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‘A SMALL ROOM OVER A STABLE’, THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL, LEYBURN, NORTH YORKSHIRE, 1836 – 1872

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As well as having one of the oldest churches in the diocese of Middlesbrough, Leyburn also has one of the oldest schools. The first school was built along with St Peter and St Paul church and presbytery in 1835/6 and remained open until about 1872. The school was then enlarged and upgraded to conform with current requirements and opened in 1895. It has continued to provide Catholic education until the present day. (Although log books are extant for the later period, unfortunately none have survived – if they were kept – prior to 1895.)

In the early part of the nineteenth century there was no organised educational provision for children of the working class. Dame schools provided an education of sorts for younger children; older children went to Common Day Schools (run by men) or, in some areas, to Factory Schools. Sunday Schools and Charity Schools offered free education to others but on a very patchy basis. Hence in 1810 the non-conformist churches set up the British and Foreign Schools Society with the aim of building more schools and in 1811 The National Society established by the Church of England followed suit in establishing voluntary schools. Catholic parochial ‘day’ or ‘poor’ schools were usually established through the joint efforts of the religious orders, the clergy and the laity.

The Leyburn Catholic School appears to be unusual in that, other than a very small endowment from the Riddell family, both its establishment and support seem to have been funded by the people of the area. It has been suggested[1] that the Scrope family of Danby initiated the building of the church and school in 1834, but Simon Thomas Scrope (1758-1838) was made bankrupt in 1832 and had had to close down Danby Hall and move his family to his wife’s family home in Yarm.[2] Nor was the establishment dependent on initiatives from the hierarchy or a religious community. It seems therefore that the tradespeople of the town provided the impetus for the establishment of the school in addition to the church soon after Catholic Emancipation in 1829. (During the early period the teachers were members of the laity not of religious communities.)

The imperative to build Catholic schools for the children of the immigrant Irish population in the larger towns such as York, and which was later given priority over the building of churches by Bishop Robert Cornthwaite, did not apply in Leyburn and its surroundings where the school was conceived prior to the major influx of Irish immigrants as a result of the famine in the 1840s. An examination of the census data for 1851 (the first census in which a place of birth was requested) showed that only two residents of Leyburn had been born in Ireland – Mary Goldsmith, aged eighty, the widowed mother of Mary Yarker, and their parlourmaid, Anne Boak aged sixteen.

The land off the Richmond Road on which the church and school complex stand was part of the Thornbrough Hall estate which belonged to Frederick Riddell. He

lived in the hall with his family and was one of the largest landowners in Leyburn after the Duke of Bolton. In a lease dated 9 February 1837[3] Frederick Riddell entered into an agreement with the bishop, John Briggs, and the priests William Riddell and Thomas Witham leasing 'the plot of land and the chapel thereon erected...' for a period of two hundred years at an annual payment of £5. The church was to be used for the celebration of divine worship according to the rites of the Church of Rome and the dwelling house was to be occupied by the priest of the church. (In 1919 the agreement was changed to freehold.) The construction of the church was completed in 1835 and was opened for worship on 14 October. It is believed that the school and teacher's house were built at the same time or soon afterwards; and indeed the school carries a stone plaque dated 1836 high on the gable end. The total cost of all the buildings was about £2,000. Building work on the church and school was carried out by the firm of Chapleo and Sons, whose head at the time was Christopher Chapleo.[4]

In 1835 the Leyburn school would have been one of the eighty-six 'poor' or 'day' schools listed in a parliamentary select committee report on Catholic Schools in England. Two years earlier the government had started to make grants available for the education of the poor, and, although the grants were small, Catholic schools were eligible to apply. But from 1839 the acceptance of a grant automatically gave the right of official inspection by newly-appointed inspectors (HMIs). Such inspections were unpopular and many schools did not take advantage of the financial help available. It is not known whether the school in Leyburn received any government monies during the early period of its existence.

In 1838 the Catholic Institute was founded by Charles Langdale of Houghton Hall, Market Weighton, who gave the lead in providing free schooling for all Catholic children in England. In 1845 a survey of Catholic Schools was undertaken and was published as part of the 1849 Annual Report of the Catholic Poor Schools Committee (see below). The return for Leyburn described the 'Deficiency in School Accommodation' as follows

> School: a small room over a stable. Some Catholic Children attending Protestant Schools for want of means. Number of children requiring gratuitous education 20.

No replies were given to the questions relating to source of income, number of boys and girls, and whether boys and girls were in separate rooms.[5] At about the same time (1846/7) the bishop made his visitation of the parish and after listing the very sparse furnishings in the priest's residence he noted the even more limited equipment in the school:

> School: Six desks with forms. One black board & a few books.[6]

Langdale went on to found the Catholic Poor Schools Committee in 1847 to raise funds and make grants available towards the establishment of Catholic schools, or to improve facilities where they existed already. The committee immediately initiated a survey of the schools in the Diocese. The reply from the priest at Leyburn showed a rather large number of Catholic children for the date, and that clearly the facilities, had they all attended, were totally inadequate:[7]

Catholic Chapel House,
Leyburn,
May 1st 1847

Dear Rev. Sir,
In reply to yours of the 29th instant, I beg to state that there are in my congregation 70 children of fit age to go to school, and most of the above number are very poor. F. Riddell subscribes £4 per annum, which is all I have towards carrying on my school.
I am Dear Rev. Sir,
Yours truly
R. Bolton

As well as the census of population which was taken in 1851 there was also an Ecclesiastical Census and an Education Census, although the latter were both voluntary. The return from the Catholic Church in Leyburn showing that on Sunday 30 March 1851 125 attended the morning service and fifty in the afternoon, but no specific information was recorded for the school.[8] In 1854 the bishop's visitation included various questions about the state of schools. Somewhat complacently, the priest submitted the information that the Leyburn school was a mixed day school, purpose-built, presently self-supporting, and that its capacity was 'quite sufficient' to 'contain all the children of [his] flock that ought to attend.'[9]

During the 1860s the government started to make plans to make school attendance compulsory for all children – a move welcomed by Catholics. Although religious bodies were given time to bring existing schools up to standard, their schools would not be financed from the local rates as were the board schools. The only grants available were small and discretionary on the quality of the school. Hence the Catholic Poor Schools Committee intensified its efforts to bring schools up to standard and in 1868 it circulated a detailed questionnaire to all parishes. From this we learn that Leyburn with a Catholic population of 211 had thirty-six children in school, twenty-two of them between three and eleven years old.[10] Soon after this a religious inspection of schools was organised by the Catholic Poor Schools Committee which reported in 1870-71. Although the Catholic population of Leyburn was given as 110 (half that in 1868 and probably an error), the figures for the school are consistent with those in the 1868 report in that there were thirty-four children on the school roll, with thirty-one of them present at school.[11]

In Pigot's *Directory* of 1841 Richard Chapleo was described as the master of the 'Catholic Free School' in Leyburn.[12] What 'Free' meant is by no means clear – possibly that certain parts of the curriculum such as reading and catechism were taught without charge, and that payment to the teacher for other subjects had to be made. In view of the fact that the endowment from the Riddells of £4 a year was so small, the education provided must have been extremely rudimentary. Certainly the response to the 1845 survey for the Catholic Poor School Committee (see above)

implies that a charge was being made for Catholic education, whereas education at the National School was more affordable. There was no standard rate of elementary school fee at this time and although in general Catholic schools charged the lowest fees, usually only a few pence a week, even this would have been too much for some families, particularly when there were several children of school age.

No records exist to tell us what was taught in the school. Although they provided a basic elementary education, Catholic schools existed – insofar as the Church was concerned – to teach the Catholic faith, and together Church and school instilled a distinctively Catholic culture. Schools which subjected themselves to government inspection after the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862 (Payment by Results) received grants based upon average attendance and performance in the examination. The subjects tested were reading, writing, arithmetic and plain needlework for the girls.

In view of the school's very small endowment from the Riddells the salaries paid to the teachers must have been extremely low. Each teacher would have had to make up his salary to a living wage (some £30 to £40 per year) by taking on private pupils or by some other kind of activity. Richard Foss's teaching activities were clearly secondary to his role as organist and singing teacher, and from an advertisement in the *Wensleydale Advertiser* in 1845 (see below) it appears that his patronage was expected to come from the neighbouring nobility and gentry. The tradespeople of Leyburn might also have been willing to pay for the teaching of additional subjects to their children – the teacher being free to pursue this whilst the monitorial system was in operation in the school.

The first recorded teacher at the Catholic school in Leyburn was Richard Chapleo. He was the son of John and Martha Chapleo *nee* Yeoman and a younger brother of Christopher Chapleo who built the church and school. Richard was born 4 June and baptised 6 June 1813 at St Peter and St Paul by Richard Bolton. He was listed under 'Academies' in White's *Directory* of 1840 although the school itself is not mentioned.[13] In the 1841 census Richard Chapleo, 'Schoolmaster, aged 25 years' appeared to be lodging with the family of William Atkinson, a lawyer living in Millgate, Leyburn. If he was indeed placed in charge at the time the school was opened in 1835, he would have carried a lot of responsibility as a young man then of about twenty-two years of age. Richard appears to have left the school by 1845 and in 1851 was working as a schoolmaster in Workington, Cumbria. He was still teaching in Workington at the time of the 1861 census and he died there on Friday 16 May in the following year. His death was recorded by Agnes, his younger sister, in her prayer book – a book which is still in the possession of her descendants.[14]

Richard Ireland Foss was born in Huddersfield, the son of Richard and Harriett (*nee* Eastwood) Foss, whose three children, including Richard, were baptised at St Patrick's Catholic church in Huddersfield on 5 Jan 1832. Richard Foss the elder (baptised in 1790 at Tanshelf Catholic church, Pontefract) had moved to Bulkeley near Malpas in Cheshire where in 1841 he was innkeeper of the George and Dragon. At the same time his son, Richard aged eighteen, was lodging in Ayton Street,

Manchester, his occupation being given as 'music apprentice'. He was well established in Leyburn by 1845 when he first acted as a baptismal sponsor on 2 February. It was for his musical ability that Richard Foss was most noted. The *Wensleydale Advertiser*[15] reported on 7 January 1845 that a Grand High Mass had been celebrated on Christmas Day in St Peter's Chapel and 'a selection of music from Mozart, Hayden, etc., ably performed by a select choir'. On 18 November 1845:

> Leyburn: Pianoforte and Singing: Our musical readers will certainly be glad to observe that Mr Foss, the talented organist at St Peter's, has commenced giving instruction on the pianoforte and singing on the Wilhelm's Improved System. No doubt Mr Foss will receive from our neighbouring nobility and gentry the patronage which he deservedly merits'.

On 19 January 1847 the *Advertiser* reported on Mr Foss's concert which had taken place in the school house: 'Indeed the brilliance and accuracy of Mr Foss's execution on the piano-forte with his chaste style of singing could not fail to command applause'. In 1849 'Richard Foss - Master' was listed in Slater's *Directory* under 'Academies and Schools'[16] and in 1851, aged twenty-eight, he was lodging with the Rev. Richard Bolton next to the church and had the splendid title of 'Organist, Professor of Music and Schoolmaster'. Foss continued to act as baptismal sponsor at St Peter and St Paul until the end of 1851 and he was still listed in Slater's *Directory* of 1855[17] as master of the Catholic School in Leyburn. Sadly this promising young man died of pulmonary tuberculosis in Chester on 11 November 1855 at the age of thirty-two. His occupation was given as 'Professor of Music' and his death was registered by an Elizabeth Bordessa, the wife of Pietro Bordessa, a dealer in toys and fancy goods, whose family had originated in Lombardy. Richard Foss was buried in Overleigh Cemetery, Chester, on 16 November 1855.

Both James Holland and Matthew Hind were recorded as schoolmasters in Leyburn in the 1861 census. Holland was born in Middlesex in about 1836 and, although he acted as sponsor at St Peter and Paul in 1860, 1861 and 1863 and so was probably a Catholic, he appears to have been running his own school in Market Place, Leyburn, as he had two boarders living with him. In 1871 he and his sister, Julia, also a school teacher, were proprietors of a school in Newbiggin, Richmond and their household included ten scholars and two servants. Hind, born in Newsham in about 1835, is another possible candidate to be the schoolmaster at St Peter and St Paul. In 1861 he appeared to be living on his own in Peter's Gate, Leyburn, just three doors away from the Catholic church. He was married but his wife, Elizabeth, was staying with her parents Joseph and Mary Clarkson in nearby Harmby. In 1871 Matthew and Elizabeth were both living in the 'School House' at Kirby Knowle.

White's *Directory* of 1867[18] was very complimentary about the Catholic Church in Leyburn and mentioned that it had 'a school for boys and girls in connection with it'. Under 'Schools, Roman Catholic', 'J. McArdell' is listed as teacher but other than suspecting that he or his family may have come from Ireland we know nothing more about him. Similarly, we have little information about the master who probably took over from McArdell and who was probably in charge when the school was closed in

the early 1870s. The 1871 census lists 'Patrick Culliner, age 33, schoolmaster, born Ireland who is lodging in Leyburn with Christopher Chapleo, joiner and cabinet maker. (St Peter's School House itself was inhabited by eighty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Dobson and her daughter, Annie). In 1872 the Post Office *Directory*[19] states that 'There is Roman Catholic School for boys and girls, opened in 1838 *(sic)* which is self-supporting', and Patrick Cullinan is listed as master.

