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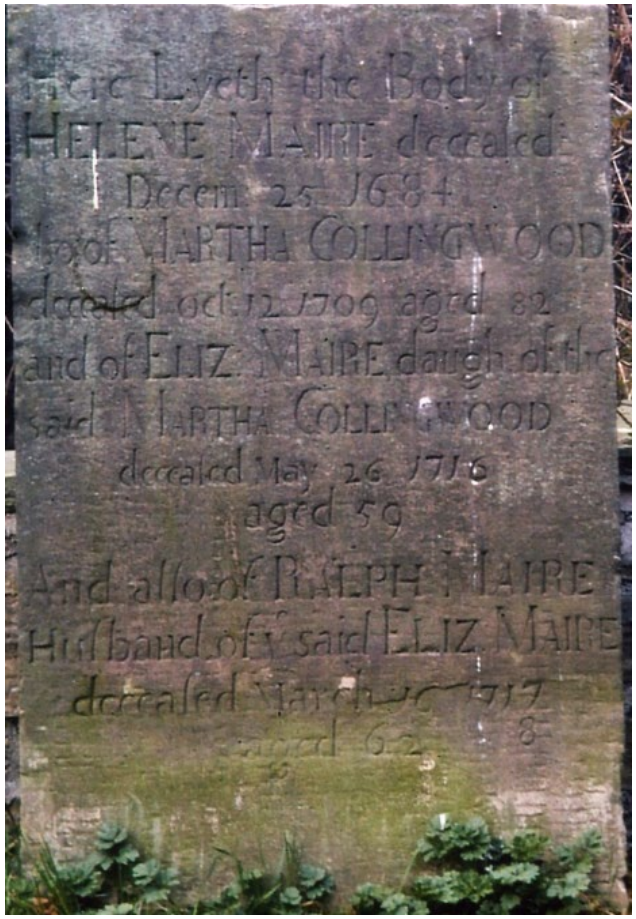

Maire Family Gravestone

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Front cover: The Maire family memorial in St Giles, Durham (Photograph by Dr A.I. Doyle).

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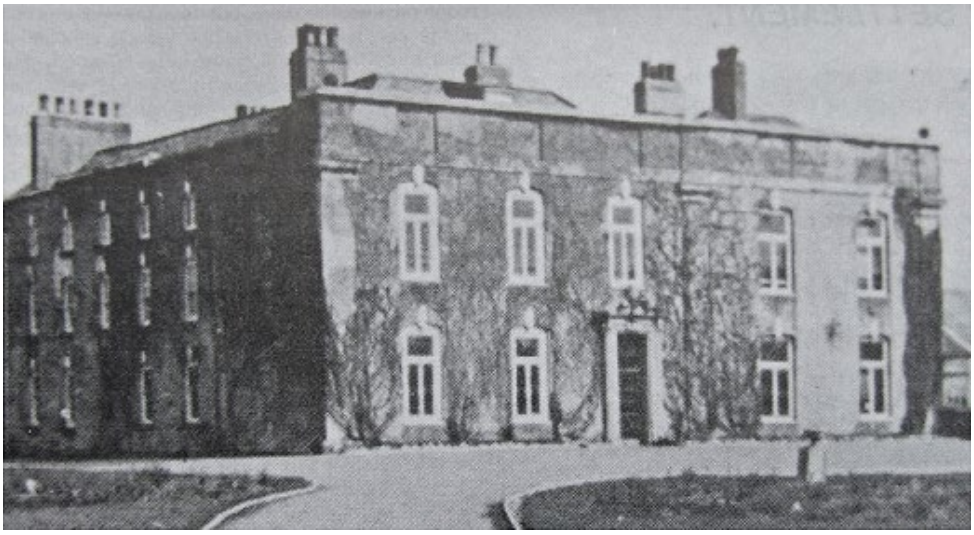
The Society was founded in 1974 to foster interest and promote research into the history of the Catholic Church in North East England – a geographical term which is interpreted generously. A yearly programme of talks and outings is arranged. The present annual subscription is £6 individual (£10 joint) which includes a copy of the annual journal *Northern Catholic History*. The Editor welcomes offers of articles for future editions. Details of the availability and price of back issues can be obtained from the Editor.

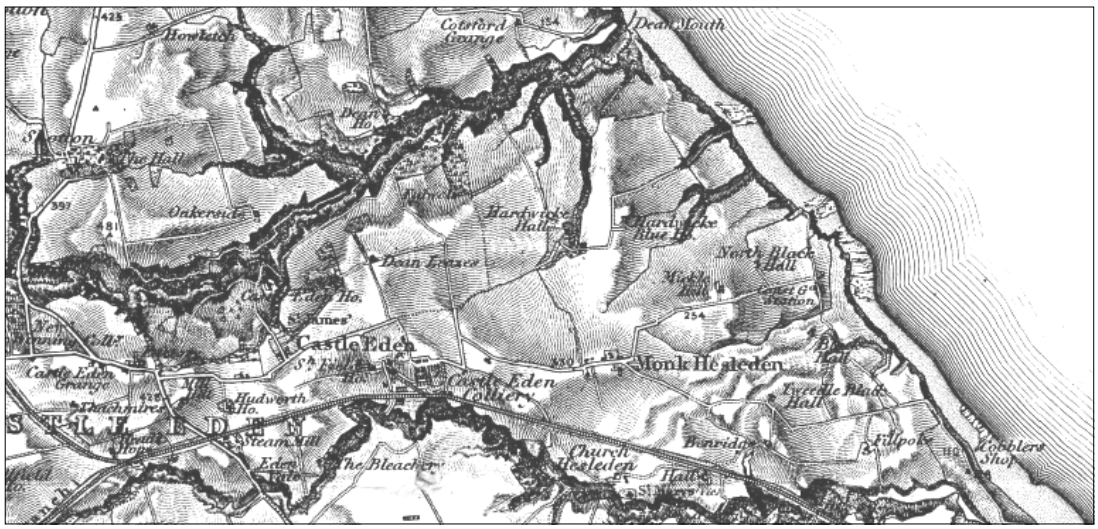
THE MAIRE FAMILY MEMORIAL AT GILESGATE, DURHAM

Dorothy M. Meade

On 27 May 1590 four young priests – Edmund Duke, Richard Hill, John Hogg and Richard Holiday – were executed at Dryburn, Durham. Among the onlookers were Robert Maire and his fiancée Grace Smith. Inspired by the heroism of the priests they became Catholics that day. Grace, the only daughter of Henry Smith, a wealthy and staunch Protestant, was immediately disinherited.[1] Nonetheless, she married Robert on 24 March 1591 at the parish church of Monkhesledon.



Robert Maire inherited the estate of Hardwick Hall (above, near Blackhall, recorded from the tenth century, and not to be confused with the eighteenth-century Hardwick Hall near Sedgefield) from his father Christopher who had acquired it from Robert Aske in 1587.[2] It was to be his and Grace's home only a short time, however, for it was sequestered in 1595. This meant that, because fines had not been paid, two-thirds of the property was taken temporarily into



Detail of Co. Durham from sheet 103 of the first 1 inch Ordnance Survey map (1868).

the hands of the Crown, which let them to tenants. Without a home, Robert and Grace were described as 'vagrants not known where.' One can only guess that they found friends (even Protestant ones) willing to let them in. A new system of fining was agreed in 1629 by which recusants owning sequestered estates could negotiate an annual sum which allowed them to recover possession of their property. Robert Maire agreed to pay £52 per annum and so he and his family returned to Hardwick.[3] This gave an opportunity for a hide to be constructed by the skilful Jesuit Father Richard Holtby. It is not known whether this was ever used by a priest in need of a refuge. However, it still survives, and is considered one of the best preserved in the country.[4]

There is a reference in the Grassmen's Accounts of St. Giles parish, Durham, to 'Mr Maior' (almost certainly this was Robert). He was being paid for the 'fogge' of Pella' (Pelaw) Leazes (i.e., grass that grows after hay has been cut). From this it would appear that Robert owned a house and land in St. Giles' parish. Presumably he thought it sensible to have another place to go to, should the necessity arise. In a book full of lists of witnesses and names of people being paid for services, this is one of very few with the appellation 'Mr'. This suggests that 'Mr Maior' was the head of an important gentry family.[5]

Robert Maire died on 18 March 1645 and was succeeded by Thomas, then aged forty-three. He and his second wife, Helen, daughter of Ralph Conyers of Layton, County Durham, settled at Hardwick, and a son, another Thomas, was born in 1650. In 1651 a large part of his estate was sequestered by the Commonwealth because of his Catholicism. The growing family needed a new place to live and, by 1662-3, Thomas was listed among the papists of St Giles' parish. His house in Gilesgate ('Gillygate'[6]) may have been leased, so preventing them from living there until the end of the lease. Thomas must have died before December 1680 because his wife was then described as a 'widow'. He was probably buried at Monkhesleden. Helen continued to live in the Gillygate house with three of her sons: the eldest, Thomas, was a young widower with a small son, Thomas (he had come into the estate of Lartington on his marriage to Margaret, heiress of Francis Appleby, of Romaldkirk, North Yorkshire. The second and third sons were John and Ralph; a fourth son, William, was sent to Douai, in northern France, to study for the priesthood and he returned some years later.

In 1678 Titus Oates, a former Catholic and inventive schemer, alarmed the government and the public by spreading false rumours about a 'Popish Plot' to assassinate King Charles II and put his brother, James Duke of York (a known Catholic) on the throne. Orders were given to the constables to ask prominent Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance. With its threat of imprisonment and heavy fines, those Catholics who could, sought asylum away from home. The three Maire brothers were given shelter in Elemore Hall, six miles east of Durham City, by the owner, Thomas Hall. It is quite possible that there was a family connection with the Halls, for Robert Maire's sister, Jane, had married a John Hall of Framwellgate, Durham, in 1586. Unfortunately, Thomas Hall died

on 10 April 1680, aged thirty-five. His large memorial stone lies in the floor of the chancel of Pittington church.[7]

If the young Maires were still at Elemore, Thomas's widow would be likely to keep them as guests. However, the constables soon arrived. Thomas Maire decided to take the oath, probably to keep the family estates in his hands, and possibly with the agreement of his brothers. John and Ralph refused the oath and were imprisoned, although they were soon released on payment of heavy fines. The three sons returned to live with their mother in Gilesgate when the crisis was over. Their house, which was later also used as a Catholic mission, is thought to have been on the flatter part of the road between the two banks of Gilesgate and Claypath. Tweedy quotes an old tradition that a house in this area was where Mass used to be said. On John Wood's map of 1820 a house on Bakehouse Lane, in this part of Gillygate is marked as belonging to Ushaw College the eventual owner. At the back of the house, was a public well, which had acquired the name of 'Maire's well'. This has long since been filled in, but its name survives (with altered spelling) in three short local streets : Mayorswell Street, Mayorswell Close and Mayorswell Field. [8]

Catholics were required to attend their parish church at least once a month. Failure to do so incurred a fine of £20, enough to reduce even the richest families to poverty. Consequently, like many others, the Maires felt that they had no alternative but to conform. Hearing Mass beforehand was desirable, although it depended on the availability of a priest.

Helen Maire died on Christmas Day 1684 and was buried in the choir of St Giles' church. Such a privileged resting place indicates that the person concerned belonged to a family of some standing although payment would be made. The Maires may also have wished to be interred close to the Heath family of Kepier, Lords of the Manor of Gilesgate, from whom they were descended through Grace Smith. Helen's sons would have seen to the placing of a sand-stone memorial some five by three feet in size over her grave. The inscription was added later.

In November 1688 William of Orange, husband of the king's Protestant daughter Mary, landed in England with an army and entered London. James II fled to France, while William and Mary were crowned King and Queen. In March 1689 James landed in Ireland with French troops and, fearful that Catholics in England might rise in support of James, Parliament passed an act forbidding them to keep arms in their houses. All houses of papists in County Durham (nine hundred of them) were searched. Sixteen of the 117 in Durham City were in Gilesgate. Little of any use to an army was found. In any event, James was defeated and escaped back to France. At the time of the search John Maire was living in Gilesgate and Ralph was staying in Elvet.[9] It may have been at that time that Ralph met Elizabeth, daughter of William and Martha Collingwood, whose home was in Elvet. The two young people, both aged thirty-six, were married in 1693, and thereafter lived in the Maire family house

in Gilesgate. Ralph had an annuity of £20 paid to him by his brother Thomas, out of the manor of Hutton Henry, since 1659 (the two boys being then aged nine and two years, respectively).[10] By 1705 Ralph was recorded as being the householder of the house in Gilesgate.

The expanse of Gilesgate Moor was part of the parish of St. Giles, and was in the charge of two 'Grassmen'. These were local men elected annually by the parishioners, meeting in the church vestry on the Sunday after Ascension Day. Among their many tasks they had to see that gates and fences were mended, a water supply maintained, rents (for allotments) collected and all necessary work done for the good management of the parish lands.It will be understood, therefore, mat the Grassmen should be trustworthy, dependable and hard-working. In 1679 John Maire (then aged twenty-four) was elected as one of the Grassmen; his reliability was the essential factor, the knowledge that he was a Catholic being unimportant. 'Mr Thomas Maior' is listed on page 303 of the first (undated) Grassmen's Book He is thought to have been the eldest brother of John and Ralph, who died in 1685 and was buried at Monkhesleden. Ralph certainly attended the annual meeting for the election of Grassmen and his name appears with others from time to time between 1698 and 1707 as a witness to decisions taken.

Another group mentioned in the Grassmen's Accounts is 'The Four and Twenty'. These men were a kind of unelected committee made up of the chief people of the parish. They were acknowledged to be, in some undefined way, the governors of the parochial organisation.[11] For instance, in 1700, they issued an order concerning the clearance of whins (gorse bushes) from the moor, this being signed by Ralph Maire and two others. From all this involvement it is evident that the Maires took a keen interest in the affairs of the parish. As a result they must have been well-known to the inhabitants of Gilesgate. The Protestant majority did not seem to be troubled about living so close to a peaceable Catholic family.

The Maires were not the only Catholics living in Gilesgate. Their house was probably bought because it could accommodate a mission and provide a home for a priest. Local Catholics attended the mission. According to a list made by an unknown person, fifty-six of them (including children) were living in Gilesgate in 1731.[12] There were several deaths in the family in the early years of the eighteenth century: Martha Collingwood (1709); John Maire aged sixty-one (13 February 1716) – his burial place in the churchyard being marked by a headstone; Elizabeth Maire (1716); and Ralph Maire (1718) – leaving twenty shillings to the poor of Gilesgate parish. The names of the first, third and fourth of these are recorded on the Maire memorial stone, after Helen Maire's name. Drs. A. Ian Doyle and Adrian Green have both inspected the inscriptions and agree that the lettering and numerals appear to be entirely consistent throughout. They are therefore satisfied that the stone was carved "in one go" in the early eighteenth century. It would seem that all the inscriptions were written down and carefully preserved by Ralph or Mary Maire for a future time. In fact, that

time came after Ralph Maire's death in 1718 and Mary then had a skilled stonemason carve the commemorative words.

