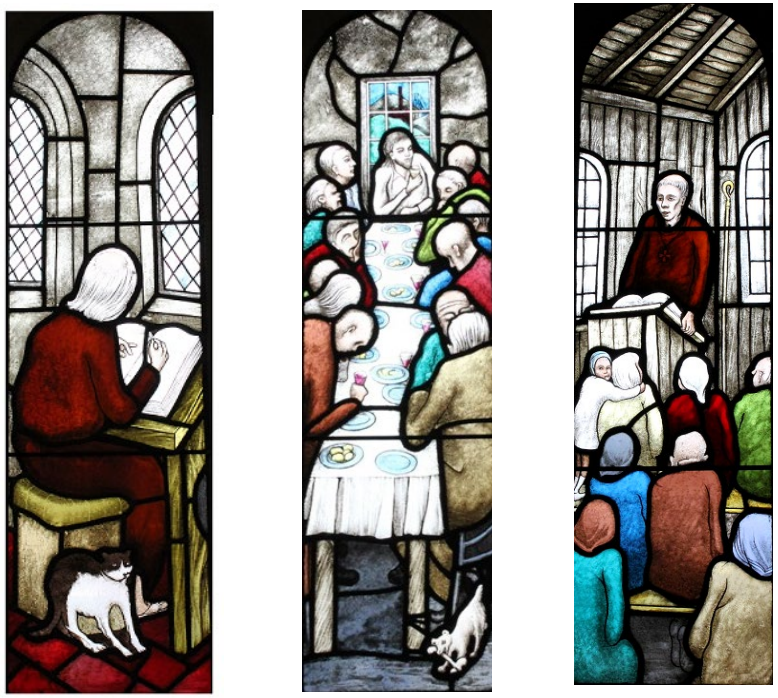
Northern Catholic History



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Front Cover:
Back Cover: Two of a series of windows in the Blessed Sacrament chapel, St Mary's, Bishop Auckland, designed by the late Tom McGuinness, a pitman painter and parishioner. [Photos: Andrew Smith; courtesy Revd D. Tindall]

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

CUTHBERT TUNSTALL 1474-1559 BISHOP OF DURHAM

Richard A. Lomas

Cuthbert Tunstall was born in 1474 at Hackforth, two miles south of Catterick in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It was not an entirely auspicious occasion as his parents were not man and wife. His father, Thomas Tunstall of Thurland Castle near Tunstall in Lancashire, was already married, but his mother, was an unmarried daughter (we do not know her name) of Sir John Conyers of Hornby Castle near Hackforth. Not until after the death of Tunstall's wife did they regularise their union by marriage. This act did not, however, entirely expunge the disability of bastardy. In Common Law, subsequent marriage did not confer legitimacy and consequently Cuthbert Tunstall had no inheritance rights in property. Fortunately, this was not so in Civil Law and Canon Law and therefore legal and ecclesiastical careers were open to him. That he considered himself legitimate is indicated by his use of the Tunstall coat of arms unsullied by a mark of bastardy.

Nothing is known of his early life, other than a story that he spent some time as a kitchen boy in the household of a Sir Thomas Holland at Lynn in Norfolk. If this was so, his exile was probably related to the circumstances of his birth and his recall to the marriage of his parents. His absence could not have been very long, since in 1491 at the age of seventeen he entered Balliol College, Oxford, which would not have been possible without a considerable competence in Latin, an accomplishment not normally afforded to kitchen boys. He stayed at Oxford until 1496, when he transferred to King's Hall at Cambridge, later to become part of Trinity College. He remained at Cambridge until 1499. Although there is no record that he graduated M.A. at either university, it is reasonable to believe that he did, since in 1499 he moved to the prestigious Italian university at Padua. He was there until 1505, gaining doctorates in both Civil Law and Canon Law. Not only had he reached the top of the academic ladder, but by becoming proficient in Greek as well as Latin and acquiring some competence in Hebrew, he had achieved high competence in the most advanced learning of his day. Again, although evidence is wanting, it is fair to assume that throughout this extended education he had the financial support of his family.