Clearly the school was still open at the time that the census was taken in April 1871 when Cullinan was master. It also appeared (from White's) to be open in 1872, although information in trade directories was often a year or more out of date. In the next available directory, that of 1879, there is no mention of the school and in the 1881 census return the school house is listed as uninhabited. We have no information about the precise date of closure but must assume from the statement at the beginning of the log book for the re-opened school in 1895 that the school 'after being closed for upwards of 23 years' was wound up about 1872/3 soon after the passing of the Forster Education Act of 1870. The aim of the act was to provide enough school places by filling in the gaps in school provision. As well as various small private schools in Leyburn, the National School (also known as the Thornborough Charity School) had been built in 1864 at a cost of £400 and by 1876 had one hundred children on the roll, although attendance averaged about 78. So it appears that there may have been sufficient school places in the town to satisfy government requirements.

In 1862 the Government had introduced the 'Payments by Results' system and the inspectors' reports for the Leyburn National School[20] run from soon after its opening until its transformation into the Board School in 1896. Reports from 1868 to 1875 give only average attendance but the numbers show a slight increase in 1872 and 1873 indicating that some Catholic children may have gone to the Thornborough School when St Peter and St Paul's closed. An examination of the log book of the Thornborough National School does not throw much further light on the matter. In 1867 there is a reference to the admittance of three boys 'who have been at the Roman Catholic School' (C. Scott, F. Holmes and R. Auton) but on 25 April 1870 the master wrote the following rather puzzling entry

> Four boys have left the school and gone to a Catholic School which was opened this morning. The parents gave as a reason for taking the children away that they were bound to send them to a school (if possible) of their own denomination

Does this imply that the school had been closed for a time, and had then re-opened, or that a local private Catholic School had been established? In 1876 when the actual names of pupils were listed in the inspection reports, two children of the Catholic Blenkinsop family attended, and in 1893 the register of seventy-nine children included seven Chapleo and three Blenkinsop children.

In 1892 the National School log book[21] recorded that Canon Pearson visited the school and asked for the number of children on the register belonging to the Roman Catholic church. He was told that 'there are at present on the register 27'.

Clearly plans were in preparation at this time for the re-opening of the Catholic School which took place in August 1895 only a few months after the National School became the Board School in February of that year. The entry for 6 August 1895 in the log book of the Leyburn Board School[22] noted that

> School reopened this morning with an attendance of 103. This reduced no. is caused mainly by haytime being protracted by stress of weather and by the opening of a Roman Catholic School in the town this morning. About 30 of our children appear to have left to attend the new school.

Interestingly, even after the Catholic School re-opened in 1895, the Catholic community maintained an influence in the running of the Board School with the election of the Rev Joseph Dodds to the Board.

We do not know the exact reasons for the closure of the Catholic School in 1872/3. It may have been a failure to achieve a high enough standard to benefit from 'payment by results' (if the school had subjected itself to inspection) resulting in a lack of finance to continue. A major problem with the system was the requirement for a minimum attendance (250 half days in the year) before the tests could be taken. This could have been important for children living in the small town of Leyburn itself and also on the farms in the surrounding area. Many of them would have been so poor that a lack of shoes or boots would have prevented them getting to school in wet or snowy weather, and their insanitary housing and lack of food would have made them susceptible to the many epidemics of disease such as measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough which occurred almost yearly. The necessity to stay at home to look after younger siblings or to help with seasonal work on the farm would also have been a factor in their attendance at school. Another factor was that from 1868 Catholic schools were subject to an annual Ecclesiastical Inspection by the diocese, and only those who reached a high enough standard would receive a grant from the Catholic Poor Schools Committee. There may also have been an inability to retain teachers; those in board schools which were being established elsewhere in the country were paid more than denominational schools could often afford, although many Catholic schools, but not Leyburn, were staffed by members of religious orders who accepted much lower salaries than teachers in state schools.

In 1883 Emily Jane Scrope (*nee* Berkeley) financed the opening of a school in the grounds of Danby Hall where she personally supervised the education of about twelve local children, mainly, but not exclusively from the estate. It is believed that this school closed in about 1896 when she moved to Hove. It is possible that this was an attempt to provide some Catholic education for a small number of local children during the period when St Peter and St Paul school was closed.[23] Entries in both the National School and Board School log books, however, demonstrate that most of the Catholic children in the town attended these non-Catholic schools during the period of closure.

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Notes and References

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6. Leeds Diocesan Archives

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8. Abstract from 1851 Religious Census Report. The National Archives

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11. Ecclesiastical Examination of Schools 1870-71. Reported in *The First 100 Years*

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15. *Wensleydale Advertiser* 1845

16. Slater's *Directory of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire* 1849

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18. White's *Directory North and East Riding* 1867

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20. Leyburn Thornborough Charity School Inspection Reports. North Yorkshire County Record Office.

21. Leyburn Thornborough Charity School Log Book 1865-1894.

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THE HAGGERSTONS ON THE GRAND TOUR

Ann M.C. Forster

In an earlier and more leisurely age, it was the custom of the gentry to send their sons abroad to complete their education.[1] This gave them a chance to become acquainted with the civilised world and to gain a knowledge of languages. For Catholics, impeded by laws still on the statute book, the effect of which was to exclude them from all activity in politics, the army, and the higher branches of the law, this was a most necessary preparation for life: a life which was to be spent largely on their own estates, depending upon their own resources and accomplishments. They, moreover, unlike their compatriots, received most of their early education overseas, and it was natural for them, on concluding their schooldays, to spend a year or more seeing the world before settling down at home. We are fortunate in being able to follow some of this process in three successive generations of one Northumbrian family, the Haggerstons of Haggerston.

In 1710 Sir Carnaby Haggerston, who had lost his father the previous year, succeeded his grandfather, Sir Thomas Haggerston. A few months later he was sent abroad for his education. He was aged thirteen, and was accompanied by a governor, the Rev. John Thornton, S.J., a priest of ten years standing who had been selected for his present role probably on the advice of the chaplain at Haggerston, the Rev. Francis Anderton, S.J. The first part of the journey is described in Sir Carnaby's letter to his mother, written from Trèves on 15 July 1711. They had crossed to Rotterdam (probably direct from Newcastle) and proceeded to Antwerp. There they took advice as to the safest way of continuing. Marlborough's campaign was drawing to a close and negotiations for peace were in the air, but no treaty had yet been signed, and Pont-à-Mousson, their destination, was in French territory. It was decided that they should travel, as far as possible, through Germany. It proved a long and tedious journey and they suffered much from the heat and from bad accommodation on the way 'often content', Carnaby writes, 'with straw to lie on. Yet I have had my health all along very well.' He goes on to speak of the fineness of the country, and the beautiful churches.

At Cologne 'we were forced to stay longer than we desired, because we were obliged to renew our passes, the city of Trèves being in French hands.' Once at Trèves they hoped, within a couple of days, to be at Pont-a-Mousson, a university town where the Jesuits had a college, which from time to time received students from Douai for courses in philosophy and theology but at this time, as Carnaby reported in a later letter (19 March, 1712), there were few English-speaking students. 'We have here little diversion', he writes, 'unless it be sometimes that we go to our friends at Dilwart[2] some four miles off, for the others who are of the country go home every vacance time and very few here remain'. He does not say much about his studies, but refers to 'a letter I wrote to Mr. Anderton in the language here used, and which now God be praised I begin to understand in writing my themes and all other duties necessary to me in my

post.' He complains of 'short commons, which truly this lent are very ordinary, considering the great shortage of fish; and their not using such diet as we commonly make use of in room of it.' He was beginning to develop extravagant tastes – or possibly a shrewd appreciation of values – for he continues: 'I must desire you, my dearest Mother, to send me a supply [of money] for I made a purchase of some things which I hope you approve of. There was lately with us a Baronet, Sir Lawrence Dowdall, who had a diamond ring for £300, which I gave him for it with Mr. Thornton's consent . . . The Jews have offered £500 for it ... also several French books for my reading'.

Towards the end of the first year Sir Carnaby begins to speak of a move. Writing, to his mother on 14 June 1712 he expresses himself 'ready to comply with whatever you shall judge most proper, approving the choice you have made of La Flèche, which I believe will be more for my advantage than where I am at present, and Mr. Thornton says it is very pleasant'. Thornton had been ill 'which has notably worn away his sides, but is still merry and in good heart, and we are very well together'. La Flèche, situated on the Loire, had a Jesuit college, founded by Henri IV in 1603. There is no indication as to when the move was made, but during the vacation, in June 1714, they were staying at Bourges, boarding in the house of a French ecclesiastic 'whose brother is Controller of the King's household.' Among the company Sir Carnaby unfortunately developed a taste for gaming, which brought him a severe rebuke from his governor: 'Though he lost not much', Thornton reported, 'yet the greatest was his time ...

> Truly there is already a great change as to his application ... He is, God be praised, in extraordinary good health and in this spring improved both in height and breadth, and is without exception the fairest person for stature and features that is here seen, and if once with God's help he cultivates the mind but answerable to that exterior appearance and mien of his body, he may prove as worthy and deserving a Gentleman as has yet appeared in these parts, though I must own that still he has much of his nature to overcome ... but time, judgement and experience will rectify all.

They were still at La Flèche in April, 1715; but from the next letter, February 1717, school days were over and the Grand Tour had started in earnest. They were then at Montpellier. Sir Carnaby's passion for a flutter at the cards was beginning to reassert itself. 'But what wonder' he writes, somewhat pathetically, 'that young persons who stay so long without exercise and without change' take 'some chance of fortune, desiring to try at game since he cannot in battles.' They were planning in the autumn to take a tour of Provence, making a stay at Marseilles, and then 'pass the winter in some part of Italy, for that I may learn the Italian and so make my voyage more agreeable.' It is noticeable that his English is deteriorating slightly and becoming more like French in idiom. They moved to Marseilles early in 1718 and by March they had reached Leghorn. Mr. Thornton reported that at Genoa 'Sir Carnaby bought himself a velvet suit and some other small things'. They proceeded to Rome, but

> our stay was but few days more than the holy week, when Sir Carnaby set out for Naples, to finish that excursion before the heats came on ... and had a kind reception from the Viceroy. He purchased there … a silk suit, stockings, handkerchiefs … and Italian books, having a great inclination to study that language. He is resolved to study it very hard, and to have its best authors and [has] already got the Greek historians done by the best pens in the Italian language, a work much valued and scarce nowadays to be found. His language Architect Master together with his Antiquary sufficiently employ him, though here is no want of company.

Sir Carnaby, back in Rome by the end of May, was soon fairly launched in Anglo-Roman society and was an enthusiastic sightseer: 'There are so many things to see that really one has little time to spare in three or four months; but since you say I must be back in England next May' (he would be twenty-one in February and there was business to be done) 'I shall not have time but just enough to see it, for Rome requires six months at least.' Early in 1719 they started homewards. They visited Loreto and Venice, left Italy by the Mont Cenis pass, made a stop at Chambèry and on to Basle. Here they took boat and travelled down the Rhine to Cologne, thence through Antwerp to Rotterdam, and 'by long seas home'.

Plans were already afoot for Sir Carnaby's future. From Antwerp he wrote on 23 May 1719: 'As to settling, I should be glad of a lady I could like and a great deal of money, but have always thought contentment to be found in the humour … and not in money'. In August 1720 he went to York races, and wrote: 'I came here free, and hoped to have gone away so, but now find the contrary ... I must own I beleaf I shall leaf my heart behind.' A year later he and Miss Elizabeth Middleton were married.

The second part of the story begins nineteen years later. Sir Carnaby was now the father of six. Thomas, his eldest son was at the Jesuit college at St Omer, and his three daughters (Anne, Mary and Elizabeth) were being educated with the Poor Clares at Gravelines. Sir Carnaby's mother died in France in 1740. She had lived there to keep an eye on her grandchildren and now that task was taken over by her brother, Sir Marmaduke Constable. His letters to the children's parents at home are our source of information about them: 'I cannot repeat too often the pleasure I have had with your children,' he writes, 'and can assure you that you will never regret the education you can give them.' Thomas, now seventeen, was, according to his great-uncle, no particular credit to the scholastic system at St Omer. Though 'good and virtuous he had

> a great unwillingness to apply his mind to learn any one thing, either art or diversion, for his future advantage or amusement; a good memory without any desire to see a book ... If you could find one proper to take care of him and he took a fancy to the same, all would turn out well ... I will look about me to find out some one of Thornton's friends that may be proper to attend him.[3] I would send them all together to Pontoise, Mr. Boult's friend[4] to take

> care of them in their journey, with a servant I have hired for my nephew that lived with your dear Mother. There I would have my Nieces stay with your sisters[5] till I get to Paris and have provided them some house to settle in ... Tomy, after some short visits, to go for the Loire and there settle for about a year, or to a degree nigher the sun, Poitiers. I should choose that place where there are the fewest English. It would be a great discouragement to Tomy to begin his exercises in company with those far advanced and much under him in age and growth. One year alone, and then in company as much as possible.