Mary continued to live in the Gilesgate house and to welcome Catholics to the mission. In 1731 she was joined by her father's youngest brother, William, aged sixty-two. Since being ordained at Douai, William had been chaplain to nuns at Dunkirk and then Hammersmith, before coming to the Elvet mission, around 1717. He was supported financially by an annuity of £20 made him by his father in 1662. When the priest of the Gilesgate mission moved on, William took his place and remained there for the next nine years. He died in February 1740 and was buried in St Giles' churchyard. Mary died in January 1751, aged fifty-five. In her will she asked to be buried 'Near my dear Father and Mother in Gilesgate Church Choir'. She left £10 to the poor of Gilesgate parish; the house was left to the secular clergy and, in the end, it became the property of Ushaw College. There was no family member left in Durham to ensure that Mary's name was put on the memorial stone (even if there had been room for it) although her cousin William Maire the younger, of the Lartington branch of the family, who had taken over the mission in Gilesgate from William Maire, the elder, his uncle, had moved to the Elvet mission. The Gilesgate mission closed in 1769.[13]

The stone lay undisturbed for almost one hundred and fifty years. Then, in 1894, the vicar persuaded the congregation to have a new floor laid in the chancel. To do this, three old gravestones had to be taken up. The Maire stone was erected west of the church, near the boundary wall, in an upright position. In 1964 the Parochial Church Council decided to remove all stones from around the church, leaving only those considered the most important, thirty-seven of them. These were lined up in front of the south wall of the churchyard. The Maire stone was one of them and it stood beside the steps leading down to St Hild's College. In this position it was damaged and broken into one small and three large pieces. In 1989, to prevent further harm and as a temporary measure, it was brought into the church to lie in the south aisle.

In March 1990 a Maire Stone committee was formed to decide on a site for the stone within the church but no conclusion was reached. An experimental re-arrangement of the aisle in 1991 necessitated the moving of the stone to the porch, where it stood on its side behind a pew. On 28 September 1996 it was removed from the church and sunk under grass west of the north door. Incessant rain over some months led the Clerk of Works of Durham Cathedral to say that 'This stone is already on its way to destruction.' The Archdeacon of Durham came to the rescue and, on 5 December, the stone was, on his authority, 'transferred forthwith to Durham Cathedral to a place of safety and dry storage.' It was kept in a cellar of a house in The College for several years. In due course the Diocesan Advisory Council suggested that the stone be inserted in to the external west wall of the porch and this was completed on 11 August 2008. So, after many vicissitudes, the stone has its final home. It commemorates a family that Fr Tweedy called 'remarkable' and was respected by its Church of England contemporaries. This memorial stone marks a distant period in the history of St

Giles' church and, as Martin Roberts, then Senior Architect (Design and Conservation) for Durham City, has said, 'It is part of the wider heritage of the city'.

Notes and References

1. Smith's fortune was left to the Mayor and Aldermen of Durham for the benefit of apprentices. 'Henry Smith's Charity' is still in existence.
2. Ann M.C. Forster, 'The Maire Family of County Durham', *Recusant History* vol., 10 (1969), pp. 332-343; R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of Durham*, vol. 1, part II, p. 53.
3. Forster, pp. 332/333; J.M. Tweedy, *Popish Elvet* (1981), part I p. 17.
4. I am grateful to the owners of Hardwick Hall, Mr & Mrs Bradley, for showing me the hide. M. Hodgetts, *Secret Hiding Places* (1989) pp. 121-3; G. Squiers, *Secret Hiding Places* (1934), pp. 133-6; W.I. Haward, *Hide or Hang* (1966), pp. 60/61.
5. Durham County Record Office, EP/DU.SG.30, *Grassmen's Book* I, under 1637. See also 'Memorials of St Giles's, Durham', Surtees Society vol. 95 (1896), p. 64.
6. The road leading to St Giles' church was popularly known as 'Gillygate', deriving from the pronunciation of the French saint's name. Thomas Maire referred to himself in his will of 1671 as 'of Gillygate'. His son Ralph and his granddaughter Mary, however, described themselves in their wills as 'of Gilesgate'. Although in general use, perhaps they preferred the name of a saint for the road they lived on. Cf. Durham University Library (Special Collections): DPRI/1680/MI/1-2 (Thomas); DPRI/1/1720/MI/1 (Ralph); DPRI/1/1750/MI/1-2 (Mary).
7. Tweedy, pp. 58-60.
8. Tweedy, p 103; D.M. Meade, 'The Medieval Parish of St Giles, Durham', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* NS vol III p. 69 note 15.
9. Tweedy, pp. 63-5.
10. C.R. Hudleston (ed.), 'Durham Recusant Estates, 1717-1778' *Surtees Society* 173 (1958) pp. 148/9
11. W.E. Tate, *The Parish Chest,* (1960 p. 18.
12. Tweedy, p. 77.
13. Tweedy, pp. 92/5; Hudleston, pp. 147/8, 156/7; Durham University Library (Special Collections): DPRI/1/1750/1-2, will of Mary Maire.

Here Lyeth the Body of
HELENE MAIRE deceafed
Decem: 25 1684
Also of MARTHA COLLINGWOOD
deceafed oct:12 1709 aged 82
and of ELIZ: MAIRE daugh: of the
said MARTHA COLLINGWOOD
deceafed May 26 1716
aged 59
And alfo of RALPH MAIRE
Hufband of y^e^ said ELIZ: MAIRE
deceafed March 16 1717-8
aged 62

Inscription on the repaired Maire memorial slab mounted on the porch wall of St Giles, Durham. A bottom line: 'Requiescant in pace. Amen.' was visible to Surtees**** but was expunged at some later date.]

Names underlined are inscribed on the gravestone

John Heath of Kepier
|
Henry Smith = Elizabeth Heath
|
Robert Maire = Grace Smith
d. 1645
|
Thomas Maire = Helen Conyers — William Collingwood = Martha Hilton
d. before 1680 d. 1684 — d. 1709
|
Ralph Maire = Elizabeth
1657-1718 — d. 1716
|
Mary
(b. 14 Nov. 1695, only child, d. unm. 1751

‘THIS LONG-STANDING, VEXED QUESTION’: THE BURIAL OF NON-ANGLICANS IN PARISH CHURCHYARDS

John Dunleavy

Until 1880 most interments in this country took place in parish churchyards administered by the Church of England. Civil law stipulated that anyone was entitled to be buried in the local churchyard, though the burial service at the graveyard was that prescribed by the established church. Such a regulation had sufficed in the past when most residents professed to subscribe to a common faith. But by Victorian times the religious pattern in England resembled something like a mosaic, with a proliferation of denominations and sects. The diversity of belief and practice, shown by the Religious Census of 1851, which among other things, indicated that the number attending Anglican services was only slightly higher than those who went elsewhere. The latter were generally referred to as Dissenters or Nonconformists, designated variously as Baptists, Independents and Methodists. For generations they had been subjected to legal and social disabilities, most of which would be modified, and in many cases abolished, in the more tolerant atmosphere of the nineteenth century. Beginning with the Test and Corporation Act of 1828, supplemented by later measures, religious Dissenters were gradually brought into the mainstream of national life. Public positions such as mayor, magistrate and Member of Parliament, increasingly came to be filled by Dissenters. Yet the campaign for tolerance in the graveyards provoked a lengthy and at times heated controversy that was not settled until the passage of the Burial Laws Amendment Act, 1880 (43 & 44 Vict. c. 41), which has been described as the last great victory of political Nonconformity. Like most laws it was a compromise, with both parties initially expressing qualified approval but, once in operation, it became acceptable to Anglicans and Dissenters alike, with a few exceptions. One perceptive observer, Edward Hamilton, a private secretary to Prime Minister Gladstone, noted in his diary:

> The Burials Bill is not founded on extreme lines, but on the lines of Osborne Morgan’s annual bill ... Every churchyard and cemetery is to be open to everyone, and the alternatives for those who are not content with the Church of England Burial service will be no service, or a service of a ‘Christian and orderly character.’ The Bill ought to secure a settlement of this long-standing, vexed question.[1]

Hamilton rightly acknowledged the rôle played by Osborne Morgan, the Liberal MP, in helping to draft the bill, though, in a sense, he inherited the role of chief parliamentary advocate from Sir Morton Peto, who had campaigned unsuccessfully in the 1860s for such a reform. As a Baptist, Peto belonged to a denomination that had long resented Anglican control of graveyards. Morgan, by contrast, who was to have the satisfaction of seeing his bill enacted, was the son of an Anglican clergyman based in Wales, and aware of the resentment felt towards the established church by many people in the principality. He regarded

the landmark legislative victory in 1880 as the first instalment of the disestablishment of the Welsh Church, something he did not live long enough to see. His continuing commitment to reform, however, was reflected in several other measures such as the abolition of flogging in the army, and the enactment of the Married Women's Property Act in 1882.[2]

Ultimately, the law governing burials would be determined by Parliament which, for much of this period, was dominated by two forceful personalities, Benjamin Disraeli and William Ewart Gladstone. Both were Churchmen and both were reluctant initially to commit their party to such a measure. In the Commons a growing number of members favoured reform, while in the House of Lords the Anglican bishops were divided on the issue. The Archbishop of Canterbury was anxious to foster closer relations with Dissenters and would ultimately vote for the Bill, while the Archbishop of York was the most openly critical of the proposal. Another prelate extremely hostile to the Act was the Bishop of Lincoln, who complained that the measure was 'an Act for the burial of the Church of England.' It is worth noting that the two latter bishops ruled sees with significant numbers of Nonconformists: there had been strife in the past and there were occasional upsets after 1880: both voted against the Bill.[3]

Within the Church attempts were made to mobilise the clergy to thwart any change, and around threequarters of them signed a petition to demonstrate their opposition to the principle behind the Act. Not content with this, a second petition was drawn up and close on thirty thousand laymen indicated their disapproval. In retrospect, fears expressed about the nature and consequences likely to flow from the Act proved to be exaggerated such as the prediction of Lincoln's Bishop Wilberforce that the Act would accelerate the trend to disestablishment though some of the concerns expressed by Anglicans were justified. It is worth bearing in mind that the graveyard was seen as much an integral part of the parish as was the church; any revenue from the land set aside for burial purposes such as pastoral rights was regarded as part of the incumbent's stipend. It should also be noted, as the Anglicans pointed out, with the growth of population there would be an increased demand for graves. Rather than expect the church to provide them, why not create municipally-owned or private cemeteries, such as already existed in some places, where burial services might be performed in accordance with the wishes of the deceased?[4]

Outside Parliament a number of pressure groups worked for a reform of the burial laws, prominent among them was the Liberation Society, an agency that wanted to see the disestablishment of the Church of England. The Society complemented the efforts of the chapels in the campaign by lobbying Parliament, organising meetings and publishing literature. Among speakers used by the Liberationists to foster the cause were Joseph Cowen, the Radical MP for Newcastle, the academic Goldwyn Smith, Osborne Morgan, and – on occasion – the veteran reformer and Quaker John Bright. When speaking to his constituents a few days after the bill was passed, Osborne attributed victory to the chapel-goers, declaring that the 'battle has been fought by the Nonconformists alone.'

The essence of the 1880 Act meant that in future the dead could be buried without the Prayer Book Service; services at the grave were to be Christian and orderly; no address contemptuous of Christian religion or ministers was allowed; henceforth Anglican clergy were to act as registrars for funerals they had not conducted; Church of England clergy could conduct burials in unconsecrated ground, provided the local bishop approved.[5]

The role of the Catholic Church in England in this movement has gone largely unexplored, yet in 1842 a journal reported that a committee of the Catholic Committee planned to petition Parliament to permit Catholic clergy to officiate at funerals in parish graveyards. Once the 1880 Act came into force there seems to have been no reluctance on the part of the Catholic clergy to make use of the facility.[6]

The Anglican weekly, *The Guardian*, on 22 September, 1880. reported that the Bill received the royal assent on the seventh, and became law immediately. What several periodicals designated 'the first interment under the Act' took place at Beckenham, Kent, on the ninth when a member of the Baptist church was buried according to the rituals of that denomination. 'The service', reported *The Guardian*, 'was in every way a Nonconformist one ... marked by simplicity, naturalness and solemnity.' The correspondent had one complaint, however: the graveside service lasting half an hour was too long! The widespread interest aroused by this particular burial owed much to the long-held grievances of Baptists – their practice of adult baptism had frequently been given as a reason to deny burial to the unbaptised.

A few days later, the first funeral under the new law according to the rites of the Catholic Church took place at Egton Bridge, North Yorkshire, where, as in most villages of rural England, there was only one graveyard and that was attached to the parish church.[7] On learning of the death of one his congregation, the sixteen-year-old Maria Ripley, Father Francis Joseph Callebert determined to avail himself of the new Act. On 13 September he wrote to the vicar:

> Rev. and Dear Sir, - As the Burial Act has been passed (Sept. 7th), and has been signed by Her Majesty, I beg to inform you that I intend to read the funeral service over the grave in Egton Church yard *to day*, unless you can show cause why I should not. – In haste, Yours truly, F. Callebert, R.D.

The funeral service went ahead and upon arriving at the churchyard gate, the cortège was met by the vicar who enquired from Fr Callebert by what authority he was officiating. The latter had come prepared for such a challenge and produced a copy of the *York Herald* informing readers that the Burial Act had come into force on 7 September. The vicar pleaded he had yet to receive written confirmation of the change from his superior, the Archbishop of York, but rather than cause scandal he would simply bow and acquiesce in the change. Both clergymen – anxious obviously to give good example to curious onlookers – bowed gracefully to each other and the graveside service commenced. Holy water was sprinkled on the grave and the service was conducted in Latin;

according to the correspondent of the *Yorkshire Post* the only English words heard during the service were 'Lord, have mercy on us.' The burial went ahead and, apart from brief mentions in the press, that was the end of the matter. This interment in a remote churchyard has long been forgotten, as in fact were the other burials that attracted press notices in the autumn of 1880.[8]

As Hamilton had foreseen, the Act did resolve this long-standing grievance of significant sections of the population. Long before 1880, Nonconformists had been demonstrating their usefulness to the economic and social life of the country. Ensuing political reforms indicated they were not content to be regarded as second-class citizens but were anxious to take a fuller role in civic affairs. Changes in local government gave them the opportunity to press for municipally-owned cemeteries.