These years of study in England and abroad brought him into contact with some of the outstanding minds of the early sixteenth century and allowed him to develop a number of lifelong friendships. One of the most notable was with Thomas More, whose earliest biographer, Thomas Stapleton, writing in 1588, claimed that More praised Tunstall as the man 'than whom the world contains today scarcely anyone more learned, gracious and good'. The closeness of their relationship is vouched for by More's request that Tunstall read his *Utopia* before it went to the printers. Nor were Tunstall's friends exclusively English. It was to Tunstall that the Italian scholar, Polydore Vergil, dedicated his edition of the important work of the Dark Age British commentator, Gildas, published in 1525, while the renowned Dutch scholar, Desiderius Erasmus, secured Tunstall's help in the preparation of the second edition of his New Testament in Greek.

Tunstall's student days came to an end with his return to England in 1505. It was

time to embark upon a, hopefully successful and profitable, career. This involved progress on two, apparently unconnected, fronts. One was ecclesiastical: in the following years he was provided to a series of rectories (Barmston in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Stanhope in Durham, Aldridge in Staffordshire, Steeple Langford in Wiltshire and East Peckham in Kent). He retained possession of none of these livings for more than one year, though why is not readily explained. What is clear, however, is that he did not reside in any of them; nor did he perform the duties of parish priest. Indeed, he was not qualified to do so, since he had yet to be ordained. What they did was to provide him with an income in that as rector he was entitled to the produce of the glebe (the property with which the church had been endowed), the tithes, the offerings made by parishioners at major feast days and the fees they paid for christenings, churchings, weddings and burials. Out of this he would have to pay a (modest) stipend to an ordained priest, who would reside in the parish and discharge the priestly duties.

His actual work was as a lawyer. He appears to have resided at the Doctors' Commons, the society of civil lawyers founded in 1307 and located near St Paul's cathedral in London. It was also the meeting place of a number of law courts, notably the Court of the Arches, the Consistory Court of the Diocese of London and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Details of his work are not known, but his performance must have sufficiently impressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, to appoint him as his Chancellor (the head of his administration) in 1508 and three years later as Commissary-General of the Canterbury Prerogative Court. The year 1511 in fact marked the start of Tunstall's rapid rise up the church hierarchy, culminating eleven years later in his appointment as Bishop of London. Promotion began with the rectory of Harrow (Middlesex), whose patron was the archbishop. With a gross income of £90 a year it was a far richer living than he had enjoyed hitherto. This, and its proximity to London, persuaded him to give his ecclesiastical responsibilities greater attention by becoming a priest and residing in the parish from time to time. Evidence of his rising stock is revealed in the accumulation of benefices, which raised his annual gross income to £380. These were cathedral canonries in Lincoln, York and Salisbury, where the duties could be discharged by deputy, the Archdeaconry of Chester (1515) and the Deanery of Salisbury Cathedral (1521), attached to which was the rectory of Godalming (Surrey).

Accumulation of church benefices on this scale would now be deemed corrupt and scandalous, but in the late medieval church it was the accepted norm to which all ambitious clerics aspired. However, he had to resign all of them on his appointment as Bishop of London in 1522, which gave him a gross income of £1,120, over three times greater than he had enjoyed from his seven other livings.

Parallel with ecclesiastical advancement went promotion as a state official. In 1516, he became Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor, the second highest legal office, and in 1523, Keeper of the Privy Seal, one of the great offices of state. In addition, over these years he was also used extensively in an ambassadorial role at the court of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, who in 1516 became King of Castile, and as such the ruler of Aragon and Naples, and in 1519, the Holy Roman Emperor. Charles

was to be the dominant figure in European affairs until his abdication in 1556. Notwithstanding his varied and demanding life in church and state, Tunstall found time to write two tracts. The first, in 1518, was entitled *In Laudem Matrimonii* (In Praise of Matrimony), a subject on which, given the circumstances of his birth, he was surely permitted opinions. The other, completed four years later, was more substantial: *De Arte Supputandi* (On the Study of Computation). Its subject was arithmetic and its aim was to expound its practical uses. It became popular on the Continent, but because it was not translated into English, not in Britain.