The person selected to take charge was the Rev. William Pemberton, S.J., who was fitted out 'in a plain but decent manner' with a suit and linen, wig and hat, boots and a sword. Thomas was provided with a mourning suit of black and all the other accessories (except the sword!). The young ladies also were fixed up, and the bill for the whole, including Mr. Haggerston's 'gift to the Sodality' and 'treat to his schoolfellows', came to well over £200. They set off in a post-chaise from Gravelines in November 1740, and were still at Pontoise the following February, when Mr. Pemberton became impatient to move on, 'there being no master there' for the benefit of his charge. Sir Marmaduke suggested that he might employ himself instructing the lad 'in writing and spelling his own language, reading history, etc.'

In April they took the eldest girl to Paris and then made for Poitiers. They were still there a year later, but by June had moved to Angoulême, not altogether with Sir Marmaduke's approval. It had been Mr. Pemberton's choice:

> Let him answer for it. I should rather have recommended some place upon the Loire, since especially Mr. Pemberton writ me word that Tomy does not advance so far as one would imagine in the language. In Angoulême every body below a Gentleman use a patois. However they are in a fine country.'

At the end of the summer Thomas entered the Academy at Angers, and was reported to be 'very well, and much pleased with riding. I promised him a watch. When that comes, I will go to Angers and make him a visit.' Sir Marmaduke told Sir Carnaby that he found his nephew

> very much improved, and more fashioned to the world in so small tune than I thought possible, after so long a stay at schools. He's really a handsome, well shaped youth, does his exercises tolerably well and riding, his favourite in which he excels of consequence of the rest.

He continued:

> How many years would you have your son continue abroad? If he goes on well with all his exercises and I find his condition is amended by them … then one would be inclined to leave him there a much longer time in proportion … neither would I have him always in the academy. Three or four months in the heat of the year travel over other Provinces and see different objects. At the end of all he must finish at Paris, before he goes into Italy, if there you design him.

The move to Paris was made, partly to see his sisters and partly because

> his teeth are very bad, the only blemish of his body. This is the only place in the world where they can in some measure cure that failing … His great inclination is designing, either Architecture, painting or fortification. As there is no master of these arts in the country, I have promised him the best this town affords … His riding he does in perfection. Dancing is what we gave up, but his master is so good that he assures us he'll pass muster in any assembly before his year is up.

In March, 1745, the journey home was in prospect. 'I find him still grown,' Sir Marmaduke writes, 'and in all respects very much improved. He's a frank, easy, good natured youth, rather too much of the first as the world now goes … free from all vice whatsoever.' On 12 May he writes: 'I congratulate you on the safe arrival of your dear son. I was uneasy, I own, their taking the long sea; all is well now they are with you.'

It would be interesting if we could carry on with the travels of the third generation, but unfortunately, information is very scanty, only a few items from an old account book.

> 4th July, 1776, Carnaby Haggerston and Thomas Haggerston, esquires,[6] set out this day on their travels through France, etc. Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bart., accompanied them as far as the Salvins of Croxdale. Mr. William Jameson[7] joined the young Gentlemen on the 20th of July and they set out on their Tour from Croxdale on the 21st July.
>
> Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Bart., after the death of his father, returned home 25th May, 1779.

Notes

1. This article is reprinted with permission from *Ushaw Magazine* 77 (1967) pp. 23-8, and has been lightly edited. Miss Forster acknowledged her debt to Sir Carnaby Haggerston of Ellingham for his courtesy in permitting the use of material gleaned from his family papers. A complementary piece on the same topic and period is M.B. Joyce, 'The Haggerstons: the education of a Northumberland family', *Recusant History* 14/3 (1973).

2. By 'Dilwart' he meant Dieulouard, the English Benedictine monastery, now at Ampleforth.)

3. He meant a Jesuit. Mr. Thornton was chaplain at Haggerston still with Sir Carnaby.

4. The Jesuit who was to act as governor. 'Boult' was Henry Bolt, S.J.

5. Two of Sir Carnaby's sisters were Benedictine nuns at Pontoise.

6. Sons of Thomas Haggerston above.

7. Probably the Jesuit Scholastic who joined the Society in 1765 and was teaching at Bruges in 1773.

ARCHBISHOP MANNIX AND 'THE GREAT MUSTER IN THE NORTH', 1920

John Dunleavy

For the Catholic community, at least those in what was termed the Northern Province, the events taking place in Harrogate on Armistice Day 1920 were perhaps just as significant as those in London. Approximately a quarter of the clergy drawn from the five dioceses travelled there to dine and listen to a speech given by Dr Daniel Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne, who had rarely been out of the news for several months. A former head of Maynooth College, Mannix had acquired a reputation as one who seemed to court controversy. A firm disciplinarian he strove to raise academic standards among Maynooth students. Mannix set his face against the resurgent cultural revival arguing that clergy preparing to labour in the mission fields had no need for the Gaelic language. Yet he clearly had a strong attachment to his native Ireland, having developed an interest in politics during the stirring period of the land war. His penchant for promoting his own peculiar brand of nationalism was obvious at a time when the demand for Home Rule was again gathering momentum. Mannix, recalling no doubt his youthful association with the Land League, insisted instead on the need to give priority to land reform. The warmth of the welcome he accorded to King Edward VII (and later to George V) on royal visits to Maynooth brought charges of toadyism. Maynooth's president was a man of contradictions.[1]

In 1913 Mannix went to Australia to assist the ageing Dr Carr administer the extensive archdiocese of Melbourne. One issue troubling Carr for some time was that of the schools. At a time when society was demanding higher standards in education, the Catholic community was faced with the prospect of having to devote an increasing amount of resources to the schools. Carr felt that as an educator Mannix was the man best suited to negotiate with the State government for a share of public funds. Mannix was also charged with looking at facilities for higher education, for lay and clerical students. Some, though not all, of these aims had been achieved by 1917 when Mannix succeeded Carr as archbishop. Yet it was events outside Australia that would determine Mannix's actions during the early phase of his episcopate. The country had entered the war in 1914 and had already suffered significant human and material losses. Initially, Australia relied on volunteers to fight, but as the war continued with no end in sight, Prime Minister Hughes and others felt that still more resources should be devoted to the war effort, and this could only be realised by conscription. The electorate was consulted on this question twice, and twice voters rejected the policy. Seeking a scapegoat for this setback, Hughes decided Mannix would serve, and from then on the two men engaged in a war of words that would last for several years.[2]

Meanwhile, Ireland was becoming increasingly disaffected following the suppression of the Easter Rising in 1916 and the bungling of the British Government. Mannix did not applaud the action of Patrick Pearse and the

insurgents though he felt misgovernment in the past had made such an upheaval inevitable. As for the war itself, Mannix felt the voluntary effort was sufficient, while he maintained that conscription was a moral question which should be left to the individual's conscience. The war being prosecuted by Britain and its Allies he dismissed as nothing more than a trade war, a battle for markets. Mannix welcomed the entry of the United States into the war, being especially impressed by President Woodrow Wilson's peace aims, notably the Fourteen Points based on the principle of self-determination. This seemed to hold out the prospect of Ireland's unilateral declaration of independence being approved by the post-war peace conference.[3]

Diocesan bishops are obliged to give a quinquennial account of their stewardship to the Holy See. The war and subsequent dislocation meant that Mannix [left, in 1919] was not to set out for Rome until 1920, his planned itinerary being the United States, Ireland, and then on to Italy. Arriving in the United States he was welcomed by numerous Irish-Americans and others interested in the Irish problem. The most eminent exile to greet him was Eamon de Valera, head of the Irish government who took the opportunity to accompany the archbishop at many of his public appearances. In his speeches Mannix tended to plead mainly for US recognition of Irish independence. He liked to remind audiences that just as Americans had expelled the British, so the Irish were anxious to do the same. This was a sensitive time to be in the States, since elections for the presidency and Congress were in the offing. Woodrow Wilson was not a candidate, but Mannix reminded Americans of the hopes the Irish and many others had placed on the retiring president's policy of self-determination. This is what the Irish people expected of them.[4]

Whether the Americans were impressed by Mannix's version of their history is not known. When the elections were held later that year advocates of the Fourteen Points and the peace settlement arranged by Wilson generally were rejected, the opposition Republicans gaining power. One person monitoring the archbishop's progress through the States was Lloyd George. As a result of the sentiments expressed by Mannix, and bowing to pressure exerted on him in Parliament, the premier decided the archbishop would not be allowed to revisit Ireland; and that while he would be admitted into Britain his movements would be restricted. In order to give effect to this order, Mannix was intercepted by detectives onboard the *SS Baltic* as it neared Ireland and informed of the British government's decision to deny him entry to Ireland, and that technically he was under arrest and would remain so while he was within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. Accompanied by his secretary Fr Vaughan, the archbishop was transferred to *HMS Wyvern* and, instead of landing at Cork Mannix found himself in Penzance. Accompanied by two detectives he travelled to London where he took up residence in Nazareth House, Hammersmith, and this would

be his base for the next nine months. News of his detention made headline news; readers of *The Times* learned of the stirring events off the coast of Ireland in a lengthy news report headed:

DR MANNIX IN ENGLAND
A NIGHT IN A DESTROYER
LANDING AT PENZANCE
JOURNEY TO LONDON

while the *Catholic Bulletin* informed its readers: 'The kidnapping of Archbishop Mannix off the southern coast of Ireland can be regarded as the last desperate action of a fast decaying tyranny.'[5]

Over the next few months the archbishop was free to travel and address meetings in Britain, apart from 'the prohibited zones' of Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester, urban areas all of which had substantial Irish communities. In a series of speeches he made full use of the opportunity to promote what he considered his vision of an independent Ireland. Much to the embarrassment of Lloyd George and the coalition politicians he was able to invoke President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination as justification for the restoration of Irish freedom. Lloyd George, no novice in politics, countered with the Government of Ireland Bill which partitioned the country and established one authority in Dublin and another in Belfast. A great deal of parliamentary time was allocated to this bill during 1920 but it failed to satisfy Mannix and many Irish nationalists who dubbed it the 'partition bill.' What is more, the enactment of the bill failed to stem the tide of violence in Ireland. Reprisals and counter reprisals continued. Mannix meanwhile continued to articulate his plea for Irish freedom. Some of his meetings – such as that at Harrogate – were attended exclusively by the clergy though he more frequently addressed the laity. An event in Leeds was typical of many, consisting of a welcoming ceremony, and a street procession culminating in a public meeting at which the archbishop spoke. The longer he stayed, the more Mannix found his audiences comprised not just Irish nationalists but others who were genuinely anxious to see an end to the seemingly endless Irish problem while others were clearly becoming increasingly disenchanted with the coalition government, in particular with the premier Lloyd George. Mannix became a figure around which critics of the government were able to rally. In some ways it was reminiscent of his wartime experiences in Australia where Billy Hughes with his insistence on conscription had been the target of attack: in England Mannix had been substituted by Lloyd George and his apparent intransigence on the Irish Question.[6]

Unlike their counterparts in many other countries, the Catholic clergy in Britain were not obliged to promote any particular political party. From time to time, however, the parish clergy – often at the prompting of the local bishop – counselled the faithful to ascertain the views of candidates for public office before voting. Invariably Conservatives generally were prepared to voice support for voluntary schools, while a Liberal may have been less inclined to do

so, depending frequently on the constituency in question. The Church had established the Catholic Federation, a pressure group to lobby for church schools, though this agency attracted support only in some districts. Led by the Liverpool MP, T.P. O'Connor, the United Irish League, a rival to the Federation, made a bid for the support of Catholics of Irish descent. The UIL's main priority was to secure Irish home rule. O'Connor, utilising the support of eighty other Irish MPs, frequently asserted that he was the voice of the Catholic community as a whole, without worrying too much about the views of the hierarchy. The political landscape since 1906 had included a group of Labour MPs and while their views on church schools tended to be ambivalent, it was generally assumed they favoured Irish self-government. Finally, since the formation of Dail Eireann in 1919, the Sinn Fein government had mobilised sympathy and support outside Ireland for the recognition of Irish Independence through the agency of the Irish Self Determination League. There were over one hundred branches in Britain by 1920, claiming membership of some twenty thousand. All of this indicates that there was no such thing as a Catholic political party, any more than that there was a 'Catholic vote.'[7]

The gathering at Harrogate in 1920 comprised more than three hundred parish clergy drawn from the dioceses of Liverpool, Hexham and Newcastle, Salford, Leeds, and Middlesbrough, along with a number of bishops. Joseph Robert Cowgill, Bishop of Leeds, was accompanied by prelates from Australia, led by the Archbishop of Perth, and the bishops of Ballarat and Wincania-Forbes and the Coadjutor Bishop of Hobart. Also present was the Irish-born bishop of Portsmouth, Timothy Cotter (rarely absent from the side of Mannix throughout his sojourn here), along with the bishops of Killaloe, Down and Connor, and Clonfert; Dr Hannon, titular bishop of Teos, came from the Salford diocese. Apologies for his absence came from Middlesbrough's Bishop Lacey who pleaded a prior engagement but declared himself to be in entire sympathy with objects of the meeting. Provost Lynch of Salford presided over the gathering at Harrogate, while it fell to Canon Shine of Leeds to propose the toast to the archbishop coupled with a complaint against the deplorable treatment meted out to Melbourne's archbishop.[8]

A cursory glance at the press coverage of Mannix's stay in this country suggests that with a few notable exceptions they were hostile to him and his message. The *Catholic Bulletin* observed how the two meetings held on 11 November attracted only a few lines in the dailies, and that included the Dublin press. Yet Mannix, no stranger to controversy, was undeterred, hailing the impressive clergy gathering as constituting 'the great muster in the North.' He insisted that he had no complaints at his treatment at the hands of the British government, while the dramatic incident of his detention on the high seas had done much to highlight the situation in Ireland, and had proved to be counter-productive in that it served to discredit the policy of Lloyd George and his colleagues. Having come as a man of peace, his arrest had made him a prisoner of war. Reminding his audience of recent events – notably the deaths of Lord

Mayor Terence MacSwiney and Kevin Barry – he suggested that these incidents had no place in a world which until recently at been at war fighting for the high ideals propounded by the Allied governments: a world made safe for democracy, the war to end wars, a peace based on national self-determination. Unfortunately these slogans, often employed while the war was in progress, he asserted, had already been forgotten. He cited Poland as an instance where the Fourteen Points had been applied with the result that the new Polish state had become a reality. Belgium, also, had not only recovered its independence but had been awarded additional territory. In view of this, the archbishop complained, why had Ireland been ignored? The case between Ireland and England, he insisted, could be put in a nutshell:

> Ireland is a Nation, just as much as Belgium or Poland. Ireland is as old as most of them, and more respectable than any of them. Ireland, as a nation, ancient and respectable, has a right to choose her own form of Government and she has done so.

