

51. Cross & Vickers, 'Monks, Friar and Nuns,' pp.369.

52. Cross & Vickers, 'Monks, Friars and Nuns,' pp.135.

53. BI, V1571-2, fols 82v-83r, 121v-122r.

54. BI, V1571-2, f. 90r.

55. BI, V1571-2, f. 85r.

56. BI, V1571-2, fols 117r, 125v.

57. BI V1575/CB1, fols 8r-14r; V1575/CB2, fols 28v-40r.

58. BI, V1575/CB1, fols 22r (Wragby), 24r (East Ardesley & Crofton), 24v (West Ardesley), 25r (Darrington), 29v (Ferry Friston); V1578-9, fols 105v, 106r, 107r.

59. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding,* p.195.

60. D Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), p.280; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale, 1992), p.580; D Newton, *North-East England, 1569-1625: Governance, Culture and Identity* (Woodbridge, 2006) pp.158-159.

61. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, p.195; By way of contrast the urban nature of the city of York did not prevent the perseverance of a strong Catholic community throughout the reign of Elizabeth I.

62. Sheils, 'Textiles and Reform,' pp.138-9.

63. BI, V1575/CB1, f.71v.

64. BI, V1575/CB1, fols 54v, 60v, 62r.

65. BI, V1578-9/CB1, f. 118r.

66. Hugh Aveling, 'Recusancy Papers of the Meynell Family,' *Catholic Record Society Publications*, 61 (1964) pp. xi & xvi; G Thornton, 'The Rising in the North 1569' *Northern Catholic History*, 17 (1983) pp.4-6; Krista Kesselring, 'Mercy and Liberality: The Aftermath of the 1569 Northern Rebellion,' *History*, 90 (2005) p.217; Susan Taylor, 'The Crown and the North of England 1559-70: A Study of the Rebellion of the Northern Earls, 1569-70, and its Causes,' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1981) p.262; H.B McCall, 'The Rising in the North: A New Light Upon One Aspect of it,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 18 (1905) pp.74-87; all give an idea of the numbers involved from Richmondshire and Allertonshire, and the letters of George Bowes, printed in Sharp *Memorials*, track the arrival of groups of rebels from Yorkshire; Kesselring's recent work *The Rebellion in The North: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England* (Basingstoke, 2007) provides a comprehensive study of the Northern Rebellion and its aftermath, and includes a useful discussion, together with a map, of the places of origin of the rebels, pp.62-3; For Hunt see Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, p.200.

67. BI, HC.AB 5, *passim*.

68. See for example, BI, V1578-9/CB2, fols 81r (Gilling), 82r (Richmond), 91r-v (Coverham, Well, Scruton), 92v (Whixley) 93v (Burton Leonard), 94v (Little Ouseburn), 95r (Staveley).

69. BI, V1578-9/CB2, fols 81v, 82r, 93v, 95r.

70. BI, V1578-9/CB2, f. 81v.

71. BI, V1578-9/CB2, f. 85r for Hudson; for other examples see fols 81v, 82r, 84v, 85r, 87r, 89r, 89v, 90v, 92v, 93r, 94r, 94v.

72. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, p.204.

73. Craven, *Faith in Adversity*, p.44

74. See BI, V1582, fols 211r & 257 for a secret marriage at Skeckling, Holderness; V1600/CB.1A fols 26v, 43r for extra-parochial baptisms in Ainsty; V1582 f. 210v for hidden relics at Garton in Holderness; V1582, f. 174v for the Garforth Catholics; and V1586, f.154r for Henry Burton of Hornsea.

75. BI, V1586, fols 167r, 167v.

76. See BI, HC.CP ND/10 for the discovery of vestments at Mirfield in the late 1590s; HC.CP 1596/4 for the night time marriage of William Turner of Pontefract (though it seems accusations against him were largely unfounded); V1582, f. 235r for Francis Jackson of Warmfield's refusal to baptise his son in his parish church; and V1586, f. 175v for recusants

in Calverley; HC.CP 1596/6 gives details of a recusancy case in Swinefleet, and provides names not mentioned in the visitation returns.

77. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, p.204, has identified priests John Amias and Richard Kirkman as both having worked in the Wakefield area.

78. Watson, 'The Catholic Laity,' pp.194-6, appendix 2.

79. BI, V1600/CB.1A; See also Watson, 'The Catholic Laity,' App. 2.

.80 BI, V1595-6/CB3.

81. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, p.195.

82. *Ibid*, p.201.