Over a period of twelve years, Cuthbert Tunstall had risen to the top strata of both church and state and at that moment he must have been thought of as a possible successor to William Warham as Archbishop of Canterbury. His advancement, however, had been made at a time when the weather, political and ecclesiastical, was relatively calm. This did not last: as the 1520s progressed, the weather on both fronts became increasingly turbulent. On the ecclesiastical front, Tunstall was faced with the increase of heresy, which it was his responsibility as bishop to combat. It took three forms. One was a revival of Lollardy, the reformist movement that had flourished in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Although brutally suppressed as heretical, it had not been entirely extirpated but driven underground. This revival was probably encouraged by the influx of new reforming ideas authored by Martin Luther and others, which entered England by the port of London as easily as did material goods. Finally, there was the English translation of the Bible by William Tyndale, published in 1525, which began flooding into the country the following year. Tunstall's handling of this problem revealed two facets of his character. One was his essential conservatism in religion. He considered it highly dangerous to allow unguided study of scripture with its inevitable consequence, speculation by the laity about matters of doctrine. To Tunstall, these were exclusively the province of the qualified professionals. On the other hand, his desire to stem the reformist tide did not extend to persecution and harsh treatment. Throughout the rest of his life he exercised his episcopal office to persuade those he considered to be in error to recant and he went to considerable lengths to secure this outcome. As far as we know, no heretic was sent to the stake by Cuthbert Tunstall. The other problem, which had both state and ecclesiastical dimensions, was the king's increasing desperation to secure the dissolution of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon and to find a wife (in the first instance Ann Boleyn), who would provide him with a male heir. As a leading bishop and an officer of state, neutrality in this matter was not an option.

In March 1530, Tunstall's career changed abruptly – he was translated from London to Durham, replacing Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, who had resigned in 1529 and died the following year. In financial terms this was a promotion in that London was only the tenth wealthiest diocese in England while Durham ranked third after Winchester and Canterbury with a gross income of £2,800, over twice that of London. Three months later, Tunstall was saddled with an important state office, President of the King's Council in the North Parts, in effect, he was appointed head of an early attempt at regional government. Why Tunstall was removed from the

political centre of the kingdom to its periphery has no certain answer. Although by birth and background a northerner, he had lived most of his life elsewhere and his two families were not particularly influential. One possible reason was his known support for Queen Catherine. Although he attended the coronation of Ann Boleyn in 1534, he did not give the royal marriage his unequivocal support until he was scared into doing so by the search of his residences at Durham, Auckland and Stockton by royal agents looking for evidence of treason.

The 1530s and early 1540s witnessed a marked surge in the power of the English state. In England, this took the form of what is known as the Reformation. It had two main strands. One was the rejection of papal authority and the assumption by Henry VIII of the headship of the church in his kingdom, in effect turning it into an organ of the state. The other was the closure of the monasteries and friaries and the confiscation of their property. In Wales, the English system of county government was imposed on those parts of the Principality where hitherto it had not operated; while in Ireland, the powerful Fitzgeralds, Earls of Kildare, were crushed, the English Reformation formula applied and, in 1541, the royal title raised from Lord of Ireland to King of Ireland. Only in Scotland was Tudor ambition defeated by the failure of Henry's government to coerce the regency government established after the sudden death of James V in 1542 to hand over his infant daughter, Mary, to be brought up in England preparatory to her marriage to Henry's young son and heir, Edward.

How did Tunstall react to these developments? Basically as a civil servant: he argued against those policies with which he disagreed until the decision was made; whereupon he made an about turn and voiced his support for them. This tactic was diplomatic and was expected, and it served him well. The only occasion on which he was took stronger action was the Pilgrimage of Grace, the very serious rebellion in the north of England in the winter of 1536-37 provoked in part by the changes, actual and feared, in religion. This did not, however, take the form of doing his duty and opposing the rebels, but instead of fleeing to his castle at Norham, from where he could, if necessary, cross the Tweed into the safety of a foreign country. By doing so, he managed to avoid the fate of several landowners whom the rebels coerced into join them by threatening to burn their houses. Tunstall survived this crisis and retained royal favour to the extent of being appointed in 1537 to the presidency of the reconstituted and more powerful King's Council in the North. But the following year he begged to be released from this office. Very likely the fright he had experienced during the rebellion had unnerved him, although he could also plead that his advanced age – he was sixty-three years old – made him unfit to undertake the arduous demands of the office.