According to Mannix Ireland deserved independence not only on the basis of its claim to historic nationhood, but by invoking the principle of self determination enunciated only a few years previously by Woodrow Wilson (and by implication assented to by the Allied governments); and the right to decide its own form of Government.[9] Instead of learning what the archbishop said at Harrogate, readers of the *Yorkshire Evening Post* were treated to what amounted to an offensive personal description of Mannix and many of his fellow clergy. Dr Mannix, according to the paper, lived rather like a recluse, receiving few people and mixing little with the world. 'His intense bitterness is concealed a little in his jocular phraseology.' The keynote of the gathering at Harrogate (the paper went on) was

> its solemnity, with little trace of traditional Irish geniality. As Dr Mannix approached, those to whom he gave his hand kissed it with a deep obeisance. The Doctor himself, tall, thin, and hard of feature, passed through the throng without a smile and scarcely a word.

In conversation, readers were informed,

> he looks one straight in the face, speaking quickly, though he retains the same inscrutable expression. Earnestness and bitterness, quiet, implacable antagonism to all save their own kind, that has been the impression left by the Archbishop's entourage at Harrogate, and it has provided a vivid insight into the difficulty that hinders the solution of the Irish problem.'

Despite his bad press, Mannix continued to be a person thousands were anxious to see and hear. From Harrogate he went on to Leeds where he received one of the heartiest receptions to date. The number of people lining the city streets was of such dimensions that the strongly-partisan *Evening Post* had to admit the demonstration had done much to further the Irish cause: the visit

> undoubtedly created a good deal of public interest. He has become a notorious figure, and thousands of people flocked into the centre of the city to see him. Thousands more hung about in the vague expectation that something might happen in the way of organised opposition, but happily it did not, and when the demonstrators marched down to Holbeck the sightseers melted away.

Men, women and children formed the procession of several thousands, and they were accompanied by bands of music and men carrying lighted torches, while others bore the tricolour that had already come to be regarded as the ensign of the new Ireland. It was an orderly demonstration, directed by numerous stewards, some of whom wore the regalia of the various Irish friendly societies. Several parishes sent contingents of men, and these were often led by parish clergy. One feature that the *Evening Post* noted was that while the men marched silently there was a readiness on the part of the women – both the processionists and those content to watch from the pavements – to sing patriotic songs. T.D. Sullivan's 'God save Ireland,' the anthem of Irish nationalism for something like fifty years, occurred most frequently in the repertoire.[10]

While the secular press might display its aversion to Irish matters, and to try and belittle the protestations of the archbishop that he was a man of peace, one journal that proved to be unfailingly generous in publicising the campaign of Mannix was the *Catholic Herald,* owned and edited by Irish-born Charles Diamond (whose brand of nationalism as expounded in the columns of the paper had already earned him a term of imprisonment). Week after week readers were kept fully informed of the archbishop's perambulations and utterances by way of cartoons, illustrations, and the printed word. The treatment of the Yorkshire meetings is typical:[11]

DR MANNIX HAS MIGHTY WELCOME AT LEEDS

Bradford's Thousands
Ringing Message from the Gallant Archbishop

While Mannix would address many more meetings while he was in the United Kingdom it is worth remembering that as long as he remained he was technically under arrest; two Scotland Yard detectives accompanied him wherever he went. This must have been irksome for a prelate who had always been active and enjoyed walking as an exercise. In London his favourite places for recreation were the various parks. When he was not observing others taking the air he was amused at the sight of elderly ladies feeding the birds and squirrels. On some days he would provide a diversion for his detectives by changing his regular walk pattern. Given his stature Mannix was able to outpace his shadows and return to his base at Nazareth House at Hammersmith using a circuitous route, no doubt causing consternation at Scotland Yard.[12]

Another factor designed to inhibit the movements of Mannix was the government's order prohibiting visits to Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester. As well as having numerous Irish residents, these cities were all important parts of the rail network. Had the archbishop taken a train to any of them, he could

have been held to be in breach of the order and subjected to more stringent controls such as imprisonment or deportation. For this reason he agreed to travel by road transport. The car was still seen by some as a novelty, suitable for short journeys but hardly advisable for long journeys. Despite this Mannix accepted the plan to hire two chauffer-driven cars (the second was a kind of insurance) and this would be his mode of transport throughout his stay in Britain.[13]

As for relations with the clergy in this country, Mannix was never to meet the head of the English hierarchy Cardinal Bourne, even though he resided for several months in his diocese. Like his immediate predecessor, Cardinal Vaughan, Bourne was not perceived as being unduly friendly towards the Irish cause. Like Vaughan he was ready to concede that there was a case for reforms in Irish administration but any change must be compatible with the maintenance of the link with the crown and of safeguarding the essential defences of the empire. Though Bourne was undoubtedly under pressure from time to time to speak about the situation in Ireland, he resisted such pleas until towards the end of 1920 when he re-issued a pastoral letter of Cardinal Manning composed as long ago as 1867 condemning the clandestine, oath-bound Fenian movement. The implication seemed to be that the contemporary manifestations of Irish nationalism, such as Sinn Fein, were of the same stamp. Mannix refused to link the two movements, and neither, it would seem, did other bishops or priests, otherwise they are not likely to have publicly demonstrated their regard for the Melbourne prelate and his cause.[14]

Mannix arrived in Britain in August 1920 and left in May 1921. During this period the unrest in Ireland continued, despite pleas from civic and religious leaders to put an end to the violence. Behind the scenes efforts were being made to devise talks that might lead to a settlement, though that did not come until later in the year. The purpose of Mannix's travels, his *ad limina* visit to Rome, did not come about until May 1921. The archbishop received a warm welcome from Pope Benedict XV and his officials and was unexpectedly invited to outline a suitable message that the Pope might address to the faithful in Ireland. The result was a document unique in the history of Hiberno-Vatican relations in that British rule in Ireland was soundly condemned. Ever after Mannix liked to assert that this was the only time he had ever been asked to draft an encyclical. Within a few years, peace of sorts returned to Ireland, brought about by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921.

Mannix was faced by a range of problems on his return to Australia. In 1925 he led a pilgrimage to Rome for the Holy Year. He found time to re-visit Ireland, though he found that few seemed to want to meet him. In 1920-21 having become acquainted with Eamon de Valera, Mannix anticipated he would be head of an independent Irish government. On his return to Ireland in 1925 the archbishop found that having opposed the Treaty, de Valera was in the political wilderness. Although government ministers showed no wish to see him, even more galling was the attitude of the Irish hierarchy: only one bishop agreed to meet Mannix, and that was in the greatest secrecy. Finally, the archbishop found

time to revisit England, though here again with few exceptions he found very little interest in him or the cause he had identified with. It might have been that the Irish Question, so long a seemingly intransigent problem in politics, had reached saturation point. Mannix returned to Australia a disappointed man, vowing never to visit his native country again. He lived to be almost one hundred, and during his lengthy episcopate he was to become embroiled in a wide range of issues that proved to be controversial. According to one of his biographers Mannix's major achievement in politics was nothing to do with Ireland but the securing of public funding for church schools.[15]

Notes and References

1. J. Griffin, 'Daniel Mannix (1864-1963),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* [ADB] vol. X, 1891-1939 (Melbourne, 1986). P. O'Farrell, 'Daniel Mannix (1864-1963)'; eds. Matthews and Harrison, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [*ODNB*] vol. 36 (2004) 517-18. The Northern Province comprised the dioceses of Liverpool, Hexham and Newcastle, Salford, Leeds, and Middlesbrough.

2. T.P. Boland, *Thomas Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne* (St Lucia, Queensland, Australia, 1997), ch. 19. L.F. Fitzhardinge, 'William Morris Hughes, 1862-1952),' *ADB* vol. 9, 1891-1939 (1983), 393-400. C. Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland* (Melbourne and Dublin, 1984), ch. 8.

3. Griffin., op.cit.

4. Ibid., and *New York Times,* July 9, 1920, et seq.

5. Ibid., 5 to 11 August 1920. *Catholic Bulletin,* Sept., 1920.

6. A.J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965), 104, 119, 153-59. L.F. Fitzhardinge, *The Little Digger. William Morris Hughes. A political biography* (1979), vol. II, 203, 276, 283-86.

7. K. O'Connor, *The Irish in Britain* (Dublin, 1974), pp. 33-34. The Catholic Federation experienced varied fortunes. The Salford diocesan section proved to be one of the most active, though it ran up against the opposition of the laity who preferred to support the United Irish League, and later the Labour Party. M.J. Broadley, *Louis Charles Casartelli. A bishop in peace and war* (Manchester 2006), esp. 185-89, has a useful discussion on the nature of the Federation. Keiko Inoue, 'Dail propaganda and the Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain during the Anglo-Irish War', *Irish Studies Review,* vol. 6, no. 1 (April 1998), 47-53.

8. *Catholic Bulletin,* Jan. 1921. *Catholic Herald,* 20 Nov. 1920.

9. *Catholic Herald,* 20, 27 Nov., 1920. *Catholic Bulletin,* Jan. 1921.

10. *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 12, 13 Nov., 1920.

11. *Catholic Herald,* 20 Nov. 1920.

12. *Catholic Bulletin,* April, 1921. The two long-suffering officers were Smallwood and Moth

13. C. Kiernan, *Daniel Mannix and Ireland* (Melbourne and Dublin, 1984) 163.

14. R. Kollar, 'Francis Alphonsus Bourne (1861-1935),' *ODNB,* vol. 6 2004) 847-8.

15. Kiernan, 165; 185-201.

TRACING THE RELICS OF NICHOLAS POSTGATE, 'PRIEST OF THE MOORS'

Dominique Minskip

Fifty-two of the men and women martyred for their Catholic faith between 1537 and 1680 met their deaths in York, the majority of them executed at Tyburn gallows on the Knavesmire. The last-but-one was Nicholas Postgate, the 'priest of the moors', hung, drawn and quartered on 7 August 1679, aged eighty-two. There are a number of relics of him at Egton Bridge, many of them from the Mass-house used by him, but some are elsewhere. Among the relics preserved in the church of the English Martyrs in York[1], only a stone's throw from Tyburn, is Postgate's jawbone. A reconstruction of its movements since the death of the martyr makes a fascinating story.