It is hard now to appreciate the strength of feeling aroused by the Bill. Some churchmen complained, with some justification, that secularists had utilized support among Nonconformists to undermine further the power of the Church of England. Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln went so far as to warn his co-religionists to expect the imminent disestablishment of the Church and prepare for a 'general reign of sacrilege and confusion.' Such fears were unfounded, and the utterance of Archbishop Tait of Canterbury was more apt when he assured a meeting at Croydon that he looked forward to the reform, since it was likely to end once and for all what had become a painful controversy. Instead of widening the gap between the Church and Nonconformity, he was sure the Act would have a healing effect. And so events proved, for apart from a few isolated incidents, what had been termed the Burial Question receded from the world of politics and religion although other issues would emerge.[9]

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1. G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (1969), ch. VI, 'The religion of the people'; D.W.R. Bahlman (ed.), *The Diaries of Sir Edward Walter Hamilton, 1880-85,* vol. I, 1880-82 (1972), p.16.
2. M.H. Port, 'Sir (Samuel) Morton Peto (1799-1889),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. 43 (2004), pp. 897-900. M. Cragoe, 'Sir George Osborne Morgan (1826-1897),' ibid vol. 39 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 116-18.
3. P.T. Marsh, *The Victorian Church in Decline. Archbishop Tait and the Church of England, 1868-1882* (1969), passim.
4. *The Guardian,* 16 and 23 Jan., 13 Feb. 1878. This Anglican weekly reflects the deep concern felt by Churchmen at the demand for the reform of the Burial Acts.
5. *The Guardian,* 15 Sept., 1880, published the full text of the act.
6. Ibid., 7 March 1877; 15 Sept, 1880. *Catholic Magazine,* vol. 6 (March, 1842), pp. 188-89; *The Tablet*, 27 Sept., 1880.
7. Ibid., 22 Sept. 1880.
8. Ibid. *The Tablet,* 31 Aug., 1918. Additional information kindly supplied by David Smallwood, Middlesborough Diocesan Archivist, 7 Jan. 2009.
9. S.C. Carpenter, *Church and People, 1789-1889* (1933), p. 344. *The Guardian,* 1 Sep. 1880.

THE SARUM USE AND THE RECUSANTS

Michael Brown

On 30 September 1258AD a new cathedral at Salisbury was consecrated in the presence of King Henry III. Old Sarum – the Norman castle and cathedral built on a former iron-age hill fort – had long been considered rather cramped and plans to move to the new site, had been in the air since the 1190's but the foundations of the new cathedral were not laid until 1220AD (an event which was attended by many bishops). Salisbury gained much of its prestige through its proximity to the royal hunting lodge at Clarendon which had been a Saxon royal lodge. It was well-situated close to the New Forest, to England's main financial and administrative centre at Winchester, and close to the ports for easy access to Normandy. William I kept it on and spent much time at Clarendon. He appointed Osmund, a nephew, as Bishop of Sarum and as Chancellor in 1078AD. Osmund saw to the completion of the old cathedral, dedicating it on 5 April 1092AD and establishing a chapter of secular canons. Traditionally, it was Osmund who was seen as the creator of the Sarum Use of Mass which was to become widespread through England.

The Sarum Use was a form of the Roman Rite used in England in the late middle ages. It was noted for its splendid ceremonial which was more lavish than that of the Roman Rite. It was not the only such variant, others existed at York, Bangor and Lincoln, but it was the most significant. The Saxon church had declared its intention of following the Roman Rite at the Synod of Clovesho (747AD) which stated:

> That in one and the same manner we all celebrate the Sacred Festivals pertaining to Our Lord's coming in the Flesh; and so in everything, in the way we confer Baptism, in our celebration of Mass, and in our manner of singing. All has to be done according to the pattern which we have received in writing from the Roman Church [*Canon 13*].

The various 'uses' of the Roman Rite came about because it was a very long time before all aspects of the rite were codified. The first papal legislation on the matter was *Quo Primum* in 1570AD. Until that time there was some room for variation. Much was fixed but differences could be found in the preparations for Mass (the prayers at the foot of the altar), the offertory prayers and in ceremonial as well as the communion rite. The canon and most of the propers were common to the Sarum and Roman Rites. Thus many customs grew up in the Sarum Use in terms of texts and ceremonies which gave it a distinctive character[1]. Its prestige was assured by the royal connection but it was also acknowledged by the papacy. Baxter records that in 1228AD Pope Gregory IX 'had noted the wide prestige of Sarum's liturgical expertise'[2]. Bishops of Salisbury held the honorary title of Papal Master of Ceremonies.

While Sarum influenced other parts of England before the laying of the foundations of the new cathedral, its completion contributed to its spread, not

only throughout England,[3] Scotland and Ireland but abroad through English influence. By 1223AD it was in use at St David's in Wales, it also reached Glasgow, Moray and Elgin. It was taken to Portugal when Phillippa of Lancaster married John I and so was introduced at Braga in 1385AD. It is also said to have reached Norway.

Under Henry VIII the Convocation of Canterbury in 1543 made the Sarum Use general throughout that province, suppressing the uses of Lincoln, Bangor and Hereford. The Use of York survived in its own province until 1549. Finally, with the Reformation, Edward VI's injunction of 14 February 1549 commanded all service books according to the uses of Salisbury, Hereford, York, Bangor, and Lincoln to be defaced and destroyed, under episcopal supervision. In that year the first English Book of Common Prayer was issued which, while incorporating some Sarum customs, was to replace it as *the* service book for the whole country.

The Sarum Use was restored by Mary Tudor but many missals had been destroyed or mutilated in the previous decades and new ones had to be printed between 1553 and 1557 in Paris and Rouen. Gillow's list of the publications of Cardinal Pole has an entry which says that the Sarum missal, breviary and ritual were revised and published under his auspices in 1554 and 1555[4]. Nonetheless the evidence suggests that a preference had emerged for using the Roman missal rather than the Sarum. W Vincent Smith in the *Ushaw Magazine,* 1954,[5] quotes a letter of 1800 by Rev Thomas Eyre which states:

> You know that in Queen Mary's reign the English Church petitioned for and obtained of Card. Pole licence to lay aside the Sarum, York, Lincoln, etc Uses and in their room to adopt the Roman Breviary and Missal, which from that time became universally received.

And under the entry for St Osmund in his *Lives of the Saints,* Butler writes:

> …till in the reign of Queen Mary so many of the clergy obtained particular licences of Cardinal Pole, to say the Roman Breviary that this became universally received.[6]

In pre-Reformation England, then, especially in an urban environment, people would have been aware of the multiplicity of Uses of the Roman rite. Apart from the native Uses of Sarum, York, Bangor and Hereford, the religious orders often had their own Uses, such as those of the Dominicans and Carmelites. The Franciscans used the Roman missal so that too would have been familiar. In the difficult circumstances of recusant worship, however, it is hard to imagine that there would have been disputes about liturgical niceties. There are a few key items of evidence relating to liturgical practice among the recusants when the celebration of Mass was proscribed and became clandestine under Elizabeth I.

It would appear that the Sarum Missal was used at the English College, Douai. The Douai Diary records in the entry for 23 April 1577[7] that twenty priests were ordained in the space of five months and that they all used the

Roman missal of Pius V and were taught to celebrate the Roman Rite by Lawrence Webb, an old Marian priest who had lived in Rome. While it is probable that most priests would use whatever missal they found when saying Mass in recusant locations, we can say that from 1577 priests emerging from Douai were trained in the use of the Roman rather than Sarum missal. There was no need for anyone to stop celebrating with the Sarum missal given that Pius V had declared in *Quo Primum* that any use with a history of more than two hundred years could continue to be celebrated, but if the evidence of Eyre and Butler is correct, under Mary Tudor a preference had emerged for the Roman missal, presumably as a sign of loyalty to the Holy See.

In 1580 it had been agreed that each part of the country would follow its own traditional practices, but Jesuit missioners would always have been trained in the Roman use. In 1584, Jasper Heywood, the Jesuit superior in England since 1581, issued a document with the title *Certain points of ecclesiastical discipline in England.* This is mostly about fasting and sought to alleviate the Sarum regime, but it disrupted the earlier agreement with an attempt to bring in Roman customs for fasting. Point 15 in the list reads as follows:

> It is wished with one consent and greatly desired of worshipfull men that all would follow the Romane use in their office and service, as a thinge commended to all the world by the whole council of Trent.[8]

Haigh comments:

> One scandalized layman threatened to hand Heywood over to the privy council and the Jesuit was, in due course, recalled from England.[9]

Bossy records another reaction to Heywood's document, that of an old priest, Alban Dolman, who wrote:

> all the Chatholique howsholders were greatly scandalised…et merito, for thei conteined erronius doctrine.[10]

How much of this reaction is in defence of the old English regime for fasting and how much in favour of the Sarum and other traditional uses is impossible to say. Evidence is scarce. However another insight into the minds of recusants at this time can be found in the works of the Catholic composer William Byrd. It has been observed[11] that in his *Gradualia* of 1605-1607 Byrd chose to set Roman texts where they diverged from the Sarum. An example, noted by Jackman[12], occurs in the Mass of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin:

	Sarum:	Roman (and Byrd):
Introit:	*Gaudeamus omnes*	*Salve sancta parens*
Gradual:	*Audi fila*	*Benedicta et venerabilis*
Alleluia:	*Nativitas gloriosae*	*Felix es*
Offertory:	*Diffusa est gratia*	*Beata es*
Communion:	*Vera Fides*	*Beata viscera Mariae*

Change was slower with the Ritual or Manual, the book with the rites of baptism, marriage, funerals and blessings. The Roman Ritual was not published until 1614, and the first Roman Ritual for use in England was not published until 1624. Even then it allowed for the maintenance of local customs to some extent. A Sarum Ritual was published at Douai in 1604 and again in 1610. Thus Sarum marriage rites remained in use in England, which included ceremonies such as the giving of gold and silver to the bride by the bridegroom. Vincent McNabb, writing in the *Catholic Times* in 1931[13] observed that the Sarum rite of marriage was substantially that of the old Roman Ritual described by Pope Nicholas I in 866AD. In 1615 a Roman missal for itinerant priests was authorised which contained the bare essentials for celebrating mass. In 1626 a *Missale Parvum pro sacerdotibus in Anglia itinerantibus* was published for use in England with the Roman Ritual as an appendix but including parts of the marriage service in English and preserving Sarum customs which stayed in the Ritual for England until the Second Vatican Council[14]. On 17 December 1737 a decree from Propaganda stated that only the Roman missal, breviary and ritual were to be used in England. The need for the decree suggests that some were still using the Sarum or other uses.

The interest and controversies concerning the Sarum Use in the nineteenth century is a huge topic in itself. In recent years there have been occasional celebrations of the Sarum Mass by Catholics in Great Britain but the legal status of the missal is still somewhat disputed.

In conclusion, it is fair to say that evidence is thin for the kind of reception the introduction of the Roman missal met in early recusant circles. On the one hand there is evidence to suggest, among the clergy at least, a desire to use the Roman missal in preference to Sarum, while among the laity continuity in the faith appears to have been much valued, although the example of highly motivated Catholics like William Byrd reveals a desire to share the preference for the Roman rite.

Notes and References

[1] For a brief summary of the characteristics of the Sarum Use regarding the ceremonies of the Mass see *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (1912) vol XIII pp. 479-481.

[2] P. Baxter, *Sarum Use: The development of a medieval code of liturgy and customs*. (1994). I have used this book for much of this background material.

[3] For an example of how this influence worked at a local level in the north east, see E. Stephens, 'Note on the Esh Missal', *The Ushaw Magazine* (1939).

[4] J. Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*. (1885) vol V. p.340.

[5] 'Liturgical Books from Penal Days', *The Ushaw Magazine* (1954) pp 22-30. The letter is in Ushaw College MSS. Vol 1, 48

[6] A. Butler, *Lives of the Saints,* (1756-9, & many subsequent editions) 3rd ed., 1798, vol XII p.75

[7] 'Igitur spatio quinque mensium ex nostris theologis facti sunt sacerdotes 20. At hi omnes sacrum quotidie secundum ordinem Romani missalis a Pio V. editi celebrant, ritus ejusdem missalis accurate et diligenter edocti a venerabili presbytero D Laurentio Webbo, qui ipse Romae aliquando existens, omnem ejus ordinis rationem et ceremoniam probe et ad amussim didicit.' T. Knox (ed.), *Records of English Catholics Vol I. The Douay Diaries First and Second* (1888), p.118.

[8] *Op cit*. p. 354.

[9] C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation,' *Past and Present* 93 (1981) p. 63

[10] J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850* (1975) p. 112

[11] C. Monson, 'Byrd, the Catholics and the Motet: The hearing reopened', D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1998) p. 363.

[12] 'Liturgical Aspects of Byrd's Gradualia', *Musical Quarterly* (1963) vol. XLIX(1), p.19.

[13] Cf. http://www.vincentmcnabb.org/marriage.html (website of the Vincent McNabb Society).

[14] In the 1980's there was talk of reforming the new marriage rite and of re-introducing some of the lost Sarum customs but despite a draft service being produced, it has not yet seen the light of day.

RICHARD LACY AND THE MAKING OF A SEE TOWN 1872-1879

M Turnham

Richard Lacy is a man relatively unknown to history, yet when he was appointed as first Bishop of Middlesbrough in 1879 he was the youngest member of the English hierarchy and when he died in 1929, just a few months short of his Episcopal Golden Jubilee, he was the oldest and longest-serving bishop in the country. He had a deep devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and he was the first English bishop to put a diocese under her patronage as Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, a title he held in particular honour. He ministered in the English Catholic Church at a time when it was developing as a major religious denomination. He was the first Irishman to be appointed bishop in Yorkshire, and his association with Middlesbrough that began in 1872 extended over half the period it had existed; he was part of the town for fifty-seven of its hundred year existence. He was noted for the cordial relations that he maintained with civic leaders. His death was felt as a personal bereavement by the townspeople of Middlesbrough. It was pointed out by Richard Downey, Archbishop of Liverpool, the celebrant, that his funeral took place in the same week that the English Catholic Church was celebrating the centenary of emancipation, and that Richard Lacy had been a bishop for half of that period. Lacy was a link with the great historical past, having been ordained during the lifetime of Cardinal Wiseman, been a personal friend of Cardinal Manning, and acquainted with Cardinal Newman. He was the last of those Victorian bishops who combined pastoral care with administrative skill and a sense of pioneering inventiveness that seemed to disappear as Catholicism became an accepted part of the religious landscape.

Yet 'Catholics in England as a whole know nothing of his achievements and he ploughed his lonely furrow with only the witness of the stars.'[1] This essay is intended to shed light upon the years that Lacy spent as a missionary priest in Middlesbrough, the problems that he faced and the solutions he found. These formative years not only created a thriving church on Teesside, but also set the pattern that he would adopt later when creating a new diocese. Along with Rome's decision to make Middlesbrough a see town in 1879, the 'suddenly gathered together flock from every town in England and Ireland'[2] were given an identity that hitherto had not been found.