83. G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests Vol.1, Elizabethan 1558-1603* (Durham, 1969); D. A Bellenger, *English and Welsh Priests 1558-1800* (Bath, 1984); R Challoner *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* 2nd edition, revised and edited by JH Pollen (London, 1969).

84. W.J. Sheils, 'Catholics and their Neighbours in a Rural Community: Egton Chapelry 1590-1780,' *Northern History*, 34 (1998) p.119.

85. Katherine Cholmley and Richard Dutton of Whitby were married there in 1592; Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, p.149.

86. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 175-6; Fieldhouse & Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale*, p. 325.

87. John Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism,' in *Crisis in Europe 1560-1660*, ed. Trever Aston (1965), pp.225, 246; Haigh, 'From Monopoly to Minority;' Haigh, 'Continuity of Catholicism;' Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People,' in *The Impact of the English Reformation 1500-1640*, ed. Peter Marshall, (1997) pp.235-256; some of these arguments are summarised in Marshall, *Reformation England*, pp.183-184.

88. Fieldhouse & Jennings, *A History of Richmond and Swaledale*, p.326.

89. Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988), p.ix; Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480-1642* (Oxford, 2003) p.150

90. There is little evidence of conflict between Catholics and Protestants, and Catholics continued to serve as JPs in some parts of Yorkshire even into the reign of James I (Sarah Bastow, 'Aspects of the Catholic Gentry of Yorkshire from the Pilgrimage of Grace to the First Civil War,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Huddersfield, 2002) pp. 354, 362

REVIEWS

Tony Coia & Bob Hall, *Parish of Tudhoe St Charles 1858-2008* (2008, A4 pb. 68 pp. illus.) [Available from the parish of St Charles, Tudhoe, Co Durham DL16 6JY at £6.50 inc. p&p. Cheques payable to St Charles Church.]

This new book is timely in that the 150th anniversary of the parish of Tudhoe St. Charles falls in the same year as the bicentenary of Ushaw College. The first few pages cover Catholicism in Tudhoe prior to the nineteenth century, including the priests at the Croxdale Mission supported by the Salvin family. One of them, Arthur Storey, took up residence in Tudhoe in 1778 and as well as acting as a priest in the village established Tudhoe Academy for boys. John Lingard, the historian and one of the founding fathers of Ushaw College, briefly taught at the Academy in the 1790s and Charles Waterton, the eccentric naturalist, was a pupil there in the same period. Tudhoe Academy closed when Ushaw College opened in 1808 but it was another fifty years before a parish was established in Tudhoe.

The rest of the book covering the last century and a half is very well illustrated both with photographs by George Teasdale and drawings by Verna Rutter. The church, consisting of a nave and sanctuary but without a tower, was designed by John Hansom and opened in 1870; the tower and an eastern extension with a rose window were added in the 1880s. Some of the original 1870 stained glass windows were irreparably damaged by an exploding V1 on Christmas Eve 1944. However, the 1870 sanctuary windows survived, as the excellent photographs on page twenty-three demonstrate. The authors are to be congratulated on the production of this book, which, although lacking some of the detailed references desired by historians, is easy for the layman to read.

John Banham

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D. Milburn, *Douai's Day: The English College at Douai 1568-1793* (2008, A4, 36 pp.). [Available from Ushaw College, Durham DH7 7RH at £3.50 inc. p&p. Cheques payable to Ushaw College.]

Father Milburn's *History of Ushaw College* (1964) remains unrivalled. Little in it, however, dealt with its forerunner – the English College, Douai, founded in Flanders by Cardinal Allen in 1568 – and only the occasional piece has been published since, mostly in learned journals such as *Ushaw Magazine, Recusant History* and, of course, *Northern Catholic History.* It was appropriate, then, that the earlier years were given greater attention in Ushaw's bicentenary year. This new work is, however, more than an indulgent account of a celebrated institution; it makes a substantial contribution to the educational, missionary, biographical and social history of the English church in the recusant era.

It should not be forgotten that the college was more than a seminary; it provided the Catholic laity with the equivalent of a university education which was denied them at home. Nonetheless, the key fact about Douai College is that

it trained by far the largest number of secular priests for the English mission during the penal years. Some five hundred of them were sent over in the Elizabethan period alone, of whom two thirds were caught and imprisoned or banished and 116 were gruesomely executed. Undoubtedly, that was a golden age, but it should not distract from the college's later contribution to the preservation of the faith in this country. For the next two centuries a continuous stream of priests crossed the North Sea to undertake their ministry undeterred by the most perilous of circumstances.