A secular mission was established in Old Elvet, Durham, around 1660 and ultimately it became the parish of St Cuthbert. There is firm evidence of the jawbone being preserved there from at least the middle of the nineteenth century. In January 1944, Joseph McCormack, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, made a gift of the jawbone to the parish of English Martyrs (then in the diocese of Leeds[2]). Four letters are connected with the gift. The first is dated 29 January 1944 and is from the bishop to William Joseph Hawkswell, parish priest of English Martyrs. Hawkswell endorsed it as the 'reply to my letter of thanks for the relic of Ven. Nicholas Postgate'. In the letter the bishop expressed his pleasure at being able to spread the *cultus* of the martyrs and that Postgate was one of his favourites. Two of the letters, both dated 3 January 1945, are from Bishop McCormack to Henry John Poskitt, Bishop of Leeds. The first is a copy of a deposition made in December 1926 by Canon William Brown who had gone to St Cuthbert's as curate in October 1874 and remained there until his retirement fifty years later. Brown was a historian, a member of the Durham and Newcastle Archaeological Society and Vice President of the Surtees Society. His deposition certified that various relics were venerated at St Cuthbert's at the time of his arrival including: the right hand of Nicholas Postgate, minus its little finger; two vertebral bones; his lower jaw bone; and a lock of his white hair (preserved in 'what seems to have been a lunette for a monstrance' and probably that which is now on display at Egton Bridge). There were also relics of the Ven. Thomas Thwing, martyred in York in 1680, the year after Postgate's execution. Brown was able to state that the relics had been in the parish for some time before his arrival and that they had been authenticated in 1853 with the seal of William Hogarth, last Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District and first Bishop of Hexham from 1850.[3] McCormack's second letter to Poskitt explained that he had not consulted experts to find out whether Brown's statement afforded sufficient evidence to justify public veneration of the relics if and when Postgate was canonised. The fourth letter is merely Poskitt's letter forwarding the others to Hawkswell.[4]

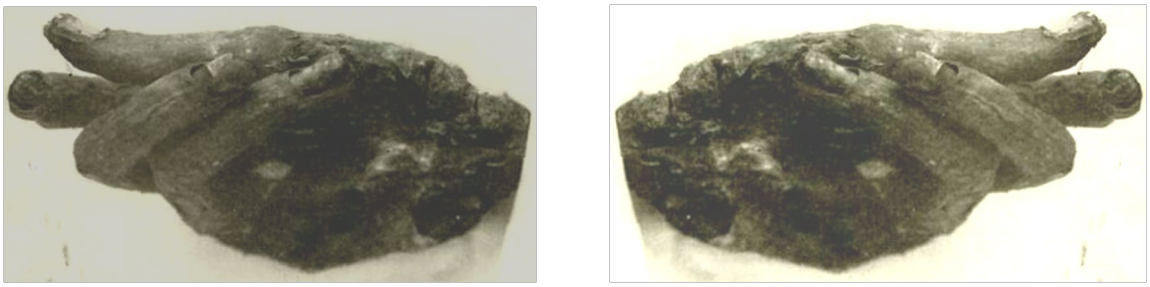
Two questions arise: why might Bishop McCormack have given the relic to English Martyrs, and why might he have sent Canon Brown's deposition a year after the making the gift? The answer to the first may well be that Bishop Poskitt, though a convert, felt some affinity with the martyr since 'Postgate' is sometimes rendered 'Poskit', and he may have been keen to have a relic of his namesake in his diocese and English Martyrs in York was the obvious place for it. Poskitt had already been generous to the parish in donating both an altar missal and (it is believed) a statue of Our Lady of Walsingham when the new church was opened in 1932. As regards the deposition, it may have been that the parish priest wanted as much authentication in place as possible for the time when public veneration would be permitted. It may also have been that Hawkswell was aware that Ampleforth Abbey also claimed to have Postgate's right hand. Whether it was known at the time that the relic at Ampleforth and the relic at Durham were both right hands is unclear: both are desiccated and incomplete. The present parish priest at Durham says that at one stage the two were brought together with embarrassing consequences![5]

Clearly, the problem of the two right hands (if that is what they are) casts a shadow over the jaw bone and makes it necessary to probe a little further into its history. The chapter on Postgate in Dom Bede Camm's *Forgotten Shrines* (1910) not only tells the story of Postgate's life and describes the places associated with him, but lists and describes the relics preserved in various locations at the time he was writing. In Durham he saw the hand along with *two* locks of white hair, the lower jaw and vertebra of the backbone. In his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* (Pt II 1742) Bishop Richard Challoner stated that one of Postgate's hands was preserved at Douai College and Camm expressed the belief that this was the hand he had seen at Durham. Significantly, Camm quotes from Challoner that Postgate's quartered body was given to his friends and was buried, though the place of burial is not known. If the same was true of Thomas Thwing then it would not have been difficult for the Catholics of York in 1679 and 1680 to have obtained relics of both martyrs and kept them together; Camm also mentions the jaw bone and vertebra of Thomas Thwing at Durham.

Although the Bar Convent was not established in York at that date, members of Mary Ward's Institute were living in a house in Castlegate and also with the Thwing family just outside the city. Since the hand of Margaret Clitherow found its way into the nuns' possession might they not also, at least in the first instance, have preserved the relics of Postgate and Thwing, especially as the Thwings were sheltering them? It is equally reasonable to suggest that whoever did preserve the relics, passed them on to the church authorities and that the relics were taken to Douai College, *alma mater* of the two martyrs. Lives of the martyrs were inspirational for the students, and physical evidence, presumably, all the more so. In the late eighteenth century, however, France was in the grip of revolutionary fervour and Douai College was seized and closed, and its students forced to flee to England. If the college superiors foresaw the threat then the perfect opportunity to safeguard their precious relics arose in 1790

when the college president, William Gibson, returned to take up residence in Old Elvet, Durham, upon his appointment as Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District. No proof exists for this, but it seems plausible. Camm mentions relics of Postgate and Thwing being found together at Oscott College. This could be additional evidence for the genuineness of those at Durham. The fact that he does not mention a lock of white hair amongst the relics he was shown at Egton Bridge but mentions two at Durham supports the supposition that a gift was made in the same way that the jaw bone came to York, and, perhaps, at the same time.

Camm believed the Postgate relic at Ampleforth to be a *left* hand. Its paper wrapping dating from seventeenth century stated that the hand was Postgate's and that with it was a cloth dipped in his blood. Dom Bede drew on the account of the Rev. John Knaresborough (1672-1724, another early chronicler of the lives of the martyrs and missioner in York from 1704) that he received a piece of cloth which had been dipped in Postgate's blood at his execution by Thomas Garlick, a servant of Mr Tunstall of Wycliffe who passed it to Mrs Fairfax of York who passed it to him.[6] That cloth was at Dodding Green near Kendal at the time of Camm's writing but he suggests that, by association, the Fairfaxes were the most probable source for the hand at Ampleforth. Camm describes it as missing its thumb and forefinger. Bizarrely, the photograph of the hand at Durham published by Camm makes it appear rather like a left hand, but perhaps the image was reversed in printing.[7]



The hand of Nicholas Postgate at St Cuthbert's, Durham: left, as published by Camm, right, reversed

Finally, the jaw bone is displayed at English Martyrs, York, as that of Nicholas Postgate alongside other relics given in the nineteenth century by the Rev. John H. Pollen SJ, and perhaps by others subsequently. A new Martyrs Chapel was fashioned in 2007 to give the relics a dignified and suitable home and to encourage their veneration by parishioners and visitors.

Notes and References

1. In the early days of the parish, the priest, Edward Goldie, obtained a number of relics from Jesuit sources. A letter from John Hungerford Pollen, SJ, writing from Farm Street on 2 May 1895 promised a piece of Bl Thomas More's hat and

a small relic of the Ven. Henry Walpole, SJ, although the latter was not to be exposed for veneration because Walpole was not yet a *beatus*. Pollen would look out for more relics.

2. English Martyrs was transferred to the diocese of Middlesbrough in 1982.

3. Newcastle was added to the title in 1861.

4. By an oversight he mis-dated the letter to 4 January 1944. The letters are at English Martyrs, York.

5. The hand remains in the parish in one of many boxes and it is not possible to say whether the vertebral bones and the relics of Thomas Thwing remain.

6. Knaresborough was born at Ferensby, near Knaresborough, and was an alumnus of Douai College. He was described as 'a learned and persevering collector of Catholic history and biography'. His manuscript collection, 'Sufferings of the Catholics', was used by Challoner. The collection included papers relating to Postgate and Thwing. Cf. J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics…* vol. IV sub nomen.

7. Details about the mission in Durham are taken from J.M. *Popish Elvet* (2 vols. nd). Interestingly Fr. Tweedy makes no comment at all on the relics. He did not have the benefit of Canon Brown's deposition, it would seem, or perhaps he preferred to shy away from any possible controversy over the two right hands.

The Old Mass-house, Egton

GEORGE RAYNER – AN ELIZABETHAN CARMELITE

Kevin Alban, O.Carm.

The suppression of the mendicant houses in 1538 by Henry VIII's commissioners put an end to the official presence of friars in England and Wales, but also it provided the impetus for a number of sporadic and isolated missions to the British Isles. In Carmelite history the most well known ones are those of the Ancient Observance in the 1680s and 1690s and of the Discalced branch in various chaplaincies to foreign embassies, as well as rural missions.[1] Among the Carmelite missionaries of the Ancient Observance is George Rayner,[2] a priest and a Carmelite who worked in Yorkshire in the late sixteenth century and who died in the early 1600's in York Castle. His name was not among the 262 presented to the Holy See in 1886 for beatification, and he hardly figures in 'official' recusant or Carmelite history. Indeed in English historical sources he appears a somewhat shadowy figure: he is never identified as a Carmelite, but simply as an 'old Queen Mary priest'. However, there was good reason for Rayner to keep his identity secret for by doing so he was able to protect himself and those to whom he ministered.

Of Rayner's early life almost nothing is known except that he was a student for the diocese of Chester and that he was ordained acolyte by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, on 5 March 1559 in his palace at Bishop Auckland in County Durham.[3] This was one of the last ordinations performed by Tunstall before his deprivation and imprisonment by order of Elizabeth I. Tunstall had been ordained Bishop of London in 1522, had survived the Henrician reformation as Bishop of Durham and, after deprivation and imprisonment during the brief reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), had been restored to his see under Queen Mary.[4]

When Elizabeth acceded to the throne in 1558 she found it expedient to leave Tunstall in place so that he might lead negotiations with the Scots to restore peace with them. Given this rather delicate foreign situation, Elizabeth moved cautiously on domestic issues and this included above all a religious settlement to restore protestantism. Therefore, for the first ten months of her reign she left the church of the Marian restoration largely in place.[5] It is for this reason that George Rayner is described as 'an old Queen Mary priest': not that he was ordained in the reign of Mary (she died in fact a few months before his acolyte ordination) but that he was ordained by a Catholic bishop using a Marian (that is, Roman) Ordinal. This put Rayner, and others like him, in a unique position. For the Roman church and for the Church of England the ordination of men using the Marian ritual was valid and they could legitimately officiate at worship, including the celebration of marriages. The implications of this position are seen in the case of Hugo Ile, a contemporary of Rayner's.[6]) He officiated at the second marriage[7] of the recusant Thomas Meynell in 1605 which was impugned by a High Commission of the Archbishop of York in 1607 on the grounds that Ile was a Roman priest.[8] Meynell recorded the event in his

diary, preserving the full judgement of the commission that Hugo Ile 'per reverendum in xpo patrem Cuthbertum nuper episcopum Dunelmi rite et legitime ordinati' had performed a valid and legal marriage between Thomas Meynell and Mary Thwaites. It appears that this was the first marriage performed by a Marian priest to be 'proved' in England. A 'Queen Mary priest' then, could offer not only a Catholic service for a couple getting married, but a form which would be acceptable also to English law.[9] Marian priests were also unique in that as 'native clergy' they were not subject to the penal legislation introduced by Elizabeth from 1585. The various acts passed were designed to ensure a measure of uniformity in religious observance and also to protect the English from the wave of proselytising Jesuits and other 'seminary priests' coming from continental Europe.[10] These priests were subject to harsh penalties if caught since they would be tried as traitors, and they were generally advised to keep a low profile in order to protect their flocks. Marian priests such as Rayner and Ile, while they could be fined and imprisoned were not regarded as traitors and, as will become clear, were conscious of the great advantage they enjoyed in having been ordained by an English bishop in England.[11]

The details of Rayner's life from 1559 to 1599 are shrouded in obscurity and few facts can be stated with any certainty. It appears that he became curate of Cockfield (County Durham) in 1559 and that he absented himself from the parish during a visitation that same year, presumably to avoid detection as a Roman priest. By 1563 he had become curate of Haughton-le-Skerne, also in Durham.[12] The next reference to Rayner is in the *Pilgrim Book of the Hospice of the Most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas of Canterbury* (the hospice was attached to the English College, Rome). In 1581 it appears that Georgius Raneus arrived from Rheims and stayed in the hospice from 3 October for ten days. Rayner is identified in the entry as from the diocese of York, but this probably reflects Rayner's actual location for apostolic purposes, rather than his juridical status.[13]

The questions which naturally arise at this point are what was Rayner doing between 1563 and 1581 and his putative membership of the Carmelite order. Of modern historians only Aveling appears to know of this connection and he is rather circumspect: 'he is said to have gone abroad and become a Carmelite at Mechelen (Malines).[14] From Carmelite sources there is one reference to Rayner in Norbert of St. Julian's *Notitia brevis virorum plurium celebrium Carmelitarum in Belgio*. The entry is for a Georgius Reynerud, English and sometime member of the Mechelen community.[15] The reader is referred to the Supplementum of the *Bibliotheca Carmelitarum* which was a pet project of Norbert's, designed to redress the balance in the Belgian entries in Cosmas Villiers's original. Unfortunately, Norbert never finished his own edition and one of the 'missing' entries happens to be for Rayner.