Richard Lacy was born at Navan, Ireland in 1841; the youngest in a family of nine. His father was a civil servant and his mother was a practising member of the Church of Ireland, only converting to Catholicism later in her married life, perhaps even on her death-bed. He was educated first at Navan Academy, and then at the age of fourteen he was sent by his father to Ushaw College in Co. Durham, where he stayed for nine years before going to the English College in Rome to finish his priestly formation. He was ordained priest for the diocese of Beverley in 1867 at the age of twenty-six and appointed as assistant priest in the

parish of St Patrick, Bradford. He is described in their parish history as a 'man of studious habits and retiring disposition, affable and courtly, and immediately popular with the people who, admiring his reserve, still found him approachable.'[3]

Four years later, Bishop Robert Cornthwaite of Beverley moved him to Middlesbrough. The story is told that when the bishop was looking for a priest to send to Middlesbrough, he chose Richard Lacy because he was the only clean-shaven, tidy priest in the diocese. The actual reason was that the Middlesbrough mission was a very troubled one in 1872. Lacy's predecessor had been virtually forced out by a small group of Irish radicals who had waged a personal vendetta against him.[4] Indeed Bishop Cornthwaite himself described the mission as 'very difficult to manage' and needed a tight hand with a velvet glove, a man who moreover would understand the Irish temperament of the majority of its Catholic inhabitants. Cornthwaite considered Lacy to be that man. His Irish nationality was a factor that proved crucial in settling Fenian unrest as well as giving him an innate understanding of the community instincts of the large Irish population. It enabled him to build on the foundations laid by his predecessors, literally by putting in place the biggest church and school building programme in the country that united the Catholic community of the town and gave them a common purpose.

Middlesbrough was a child of the industrial revolution: 'a typical town in which to study the lives of those engaged in making iron, for it has come into existence for that purpose and for nothing else.'[5] In 1829, when the Tees Coal Company bought land in order to build a new port for their flourishing business of exporting coal from the South Durham coalfield, there were only four houses and twenty-nine people living in what came to be called 'the infant Hercules' by William Gladstone in 1862.[6] 'The Owners of the Middlesbrough estate', who formed themselves into a company, were Quakers and, led by Joseph Pease, laid down strict conditions for intending purchasers of the plots in the new town that they designed. Their vision was of a port with the town situated behind the wharves, consisting of a central square with four main roads radiating off it in a grid pattern. They undertook to provide sewerage, paved roads and a drainage system; the individual plot owners had to agree to build houses that were considered to be of a relatively high standard for those days. The census of 1831 showed that the population of the new town had risen to one hundred and fifty and ten years later to 5,463. Already, the prophecy of Joseph Pease, given at his first sight of the marshy swamp-like farmland that he had just bought, was beginning to come true:

> I was fancying the coming of the day when the bare fields we were traversing would be covered with a busy multitude, and numerous vessels crowding to these banks denoting a busy seaport.[7]

In 1849, Middlesbrough faced its first real test as a town. Completion of the national railway system meant that it was cheaper to export coal by rail rather

than by sea, and Middlesbrough's status as a port was also diminishing with the rise of Hartlepool and Newcastle. It was saved from economic decay by the unprecedented expansion of its small iron works into a major industry following the discovery of workable ironstone in the Cleveland Hills. This led to the rise of an iron and steel industry which in twenty years produced over one third of Britain's entire iron output. It changed not only the appearance of the town, but also its character and quality of life. The huge expansion of industry needed a large, new workforce, so workers poured into the town. By 1854, cholera epidemics were commonplace and some streets were condemned as unfit for human habitation. The town, tucked in the bend of the river Tees, now had ironworks to west and east and expansion was only possible southwards. Consequently, the boundaries were extended to include low-lying land known as the Marshes extending from the river, across the railway and into the outskirts of the town. Much of the new housing built on it was affected by flooding and bad drainage, compounded by a lack of adequate sanitation – often there was only one toilet for a whole street. In 1907, Lady Bell wrote that the genesis and identity of a town such as Middlesbrough built entirely for the purposes of supplying workers for one industry needed

> houses built as quickly as possible; the houses must be cheap, must be as big as the workman wants and no bigger; and as they are built, there arise, hastily erected, instantly occupied, the rows and rows of little brown streets of the aspect that in some place or another is familiar to all of us. A town arising in this way cannot wait to consider anything else than time and space; and none of either must be wasted on what is merely sanitary… It is, unhappily, for most part a side issue for the workman whether he and his family are going to live under healthy conditions. The main object of his life is to be at work; that is the one absolute necessity[8]

For the very poor, which included the majority of the Catholic population, the introduction of bylaws in 1875 prevented the worst excesses of bad planning and poor construction that had characterised the oldest area of the town, but over-crowding remained a constant reality due to above-average family size and the practice of taking in lodgers to increase the household income. The position of the town made it a trap for the smoke and fumes from the furnaces blown into the town by the winds from the sea. Lack of adequate sanitation meant that epidemics of cholera and typhoid blighted the community and Adrian van Heuval, one of the assistant priests, became a de facto martyr for the faith when he died of typhus in 1874. It was an unhealthy, dirty, overcrowded and poor town in which to live.

By the time Lacy arrived, Middlesbrough had a population of around forty thousand and was at the heart of the biggest pig iron producing area in the world. Blast furnaces were used to smelt the iron ore into pig iron which was converted into wrought iron in the process called puddling. The latter was more of a skilled trade and relatively few Irish were employed in it: most of them, and

thus by association most of the Catholic community, were employed as unskilled labourers in the blast furnaces.

There was a tardiness on the part of the employers to improve working conditions; long hours were coupled with hard labour, dangerous conditions and high levels of pollution. Men were expected to work seven days a week and an average of ninety-six hours. On alternate Sundays, a twenty-four-hour shift was worked when changing from the day to the night shift. An eight-hour shift was not conceded by the iron-masters until 1897. It was also felt that keeping wages low encouraged high output as there was then not enough money to pursue leisure activities. Despite the fact that Lacy arrived in Middlesbrough at the height of the town's economic prosperity, the Catholic community was one of the poorest elements of society. His problems were compounded by the fact that soon after his arrival the economic buoyancy and optimism of the mid-Victorian period began to collapse, particularly in the iron industry of Middlesbrough.

The economic decline was due in part to increased competition from abroad and partly to the development of the Bessemer process which converted low phosphorus iron into steel, thus providing a cheaper alternative to the wrought iron manufactured in the town for use by the railway and shipbuilding industries. The ore at Middlesbrough was high in phosphorus and therefore unsuitable for the Bessemer process. It was not until 1879 that an alternative process was developed but it was slow to gain the market's confidence, and Middlesbrough never regained the buoyancy of its iron-making days.[9]

The most urgent task for Lacy, on his arrival in the town was to establish a good relationship with the Irish radicals who had become estranged from his predecessor, and restore peace to the fractured Catholic community. His work was not made easy by the additional problem of the presence of the Hibernians, a rival secret society to the Fenians. Whether the following refers to Lacy or to the earlier period of Andrew Burns is uncertain, but it does illustrate the ferocity of the arguments fuelled by drink and strong nationalist feelings. Anecdotal evidence states that:

> They were very much opposed to one another and the rows with them were terrible when they had the drink in at weekends. Father Lacy set himself to smash the secret societies' grip. They were condemned by Rome and Father Lacy threatened to refuse all members of either society the sacraments if they did not leave the society. He railed against them every Sunday…

Clearly however, things did not improve because:

> At last the Fenians got desperate and they threatened that if he went on like that next Sunday they would shoot him on the altar. He got to know of their threats and on the next Sunday he went on at great length. He said that he knew they promised to shoot him, well let them do it now. He was ready for them. The Fenians rose in a body and

> walked out of the Church. He said 'look, look at the great men who do not care for priest or bishop or anyone else.[10]

This episode was said to have helped kill the secret societies in Middlesbrough.

As his correspondence shows, however, Lacy was a very astute local politician and knew that he needed to re-establish the loyalty of the Middlesbrough Irish to the authority of the Church rather than Fenianism. Another way of doing this was to set in progress a building programme to replace the dilapidated school building, provide new schools in the growth areas of the town, and build a church to replace the chapel, which, despite the extensions, was still not adequate for the number of Catholics and was not regarded by them as a fitting place in which to worship God in the way they wished to. As well as distracting the Irish from extremism, this would also afford a means of providing work for the many unskilled labourers within the community and unite the people in visible practical projects. In addition, being an Irishman with moderate nationalist sympathies insofar as he supported the demand for Irish home rule, though rejecting violent struggle to achieve it, Lacy could counter accusations that the Church's stand against Fenianism was anti-Irish.

In short, by 1873, he had come to be regarded as a champion of the Irish and he had harnessed their growing desire to make a positive contribution to the community by negotiating the winding-up of the Irish Literary Association and the transfer of its funds to the Middlesbrough Catholic Association that had been formed by the minority of English Catholics in the town.[11] Catholic Associations were set up in many towns with the aim of ensuring all Catholics entitled to vote could do so, and to ensure in particular that the Catholic voice was heard on educational matters following the Education Act of 1870. Additionally, in November 1872, the first Catholic was elected to the town council, an achievement that also furthered the Catholic cause in the local community.[12]

Radical activity, however, was not completely overcome until 1874 when the Catholic Association clashed with newly formed Home Rule Association. The latter had been founded by Isaac Butt in the early eighteen-seventies, and was one of a number of nationalist organisations that sprang up in this period under the auspices of the Irish party in Parliament. Such groups were not condemned by the Church as secret societies and they gave many Irish a way of taking part in positive and open political activity. In Middlesbrough the Fenians tried to organise themselves around it: 'it is regarded by a good number of the Irish population of this town as being more of a secret society than one representing the general body of Hibernians.'[13] Lacy seized control of the situation by packing meetings of the Home Rule Association with moderate Irish supporters and then uniting it with the Catholic Association under the name of The Catholic Registration and Home Rule Association. Finally he gave it credibility in the eyes of the more militant republicans by inviting Isaac Butt to address the

inaugural meeting. He also made monetary appeals for those still suffering in Ireland, he presided over the annual St Patrick's Day celebrations, and he supported the Land League. By 1878, the *Daily Gazette* was able to comment that:

> There are possibly 12,000 or 13,000 Irish in Middlesbrough, many of whom are consistent Catholics. Altogether they are a peaceful and industrious people; for the most part they are hewers of wood and drawers of water. They contribute largely in their own way to the industrial operations in this district and constitute an important item in the community. So far as the leaders of the Catholic community in Middlesbrough are concerned, we are bound to say that they have ever been exemplary men and good citizens. The Catholic priest has been accepted and recognised by all classes as a fellow-worker for the general good.[14]

Another way of solving the Irish challenge lay in settling the dispute at South Bank which had lain at the heart of the 'Middlesbrough Troubles' and which the Fenians had used to their advantage. The root of the problem lay in the desire of the residents of South Bank to have their own priest, church and school, for which they had been collecting money for nine years. Although the appointment of a priest for the area was not within Lacy's power to grant, he did feel that there was a case for building a school-chapel. This would both solve the concerns of parents over the scarcity of a Catholic education, and provide a more suitable place for worship than 'a dirty drill room'[15] where a weekly mass was said on Tuesday evenings. The foundation stone was laid in May 1873, and the completed building was opened in June 1874. The policy of building school-chapels was one followed by Lacy throughout his life, because the provision of Catholic education was more important than building a church. Children would be taught their faith and kept within the Catholic fold else they would be educated at the local Board school and lost to the faith. South Bank remained part of the Middlesbrough mission until 1876 when it became an independent mission with the appointment of Thomas Holland.

South Bank was not the only distant community served by Lacy in his early days at Middlesbrough, for in the annals of the Faithful Companions of Jesus (FCJ) it is recorded that:

> Every week, this zealous and indefatigable apostle went out (carrying vestments etc.) to some house or hall at Southbank Guisbro', Thornaby and surrounding villages, sowing the seed of the great harvest of souls that is being gathered in those places.[16]

Lacy also had the care of Catholics living in the area of Redcar further along the coast. When he arrived in 1872, Redcar did not exist and the population of about thirty lived in Coatham.

As the steel industry continued to expand in that direction, however, new communities were also springing up, such as at Marske and Warrenby, to house

the workers for the new furnaces. In December 1873 Lacy told the bishop that 'I am thinking of giving them a Mass at Marske on a Sunday sometimes if I can manage it'.[17] He and his assistant were already saying five masses between them at that time, but Marske did have a small Catholic school which had been built in the 1860's by the Revd Mr Burns. Fortunately, for the hard pressed priests, Edward Riddell, a priest of independent means and a great traveller, had moved to Coatham in 1872. When, in 1874, a new furnace was opened at Warrenby, he realised there was a need for a church and, with help of Lacy and Bishop Cornthwaite, he proceeded to buy land in Thrush Road, Coatham, and built a church dedicated to the Sacred Heart, which he then served as missioner. Until it was built, he had said Sunday Mass in his front room at Coatham Villa. By the time the new diocese of Middlesbrough was created in 1878, the rapid expansion of industry on this part of the coast had resulted in another new parish being formed to the south of Redcar at Loftus and in South Bank. The Revd Mr Holland built a school-chapel at Grangetown in 1878, and that too quickly became independent.

Having looked at the wider area, it is now time to consider the work of Lacy at the heart of the mission – the town of Middlesbrough itself. From the time he arrived, the provision of Catholic schooling in the mission was his priority. In this, he was aided by the FCJ Sisters, who from the moment of their arrival became involved in Catholic education. At first, the school was housed in an old windmill behind the church, but a new elementary school dedicated to St Patrick in the Newport area of the town was quickly established and opened on St Patrick's Day 1873. This became the first example of a school-chapel and, as its facilities reached the standard required by the Government, it immediately achieved recognition. Mass was said there by priests from St Mary's until a permanent church was built and opened in 1901 when it became a separate mission. St Patrick's was soon followed by the rebuilding of St Mary's schools on the site of the previous buildings in the old town, and they achieved recognition in 1875. A new headmaster to take charge of the boys was appointed soon after Lacy's arrival in the town. Mr Reardon, like all teachers at that time, was badly paid and the raising of his salary was dependent upon the local priest finding the money from what were often impoverished congregations. Such was the case in Middlesbrough and it was made harder by the need to raise the money for the school buildings and a new church to replace the small chapel. Mr Reardon himself had also to go into the streets to 'gather in' his pupils in and persuade them and their parents that it was better to attend lessons at the Catholic school rather than the Board schools.

Such actions were necessary following the passing of the 1870 Education Act under which local School Boards were established to provide sufficient free school places for all children whose parents wished to avail themselves of it. As elementary schooling became compulsory, the take-up of places was expected to rise dramatically but the earning potential of children to increase a family's

income meant that attendance was somewhat erratic for most. Churches were given time to provide denominational schools or to ensure that existing schools

Richard Lacy as a young priest and as a bishop.

had adequate premises and operated efficiently. They received no financial aid, however, apart from a small grant from the Privy Council dependent on the quality of the school. The legal right to build and maintain schools meant that the church had to co-operate with School Boards and Lacy was soon elected to the Middlesbrough Board, through judicious use of the Catholic Association to ensure as many Catholics as possible used their vote.