As it turned out, the last years of the college's existence were just as dangerous for it was caught up in the French Revolution. Indeed, the story of the experiences of the collegians during the reign of terror would provide exciting material for an adventure novel. The revolutionaries attacked, ransacked and forcibly closed the college. Students and staff were imprisoned and brutally treated though some did manage to carry out feats of derring-do and escape. But the menace passed and in 1795 the Douai community was released and allowed to return to England. In due course many of them reassembled at Ushaw to create *Alma Mater Rediviva.* Douai College had a special mission and its unique history is well worth recalling. David Milburn has done this clearly, expertly and engagingly.

[This is a re-edited version of the review published in *Northern Cross,* October 2008.]

Leo Gooch

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Sarah L. Bastow, *The Catholic Gentry of Yorkshire 1536-1642, Resistance and Accommodation* (2007, Edward Mellen Press)

It would be impossible to mistake the main thrust of this book, namely, that the topic of 'survival' versus 'revival' in the Catholicism of the post-Reformation period in England is much more complex than appears in the work of historians such as John Bossy and Hugh Aveling. This is not a new argument for Bossy has certainly alluded to it in lectures given since the publication of *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1975). Aveling argued in *The Handle and the Axe* (1976) that despite the difficulties and dissensions of the English mission, the religious idealism sparked by the university converts of the 1570s and the legal and sacramental authority of the Jesuits and seminary priests is what gave the Catholic community a sufficient identity to enable its survival.

Aveling's particular studies were of Yorkshire Catholicism hence his position is the one against which Bastow argues most forcefully. She says relatively little about the influence of the clergy, arguing that the full integration of the Catholic gentry within their local communities as landowners, men of wealth, status and patronage (even over Anglican parochial appointments) and as JPs (at least in the earlier years of the period) was what secured the survival of the community. Referring particularly to his *Northern Catholics* (1966), Bastow strongly criticises the use of the term 'church-papist' or 'schismatic' for those who

conformed in some way with the demands of the law. While considering that Aveling was taken with the 'drama of the history of the Catholic martyrs', she sees the 'hidden presence' and influence of the gentry as 'the quintessential strength of early modern Yorkshire Catholicism'.

Furthermore, while heads of families might conform for the sake of peace or financial security, many wives often lived openly Catholic lives, perhaps despite the disapproval of their husbands (Dorothy Lawson and Margaret Clitherow) or with his connivance (Dorothy Vavasour). Hence the rôle of Catholic women as educators (particularly first educators), hirers of servants, harbourers of priests, and as pioneers in new forms of apostolic religious life (Mary Ward), offer an additional explanation for survival. This is also shown in Bastow's article 'Catholic Recusant Women' in *Recusant History* (2001). To the figures given there from the recusant rolls, lists of prosecutions, for 1577, 1592-3 and 1604, she now adds those of 1595, which again confirm the (sometimes much) greater number of women than men who were presented or identified.

The case for younger sons is made less forcefully although Bastow does dwell on their educational opportunities in the continental seminaries rather than at the universities. Surprisingly, however, it seems that the Inns of Court and the legal profession had 'much to offer the sons of recusant gentry in terms of freedom of movement, protection and a career', and the circulation of Catholic ideas. Knowledge of the law was particularly useful in land disputes and in the evasion of the penal laws.

Reviewing the Yorkshire evidence, Bastow certainly makes a strong case against Aveling. Not unnaturally, she does so on the basis of his local studies but it would, perhaps, have been an act of generosity to note at least his change of tone if not in the basic argument given in the final presentation of his view (*The Handle and the Axe*) where, in fact, a number of the arguments she develops can be found in embryo. Indeed, they both often cite the same examples: the Lawsons, Meynells, Scropes, Vavasours and others. It would have been interesting if she could have explored whether there were differences in the way in which resistance and accommodation developed or differed in the three Ridings, but that may have been more than the evidence allowed. Her work certainly takes forward our knowledge of the Yorkshire Catholic community of the period and is to be commended for its lucidity and thoroughness.

Dominique Minskip

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Peter Phillips, *John Lingard, Priest and Historian* (2008 ISBN 9780852444917)

John Lingard lived through a momentous period in the history of English Catholicism. He was born shortly before the first Catholic Relief Act and he died just after the restoration of the hierarchy (1771-1851). His rôle in the ecclesiastical life of the Church was of major importance but it was equalled by his achievements in the world of learning. Indeed, his writings continue to

interest English Catholics to this day, over a century and a half after his death, as this first-rate and thorough biography shows.