There are also external considerations which might shed light on Rayner's membership of the order in Mechelen. It seems probable that Rayner left England in the mid 1560s (certainly no earlier than 1563) and that he returned in

the late 1570s or early 1580s: the *Pilgrim Book* entry in 1581 refers to the diocese where he presumably worked. It is in this period that John Baptist Rossi was actively pursuing a policy of reform as prior general of the Carmelites.[16] He was assisted in this project in the Low Countries by Peter Wolf (or Lupus, as he is better known) who had entered the Order in Mechelen and become prior of the house in 1566.[17] He was provincial from 1578 and died in the town square of Mechelen in 1580 in defence of the city. During his period as prior and provincial Lupus carried out Rossi's plan for reform by bringing greater observance to the house and to the province and at the same time facing up to the challenge of protestantism openly and courageously. Lupus must have been an attractive, if sometimes difficult, figure yet it is not impossible to imagine someone like Rayner entering the order in Mechelen at the height of Lupus's influence.[18] As Aveling notes, there were always a few Englishmen who were prepared to join religious orders abroad: 'Down to the 1590s odd English people became Franciscan, Capuchin, Carmelite or Dominican friars … but they were few and had to settle in foreign communities.'[19]

Similarly, perhaps it is no coincidence that as Rayner found his way back to England in the 1580s, John Baptist Caffardi (prior general 1580-1592) on 2 August 1588 appointed John Chizzola and Jerome Aleotto 'to visit the French provinces … and to obtain information on the Order in England, Ireland, Scotland, the Low Countries, Germany and Poland.'[20] Certainly a return to England by the Carmelites had been mooted on and off since the suppression of the friaries in 1538, but nothing had ever come of it. Nicholas Audet had tried to get the Lower Germans to send friars in 1556, possibly at the suggestion of Cardinal Reginald Pole, whom he had got to know at the Council of Trent.[21] The title 'provincial of England' remained available for honorific purposes until the abolition of titular offices in the early years of the twentieth century.[22]

In conclusion, it seems a firm tradition in the Order that George Rayner was a Carmelite, and a member of the Mechelen community. There is no documentary evidence against his membership and one piece of evidence, albeit slight, in favour, - the entry in Norbert of St. Julian's register. The circumstantial evidence of a reformed house and province under Lupus makes it at least explicable that Rayner should have joined this particular house and this point in time. Renewed interest in England (along with other 'protestant' countries it must be said) by Caffardi in 1588 is suggestive when taken with Rayner's possible return to his native land in the 1580s. However, because of Rayner's unique status as a Marian priest it was never likely that he was about to refound the province, and indeed, there was every good reason to keep quiet about his experience on the Continent when he got back to England. If the entry in the Pilgrim Book for 1581 is only suggestive of Rayner's return to England, then it is certain that he was back in Yorkshire by 1588, for in that year he officiated at the first marriage of Thomas Meynell with Wenefred Pudsey. Meynell records the event thus:

> Notwithstandinge the Tempestuous stormes of the tyme, yet I humblie thanke Almightie God, and owr blessed Ladye, I was maried to Wenefrede at Barforthe by Sr George Raine a vertuous Catholicke preist: who died happelie afterwars (sic) in Yorkcastle. …[23]

Again from 1588 to 1599 there are few facts that can be stated with any certainty about Rayner's ministry. A further trip to Rome is recorded in the hospice Pilgrim Book from 10 to 19 April 1591 and it is possible that Rayner had some specific link with the English College.[24] New students at the college had to fill in a questionnaire regarding their family background and religious education. Their replies are preserved in the *Liber Responsa* and two pupils, Seth Forster and Thomas Oglethorpe, record that they were reconciled to the faith and instructed in Catholicism by one George Keynes.[25] In a later manuscript which records the imprisonment of Rayner in York Castle this same spelling occurs where it is quite clear that Rayner's name is intended.[26] It seems possible therefore that the two young students from York in the English College in the 1600s had been educated in the faith by Rayner. Forster was born in 1590 and Oglethorpe in 1594 so it is not impossible that Rayner instructed them, even though they would have been very young at the time. The latter entry, which is dated 1613, describes Keynes as *piae memoriae,* indicating that he was already dead. This may be the reason that some later historians have assigned 1613 as the date of Rayner's death, although no other writer has noticed the possible connection between Rayner and Keynes up to now.

While no account of Rayner's ministry to the people of Yorkshire survives, other contemporary sources allow a certain reconstruction of the work of a chaplain to an English catholic household in the recusant period. John Sharpe (1576-1630, alias Pollard) was a secular priest in Yorkshire and subsequently a Jesuit who left an account of daily life in a recusant house in about 1610.[27] Generally there were two priests, one to work in the house itself and one 'on call' On Sundays and holy days there would be Mass, a sermon and spiritual instruction. Even on ferial days, there would be Mass at 6 am for the servants and men and another at 8 am for the women. Vespers and matins were said at 4 pm and while the priests recited the office, the others prayed private devotions. Night prayers consisting of various litanies followed supper at 9 pm. All members of the household engaged in daily meditation and mental prayer and all the lay members were encouraged to go to confession and communion at least every two weeks.

Although Rayner enjoyed some freedom of movement as a Marian priest, the religious environment in which he worked was becoming more and more restrictive. In 1593 he was captured in Nottingham and taken to Hull where he was incarcerated in the South Blockhouse jail. [28] In the 1590s the government of the north of England was vested in the Council of the North headed at that time by the Archbishop of York, Matthew Hutton.[29] It seems that the council was considered somewhat lax in the matter of enforcing the Elizabethan religious settlement and was 'encouraged' by London to adopt a more uncompromising

stance regarding recusants.[30] The archbishop was relieved of his office and Lord Burgleigh appointed as President of the Council.[31] Part of this tightening up is seen in the imprisonment of George Rayner, a seminary priest Christopher Wharton and fifty-one other Catholics in York Castle from late 1599 to mid-1600. During this period the prisoners were forced to listen to some fifty sermons preached by various Anglican divines, including the Archbishop of York. Accounts of these sermons and a description of the prisoners' behaviour were compiled by the priest William Richmond (Richmont) whose manuscript is extant in the British Library.[32] John Knaresborough, another priest, subsequently incorporated part of Richmond's work into his own book, *Sufferings of the Catholicks in the early 18th century*. Bishop Challoner then transcribed Knaresborough's account as part of the appendices to his own *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* and used some of the details of the York imprisonment in his description of the more famous Christopher Wharton.[33]

It seems, by all accounts, that despite his age (he was perhaps sixty years old by now) Rayner was more than a match for his captors and had to be quietened down on more than one occasion.

> After they were set upon the bench, [i.e. the Lord President and Council of the North] sir George Rains, (an old priest there amongst them) rose up, and went towards my lord, and all the company followed after him, and they all made suit to his lordship, to give them leave to depart, for that it was against their consciences to hear their sermons; …[34] The prisoners were hauled down, and placed within the rails, and the bishop in a chair over against them, at the other end. And after the lord president was come in, the two old priests, Sir George Rains and Sir Christopher Wharton, stood both up together, and proffered to speak. This bishop stayed them, and said that they should have time to speak, but they should hear first; …[35]

One modern commentator notes: 'There were only two priests in the prison at the time, one of whom was an old Queen Mary priest, although he was more effective than his seminarist colleague.'[36] Wharton, the seminarist, came from Middleton in Yorkshire and was a Master of Arts and sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. He trained for the priesthood in Rheims and was ordained on 31 March 1584 by Cardinal de Guise, the local archbishop. He arrived in England in 1586 and was imprisoned with Rayner in 1599. He was brought to trial at the Lent Assizes of 1600 and indicted for being a seminary priest and for returning to England contrary to the provisions of the 1585 Act against seminary priests and Jesuits. By way of defence, Wharton claimed that he had been ordained before 1559 and therefore was not subject to the 1585 Act. This was patently untrue and Wharton had the misfortune to find himself before a judge with whom he had studied at Oxford and who could guarantee that Wharton had not been a priest at that time.[37] However, there seems to be a clear influence from Rayner here: the defence that Wharton attempted is precisely the circumstances that applied to Rayner. Wharton appealed to the unique status of the Marian priests, preferring to ignore his training on the continent. Rayner,

with truth on his side it must be said, could claim exactly this status and this explains why there are apparently no references to his membership of the Carmelites in the British records. Even though Rayner had been ordained in England and was therefore not a seminary priest, the fact that he had entered the Carmelites would certainly have muddied the waters for him, had it become known. Rayner simply could not afford to run the risk of indictment, imprisonment and execution – not only for his sake, but also for the sake of those to whom he ministered and who would have been severely punished for harbouring a traitor.[38] Wharton was found guilty of treason and executed on 28 March 1600. He was subsequently numbered among the 262 men and women who were presented to Rome for the process of beatification by the English hierarchy in 1886. He was finally beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1987 as part of the group known as the Eighty Five Martyrs of England and Wales.[39]

Of Rayner's fate the only contemporary source to speak of it is Meynell's diary which refers to his death in York Castle: 'Sr George Raine a vertuous Catholicke preist: who died happelie afterwars (sic) in Yorkcastle.'[40] Given the conditions at the time this is not at all surprising.[41]

> It is impossible to speak in terms of too strong reprobation of the state of the northern prisons in the seventeenth century … Some of them had no light and no ventilation; several were partly under water whenever there was a flood. The number of prisoners who died in gaol during this century is positively startling.[42]

Benedict Zimmerman OCD in an article in 1892 seems to know of a story of martyrdom, but notes that Rayner's name was not included in the list submitted to the Holy See in 1886.[43] There seems to be no trace of Rayner's martyrdom in any of the contemporary sources and certainly no reason to suppose that he died in 1613. Challoner records no deaths for the faith in 1613 and is silent on Rayner's faith. On the other hand, Zimmerman has no doubt that Rayner belonged to the Ancient Observance of the Order, despite the silence of English primary sources. Subsequent historians have tended to repeat Zimmerman's views without adding much in the way of new information.[44] Rayner is certainly known to recusant historians such as Aveling, McGrath and Rowe, but only the former seems to know of a Carmelite connection.

Rayner lived in turbulent times and enjoyed the status of a Marian priest which allowed him a certain latitude in his ministry. There seems to be good reason for accepting his membership of the Order: he would have entered Mechelen at the height of reform there under Lupus. However, he preferred not to make mention of this fact in order not to compromise his position as a 'Queen Mary priest'. Yet his status did not protect him in the long run from imprisonment and after a long life of ministry he died 'happily' in York Castle probably in 1600 or shortly thereafter.

Notes and References

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1. J. Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel,* (4 vols in 5 parts 1975-1985), for the history of various attempted missions to England see vol. III, 278-288. For an account of the mission under James II see W. McGreal, 'Carmelites in London, a Penal Times Mission', *Aylesford Review* 7 (1965) 66-74, and for the Discalced missions see B. Zimmerman, *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615-1849* (1899).

2. Variously spelt Reyner, Raines, Raine, Raynes, Reynes, Reines, and Rein.

3. G. Hardie (ed.), *The Registers of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, 1530-1559 and James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, 1561-1576* (1952)

4. C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstall, Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator* (1938); A. Foster, 'Bishop Tunstall's Priests', *Recusant History* 9 (1967-68)175-204.

5. In May 1559 Parliament passed two statutes: one to abolish papal supremacy and restore the Queen as supreme governor of the Church; a second to replace the Latin Mass with a service similar to Edward VI's Second Prayer Book. Cf. G. Prothero (ed.), *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I* (1906) 1-20 and for a discussion of the significance of these and other statutes see G. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (1972) 410-413

6. Ile was ordained priest at the same ceremony that Rayner was ordained acolyte. Ile was arrested in 1609, he appears in a recusant list again in 1611, and he died in Hulton, according to Thomas Meynell. Cf. J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire, 1558-1790* (1966), 43.

7. Rayner himself had performed Meynell's first marriage in 1588 (see below).

8. J.C.H. Aveling (ed.), 'The Recusancy Papers of the Meynell Family', *Miscellanea* (Catholic Record Society 1964) 20-23

9. See J.C.H. Aveling, 'The Marriages of Catholic Recusants 1559-1642' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 14 (1963) 68-83, who notes that the situation was complicated further by some Marian priests who had been accepted into the Church of England without re-ordination. Although Meynell's case was not heard until 1607, recusants were fully aware of the legal loophole of which they were taking advantage. Aveling notes that as late as 1612 there may have been as many as 150 priests from Mary's reign working in Yorkshire.

10. An Act against Jesuits and Seminary Priests (27 Eliz. I c. 2 1585) which imposed the penalty for high treason on those ordained according to Catholic rites abroad and who then came to England. Cf. Prothero, *Select Statutes,* 83-86.

11. ‘Seminary priests [is a term] first used in Act 27 Eliz. I c. 2 (1585) to distinguish a new generation of priests from the ‘old priests’ or ‘massing priests’ who survived from the reigns of Mary and Henry VIII. The latter could be fined and imprisoned for recusancy and even hanged for being ‘reconciled’ (sc. to the Church of Rome) but they were not affected by this particular act which stamped the seminary priests as traitors.’ G. Anstruther (ed.), *The Seminary Priests: A Dictionary of the Secular Clergy of England and Wales, 1558-1850*, (4 vols, 1968ff.), vol. I, ix.

12. Foster, ‘Bishop Tunstall’s Priests’, 193.

13. *The Pilgrim Book of the English Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity and St. Thomas of Canterbury, Rome,* quoted in H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (1878) VI, 551.

14. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 44-45.

15. Brussels Royal Library Ms 16490, fo. 49. I am grateful to Fr. Richard Copsey, O.Carm., for this reference.

16. Smet, II, 132-162 for details of Rossi’s reforming activities.

17. Smet, II, 150-152 for an account of Lupus’s impact in the Low Countries.

18. Unfortunately no records of the Mechelen house survive for this period. Cf. C. van de Wiel, ‘Materials on the Carmelites in the Archiepiscopal Archive of Mechelen (1303-1963), *Carmelus* 32 (1985) 193-277.

19. J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from the Reformation to Emancipation* (1976) 76.

20. Smet, II, 167 quoting E. Monsignano and J. Ximenez, (eds.) *Bullarium Carmelitarum*, (4 vols, Rome 1715-1768), II, 254-255.

21. Smet, I, 248ff for the contacts between Cardinal Pole and Nicholas Audet at the Council of Trent.

22. E. Boaga, ‘La struttura delle province nell’Ordine dei Carmelitani e la vicenda dell'Ordo provinciarum’, *Carmelus* 40 (1993) 90-129.