As a member of the School Board, Father Lacy was an astute defender of Catholic interests in education, and this voting tactic was repeated in the following years and guaranteed him top place in the election as shown by examination of St Mary's Notice Book in 1876:[18]

> 12.11.1876. There will be a meeting immediately after Ben[ediction] in order to decide on our mode of action in the Coming Election and to secure the Return of Revd Mr Lacy. The Catholic body are called upon to interest themselves warmly in this election as it is highly important that they should be represented on the School Board.
>
> 19.11.1876. The election of the School Board takes place on Tuesday. All are reminded of the importance of securing Fr. Lacy's return with

> a good majority and to give him their nine votes – no splitting with others as agreed on by committee.
>
> 26.11.1876. The Rev R Lacy begs to express his thanks to the congregation for his successful return at the head of the poll as a member of the School Board.

As missioner, Lacy was also the manager of the local Catholic schools, but he was not involved in their day-to day running. He was expected, however, to be personally responsible for the religious instruction of the children as it was the wish of Bishop Cornthwaite that the clergy 'catechized every school within their districts at least once a week'[19].

As indicated above, some of Lacy's closest collaborators in his work as mission priest were the FCJ Sisters, particularly in education and pastoral work amongst the women and children. They were appointed to take charge of the girls and infant schools, and their annals provide evidence of the struggle to maintain the schools:

> St Mary's schools followed in the wake of St Patrick's, and it was here that Mother Teresa [Lawless] taught for several years. Her appointment was unusual. To save the Manager, Father Lacy from being fined – for the school was insufficiently staffed – a friendly inspector suggested that one of the sisters should give a lesson in the presence of H.M.I. from London. M. Teresa was selected. She gave the lesson, timorous of her own powers, but strong at the call of obedience. That her lesson was successful was proved by the sequel. On the spot she was accepted as a qualified teacher and thus began her career in the public elementary school.[20]

As in other places, the Sisters also opened a private higher day school or 'guinea school' to help finance their work in the mission. It opened 'in one of the rooms (the only large one) in the most presentable of the cottages. The community had to remove their mattresses from the desks and tables every morning, before the arrival of the pupils'. Mother Teresa was appointed headmistress and from small beginnings it 'increased in numbers and importance,'[21] until 2009 when the merging of Newlands FCJ Comprehensive and St David's Comprehensive Schools into Trinity Catholic College brought to an end the direct provision of secondary education in Middlesbrough by the FCJ community.

In 1875, at Lacy's behest, the Sisters started the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine with the object of encouraging the children to attend mass and Sunday school. In its wake came a confraternity for the women of the parish which met monthly and which

> has been a wonderful stimulus to the awakening of Catholic practices among them. When proofs are forthcoming that these women are leading exemplary lives, they are awarded a badge in the form of a cross attached to a purple ribbon.[22]

Although the aim of the confraternity was to teach the basics of the faith as contained in the Catechism, there was also a social side such as the tea party held after the monthly Mass offered for its members, and which they were expected to attend

> On the occasion of the first tea-party, 143 members were present. After the tea, the pupils of the convent gave an entertainment to the women. This took the form of tableaux, songs and recitatives dealing with the sweet feast of Christmas, when the reunion took place. The audience, simple minded and unsophisticated, had never beheld the scenes thus enacted which touched their Catholic hearts so keenly, that they showed their appreciation not by noisy applause but by tears.[23]

Another major piece of work performed by the Sisters began in 1877 when the Poor Law Guardians gave them permission to visit Catholics in the workhouse and hospital, provided they did not attempt to proselytise non-Catholics. This fear had influenced the authorities for some years, and the Sisters claimed it was only through the 'tact and influence of Fr. Lacy, and Councillor Bulmer' that had engendered the change of heart. Lacy's continued gentle persistence gradually allowed the Sisters to have free access to the whole institution, in order to search for Catholics, and eventually Lacy was given permission to celebrate a Mass on Sundays and Holydays for the Catholic inmates. The children were examined every year by the diocesan inspector and much later, in 1895, he noted in his annual report that:

> Middlesbrough Workhouse is now the only one in the diocese in which Catholic children do not attend Catholic schools. The conditions under which they live in that institution are unusually and remarkably favourable and the dangers to Catholic faith and morality are reduced to a minimum, if at all…They are not like workhouse children at all.[24]

As an astute politician, Lacy had planned his pastoral and building programme with care. While the provision of schools came first, utilising the model of school-chapels in order to provide Mass stations for outlying areas, Lacy was keenly aware that the small chapel in Middlesbrough was inadequate and 'a reproach to the Catholics of the town'.[25] Replacing it was a difficult and arduous task for several reasons; firstly money needed to be raised and St Mary's Notice Book lists the many sources and small amounts of money collected through tea-parties, bazaars, regular collections at the ironworks and other fund-raising efforts. Economic uncertainties made fund-raising at times very difficult indeed, but the respect that Lacy had gained in the town eventually enabled him to borrow a considerable amount of money from the leading Iron Master, Henry Bolckow, at a reasonable rate of interest.

There was not only the actual building to erect but land had to be obtained in order to extend the size of the site, and obviously this added to the overall

amount of money required. The FCJ Annals record that: 'Little by little Father Lacy bought up the whole "Court" for the future church'[26] and all the buildings including the convent and former chapel were demolished. The foundation stone was laid by Bishop Cornthwaite on 3 October 1876, a ceremony that always gave an opportunity to raise more funds, in that the people laid financial offerings upon the stone. St Mary's notebook records that the foundation stone collection was left open for a fortnight in order to allow those unable to be present on the day, due to work commitments, have the chance to contribute. It is later recorded that the total amount raised was £127.15s.2d. It was to be another two and a half years, before the church was opened, and during that time Mass was said in the nearby St Mary's school.

The new church was designed by George Goldie, a native of York and a fellow pupil of Lacy at Ushaw. Although a proponent of the neo-Gothic school of architecture, by 1876 Goldie had started to adapt the style to take account of local needs and environment; a necessity for Catholic churches where many were built in the overcrowded slums. This was true in Middlesbrough where the available size and shape of the land in Sussex Street dictated some modification to the style. Lack of money also meant that the building was never fully completed:

> It must be regretted that the site, though as regards its position in the centre of Middlesbrough, and on the line of one its principal streets, is all that could be desired, is in itself too limited for a church on so large a scale; the result is even now, though the whole plan is not carried out, the building appears to be unduly crowded in between buildings of a very inferior character, and the presbytery which is the original one enlarged, is in too close contact with the church.[27]

The major modification to the Gothic Revival style of the new church, however, was the rejection of a long chancel and solid screen. Instead, a classical-like device was used whereby the chancel was more like a platform abutting the nave, and the sanctuary was a shallow alcove at the back of the chancel, but mounted on steps, so what happened at the high altar was clearly visible to the congregation.

Henry Manning, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, presided at the opening of the church on 21 August 1878, which was not only a great day for the Catholics of Middlesbrough, it also marked a first in England, for the dedication of the new church had been altered from the usual form of St Mary to that of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, a title described by the *Daily Exchange* as 'very peculiar and unique'. Just over a year later Lacy would place the diocese under the same patronage. At the end of the Mass, congratulations were offered to Lacy, who the previous day had been granted the title of Very Reverend Dean for his contribution

> both as a striking example of what a zealous and devoted priest may do, even under the enormous difficulties of a depressed state of trade,

> weighing on a poor congregation, and on account of so remarkable a structure, worthy of the best times of Catholic Art, and, as we are informed, erected at a cost comparatively moderate.[28]

Whether Cardinal Manning had any inkling that the church he had just blessed and dedicated would become a cathedral in just six months is not clear. He would not have known that eighteen months later he would be once again be welcomed to the town, this time to ordain Richard Lacy as first Bishop of Middlesbrough. By that time Lacy had changed a fractured community into a united one, provided a church that was considered worthy of being a cathedral, emphasised the priority that had to be given to Catholic education and worked for improvements in the welfare of the poorest Catholics. The local paper concluded that 'the new Bishop is a profound scholar, and his affability of manner together with his liberality of opinion, has made him beloved of all his flock, and warmly respected by those who differ with him in religion.[29] The experience he had gained as mission priest was to stand him in good stead as bishop of a new diocese with limited financial and priestly resources, and a simmering resentment that 'such [a] dirty low hole as Middlesbrough' had been chosen for the name of the new diocese. Once more, he would need to unite a fractured community, provide schools and churches, initiate programmes of pastoral care, forge relationships with civic leaders and establish the Roman Catholic faith as a recognised part of the religious life of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire.

The desire to foster a 'native' Catholic Church remained strong during Lacy's episcopate. Although an Irishman by birth, his formation was at Ushaw and Rome. His allegiance was to Rome, but his leadership in the diocese was centred on the tradition that had built up in the area over the previous century. He concentrated resources on building missions away from the industrial conurbation on the banks of the River Tees, where the majority of the Catholic population lived and who were mainly Irish migrants: it was 1901 before a second church was built in Middlesbrough. He fostered a 'native priesthood' with seminary training centred at Ushaw although he also used St Joseph's seminary in Leeds as a 'finishing school' for priests coming from abroad and Ireland. He encouraged the use of missions to revive faith and established a branch of Our Lady of Ransom in York. He encouraged the use of missions to revive faith, he worked hard to promote Catholic education, and he looked to the religious orders for help. Lay involvement and activism in guilds and sodalities and movements such as the Society of St Vincent de Paul were also encouraged.

A noticeable change occurred in the ethos of the diocese with the arrival of Thomas Shine in 1922, first as coadjutor to the aging Richard Lacy and then as ordinary from 1929 to 1955. Abandoning Lacy's emphasis on a native Catholicism, Shine looked to Ireland in its immediate post-independence era, and assimilated Irish devotional practice into the spiritual life of the diocese. There was also his style of architecture, excessive church-building, and a form of Jansenism, amongst other things that emphasised extreme spiritual rigour,

which still affect the lives of older Catholics today according to evidence from a pilot survey of Catholic spiritual life. It was not until the episcopate of Augustine Harris (1978-1992) that a balance began to be restored between the Irishness of the Shine church, which his two immediate successors largely maintained, and a more English interpretation of the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

Notes and References

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[2] MDA File N/36, Robert Cornthwaite to Cardinal Manning 3 August 1871
[3] MDA *Reminiscences of St Patrick's Church Bradford, p.* 103
[4] Minskip, D., 'The Middlesbrough Troubles of 1871', *Northern Catholic History* vol. 38, pp. 52 ff.
[5] Bell, Lady F., *At the Works: A study of a manufacturing town* (1907, 1985) p. 6
[6] When first visiting the town in 1862, Gladstone claimed 'Middlesbrough, it is true, is but an infant to what it is destined to be – an infant, but an infant Hercules.'
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THE NORTHERN CATHOLIC PEERAGE AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN THE 1620s

Anna Schmitt

> At the same table the earle of Oxford dranke a health to the confusion of papists; or conversion, said some. Divers others said they could not pledg[e] him, for I have many friends papists, said the Lord Scrope. Nor I, said the e[a]rle of Essex; my mother and sister are papistes. Nor I, said the earle of Northampton, for my sister is one. And so some others.[1]

In this paper I shall examine some examples of Catholic aristocratic influence, especially in the north of England. I will suggest an interpretation of the nature of that power in the provinces and follow with an analysis of the connection between the persecution of the Catholics and the Duke of Buckingham's patronage on the one hand and the situation in the provinces on the other. [2]

The Catholic peers had different opportunities to exercise power. Despite the common assumption that they did not hold office, the contrary has to be asserted. Henry Constable, Viscount Dunbar was a Deputy Lieutenant in the East Riding of Yorkshire; the church papists Viscount Fauconberg was a Justice of the Peace in the North Riding of Yorkshire and the Earl of Sunderland became Lord President of the Council of the North. But even without holding an office, by patronage of the King, as clients of the Duke of Buckingham, or in their rôle as local magnates and patrons themselves, Catholic peers were still able to exercise power in their localities by adopting various strategies to maintain their political influence. They could act through middlemen or use their wealth and social position to achieve influence. Lord William Howard (left), held no local office, but owned vast estates in Cumberland, County Durham and Northumberland.[3] On 9 May 1617 William Morton, Archdeacon of Durham, wrote that 'Lord Wm. Howard has so much power that he would have more partizans than the King himself.'[4] Howard was not even indicted as a recusant because of his powerful position. A complaint was made that

> The Lord Willyam doth crosse and oppose the proceadings of the Justices of peace of Westmorland (wher he hath not yet such powre as in Cumberland), and forceth therin suites for ther levies for Bridges, Inmates, Souldiers, etc., to please the people and to become popular, and maketh his tenants the presidents to refuse payments, and of late, at the

> last Sessions in Westmorland, the constable within the parish of Bampton being pressed by some of the Justices of the peace to present upon oathe what Recusants were in his parish, wher the Lord and his familie lived, the constable made oathe ther was none.[5]

While conviction and fiscal penalties could be easily avoided, Catholic peers could not escape their Catholic reputation, which sometimes prevented them from holding office. It is clear that the reason why Lord William Howard could not hold any public office before 1618 was his Catholicism.[6] James I wrote 1607

for, notwithstanding of the infinite trust I had in the faithfulness of his brother and uncle, yet I durst never bestow any preferment upon him in my days only because of his religion and devotion to the Jesuits.[7]

The power constellation in the region is illustrated by one of the most important offices on the English-Scottish border, the Border Commission. Because of his Catholicism Howard himself could not hold office on the commission, but his ally Edward Grey, being a church papist, was able to serve. Still it was Lord William Howard, whose resources and power overreached those of any office-holder in the region, who indeed controlled the border. In 1615 Howard asked to be allowed to recruit a troop of horsemen and said that in such case he would need only few months to establish order in the region. He suggested his Protestant nephew Lord Walden be appointed captain. The fact that Howard held no office was thus just a formality. Understanding this, James I finally appointed Howard to the Border Commission, and Howard immediately took the initiative.[8] In short, the crown depended on the help of the Catholic peers (especially in the border regions) while the latter could profit from this dependence.[9]

Still, office-holding depended not only on the status either of recusant or church papist. Such factors as successful networking, the king's favour, and the current political situation were at least as important as confessional identity. These factors, especially when they coincided, could be very effective. Howard's family circle consisted of some influential relatives: his brother was Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain and Privy Councillor, Lord Lieutenant of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire and Lord High Treasurer from 1614; Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Lord Warden of Cinque Ports and Privy Councillor, was his uncle; and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, Norfolk, Northumberland, Surrey, Sussex and Westmoreland (though at different times), Earl Marshal and Privy Councillor, was his nephew. His father, the Duke of Norfolk, and his elder brother, father of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, died for their Catholic faith. Notwithstanding his influential contacts at court, they were not enough, at first, to provide Howard with public office or further favours, perhaps because of personal mistrust of James I and lack of political influence. On the other hand, Lord Arundell of Wardour who had military experience and political ambition got his chance immediately after the accession of James I in the context of closer

cooperation with Spain. He was appointed as Colonel of the English Regiment in Spanish service in Flanders and was raised to the peerage.[10]