Lingard's key biographical dates are easily summarised. He was born in Winchester in 1771 and he went to Douai College at the age of eleven. He was one of the last group of students at the college when it was suppressed at the time of the French Revolution, and on his return to England he helped to establish a new seminary at Crook Hall in north west Durham. He was ordained priest in 1795 by Bishop William Gibson at the Bar Convent, York. He remained in seminary life and became a founding father and professor of Ushaw College. At the age of forty he left the college to become a missionary priest at Hornby, and he died there forty years later. That simple recitation of the significant events in his life, however, fails to do justice to his importance as a priest, teacher and scholar. Readers of this journal will have a particular interest in Lingard as an historian.

For many centuries history-writing was made up of facts, legends, anecdotes, gossip and speculation. Scientific history did not emerge until the seventeenth century when Benedictine monks (looking back to Bede, in fact) inaugurated a systematic way of treating and authenticating manuscripts and other documents. Of course, narrative remained a large part of history, for even primary sources require interpretation, and many different stories can be drawn from the same set of documents, but historical truth becomes hard to discern if those sources are quoted selectively or, even worse, inaccurately, for partisan reasons. Post-Reformation English history was particularly susceptible to such treatment when the chief aim of Protestant writers was to create a new 'national identity' and other conceits. This was the problem facing Lingard and the recusants: not only was history being distorted to make the English feel superior and good about themselves (which is always unnecessary), it was being used to prevent the emancipation of the Catholics. Hence Lingard was fighting on two fronts, the historiographical and the political, and that is why he became well known both as an historian and as a controversialist. Indeed, his writings on the Catholic Question had to include substantial amounts of historical material, so much did the contemporary debate depend on the interpretation of the past.

Furthermore, in a classic statement of the pot calling the kettle black, it was axiomatic that Catholics did not, could not, write any historical account with any claim to objectivity because it had to be glossed from a confessional point of view. It was essential, then, that Lingard be meticulous in his use of the sources

since his whole aim was to get at the truth or, at least, as close to it as the evidence allowed. Thus he would not write authoritatively on any matter if the sources were incomplete or doubtful, and he would readily amend, revise and supplement his work in the light of more recent discoveries. This method meant that he had no need to fear the closest scrutiny of his work.

Lingard's contribution to the long-running debate on Catholic Emancipation outclassed every other on the Catholic side. Indeed, it may be doubted whether emancipation would have been achieved at all if it had been left to the vicars apostolic. Anti-Catholicism was so deep-rooted that the arguments had to be put temperately and, of course, accurately if they were to be persuasive. Lingard rose to the challenge magnificently despite all provocations, mostly from the Anglican clergy, and, although the enactment of emancipation did not turn on reasoned discussion, it was generally recognised that Lingard had wiped the floor with his clerical opponents – but, of course, in an appropriately erudite and seemly manner as was to be expected of an English gentleman. In the event, he lived not only to see emancipation but the restoration of the hierarchy as well.

Lingard was first and foremost a priest, of course, and doubtless he was as assiduous in his clerical duties as he was in his intellectual endeavours, but only his penitents and parishioners are fully qualified to assess his qualities in those functions. His ecclesiastical sentiments are, however, open to scrutiny. He held the orthodox position that the rôle and dignity of the pope as universal head of the Church was undisputable but that not everything emanating from Rome was sound. This is particularly apparent in his approach to spirituality and devotion. He was disturbed by anything that smacked of 'enthusiasm' or clerical pomp: he thought that the new sentimental and unctuous Italianate devotions, indulgences, retreats and processions just made Catholicism ridiculous to Protestants. He disdained the Roman collar, Gothic architecture, 'vestments à la Pugin' and the Oxford Movement (Newman had too much of the 'fancy' about him, and the Oratorians – 'Philipnerists' – were superficial). Lingard wanted simplicity and clarity in all things: a vernacular liturgy, a plain, undemonstrative Christ-centred piety with an emphasis on scriptural devotion, and architectural simplicity - 'Build so that everyone may hear and also see the Mass'. We could be forgiven for thinking he was one of our contemporaries rather than one whose ministry lay in the early nineteenth century. It is sometimes said that Cardinal Newman was the 'father' of the second Vatican Council – a good case could be made for Lingard's paternity.