23. Aveling, ‘Meynell Family’, 20.

24. Foley, *Records*, VI, 564 (Pilgrim Book).

25. A. Kenny (ed.), *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College Rome, part one 1598-1621*, (1962), 220, entry 476 and 262, entry 514.

26. DDEV/67/1-4, Maxwell Constable Collection, Knaresborough Ms, Hull University Library. Perhaps Keynes was an alias for Rayner or perhaps this is just a poor transcription. In the earlier Richmond Ms the name is quite clearly ‘Rainer’. The Knaresborough Ms list of prisoners is transcribed in C. Talbot (ed.), *Miscellanea: Recusant Records,* (Catholic Record Society 1961), 276-277.

27. Sharpe's account is preserved as 'Father Pollard's Recollections of the Yorkshire Mission', J. Morris (ed.), *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers related by themselves*, (1877), 443-470.

28. Foley, *Records* III, 763, quoting Christopher Greene's Ms, vol. F, English College, Rome.

29. The best account of the Council's activities is still R. Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, (1921), esp. 230 ff for the period in question here.

30. It seems that the number of recusants was actually growing in Yorkshire. Cf. A.G. Dickens, 'The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* [*YAJ*] 35 (1941)157-182, and 'The Extent and Character of Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1604', *YAJ* 37 (1948) 24-48 who estimates that there may have been between 3,000 and 3,500 recusants in Yorkshire in 1604. Note that in 1593 the government had passed an Act against Popish Recusants (35 Eliz. I c. 2) which confined those convicted of recusancy to a five-mile limit around their normal place of dwelling. Cf. Prothero, *Select Statutes*, 92-93.

31. Letter dated 22nd August 1599, the Queen to the archbishop of York. *Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Hon. The Marquis of Salisbury K.G.*, (1902), 317. The letter refers to recusancy as 'such iniquity which hath … possessed the greatest of those Northern parts …' Clearly London was rattled by reports of Catholicism running rife in the north despite harsh penal laws.

32. BL Ms Add. 34520, fos 1-71. Richmond was trained in Rheims and ordained priest on 4 March 1581. He was sent to England a month later and seems to have been in York when Wharton, Rayner and the other Catholics were imprisoned. Cf. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests*, I, 377.

33. R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics of both sexes who suffered death in England on religious accounts from the year 1577 to 1648* (1741; 1844 edition).

34. Challoner, *Memoirs*, I, 222: 'The Prisoners' Behaviour and Speeches at the Second Sermon', 16 December, 1599.

35. Challoner, *Memoirs*, I, 225: 'The Sixth Sermon, made by the Archbishop himself, the 13th of January [1600]'.

36. P. Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of Elizabethan Catholics*, (1982), 183-184.

37. Challoner, *Memoirs*, I, 187-188.

38. P. McGrath and J. Rowe, 'The Elizabethan Priests: Their Harbourers and Helpers', *Recusant History* 19 (1988-89) 209-233. The act of 1585 made harbouring a seminary priest a crime (for which Margaret Clitherow was executed). Eleanor Hunt was charged with harbouring Christopher Wharton but not executed, simply left to die in York Castle jail.

39. For details of the two beatifications in 1970 and 1987 see P. Molinari, 'The Forty Martyrs of England and Wales' *Clergy Review* (1970) 759-770; R. Connelly, The Eighty-Five Martyrs, (1987) esp. 10ff.

40. Aveling, 'Meynell Family', 20.

41. P. McGrath and J. Rowe, 'The Imprisonment of Catholics for Religion under Elizabeth I', *Recusant History* 20 (1991) 415-435 who note that some 130 Marian priests were imprisoned in Elizabeth's reign, 30 of whom were priests and 19 of these died in York or Hull.

42. J. Raine, *Depositions from the Castle of York relating to offences committed in the northern counties in the seventeenth century* (Surtees Society 1861), xxxi-xxxv

43. B. Zimmerman, 'Geschicte der Mission in England 1614 bis 1701', p. 2 of an offprint of *Stimmen von Berge Karmel*, 2 (1892-93). The details given here were repeated in Zimmerman's full length study, *Carmel in England*, p. 19, where he is quite categorical that Rayner belonged to the Ancient Observance: 'As this religious belonged to the Calced Carmelites, not the Discalced, his history does not come within the scope of this work.'

44. Thus P.R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars; an Outline Carmelite History with special reference to the English-speaking provinces*, (Dublin, 1926) 337; L.C. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites* (1943), 63; Smet, III, 279; A. Bellenger, *English and Welsh Priests - a Working List* (1984), 12.

REBURIAL OF MEDIEVAL FRIARS IN NEWCASTLE

Johan Bergström-Allen

The remains of more than twenty medieval friars and lay associates of the Carmelite Order in Newcastle and Northallerton were reburied in Jesmond Old Cemetery on 1 November 2010 following excavations carried out by Durham University between 2006 and 2008. The remains of each person were individually boxed and buried in one coffin in a single grave.

The Carmelites were established in the Holy Land around the year 1200AD, and arrived in England in 1242. The Newcastle friary, established in 1262, stood near the castle by Westgate. In 1539, at the Reformation, the Carmelite friary in Newcastle was suppressed and the site subsequently underwent various redevelopments. Some thirteen individuals and charnel deposits were unearthed at the site. It is likely that most of them were friars who were buried alongside lay benefactors who supported and shared their way of life. According to Senior Archaeologist Richard Annis, four of them were buried under the floor of the Chapter House, suggesting that they were senior members of the community. One grave occupant had an iron ring at about hip-level, and another was buried with a stick by his right leg. Final tests on the bones have helped to explain the unusual burial posture of one of the friars who was laid in a slightly crouched position on his right side with a floor tile placed behind his heels. Analysis has shown that the friar had a slightly deformed left arm, shorter than normal and incapable of straightening completely which might account for his unusual burial posture. The interior of the Carmelite church almost certainly contains further burials, but was not excavated as it lies under a road.

Carmelite friars' graves excavated at Newcastle.

The remains of eight medieval Carmelite friars in Northallerton were uncovered as part of a dig carried out in 2006 by Durham University ahead of a residential development. The excavation revealed that the priory – established in 1356 and suppressed at the Reformation – differed from other European Carmelite houses in its layout. The dig also unearthed eight burials from the cloister; other graves and friary buildings most probably survive beneath buildings in the surrounding area. The researchers were able to establish the diet of the friars from excavated animal bones and detritus, and also determined that one individual had been struck on the forehead. Other finds included two iron shoe buckles and pottery, some of which was made in North Yorkshire and the Tees Valley, while other fragments were from Germany.

The Prior of the Carmelites in York, Fr. Antony Lester commented:

> It came as something of a surprise to receive a phone call from the archaeologists in Durham asking us what we, as 'next of kin', wanted to do about the reburial of members of our Order who died more than five hundred years ago. But as fellow Carmelites we feel a strong spiritual bond with all our brothers and sisters from the past, and it is right that they should be re-interred with dignity. Back in the 1960s when there was a lot of redevelopment taking place in many of Britain's city-centres, a number of our medieval friaries were excavated and we re-interred bodies in the cemetery at our large priory at Aylesford in Kent. But today we think it is important to lay the bodies of our brothers to rest in the place where they were in ministry at the service of God's people, especially since the first Carmelite community in this country was established in the north-east, at Hulne near Alnwick. We are very grateful to all those who have been involved in this unusual project, including the developers, archaeologists, and Newcastle City Council.

A Memorial Mass was celebrated by Fr Lester at church of The Holy Name of Jesus on Monday 15 November, 2010, the day each year when the Carmelite Order worldwide commemorates its dead. The Mass was followed by a short service at the grave-side.

Photography:
Richard Annis, Richard Copsey, O.Carm.

Hompelwet en Rootcliff alsmé van by noorde compt.
Hompelwet
Rootcliff
Tese
Gedeente vant Landt beoes den Tinnebuy alsmé dar benssens zeylt.
Esseyton
Scholl
Nieu
Castel Tinnebuy
Tlandt beoorden Tinnebuy, dar benssens zeylende.
Seton
Nieubegmen
Almut
Hoogelwan en Rootcliff sieten
a Bara schuyngenbie.
Apparentia plagæ Occidentalis Tinnebiy, dum præternavigatur.
Barnalis plagæ Tinnebuy vultus
Coket Vlandt præternavigantibus
NOORDT
CVSTE VAN
ENGELANDT
Caerte der Noordt custe van Engelandt, beginnende van Robinhoeds bay tot Coket Eylandt, alsse zeylse landt al dar in zyn gedeente is. Door Lucas Iansz Wagenaer van Enchuysen.
Gysbruy
Rootcliff
Hompwet
Shelton
Wilchuy
Robinhoedes Bay
Hertzpole
Esseyton
Scholl
Bendon
Sonderla
Hasfort
Tynmouth
Vssen
Seton
Nieu begmen
Almut
Coket Vlandt
MERIDIES
OCCIDENS
NOORDT
ZEE
SEPTENTRIO
ORIENS
Cum gratia & privilegio ad decennium.
Spanische mylen int 17½ in een graet.
Hispanus 8 milliaria 17½ vnus gradus sive 3 ½
Duytsche mylen tot 15 in een graet.
Germanus milliarijs 15 vnus gradus sigmdentes.
Ora maritima Angliæ inter sinum Robinhodes, et Cenquattam insulam, diligentissima descripta.

A. ℵ. Ω. MEMORIAE. MARTHAE.
HENRICI. ET. MARTHAE. F. SWINBURNE.
NAT. ANGLAE. EX. ANTIQVA. ET NOBILI.
FAMILIA. CAPHEATONI. NORTHVMBRIAE.
PARENTES. MOESTISS. HILIAE. CARISSIMAE. P.
QVAE. INGENIO. EXCELLENTI. FORMA. EXIMIA.
INCREDIBILI. DOCTRINA. MORIBVS. SVAVISSIMIS.
VIX. AN. VIIII. MEN. XI. TANTVM. PRAERERPTA. ROMAE.
V. ID. SEPT. AN. M.DCC.LXXVIII.

MARTHA SWINBVRNE BORN OCT X MDCCLXVIII DIED SEPT VIIII MDCCLXXVIII HER YEARS WERE FEW BVT HER LIFE WAS LONG AND EVEL-SHE SPOKE ENGLISH FRENCH AND ITALIAN AND HAD MADE SOME PROGRESS IN THE LATIN TONGVE. KNEW THE ENGLISH AND ROMAN HISTORIES. ARITHMETIC AND GEOGRAPHY. SANG THE MOST DIFFICVLT MVSIC AT SIGHT WITH ONE OF THE FINEST VOICES IN THE WORLD. WAS A GREAT PROFICIENT ON THE HARPSICHORD. WROTE WELL. DANCED MANY SORTS OF DANCES WITH STRENGTH AND ELEGANCE-HER FACE WAS BEAVTIFVL AND MAJESTIC. HER BODY A PERFECT MODEL AND ALL HER MOTIONS GRACEFVL. HER DOCILITY AND ALACRITY IN DOING EVERY THING TO MAKE HER PARENTS HAPPY COVLD ONLY BE EQVALLED BY HER SENSE AND APTITVDE WITH SO MANY PERFECTIONS AMIDST THE PRAISES OF ALL PERSONS FROM THE SOVEREIGN DOWN TO THE BEGGAR IN THE STREET HER HEART WAS INCAPABLE OF VANITY. AFFECTATION AND ARROGANCE WERE VNKNOWN TO HER. HER BEAVTY AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS RENDERED HER THE ADMIRATION OF ALL BEHOLDERS THE LOVE OF ALL THOSE THAT ENJOYED HER COMPANY. THINK THEN WHAT THE PANGS OF HER WRETCHED PARENTS MVST BE ON SO GRIEL A SEPARATION. THEIR ONLY COMFORT IS IN THE CERTITVDE OF HER BEING COMPLETELY HAPPY BEYOND THE REACH OF PAIN AND FOR EVER FREED FROM THE MISERIES OF THIS LIFE. SHE CAN NEVER FEEL THE TORMENTS THEY ENDVRE FOR THE LOSS OF A BELOVED CHILD. BLAME THEM NOT FOR INDVLGING AN INNOCENT PRIDE IN TRANSMITTING HER MEMORY TO POSTERITY. AS AN HONOVR TO HER FAMILY AND TO HER NATIVE COVNTRY ENGLAND LET THIS PLAIN CHARACTER PENNED BY HER DISCONSOLATE FATHER DRAW A TEAR OF PITY FROM EVERY EYE THAT PERVSES IT.

THOMAS, 7th EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND Original Portrait, now at Petworth House.

CHARLES NEVILLE, EARL OF WESTMORLAND.

REVIEWS

Anne French, *Art Treasures in the North: Northern families on the Grand Tour,* (2009 Unicorn Press for Tyne & Wear Museums ISBN 9780906290361).