The situation at court was, however, closely connected with the situation in the provinces. Lord William Howard obtained acceptance in the north-west of England because of his connection with the Howard faction at court. As well as Edward Gray, a Commissioner for the Middle Shires,[11] another of his church papist allies was Sir Henry Widdrington, Sheriff of Northumberland from February to November 1606. (Two of Sir Henry's daughters married Lord Howard's sons.) His brother, Roger Widdrington, another influential Catholic and Howard ally [12] could not be deprived of power despite of all the efforts of Lord Sheffield, President of the Council in the North, so long as the Howards at court kept their position and Lord William protected him in the country. Sheffield, of a Puritan orientation, was appointed Lord President of the North 1603. After his appointment he argued that rigorous steps should be taken otherwise King James I's indulgence would result in an increase of Catholic power and arrogance.[13]

Besides their connections at court, contacts with influential Protestants helped Catholic peers to stabilise their positions in the counties. The Protestant third Lord Eure tried to protect the interests of the Catholics, who supported him in exchange.[14] Sir Thomas Wentworth approached the crypto-Catholic Lord Scrope asking him for help during the forthcoming election.[15] In light of this it can be surely said that the Catholic peers mingled with Protestants at the local level and helped to define the political development of the north of England. Catholics usually had friends or relatives among the Protestants. The historian John Aveling describes the social connections of the Catholic Meynells of the North Riding of Yorkshire as follows:

> The family alliances had an increasingly Catholic core, but still stretched out to cover many church Papists and Protestants who were 'dear friends.' Thomas [Meynell] was especially friendly with relations who were strong Catholics, like William Middleton of Stockeld (who shared his imprisonment in York castle), the Lascelles of Brakenbrough, Gascoignes of Barnbow, Pudseys of Barforth. Sir Henry Bellasis 'my neighboure and ffreinde' and 'my beloved Cozen,' Sir Conyers Darcy were at best Church-Papists. 'My respected and much esteemed good neighbour Sir Thomas Dawney of Sissey' and Richard Wandesford of Pickhill, 'my deare and approved good friend,' were apparently Protestants.[16]

It can be taken for granted that the Catholics took advantage of such Protestant connections. During efforts to disarm Catholics in 1625 the Bishop of Durham allowed some munitions to remain at Witton Castle, house of Catholic fourth Lord Eure 'in regard of his degree'.[17]. Such exemptions made the disarming policy look absurd. Similarly, Catholic peers could profit from the fact that disarming was put into the hands of fellow Catholics. The Catholic peers

Savage, Worcester and Brudenell were responsible for disarming in their counties, but it was the behaviour of Lord Scrope which caused quite a stir. He was accused of protecting Lord Eure from being disarmed and not passing on the orders of the Privy Council on the matter.[18]

The situation in the North depended not least upon developments in foreign affairs. In 1618 Lord Sheffield was replaced in his office of Lord President of the North by the crypto-Catholic, Lord Scrope, apparently on the advice of the Count of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador to England.[19] The appointment of Scrope was designed to help negotiations for the marriage alliance between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta Maria. Under Scrope's government the persecution of Catholics in the north was considerably reduced.[20] Thenceforward Catholic peers found it easier to participate in public life both in the provinces and at court. The Catholics Earl of Rutland, Lord Windsor and Lord Morley were appointed as fleet commanders to escort the Spanish Infanta. Windsor and Morley, who were never before politically active, found themselves in 1623 at the peak of their political careers. Lord Arundell of Wardour became political active 1623 as well. Following an unrequested intervention in the Anglo-Spanish toleration negotiations he was put under arrest. However half a year later it was stated again that Arundell, 'a busie bodie made meanes to the King that he might be their [Catholics] agent in court, as those of the religion have theirs in Fraunce'.[21] At the end of James I's reign we can clearly observe a kind of shift of some Catholic peers, from the local to the national level of importance.

The local influence of Catholic peers was also affected by diplomatic developments during the mid-1620s. During the 1624 Parliament, anti-Spanish MPs compiled a list of recusant and crypto-Catholic officeholders, who they wished to see barred from local office. The listing of Lord Scrope required special consideration, because, other than Rutland, in his position as Lord President of the North he was the only named peer in the list who held an office of national importance. It was noticed that Scrope avoided Communion and seldom attended church. [22] On 27 April 1624 Sir Thomas Bellasis, the future Viscount Fauconberg, protested against the listing of the Lord President's name. He asserted that 'Lord Scroope and all his family received [communion].'[23] Hugh Cholmeley also tried to protect Scrope. Cholmley and Bellasis were relatives of Scrope, as well as each other, both with strong Catholic associations. Bellasis later opposed Wentworth, who replaced Scrope as Lord President of the North.[24] Sir Thomas Hoby, an MP with particularly strong anti-Catholic feelings and who was the driving force behind the list of 1624, was personally interested in removing Scrope from office. One of Scrope's clients was the Catholic Viscount Dunbar, whose increased subsequent preferment in the East Riding of Yorkshire in 1626-7 occurred largely at Hoby's expense. Cholmley's and Bellasis' intercession was thus unsuccessful. In the protocol of the conference of 12 May it was consequently noted 'Upon long Debate, Resolved, the Certificate against the Lord Scrope shall stand.'[25]

The Catholic officeholders' list of 1624 was the product of a new anti-Spanish orientation at the Jacobean court. The Earl of Worcester was not mentioned in the list despite the fact that he was an important office holder and his Catholicism was widely known. The earl was not particularly supportive of the Spanish Match, and the Commons were apparently not interested in his private religious beliefs. Despite the Commons' attempts to remove the pro-Spanish party from public office in 1624, James could not be persuaded to sack the officials named in the list of officeholders. Even with the support of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, the House of Commons could not prevail. And the Catholic aristocratic position in the English society remained unaffected.

The next attempt to undermine the position of the Catholic peerage was the disarming process in 1625. However, the names of the important Catholic officeholders, who were present in the list of 1624, Rutland, Scrope, Savage, Brudenell, Somerset and Wotton, were not among those selected to be disarmed. Scrope, as well as Rutland, were surely especially hated because of their strong Spanish and Catholic associations; still they were protected through their social network. Rutland, who was the father in law of the omnipotent Duke of Buckingham, was secure. Scrope, who married a sister of Rutland, and Savage were both Buckingham clients and thus had nothing to fear.

In a fresh list of Catholic officeholders, which the Commons produced in 1626, new names appear: Lords Dunbar, Bergavenny, Mordaunt, St. John of Basing and Viscount Montague. The appearance of Dunbar and St. John can be explained by the fact that they received new appointments that year. Dunbar became the Deputy Lieutenant of East Riding of Yorkshire, while St. John was appointed as Captain of Netley Castle, a royal fort. Only five peers were included in the next list, of 1628. Banbury and Newark appear in the list by mistake, Savage and Scrope (now Earl of Sunderland) were named again. Like the three earlier attempts, the 1628 petition failed to secure the removal of any of the named peers. Despite the fact that the House of Commons struggled from 1624 to remove their political enemies from public office, Catholic peers not only kept their existing offices but gained new honours. Among those created a peer or promoted in the peerage were Savage (1626), Sunderland (1627), Brudenell (1628), Peterborough (1628), Weston (1628) and Powis (1629). (The extensive elevations began after the break between the new King, Charles I, and the House of Commons.)

The immunity of the Catholic peers like Sunderland can be explained by their closer cooperation with the Duke of Buckingham. If, before the break with Spain, the clients of Buckingham embraced mainly the members of his family, from 1625 we can clearly observe the increase of his clients in the Catholic peerage. The connection with Buckingham is best illustrated in the practice of Catholic peers allowing the duke to exercise their proxy votes during their absence from parliament. While in the parliaments of 1621 and 1624 the connection between Buckingham and the Catholic peers can be barely seen

(only Eure and Teynham gave their proxy to him), the situation obviously changed in the parliaments of 1625 and 1626. On 17 May 1625 St. John of Basing, Teynham, Colchester, Rutland und Tunbridge gave their proxy to

Buckingham's Catholic and Crypto-Catholic relatives and clients

Family: Earl of Rutland (father in law), Countess of Buckingham (mother), Countess of Denbigh (sister), Duchess of Buckingham (wife)

Family trustees: Viscount Savage, Viscount Carrington

Clients among the Catholic peers: Earl of Sunderland, Earl Rivers, Viscount Dunbar, Viscount Fauconberg, Viscount Tunbridge, Lord Brudenell, Lord Eure, Lord St. John of Basing, Lord Teynham

Buckingham.[26] On 6 February 1626 St. John of Basing, Teynham, Colchester, Tunbridge and Eure followed. Tunbridge, Colchester and Teynham gave their proxy as well to Buckingham's father in law Rutland.[27] We can thus see a Catholic clique who trusted Buckingham to represent them politically. Of the twelve Peers, who gave Buckingham their proxies in 1625, five were Catholic or crypto-Catholic, while in 1626 there were five of 13. The following peers were among those who advanced in their areas of influence at this time: Rivers and Petre in Essex; Scrope, Dunbar and Eure in Yorkshire; St. John in Hampshire; and Savage in Cheshire. They were the same peers, who supported Buckingham in parliament. Fauconberg supported Buckingham as well in 1627.[28] The Lords' decision of 1626 to allow each peer to hold no more than two proxies (to prevent the concentration of power in Buckingham) forced Buckingham to redistribute his clients' votes. Among the Catholic peers, who had previously given their proxies to Buckingham, Savage gave his to the close associate of Buckingham, Rutland; Buckingham's old client Sunderland gave his to Buckingham himself; Tunbridge passed his to Northampton; Eure to Noel; Rivers to Montgomery; and St. John to Holland. Montgomery was later Buckingham's ally. Buckingham's daughter would marry Montgomery's son. Holland was 'an important member in the Buckingham's faction at court'.[29]

Of course, not all Catholic peers supported Buckingham: Arundell of Wardour trusted the pro-Spanish Earl of Arundel in 1621, 1624, 1625 and 1626. Baron Audley, who was listed as recusant in April 1624, surprisingly gave his proxy to Buckingham's opponent, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. What motivated the Catholic peers in choosing where to assign their proxies? Obviously, some held public office and were interested in furthering their careers; the fact that the duke was pursuing a war with Spain was only secondary to these men. Others such as Lord Vaux and Audley, who had no career ambitions and were strongly pro-Spanish, were more likely to risk offending the duke. For crypto-Catholic officeholders, Buckingham's patronage

represented their best chance of retaining office in the tense political climate of the mid-1620s, and many supported the duke not only with their proxies in parliament, but in the collection of the forced loan in the provinces.

By contrast, many of the duke's Protestant opponents found themselves put out of office or imprisoned. In the East Riding of Yorkshire the puritan Sir Thomas Hoby, for whom 'the overthrow of Buckingham had replaced even religion as his chief priority'[30] in the 1626 Parliament, found himself sacked from local office and replaced by the Catholic Viscount Dunbar and his associates after the end of the session, while the equally godly Sir William Constable was imprisoned when he refused to pay the forced loan early in the following year. Unlike Hoby and Constable, Viscount Dunbar was ambitious to secure Buckingham's patronage, and he was happy to take over responsibility for collecting the loan.[31] In consequence of the increase of anti-Catholic sentiment as well as Hoby's attacks in the House of Commons, he had to struggle with anti-Catholic hatred in Yorkshire from 1624.[32] As Richard Cust states, peers such as Dunbar clearly used the controversy over the forced loan to change the power situation in the county to their benefit and to remove their political enemies:

> The Commons proceedings in 1624, 1625 and 1626, the increased numbers of presentments at Quarter Sessions and the disarming of prominent recusants must all have been considerable blows to the morale of those with Catholic connections; but this was more than offset by Buckingham's willingness to welcome them at Court and the King's efforts to treat them as loyal subjects, in spite of the war. Thus, many of the leading Catholics in this period actually appear to have been gaining in confidence, something which was reflected in their activity as local governors. Several were particularly prominent at the time of the loan; and even before this, individuals such as Scrope, Dunbar, Savage, Rivers, Brudenell, and the Tichbornes were exercising their authority quite openly, in spite of the Commons attempts to curb them.[33]

The increase of the Catholic peers' influence in the 1620s was mainly attributable to the improvement in Anglo-Spanish relations. The collaboration between Buckingham and the Catholic peers flourished after the collapse of the friendship with Spain and the King's declaration to prosecute Catholics. Now, when the political situation changed to the disadvantage of the Catholics, the platform which united the Catholic peers with Buckingham was mainly based on their common anti-parliamentarian sentiment. From then on, thanks to persecution by the House of Commons, they were interested in Buckingham's patronage more than ever. It was in consequence of Buckingham's patronage that the Catholic presence in English society gained weight. Sunderland (Scrope), Buckingham's client, being in power resulted in lenient treatment of the Catholics in the North. This study thus demonstrates how the situation in the country, e.g. in the North of England, was closely connected with the central political processes.

Notes and References

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[4] CSPD 1611-1618, p. 465. [W. Morton] to [Winwood], 9 May 1617.

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[8] S.J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire. Northumberland 1586-1625*, (1975), pp. 140, 148, 186, 197.

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[10] Further information about Lord Arundell of Wardour can be found in my PhD thesis ch. 7.