There are many good things in this biography which illuminate Lingard's personal life but Dr Phillips has also expertly focussed attention on the context. Lingard lived through a critical period in the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism, between the Relief Acts and Catholic Emancipation when, it is often forgotten, the future of the Church in this country was endangered by internal disputes as well as external hostility. The undivided attention of a scholarly protagonist was essential to see it through successfully, and it was a great benefit that Lingard was on hand and that he was not raised to the

episcopate and thereby become institutionally preoccupied or inhibited. This admirable biography should motivate others to give greater attention to this great English Catholic and to an important but neglected period.

Leo Gooch

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Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Office: 1539 and the Dissolution of a Monastery* (2008). 283 pp., 3 plans, 8 plates. £25

The short title applies to the first chapter, aptly entitled 'Tenebrae', an imaginative description of the celebration of Compline by the monks of Durham in the cathedral on 31 December 1539, the day on which they had surrendered their priory and all its possessions to King Henry VIII, nearly the last of the English monasteries to do so. In the first part of the book the author goes back in time to describe the origins of the community with St Cuthbert on Lindisfarne, its migration to Durham, its conversion to a Benedictine monastery in 1083 by Bishop William of St Calais, its relations with the bishops, its internal life, and management of its extensive property. In the second part he describes Henry's wish for a divorce, Cardinal Wolsey's suppression of some smaller monasteries, and Thomas Cromwell's development of this policy in stages after the enforced abolition of papal authority, by employing commissioners to visit all religious houses, report on their behaviour and possessions, and intimidate their inhabitants. Mr Moorhouse does this in great detail, through to the reaction in the northern Pilgrimage of Grace and the executions here and elsewhere of refractory abbots and monks, only leading gradually back to Durham with its unchallenged reputation and endowments. Then he puts in its national context the foundation of the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral, taking on the former prior and many of the monks and servants. We do not know what they did in the eighteen months after their surrender, when they had no other homes or sustenance, but one may suspect they continued the same life including its offices.

In May 1541, after King Henry's death, the now aggressively Protestant government arrested both Cuthbert Tunstal and Hugh Whitehead, intending to divide the diocese and, on the latter's death in London, installed a Calvinist dean, of whose doings we are given a hostile account from the *Rites of Durham.* A few years after Queen Mary's restitution of Tunstal and a Catholic dean, Queen Elizabeth installed a Protestant bishop and another Calvinist dean, with a similar reputation. The abortive Northern Rising of 1569 is briefly described.

Mr Moorhouse does not claim to have done any original research on his subject, but he has obviously read judiciously most of the modern books and published documents, which he reports very tellingly, besides benefitting from firsthand information and guidance from two recent archivists of the cathedral. His narrative is very readable, with some archaisms of expression, and remarkably few inaccuracies. His summary of Tunstal's letters to Henry VIII is much more revealing than the tenderness the present reviewer showed in an address reprinted in *Northern Catholic History* 2002. He accepts the attribution of the *Rites of Durham* (on which he naturally relies) to George Bates, registrar

and clerk of the shrine of St Cuthbert, although he, dying in 1547, cannot have been responsible for its contents datable after 1575. Mr Moorhouse does not seem to be aware of a Latin account of the destruction of the shrine by Nicholas Harpsfield of the same date who could have had it independently at secondhand from one of the witnesses. The local inheritance of those ex-monks and canons who refused to accept the fresh Royal Supremacy, Articles of Religion or Book of Common Prayer, let alone claims of having concealed St Cuthbert's body, are not discussed. There is a benign Epilogue on the present condition of the cathedral and its management, a bibliography, brief notes and an index.

This is a very well-printed book at a reasonable price. It has been commended to me by readers in Durham and Germany as hugely informative, beyond its title, and those of *Northern Catholic History* would equally appreciate it.