From the reign of Elizabeth I the English Catholic gentry sent their children abroad to be educated; some boys stayed on to study for the priesthood and some girls entered convent novitiates. Many of the youths not intended for a clerical career remained in their colleges to complete courses equivalent to the university education denied them at home and some of them would do a little sightseeing during vacations. English recusants therefore had a strong rapport with Europe and were familiar with many continental capitals and towns. Europe was broadly Catholic, of course, an attribute which did not commend itself to the English authorities. In 1679 Gerard, Mary and William Salvin were allowed to travel abroad on condition that they did not visit Rome. It was not until the end of the century that foreign travel would be more readily permitted. In any case, by then an extensive Grand Tour of Europe had widely come to be seen as the essential finishing touch of every English gentleman's education, Catholic and Protestant and, although tours were expensive, very few leading families shunned them. Not surprisingly, then, many young men of the most prominent Catholic families in the north (usually accompanied by priest-tutors) went on tour in the eighteenth century mostly to Italy but some chose northern Europe, and this excellent book follows their travels using their letters and journals.

For most, the purpose of European travel was scholarly tourism. The principal attractions were the galleries, museums and churches in the major cities where famous art-objects were to be seen. Wealthier tourists bought contemporary and Old Master pictures, antique sculpture, medals, gems, porcelain, furniture and other luxury goods to grace their English homes, but few Catholics from the north-east could afford to do so. Nonetheless, they engaged guides and took courses in art history from a local cicerone and many had their portraits painted by prominent artists. Most Italian itineraries included visits to the main sites of the ancient classical world: in and around Rome, of course, but also Pompeii, Herculaneum, Selinunte, Paestum and elsewhere in the south. Priest-tutors were also required to make the tour partly a pilgrimage. Hence, while attendance at Carnival was permitted, reluctantly, it was almost obligatory to be in Rome for Holy Week and Easter and in Venice for Ascension Day. Excursions to Loreto and Assisi were also thought of. As well as this lofty intellectual self-improvement and religious fervour, younger tourists were expected to acquire social polish by keeping respectable company in expatriate English Catholic circles. Tutors were under strict orders to prevent their charges from a headlong pursuit of wine, women and gambling. This was not invariably successful and coded references to improper liaisons appear in some journals.

The most-travelled northern Catholics were the Swinburnes of Capheaton. Sir John Swinburne (III) was at Douai from 1712 and he toured France from 1716

to 1719. His contemporary, Sir Carnaby Haggerston, set out in 1711, aged thirteen and under the supervision of a priest-tutor, to visit Germany, France and Italy, and did not return until 1719. The absence abroad of Swinburne and Haggerston during the Jacobite 'Fifteen protected their families' fortunes, just as the return of the Radcliffes in 1710 destroyed theirs. The three brothers in the next Swinburne generation were also enthusiastic tourists. In 1749 Sir John Swinburne (IV) left to spend three years roaming around France during which he visited his brother Edward, a wine merchant in Bordeaux. In 1763 Edward succeeded his brother in the baronetcy and he instantly gave up work and began to travel, firstly in Spain, then in Hungary and Moravia and finally in Italy. He took up residence at Capheaton in 1772 but he did not stay long for off he went again in 1774, this time spending three years in France and Austria.

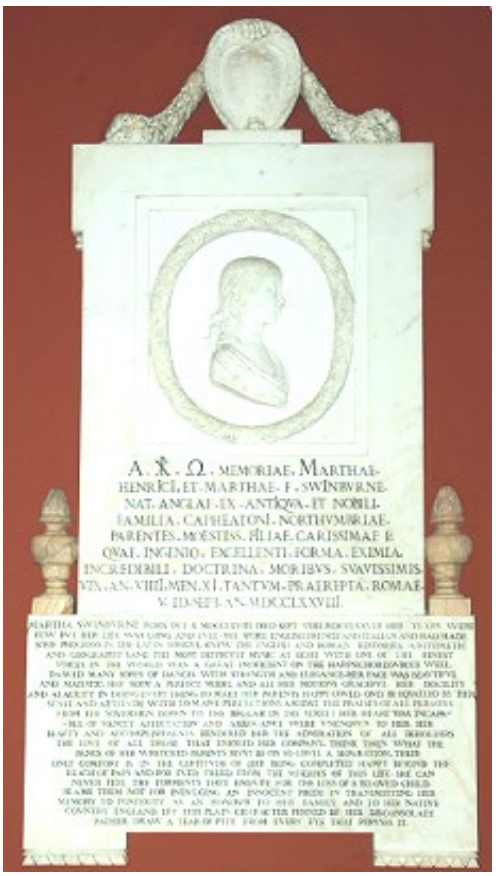
The most dedicated and the most discriminating Grand Tourist was undoubtedly Henry Swinburne (1743-1803), the youngest of the three brothers. He was educated, firstly, in the monastic seminary of La Celle near Paris, then in Bordeaux (probably under the guardianship of his brother Edward), and finally at the Academy of Turin where he learned Italian and studied *virtù*; he also visited Genoa and Florence. At the death of his eldest brother in 1763 he came into independent means and the owner-ship of an estate at Hamsterley, County Durham. Four years later, at Aix la Chapelle, when he was twenty-four and she was twenty, he married Martha Baker (1747-1809), a fellow-Catholic whom he had met when she was at the Ursuline convent school in Paris. They shared wide cultural interests: he had become an accomplished artist and she was adept at languages and music. The first years of their marriage were spent at Hamsterley but, finding that their neighbours thought of little else than 'corn or turnips, unless indeed it were the pursuit of foxes', they decamped early in 1774 for Europe and spent much of their time on what was almost a continuous Grand Tour.

The Swinburnes had started a family but Henry quite often left his wife and children behind when he went on long journies, presumably thinking that they would be an encumbrance. Their daughter Martha was left with the Blue Nuns in Paris while they toured France. He left his wife at Tarbes when he toured Spain in 1775/6 with Sir Thomas Gascoigne, the Yorkshire Catholic bachelor baronet with whom he did most of his touring. Swinburne's account of this tour, *Travels through Spain in the Years 1775 and 1776* (1779), was the first major travel book on the country by a British author. The reunited family (and Gascoigne) sailed from Marseilles to Naples, capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Swinburne and Gascoigne travelled widely and Henry described their ventures in *Travels in the Two Sicilies in the years 1777, 1778, 1789 and 1780* (1783-5) illustrated with many of his own drawings. This was very well-received in the press and became the century's most important guidebook to the kingdom though highly erudite and prolix. The party reached Rome at Easter 1778 and were given audience by Pope Pius VI. They fitted easily into expatriate Benedictine and artistic society, and both men undertook a course on

art with the Scot James Byres, an antique- and art-dealer. As was customary, they had their likenesses taken: busts were made by Christopher Hewetson, and they sat for Pompeo Batoni, as did Gascoigne (the latter's portrait, now at Lotherton Hall, depicts the busts on a table in the background). After a brief interlude in England this extraordinary six-year tour ended with a visit to Naples and the two men returned home in July 1781. But by 1783 the Swinburnes were again in Paris and they spent much of the eighties there, making forays to Germany and Hungary.

Seemingly effortlessly, Henry and Martha Swinburne gained access to royal and aristocratic circles wherever they went. They were received at Versailles; young Henry Swinburne became a page to Marie Antoinette and Martha would later suggest that the queen disguise herself as her maid and so escape from France. The Spanish King Charles III welcomed them to his palace at Aranjuez. In Vienna, Emperor Joseph II stood godfather to Henry's son and Empress Maria Theresa made gifts to Martha. Queen Carolina of Naples stood as godmother to young Caroline Swinburne and lavished gifts on her and her mother. In Rome they encountered the Stuart princes Charles and Henry; Martha was a devoted Jacobite but Henry was not much taken with them. An audience with the Pope was granted, of course, – Swinburne was uninhibitedly critical of the pontiff's appearance and manner. (His socialising was recorded in his diaries and letters which were published as *The Courts of Europe at the Close of the Last Century. By the Late Henry Swinburne* (2 vols. 1841).

On 8 September 1778 Martha Swinburne died in Rome, aged ten, and Christopher Hewetson was commissioned to sculpt a monument to her memory. The long inscription, 'penned by her disconsolate father' Henry, offended the Jesuit Robert Thorpe because it made no mention of religion but was concerned only with her accomplishments in history, music, languages and geography which Swinburne, 'indulging an innocent pride', had felt compelled to record. At any rate, the tablet was mounted in the chapel of the Venerable English College, Rome, where it remains.



(Photo by Rev Fr A Milner)

Sir Edward Swinburne had three sons: John Edward, Robert and Edward. Sir Edward accompanied the two older boys to school in Lille and in 1781 he joined them in Paris and took them on a tour of Flanders, Switzerland and Vienna to finish off their education. John Edward would make an independent tour in 1786 but it was cut short by his father's death. He had earlier renounced Catholicism and he closed the chaplaincy on his return to Capheaton. Edward Swinburne (who established himself as a leading amateur artist) also travelled: to Italy in 1792-3 and again in 1797, and he visited France and Germany, making his last journey in 1814. Other Catholic northerners to be seen in European cities in the late eighteenth century included Thomas, William and Edward Haggerston, Henry Errington of Beaufront (whose travelling companion was Laurence Sterne), Thomas Horsley Riddell of Swinburne Castle and his brother Edward, and Edward Smythe of Esh and his son Edward. The Salvins of Croxdale are known to have spent much time abroad but no written accounts of their tours survive.

In 1797 Henry Joseph Swinburne abruptly left Naples because the approach of the French armies made it 'prudent for Englishmen to quit Italy'. (Emma Hamilton was captivated by his good looks and lamented that the Neapolitan ladies all ran after him.) When the French entered Rome in 1798, tourists and British residents were also forced to flee and the golden age of the Grand Tour came to an end. There was, however, a curious postscript: George Silvertop of Minsteracres toured France and Italy at the end of the war in 1814 and secured an interview with Napoleon on Elba, but it is not thought he encouraged the emperor to escape.

This review would be incomplete without noticing one other Catholic traveller. Edward, son of William John Charlton of Hesleyside, an eighteen-year-old medical student in Edinburgh, went on hiking tours of the 'savage North' of Scotland in 1832-4 with his cousin Henry Cholmeley and Mr Procter of the Durham Museum. In 1836 he walked in Norway and Denmark and in 1837-8, in the interval between obtaining his doctorate and establishing his practice in Newcastle, he undertook an epic tour of Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland. (A month walking in the Alps qualifies him as a pioneer of mountaineering.) Whereas, however, the Grand Tour was concerned largely with art-history, Charlton's tours were motivated by a deep interest in medicine and natural history and it is noteworthy that his tours took place at the very time Charles Darwin (also an Edinburgh graduate) was making his name in scientific circles. Charlton was not so much interested in looking at churches as visiting salt and silver mines and anatomical and natural history museums. This enterprising and enquiring man went on to enjoy a highly distinguished career as a physician in Eldon Square, Newcastle, as well as an author and as an officer at the highest level in many learned institutions. He deserves to be more widely known.

This work (which is very well illustrated) is important for studies in post-Reformation Catholicism in north east England. Many of the people discussed in

it made a substantial contribution to their church's ecclesiastical and social history but their rôle in the wider intellectual history of the region has been generally ignored but was no less valuable. The book is a further contribution to the growing literature demonstrating that eighteenth-century recusants were in the mainstream of British and European cultural life not detached from it, reactionaries skulking in their rural fastnesses. It should find a place on the bookshelves of every historian of English Catholicism.

Leo Gooch

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George Thornton, *The Rising in the North* (2010, Ergo Press ISBN 9780955751080)

Charles Neville,
VI Earl of Westmorland

Thomas Percy,
VII Earl of Northumberland

This is a clearly written basic account, not only of the 1569 uprising but also of the turbulence and uncertainty in English ecclesiastical, doctrinal and liturgical life arising from the changes of mind and enforcement of will by the four sovereigns who ruled England and Wales in the forty years after 1530. Although seen from a Roman Catholic perspective, the account is neither unbalanced or propagandist.

The layout is clear and simple and the illustrations well chosen; the grey inserts on 'Reformation Theology', Sir John Forster', 'Lord Scrope' and 'Sir George Bowes' are particularly helpful. It is therefore a pity that one on the Duke of Alva and events in The Netherlands was not included since an intervention by him would have presented the English government with a much more serious threat and enhanced the rebels' chances of success.

The author rightly identifies the seventh Earl of Northumberland's leadership as inherent in his social status, although this was fully supported by his

undoubted religious commitment and his resentment at the queen's treatment of him. And he is also correct in recognising that it was the unexpected and unwanted arrival of the fugitive Mary, Queen of Scots, in England in 1568 that was the catalyst of the uprising.

Perhaps he over-emphasises the poverty of the North by the attention he pays to the peculiar conditions of the Border districts, bearing in mind that Yorkshire was not only more populous and far richer but was the heartland of Percy power. The more so as a result of the twenty-year lacuna in the family's history following the execution in 1537 of the earl's father, Sir Thomas Percy, which allowed Sir John Forster and others to erode Percy influence in Northumberland to a marked degree.

His conclusion that the uprising had no hope is valid. As revealed in their disunity, the leadership had no serious Plan A let alone a Plan B. Here, he might with some benefit have expanded his comments on the difference in the number of men who came out in 1536 and those who did so in 1569 and also on the variety of motives. As in all such uprisings, some men were driven by deeply held ideological conviction but there were others with baser motives as well as those who had little or no option but to participate.

Notwithstanding these differences of perception, *The Rising in the North* will be of great service to those with little or only a hazy perception of the events and issues that, in retrospect, can be seen to have brought about a major turning-point in the development of our country.

Richard Lomas

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