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[25] *Journal of the House of Commons* Vol. 1: 1547-1629 (1802), 12 May 1624, p. 702-703).
[26] *Journal of the House of Lords* Vol. 3: 1620-1628 (1802), 17 May 1625, p. 431.
[27] *Journal of the House of Lord*: Vol. 3: 1620-1628 (1802), 6 February 1626,p. 491).
[28] Cust, p. 248; H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790* (1966), p. 273.
[29] *, Journal of the House of Lords* Vol. 3: 1620-1628 (1802), 17 March 1628, p. 685). See e.g. Asch, *Der Hof Karls* I., p. 144; R. Lockyer, *Buckingham* (1981), p. 331.
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CATHOLIC RESIDENTIAL CHILD-CARE IN NEWCASTLE 1872-1945

Leo Gooch

Introduction[1]

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

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

Catholic Emancipation took place in 1829 and the Restoration of the Hierarchy followed in 1850. Until that time the Church was prevented by a lack of resources, both human and institutional, from addressing effectively the social ills afflicting its people. That is not to say that nothing was done, for the clergy

and the middle class laity always sought to alleviate social problems at the parochial level.[3] Societies or guilds were formed around the country for self-help purposes: the Catholic Friendly Society of Newcastle was established in September 1823. There is substantial evidence that priests were assiduous in attending people in their homes in stark contrast to the clergy of the established church who, it was observed, 'had fled the poor areas [whereas] the fidelity and devotion of the Roman Catholic [priest] never shrinks from ministering to the poor'. The death of four priests in the cholera epidemic in Newcastle at mid-century was but one example – Charles Eyre was fortunate to survive a bout of cholera in 1848.[4]

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

The origins of Catholic residential child-care in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle date from the episcopate of James Chadwick who succeeded William Hogarth in 1866 – the year of the major act of parliament dealing with juvenile delinquency. Henceforth Catholic children could be transferred to a Catholic institution, if a place was available, and be maintained out of the poor rates. The Church therefore began to plan for its own care-homes though they would obviously take some time to establish. The Church never considered maintaining its own workhouses (such were their negative connotations) but priests were permitted, under sufferance in most cases, to visit and instruct children in them. In 1862 Catholic inmates gained the right to attend Mass and for children to be sent to a Catholic school if one was available locally.[6]

In 1870 there were sixty-two English industrial schools, housing 5,331 young people. Eleven were Catholic establishments: seven for boys and four for girls. The total number of Catholic boys was 929 and there were 490 girls: 17.5% and 9% respectively of the total. At the same time there were sixty-four English reformatories housing 5,211 offenders. Seven were Catholic institutions, four for boys and three for girls. The national total of Catholics in those establishments was 984 boys and 197 girls, which represented 19% and 4% respectively. Catholic girls from the north east were placed in the Yorkshire Catholic Girls' Reformatory, Howard Hill, Sheffield, managed by the Sisters of Charity. The Catholic reformatory for boys in the north was at Market Weighton in the East Riding, but for many years Catholic boys in the north east were placed in the T.S. Wellesley, a training ship at South Shields, or the reformatory at Netherton,

near Morpeth: ‘special arrangements being made for their instruction by a priest, and for their attendance at Catholic worship’.

These figures show that the number of Catholic boys in reformatories and industrial schools was roughly similar and formed a disturbingly high proportion of the whole. Although the number of girls was much lower, there were twice as many ‘at risk’ than had been convicted. On the other hand, in 1870 there were some two million children of school age in the country, of whom five per cent (102,000) were Catholic, attending 354 Catholic schools. Hence, only some 2.5% of all Catholic children were in need of residential care. The Catholic population was, however, increasing rapidly and there could be no place for complacency.[7]

Five major institutions were founded in the north-east by the end of the century: St Mary’s, Tudhoe (1872), St James & St Elizabeth Chadwick Memorial Schools, Newcastle (1883), St Joseph’s, Darlington (1892, originally named St Vincent’s), St Vincent’s, Newcastle (1894), and St Peter’s, Gainford (1900). The history of the homes in County Durham will be covered in a separate article, and two establishments in the north-west of the diocese can be mentioned here briefly. Until 1924 Cumberland and Westmorland were part of the diocese and there appears to have been an orphanage at Natland, near Kendal, in which there were twenty-four boys. In June 1872 Miss Anne Dunne of Newcastle left Bishop Chadwick funds for a diocesan orphanage and, having decided to entrust the project to the Sisters of Mercy in Wigton, Cumberland, work began on the building two months later; it was opened and dedicated to the Sacred Heart in June 1873 and there were soon twenty-one residents. The parish priest was James Rooney who would become the key figure in diocesan child-care and he will appear frequently in what follows. For many years the Wigton establishment was described as ‘The Diocesan Orphanage’ but strangely in the *Northern Catholic Calendar* of 1876 it was said that it took ‘a very limited number *free,* for others the pension is 12 guineas per annum’. In March 1882 a section of the premises became a Certified Poor Law School and was enlarged to conform to the requirements of certification for sixty girls. The orphanage section remained separate although they were advertised as one establishment in 1890.[8]

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The Chadwick Memorial Industrial Schools

In July 1881, the diocese considered building an industrial school at Darlington on six acres of land belonging to the Poor Clares, but railway developers made the nuns a considerably better offer and the idea had to be dropped.[9] Shortly afterwards, however, the grandstand of the old racecourse on the Gosforth side of Newcastle’s Town Moor became available and was acquired by the diocese as ‘admirably suited’ for the purpose; two acres of surrounding land were also bought.[10] An appeal fund was opened in 1882 to convert the property into a diocesan industrial school as a memorial to James

Chadwick, second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, who died in May that year. (The fund was also to pay for the erection of Chadwick's tomb at Ushaw, designed by Dunn and Hansom Ltd.) St James's school for boys was established in the grandstand and opened in January 1883. Ashburton Villa, a house immediately adjacent, was also bought (together with eleven acres of land which became the Catholic Cemetery of the Holy Sepulchre) and St Elizabeth's school for girls was founded in February 1883 in the renamed Ashburton House. Concern was soon expressed that the boys and girls were too close and the schools were sealed off from each other. Together the schools became known as the Bishop Chadwick Memorial Industrial Schools. The initial cost of the entire project was around £16,000. The bishop established a Management Committee, initially of priests chaired by Canon Robert Franklin, VG, but from 1885 a number of lay gentlemen were included and Edward Leadbitter, Esquire, was shortly elected chairman. (John Liddell would be a major benefactor of the school in later years.) Initially, the schools were managed for the diocese by a priest who was also the chaplain: firstly Philip Piper and then, from August 1885, William Wickwar who had been the first headmaster of St Cuthbert's Grammar School in Newcastle. (Piper may have been ill since he died in the following year aged thirty-eight.)

St James's comprised a chapel, dormitory, kitchen, school, workshops and a yard; there were two acres of garden. There were only forty-five boys in care in the year of the school's opening but it was hoped to accommodate many more. In his first official report on the school of 19 May 1883, the Home Office inspector noted that 'The situation is an excellent one. There is plenty of room for extension; the air is fresh and invigorating; and there is abundant scope for a large and valuable institution'. He was much impressed with the management and remarked that the boys were 'very happy and contented; no complaints about food or harsh treatment'. Nonetheless, the premises were always properly locked up at night. The inspector appears to have been unaware, however, that the premises were prone to flooding and poor sewerage. Indeed, the Inspector of Nuisances shortly began to serve notices for the 'proper cleansing' of the property, and such hazards would dog the schools throughout their lives. The Committee unquestioningly accepted the reports of the medical attendant, Dr John Foggin, that the health of the children was 'excellent', but the higher than average death-rate should not have been ignored; ten children died in 1889, a figure which is about the same as the number of children who died in the Hospital for Sick Children. The staff, too, suffered a higher than average death-rate, and they were all young women. The Management Committee noted these deaths without comment. At the insistence of the sisters, however, Dr Foggin was replaced in 1890, but even then only reluctantly. No perceptible increase in concern for the health of the residents can be discerned.[11]

At any rate, the inspector certified the school for a maximum of one hundred and twenty boys. Occupancy would actually rise to 129 in the next two years: thirty-nine boys from Newcastle, fifty-eight from County Durham, twenty-eight

from Cumberland, three from Northumberland and one from Bolton. The diocese would have liked to take fifty more boys if possible but the Home Office would only sanction an increase of thirty, that is, up to one hundred and fifty. No further rise would be permitted until the workshops were enlarged and an infirmary was provided. In fact, extensions and improvements were in constant progress.[12] In 1886 the inspector reported: 'The new dormitory and school-room are in use, new kitchen and scullery arranged, reading-room provided, and workshops improved'. Such was the demand for accommodation, however, that in 1886 there was some discussion about moving all the girls out of St Elizabeth's to St Joseph's, Darlington, to make room for boys under the age of ten, but nothing came of it and the architectural firm of Dunn and Hansom was consulted about rebuilding the workshops and the erection of an infirmary; they advised that the new works would cost £600.

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

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

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

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

The trades-instructors were a shoemaker (thirty shillings a week), a tailor (twenty-four shillings a week) and a joiner or carpenter. (fifteen shillings a week and board). Some boys were given gardening and agricultural training on a twelve-acre farm nearby which was managed, as it happened, by Mr Francis Wickwar, the chaplain's brother. Mr George Taylor Smith, a committee member, presented a cow to the farm and Mr Wickwar was authorised to buy another for £10. In 1886 the farm and garden were in 'good working order and [had] been for some time past making a substantial return' from the sale of milk and other produce. In 1887 the committee agreed to rent three more fields of twenty-eight acres. The school also made a little income from the hiring out of boys to farms nearby on licence. A pony and trap was used to carry firewood from the carpenter's shop around the streets for sale at '3s. 3d. per 100 bundles'. In 1886 the income gained by the industrial departments amounted to £88.11.0d.

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

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

There were 163 boys in the school in 1890 which was well above the certified number and it was known that places were needed for another one hundred and twenty boys who were in non-Catholic institutions elsewhere in the region.[13] The inspector, however, would only approve an increase of ten residents, but, if a building extension was carried out, he would authorise an intake of forty junior boys (aged under ten) superintended by a matron. At the same time, it was evident in some cases that the discharge of boys when they reached the age of sixteen was unwise and the diocese was given permission (and maintenance of 2/6d a week) to allow a small number to remain at St James's until their circumstances improved or a separate hostel was provided.[14]

No records of the management committee survive to explain why in 1902 the school was handed over to the Presentation Brothers, with Brother Calasanctius as Superintendent. It is probable, however, that the buildings were increasingly difficult to maintain. In 1904 representations were made to the local authority that the premises had been severely flooded in each of the four preceding years

(once to a depth of seven feet) but the Council prevaricated about remedial action. By 1906 the situation had become unsupportable and the school was moved into the convent school of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Stanwix, Carlisle.

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At first, both Memorial Schools came under the one management but in June 1885 the committee was told that the Sisters of Charity had volunteered to take charge of St Elizabeth's. The all male committee seized the chance and told the Sisters that 'they would gladly accept their services and do everything in their power to make them comfortable'. Accordingly, on 1 January 1886 the accounts and management were handed over to the new superintendent, Sister Winefred Dymock; she and four other sisters were paid £30 a year. Within six months Fr. Wickwar their chaplain informed the committee that the girls' school was 'much improved'. Four girls had been in residence at the start but by the time the sisters took charge there were thirty-one, a total which almost doubled in the succeeding year and reached seventy-eight in 1890. Of the twenty-seven girls admitted in 1886, thirteen were orphans and eight were illegitimate. Ten of the girls were 'voluntary cases' and fourteen had been committed by the authorities. Half of the girls could read and write but the others were 'totally ignorant'.

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

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

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

Numbers continued to rise and within ten years the permitted occupancy of over one hundred girls was exceeded. Numbers fell after the turn of the century, however, and the building was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. Furthermore, there had been friction between the Committee and the sisters about finance; the Order declined to contribute to the interest payments on the school's mortgage, and relations were strained for several years. In 1906, in view of 'present difficulties', and doubtless using the move of the boys to Stanwix as a pretext, the school was closed and the remaining twenty girls were transferred to St Joseph's in Darlington. The properties were sold and by 1909

the whole of the Chadwick Memorial Schools were demolished.

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St Vincent's Orphanage

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

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

The managers of an orphanage could seek certification by the government as an industrial school and in that way receive rate-aid for its support. This was a major financial incentive as the Church had been quick to appreciate; the

accounts of the Chadwick Memorial School for 1886 show that the running costs that year amounted to around £2,550, of which some £2,200 was paid by the Treasury, County Councils and School Boards. These were discretionary powers, however, and, such was the scale of the problem, it was important not to antagonize or prejudice local authorities against Catholic institutions. In his Lent pastoral letter of 1894 Bishop Wilkinson wrote that the total number of Catholic boys and girls in north-eastern workhouses was more than five hundred, of whom one hundred were under six years old, and that he needed £14,000 to build new homes to get them out of secular institutions. He was, therefore, at some pains to praise Boards of Guardians for their cooperation and he also took care to forestall any suggestion that Catholic institutions might be educationally inferior:

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

At any rate, as requested, the Home Office certified St Vincent's for sixty boys from five to ten years of age and some children in that age group were transferred from St James's. The diocese shortly bought the adjoining house and numbers were allowed to rise to seventy.

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

After St Vincent's became an industrial school the proportion of orphanned, illegitimate or destitute boys admitted was never more than a fifth. Some boys of respectable parents were admitted for an uncharacteristic lapse or for more serious disobedience such as one eleven-year-old whose parents were of 'good

character. Lad in habit of leaving home for days. Will not attend school – out of control'. A single parent sometimes asked for a place: 'Father represents he is unable to control the boy. Used best endeavours to get him to school without success'. But most admissions were of boys in very poor social conditions and at risk, or who had committed a minor offence.

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

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

St Vincent's had debts of £3,000 in 1926 and the superior's accounting system was found to be seriously deficient. She explained that the number of boys maintained by the local authorities was sixty and the fees (ten shillings per week per child) yielded an annual income of £1,560, but since other boys were taken in without public funding, the overall running costs amounted to £2,300,

hence the shortfall of £740 had to come from the diocese and from charitable donations. At around this time the industrial certification was given up (or withdrawn) and St Vincent's reverted to its original status as an orphanage financed partly by the local authorities but largely by the diocese, fund-raising events ('St Vincent's Pound Day', church-collections, flag-days) and whatever small contributions the families of the resident boys could make.

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

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

Few details of the daily life at St Vincent's are known. In 1937 there were thirteen sisters who each got an honorarium of £7 a year; that was increased to £15 in 1941. The parish priest of St Michael's acted as chaplain to the home and the committee instructed the superior to give him £15 at Christmas and £10 at Easter – but only as a gesture of goodwill, 'without letting [him] think that the money was a salary'. In fact, the priest repaid the sisters with an equal sum for

the work they did for him. In 1930 St Vincent's had a free on-call arrangement with Dr Bland, a local non-Catholic doctor, but the committee required this to be put onto a formal basis and the doctor agreed to a salary of £30. (A non-Catholic dentist giving free treatment was not offered new terms; in 1933 a cobbler was taken on at £1 a week.) The health of the children was usually good. Exceptionally, an outbreak of diptheria in 1940 led to seventeen boys being transferred to the isolation hospital. The boys were educated in the home except that from 1934 fees of £15 a year each were paid for six boys to attend St Aloysius school; it was decided to increase the number to twelve and three more later on. From 1935/6 the younger boys went to St Michael's new parochial infant school. Discipline was presumably good, at any rate, no problems were reported to the committee. Some school-leavers went to the Parbold Farm Training Colony and others went into industry, including the local factory of Vickers Armstrong.

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

St Vincent's was briefly caught up in the effects of the Spanish Civil War. The Basque province was deeply Catholic and conservative but since the Republicans had granted the region political autonomy, the people became cautiously sympathetic to the partly Communist republican movement. During the Nationalist offensive in the north-west of Spain in the late spring of 1937 it was decided to evacuate the Basque children out of the country and some four thousand of them arrived in England in May. The Catholic hierarchy made immediate arrangements for their shelter, and over half (227) of the four hundred children who came to the north-east were taken into the Catholic homes at Darlington, Gainford, Newcastle and Tudhoe, in groups ranging from six girls to one hundred and forty boys accompanied by one or two priests and a few nuns. The English bishops were soon made aware, however, that their initiative had been interpreted as support for the Franco regime; moreover, parents began to clamour for the return of their children. Bishop Joseph McCormack, who had

been consecrated only four months earlier, said the children should never have been brought out and he had agreed 'with reluctance' to have them, but there was nothing for it now but to look after them and safeguard their faith.[16] It did not help that no public money was available for the children's support, and a Basque Children's Refugee Fund, under the chairmanship of Fr Parker, Secretary to the Diocesan Homes Committee, had to be opened. The fund raised £5,634 but it was thought necessary to issue a general appeal for St Vincent's because the parish was 'not blessed with much of the wealth of this world'.