Alongside these essentially political and constitutional issues were those concerning religious doctrine and liturgical practice. Here too Tunstall was a conservative, although not in the extreme. He recognised that all was not well with the church and his preparedness to accept the royal supremacy may be explained by a hope that Henry would be the agent of reform that the papacy seemed unwilling to be. He went so far as to claim that his esteem for the papacy was greatly reduced through witnessing the venality and cynicism of the papal court of the notorious

Julius II during a visit to Rome in 1505. However, it is best to remember that he made this statement in 1539, a time when it was politic to demean the Roman curia. It is also worth remembering that the changes in doctrine and liturgy made in the last phase of Henry VIII's reign were far from revolutionary.

Heresy was still to be combated and here Tunstall's continuing avoidance of brutality is amply revealed in his handling of the Newcastle merchant, Roger Dechaunte (Detchant), who had expressed opinions of an extreme protestant kind: 'every man a priest'; 'all priests should be married'; 'men have no free will'; 'all monks had lived hypocritical lives'. Tunstall dealt with this man with limitless patience until he secured his recantation. Actions such as this led John Foxe in his famous *Book of Martyrs* to commend Tunstall as 'no great bloody persecutor'. His essential moderation is also revealed in his promotion of the career of his kinsman, Bernard Gilpin, whose doctrinal views were diverging from his own, and in his tolerance of the activities in his diocese of the Scottish reformer, John Knox, at Berwick and Newcastle in the early 1550s.

Tunstall's caution and moderation enabled him to survive until the coming to power of John Dudley in the late 1550s. Dudley replaced the more moderate Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, as the head of the government acting for the boy king, Edward VI. Already Earl of Warwick, he was intent on pushing the church in a more positively protestant direction and to advance his own power, especially in the north. To this end, he secured the estates of the confiscated Percy family and took the title of Duke of Northumberland. Standing in his way of further advance was Cuthbert Tunstall, both as a conservative cleric and as the wielder of the quasi-regal power in the Palatinate of Durham. Consequently, Tunstall was arrested and, although a conviction for treason could not be obtained, he was removed from his office and a bill prepared for the division of the diocese of Durham into two smaller dioceses, Durham and Newcastle. Had this come to pass, it would have anticipated by over three hundred years the present arrangement that was instituted in 1882.

Tunstall spent three years in confinement, roughly half in the Tower and half under house arrest. Enforced leisure allowed him to write his most important tract, *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini Nostri Jesu Christ in Eucharista* (Concerning the Truth of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ hi the Eucharist). This was Tunstall's testament in which he affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation and the literal truth of the scriptural text 'This is my body ...' This document reveals the core of Tunstall's belief: other aspects of the church's teaching might be open to debate, but this was not and on this question there could be no compromise. Interestingly, the tract was first published abroad, where the manuscript was taken by his kinsman, Bernard Gilpin, whose views were not in accord with those expressed in the writing he carried. It seems that reasonable men could agree to differ or, perhaps, it showed that blood was thicker than prejudice.

Happily, Tunstall's travail was relatively brief and was brought to an end in the summer of 1553 by the death of Edward VI three months before his sixteenth birthday, and the failure of Dudley to install Edward's cousin, Jane Grey, on the

throne. Instead, the succession went, with almost universal approval, to Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, This was a significant turn of events. Although a youth, Edward appears to have been a committed protestant and had he lived a normal span of years the religious history of England might have been markedly different. Instead, the Crown was worn by an ardent Catholic, intent upon restoring the old church, in faith if not in property. Her reign lasted only five years, but was marked by the burning of nearly three hundred men and women who were deemed to be unrepentant heretics. Tunstall was, of course, released and restored to his diocese, which continued undivided, the death of Edward terminating the legislative process. Again, premature death may well have influenced the development of religion in England. Mary was in her late forties, but had she lived for another ten or twenty years, the reversion to the old faith might have become permanent

Her successor, Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, had a more detached, perhaps sceptical, view of religion and resolved on a middle-of-the-road settlement: the church would be Catholic in form but moderately protestant in doctrine. Equally significant, her reign was to last forty-five years, during which she declined to alter what she had created. What mattered to her was outward conformity to state authority, for office holders through the Oath of Supremacy and for others by regular church attendance. Beyond that she had no interest: as she herself said, she had no desire to look into men's souls.