A.I. Doyle

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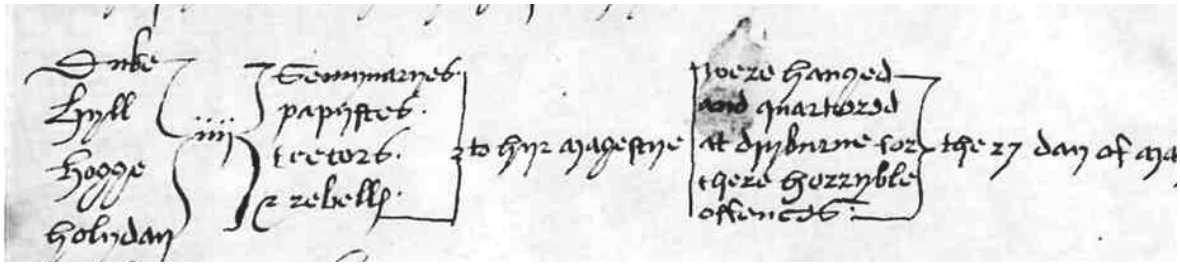
On 17 June 2008 a memorial to four Elizabethan priests, Richard Hill, Edmund Duke, John Hogg and Richard Holiday, who were martyred in Durham in 1590, was dedicated at Dryburn by Emeritus Bishop Ambrose Griffiths, OSB. He was assisted by the Revd Peter Kashouris of St Oswald's, Durham, who brought soil from the churchyard to be scattered around the memorial. The Mayor and Mayoress of Durham attended the ceremony, and students from St Leonard's school processed to the memorial from Owengate nearby, site of the old Durham Gaol. The building firm of Barratts provided the land and funded the erection of the memorial. The memorial [*see back cover*] is inscribed with the words of the layman George Swallowell, who was martyred at Darlington in 1594:

"No doubt these priests were martyrs before God".

The entry in the Burial Register of St Oswald's Church, Durham, recording the execution:



Duke Hyll Hogge Holyday	iiij	Semynaryes papysts trators & rebelles	to hyr majestye	were hanged and quartered at Dryburne for their horryble offences	the 27 day of May

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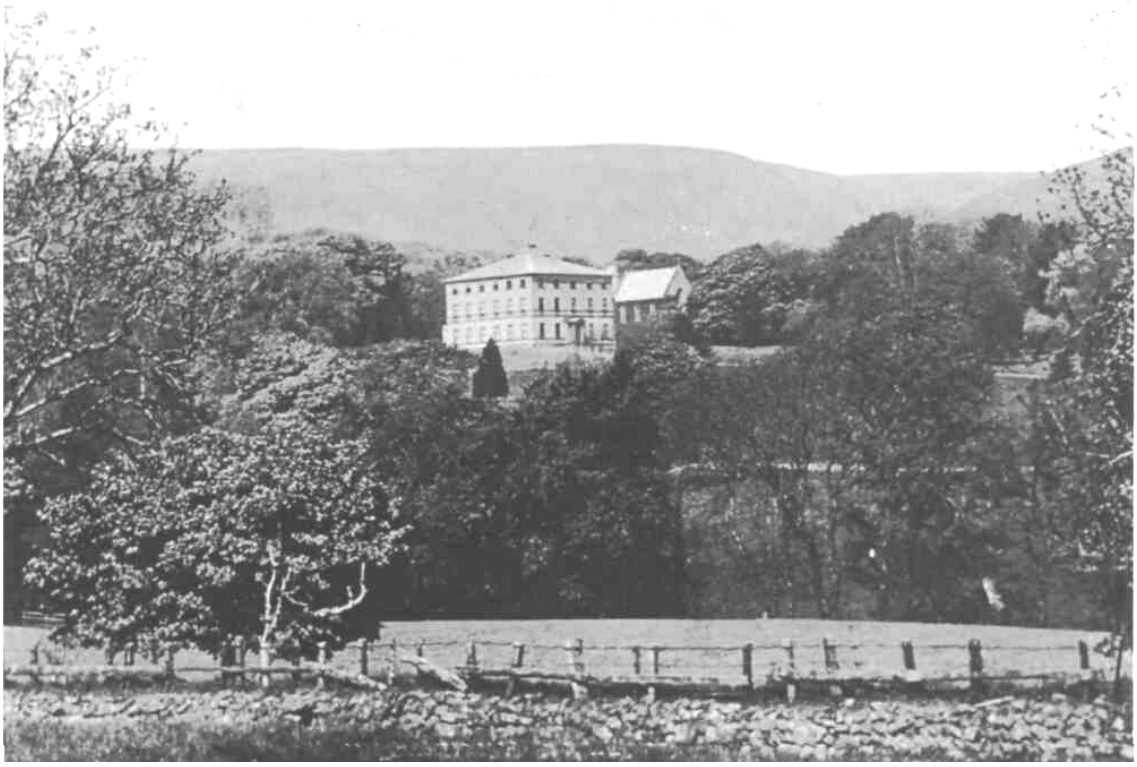

Biddlestone Hall and chapel, 1913.
Photograph by courtesy of Northumberland County Council.