Bishop McCormack's antipathy to the Basque evacuation was exacerbated when the Spanish consul in Newcastle visited St Vincent's and made a scene and had to be asked to leave. Fr Parker was in no doubt that the consul was an unfit person to be allowed into the home again but the consul wrote to the press alleging that he had been denied access and charged the diocese with Fascist sympathies. The bishop was appalled and sought the speedy repatriation of the children, or even just their removal from the diocese, ostensibly because he wanted to proceed with the conversion of St Peter's. In September he was said to approve of 'agitation' for the purpose and that letters to members of parliament should be sent. By April 1938 the children had all been removed to Scarborough, Leicester or Camberley, and the balance of the relief fund of £554 was given to St Joseph's home in Darlington. Two Spanish priests in Darlington would not return to Spain in fear for their lives and one, Fr Gorossari went to Belgium, but the other, Fr Orbezogo, stayed on at St Joseph's. In 1940 he asked for a post in the diocese but the bishop told him there was no place for him in England and he should return to Spain where priests were needed. The priest's further appeal was peremptorily rejected; his subsequent movements are unknown.[17].

The departure of the Basque children should have allowed the diocese to go ahead with its reorganisation but the outbreak of the Second World War brought about further delay. In May 1939, the Ministry of Health and the Newcastle civic authorities ordered the evacuation of St Vincent's into safer rural premises. Later that year the orphanage was re-located in Cheeseburn Grange, near Stamfordham belonging to the Riddell family which had been a Catholic house and chaplaincy since recusant times.[18] The Grange could accommodate forty boys and it was usually full. Six months after the move, the diocese offered the house in Brunel Terrace to the Newcastle Council at the peppercorn rent of £1 a year, presumably to avoid leaving it empty. The authorities actually made an *ex gratia* payment £50 and it was occupied by the Department of Transport; at the end of 1941 it was handed over to National Fire Service.

In 1945 Bishop McCormack replaced the Committee with a *Diocesan Rescue Society*, under Fr John Vincent Smith and an Advisory Council, and gave it a wider remit than its predecessor. As the bishop explained to the clergy in an *ad clerum*, it was 'to interest itself in and be responsible to me and to you for every phase of Child Welfare, Rescue and Protection work'. He intended to supplement the income for these purposes from Advent and Lenten Alms with a

‘Good Shepherd Sunday’ collection made by the schoolchildren. The Rescue Society was given oversight of three residential children’s establishments: St Mary’s, Tudhoe, with one hundred and fifty boys, St Joseph’s in Darlington with one hundred and thirty girls, and St Vincent’s, with fifty-three boys.

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

A search for new premises soon showed that West Denton Hall on the Hexham road west of Newcastle with thirteen acres of farmland would be suitable and negotiations for its purchase were begun in November 1947. The hall was acquired in June 1948 by the Rescue Society and some £20,000 was spent on its purchase and conversion by the architect Mr Burke and the contractor Mr Shield. The new home was occupied in August 1950 and formally opened in October by the Vicar General, Monsignor Cunningham. There were seven dormitories, three playrooms, a reading-room, refectory and a chapel.[19]

The home continued in its traditional ways for almost twenty years but then the concept of caring for children in large residential establishments was abandoned by the Children’s Act of 1969 and St Vincent’s Orphanage came to an end.[20] The property was divided into three smaller ‘Family Group Homes’ each accommodating up to sixteen children. With that, an entirely new phase in diocesan welfare policy opened.

Notes and References

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

   Chadwick Memorial Industrial School Management Committee Minute Book 10 April 1885-20 October 1890
   St Vincent’s Boys Industrial School Register, 16 March 1894 – 3 June 1919
   Diocesan Homes Committee Minute Book, 7 December 1926; 19 November 1929 – 19 February 1942

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

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

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

5. By 1850 there were fourteen female orders in fifty-three convents and ten male orders with 275 priests across the country though many of these were the 'old' enclosed orders of Benedictines and Carmelites which had returned to the country on their expulsion from their continental houses at the time of the French Revolution. Recent general treatments of the female religious orders include: B. Walsh, *Roman Catholic nuns in England and Wales 1800-1937* (2002); C.M. Mangion, *Contested identities. Catholic women religious in nineteenth-century England and Wales* (2008)

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

7. J.N. Murphy, *Terra incognita, or, the convents of the United Kingdom* (1873) passim.

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

9. F. McCombie & M. Cullen, *A parish in its time: A history of St Charles parish, Gosforth, 1896-1966* (1996) ch. 5

10. The first official annual report of May 1883 said the school had 'been at work since the beginning of year' and the *NCC* for 1884 more precisely gives 10 January 1883, but in later years the *NCC* repeatedly and incorrectly gives January 1882.

11. McCombie & Cullen, pp. 135 ff.

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

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

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

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

16. *Northern Catholic Calendar,* 1938, pp. 117/8.

17. D. Watson, 'Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Basque refugees in the North East and Cumbria during the Spanish Civil War', *North East History* vol. 36 (2005), passim.

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

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

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

Appendix

Sisters of Charity placed in Newcastle 1885-1945

Some ninety-five sisters were appointed to the homes in Newcastle between 1885 and 1945. About half of them were aged thirty or less when they arrived; twenty were over forty. Almost all of the sisters over forty were appointed after the first World War and only ten of the appointments in the same period were of sisters in their twenties. Two thirds of the sisters spent less than four years in the city – twenty were there for only one year. Two thirds of the twenty sisters who stayed over ten years were appointed in the twentieth century. The older sisters tended to remain longest: it was unusual for an older sister to be in post for a short time just as it was exceptional for a younger sister to stay for long. Taking snapshots at intervals, the community numbered five to seven in the early years, fourteen at the turn of the century, nine during the first World War, twelve in the nineteen-twenties and seven to nine in the thirties and forties. Moreover, at each of those times over half of the community were long-term residents.

It appears, then, that in terms of managerial and vocational development, the provincial superiors were prepared to have a high turnover of placements in Newcastle so as to give their younger sisters a probationary period in social care although it was recognised that frequent changes were not good for children who needed to build up stable relationships. At the same time, therefore, several sisters of some age and experience were always in residence to maintain continuity and a balanced community. As might be expected, the local Superiors were normally drawn from the older age group, although their time in office averaged only five years. In the latter half of the period the number of short-stay Sisters fell and the average age of the community in Newcastle slowly increased. Thus the Newcastle community became more settled and older after the Great War although the practice of giving younger sisters an introduction to residential social work practice at the start of their lives as religious was kept up. The Children Act of 1941 required formal training for all who worked with children and the Order complied so that by the 1950's all Sisters in Child Care had completed a two year training course.

	Year of arrival	*Age on arrival*	*No. of Years in Newcastle*
Agnes Allen*	1945	54	2
Ellen H Barr	1928	23	2
Mary E Barry	1905	22	15
Bridget Battle	1905	31	2
Ada M Benham	1901	26	4
Agnes Birch	1887	21	1
Angela Boylan	1904	30	1
Julia Bracken*	1929	60	6
Catherine E Brady	1914	38	2
Mary F Bray	1923	24	3
Teresa M Brunicardi	1906	28	2
Florence Buckland	1907	32	1
Mary A Buckley	1900	43	1
Lenorah J Burke	1910	24	36
Cecilia Butler	1924	24	1
Elizabeth M Butler	1933	43	3
Maggie Byrne	1926	19	6
Jessie M Cassidy*	1889	29	3
Frances Clarkson	1895	22	2
Lilian Crewse	1891	24	15
Rebecca Crowley	1894	39	8
Helena Cummings	1924	24	1
Anne M Daly	1911	32	2
Jeannie Diamond	1923	29	2
Winifred F Dymock*	1885	40	4
Sophia Ellis	1893	28	2
Catharine Fagan	1885	27	4
Elizabeth Fagan	1909/1926	21	2/2
Edith Faulkner	1910	35	24
Catherine Flanagan	1933	49	12
Eveline M Fraser	1919	37	25
Norah W Ganly	1945	42	3
Gwendoline Goddard*	1915	35	12
Harriet Goodridge	1897	28	2
Catherine Hagerty	1899	35	3
Ellen M Hannigan	1902	32	5
Agnes Harvey	1915	35	2
Bridget Hayes	1892	30	2
Violet M L Head	1924	34	1
Sarah J Hopper	1921	43	2
Mary Hosty	1944	38	1
Mary I Hughes	1925	24	1
Julia S Kelleher	1944	34	2
Teresa Kiernan	1910	34	1
Mary E Kilduff	1911	22	9
Ellen Lane	1904	22	2
Mary C Lane	1888	34	13
Ellen Lawton	1897	24	4
Laura Lyons	1902	34	4
Ida W B Mace	1920	29	2

Mary C Magee	1887	29	33
Catherine Matthews	1900	37	19
Catherine J Matthews	1917	26	1
Mary Matthews	1929	39	4
Agnes McCarthy	1937	57	8
Margaret M McCarthy	1889	33	5
Ellen McElligott	1941	42	9
Agnes L McMullen	1945	67	14
Mary A McNeill	1929	30	16
Jane McWilliams	1922	20	3
Margaret Moore	1894	21	4
Mary J Murphy	1931	20	3
Catherina M Nicholl*	1935	63	2
Marie A Northcote	1927	51	2
Ellen Organ	1896	32	3
Annie L O'Brien	1925	20	3
Mary O'Brien	1912	23	2
Emily O'Bryen	1922	65	3
Margaret O'Donnell	1916	29	31
Margaret A O'Hara	1911	31	1
Sophie E Paine	1898	50	19
Catherine T Perry	1890	22	3
Mary W Petre*	1892	37	4
Hilda Plater	1923	55	39
Mary V Potter	1897	29	1
Alice Powderly	1885	28	9
Florence Rawlinson*	1925	49	9
Mary Reaper	1928	30	1
Gertrude Reaper	1921	43	12
Clarissa M Reeves*	1896	38	5
Louisa Richards	1917	25	15
Phyllis Rowe	1923	28	2
Honorah Scanlan	1904	22	1
Catharine M Scannell	1899	29	2
Elizabeth Scarisbrick	1923	35	2
Catharine Sexton	1887	25	19
Anne Sullivan	1909	28	1
Mary J J Taaffe	1895	27	7
Elizabeth Tonge	1904	21	1
Johanna Tuohy	1929	47	15
Anne Tyrell	1916	23	2
Mary F Walls	1922	44	1
Frances M White	1899	25	16
Mary White	1892	30	4
Marie Whelan	1917	47	1

* Superior

(I am most grateful to Sr. Joan Conroy, Provincial Archivist of the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, for providing the data from which the list was derived and for her comments on the brief analysis.)

REVIEW

Leo Gooch, *A Complete Pattern of Nobility: John Lord Lumley (c.1534-1609)*, University of Sunderland Press, 2009, 232 pp., 19 plates.

The History of Art; its production, collection and transfer, is an intriguing subject. While some commentators may prefer to see it as a lofty activity beyond the influence of the everyday, in reality it is impossible to separate it from the context within which it was created – social, economic and political. This is perhaps especially true when we consider the subject of portraiture; and Dr Gooch has chosen to explore a particularly pertinent example of the process in this delightful book, focusing on the activities of John, Lord Lumley, and the genesis of his extraordinary art collection.

The book begins by setting out Lumley's place in history – an important and dangerous place. Living at the time of the Reformation, he followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, actively participating in rebellions against the Crown in the cause of the old religion. A supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots, he was involved in the Rising of the Northern Earls and the Ridolfi Plot (1569-72) to depose Elizabeth I in favour of Mary Stewart. His characteristic caution throughout these events meant that he narrowly escaped execution, although as a known recusant he was a potential threat, and so was subsequently forced out of public life. However, it was at this point in his life, removed from the political sphere, that he was able to devote himself fully to cultural pursuits, and in so doing became a key figure not only in the patronage of art, but highly influential in the development of connoisseurship in 16th century England.

At this time most members of the peerage held art collections in their homes, and a substantial collection would number perhaps one hundred works. Lumley,

beginning with the collection of his father-in-law, Henry Fitzalan, Twelfth Earl of Arundel, amassed a stunning total of 255 works of art, built up over some sixty years. Of these works, the vast majority (over two hundred items) were portraits, not including a book of eighty-five portrait drawings by Hans Holbein, court painter to Henry VIII. Portraits were always a key element of collections such as these, often as a means of chronicling the monarchy and peerage, commemorating diplomatic endeavours, or marking key events such as births and marriages. Important portraits would be freely circulated among collectors for copying, ensuring that collections were fully representative of the pantheon of notables. Lumley's collection certainly reflected these conventions, however, he was also intensely interested in his own ancestry, exhibiting an almost obsessive interest in genealogy which stretched to the distant past, and among many heraldic works commissioned a group of sixteen ancestral portraits, beginning in the eleventh century with Liulph, and culminating with himself. Other portraits reflected Lumley's wider interests, and included noteworthy persons from the worlds of literature, medicine, alchemy and law, as well as a selection of 'adventurers and explorers' such as Drake and Cabot.

The reason we know so much about the Lumley collection is mainly due to a detailed inventory, written in 1590, detailing 'all his Lo(rdship's): monuments of Marbles, Pictures and tables in Paynture, with other his Lordshippes howsholde Stuffe and Regester of Bookes'. The details of this inventory are helpfully reproduced within chapter four of the book, together with additional information including the subject of the work, artist, current location (if known) and bibliographic references. Comparison is also made to similar works in other collections, and provenance. This information makes the book of great interest to students of both history and art, and an invaluable reference text for researchers in sixteenth-century studies. However, an existing knowledge of key artists and political figures is assumed, so it is perhaps not a text for those starting out in the subject.

Ideally, for a book with such an emphasis on the visual, there would have been more illustrations, and here again a knowledge of the canon of sixteenth-century art is largely assumed; for example, the lengthy references to Holbein's portrait of Christina, Duchess of Milan (now in the collection of the National Gallery, London). However, given the cost implications of images, this is often a difficulty and does not detract unduly. The appendices include additional reference material, such as the text of Lumley's Will (1606), and the extensive bibliography lists not only primary and secondary sources, but also key theses – a particularly relevant and practical research tool for those wishing to pursue further study. An intriguing book on a fascinating and long-neglected subject; this volume restores Lumley firmly to the forefront of the arts in Elizabethan England, and is a valuable and timely analysis of this little-known cultural giant.

Marie-Thérèse Mayne