Elizabeth's religious settlement brought Tunstall to the sticking point: he refused the Oath of Supremacy and on 28 September 1559 he was deprived of his see. He was now eighty-five years of age and probably aware that his health was failing. His age, and almost certainly his reputation, saved him from the Tower. Instead, he was lodged with Matthew Parker, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury. There he died six weeks later and was buried, at Parker's expense, in Lambeth parish church.

How should we sum up the life of Cuthbert Tunstall? Without doubt, he was not a combative man and he did not relish controversy. His reactions to the contentious and dangerous situations into which he was thrust evoke at tunes such terms as "politic", "circumspect", "timid", "cowardly", which may be saying the same thing but cloaked in greater or lesser charity. Perhaps of these the first is not only the kindest but also the most valid in that throughout most of his working life he was a state servant on whom the paramount demand was loyalty, being willing or at least prepared to support government policy against the pull of personal inclination or belief.

At the same time, it is equally clear that Tunstall was a man for whom religion was a serious and important matter and this made for difficulties living as he did during a period when the polity, liturgy and the doctrine of the church were the subjects of fierce and furious, and for many, uncompromising debate. Although he could not avoid involvement, he was not an enthusiastic participant In fact, apart from his unceremonious removal from office in the early 1550s, he seems to have been able to adjust to the current 'party line', even though aspects of it were distasteful or against his basic instincts. That he could do so may be attributed to his acceptance that many

aspects of the church of his youth were not essential or fundamental, although a more cynical interpretation might be that he did all that was necessary to retain office and the benefits that it bestowed. In the end, however, there was one thing that for him was beyond debate: the traditional doctrine of the eucharist. In the end, the imminence of death rendered pointless the retention of status and wealth.

Tunstall was no hero, still less a martyr. Yet he was evidently a good, thoughtful and kindly man who was no bigot and who eschewed state violence in pursuit of orthodoxy. He fully deserved the respect accorded to him in his last days. His long life spanned the reigns of five kings and two queens so that to Elizabeth I, born in 1533 when he was already into what contemporaries would have regarded as old age, he must have seemed a relic of a bygone era, who should be afforded the dignity of a quiet passing. Happily, Tunstall is still with us, notably in the chapel and the gallery leading to it that he caused to be built at Durham Castle, and in his extensions to Auckland Palace.

EARL GREY AND THE ROYAL DECLARATION AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION

Joseph M. Fewster

The first decade of the twentieth century was marked by great religious turbulence. The furious reaction of Nonconformists to the 1902 Education Act, under which many of their children would have to receive religious instruction in Church of England schools, and financial provision for Catholic schools which provoked the protest 'Rome on the rates', is well known; but historians have scarcely noticed another issue that aroused great commotion and occasioned lengthy debates in parliament between 1901 and 1910. Trouble sparked when, on opening parliament shortly after the death of Queen Victoria, Edward VII made the declaration against transubstantiation as enjoined by the Bill of Rights of 1689 and Act of Settlement of 1701 to exclude a Roman Catholic from the throne. The King was unable to hide his embarrassment at 'such crude language', as he later described it, which he read in a low voice.[1] The declaration had not been heard since the accession of the late Queen, and it came as 'a startling shock' to those present and to the 'liberal sentiment' of the country.[2] Although officially termed a declaration it was really an oath, whereby the sovereign had to:

> solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare that I do make this Declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words ... as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.

The outrage of Catholics at this public insult to their faith was not confined to England but was replicated all over the Empire, strongly worded protests coming from Canada, Australia, Malta, Mauritius, Ceylon and several parts of India.[3] Government ministers were reluctant to act. As it was unlikely that the declaration would be repeated for many years to come they saw no need to precipitate the uproar that they expected to arise if an attempt were made to alter what a large part of the public regarded as a vital safeguard to the Protestant succession to the throne. Eventually the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, agreed that a committee mainly composed of government and opposition front bench peers should consider whether the language of the declaration could be modified without diminishing its efficacy for that purpose.[4] The Catholic peers agreed to leave the question to others and the Church of England bishops, having been

discouraged by a government minister, did not press their claim to be represented on the committee.[5] A memorandum from Cardinal Vaughan and the Roman Catholic bishops warned the committee that a 'storm of religious anger' would grow in intensity throughout the Empire if the throne were to be used as a party weapon to strike at the articles of a particular creed. The Imperial Protestant Federation, however, on behalf of twenty-seven Protestant organizations asserted that the least alteration in the declaration would weaken it as a safeguard to the civil and religious liberties of the nation.[6] Despite these representations, after a discussion which was said to have lasted only twenty minutes, the committee agreed a formula probably prepared in advance by the Lord Chancellor. The words of the existing declaration concerning transubstantiation were unaltered; devotion to the Virgin Mary, the saints, and the sacrifice of the Mass, instead of being described as 'superstitious and idolatrous' was stated to be 'contrary to the Protestant religion'; and the long section implying that the pope might encourage or condone perjury was omitted. The sovereign had merely to testify 'unreservedly'. The committee reported the proposed form to the House the same day.[7]

From a Roman Catholic standpoint there was some improvement in that the insulting words and the imputation against the pope had been removed, but the Church's most cherished doctrines were still being picked out for repudiation, and, as the Catholic peers soon pointed out, this was totally unacceptable. For a different reason the suggested formula was equally objectionable to Albert, fourth Earl Grey (1851-1917), [left] a member of the prestigious Northumbrian family, son of General Charles Grey (private secretary to Prince Albert and later to Queen Victoria), and grandson of the second earl ever remembered for the 1832 Parliamentary Reform Act. He succeeded his uncle the third Earl in 1894, was a director of the British South Africa Company, and had been Administrator of Rhodesia 1896-97. He possessed an attractive personality and, despite some dubious associates, maintained a reputation for fair play and integrity. His views on religion were utilitarian and radical. In 1886, together with some fellow members of the National Church Reform Union, he introduced a church boards bill into the Commons to make the Church of England a truly national institution by giving ratepayers, whether believers or not, power to govern the local church. The idea, when Grey first proposed it, greatly shocked his High Church uncle, Francis Richard Grey, rector of Morpeth, who declared that he would rather be deprived than submit to it were it to become law. Earl Grey had no sympathy with Roman Catholic doctrine, indeed he described himself as 'an ultra Protestant',[8] but as a fervent imperialist with a grandiose concept of the destiny of the British Empire he feared that the large proportion of Catholics within it might be provoked to disloyalty by the proposed form. He therefore gave notice that he would move that the committee's report was not satisfactory.

The report was to be considered on 8 July 1901, but the Lord Chancellor held that it

should lie on the table until Grey made his motion. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, intervened, however, and called for the report, to which he believed there were many objections, to be referred to an enlarged committee that included a member of the episcopal bench. The Prime Minister, annoyed by this irregular intervention, pointed out the proper procedure. Grey, however, disregarding the premier's admonition, proceeded to use the speech that he had intended to make in support of his motion to second the Archbishop's proposal; but whereas the Archbishop wished to improve the declaration, Grey wanted to abolish it. The suggested form, he declared, was 'open to the gravest objections'. It was unnecessary because other provisions in the statutes effectively excluded a Roman Catholic from the throne, and as a supposed additional security to the Protestant succession it was 'pre-eminently ridiculous' since 'any infidel of even the most outrageous complexion' could subscribe to all its terms. The pope himself could honestly state that certain Catholic observances were contrary to the Protestant religion. Although the words most offensive to Catholics had been withdrawn, the sovereign was still required to repudiate publicly 'the most sacred doctrine of their religion' thus offering 'a gratuitous insult' to twelve million loyal subjects, some of whom had recently given their lives in the service of the Empire. If he were a Roman Catholic he would probably regard the existing declaration as archaic and meaningless rather than accept the amended form which would stand forth as the 'deliberate reaffirmation by parliament of an anti-Catholic spirit'. If the House decided that additional securities were still required, it was surely not beyond their statesmanship to devise a form that did not single out one creed for special and public repudiation.

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Halsbury, doubly annoyed that the protocol of the House had been breached and that the proposed declaration, almost certainly his own creation, had been so roughly treated, made some disparaging remarks about Grey's speech and strongly defended the committee's report as consonant with the restricted remit it had received from the House. There was, however, little support for it from other speakers. The Catholic peers, Viscount Llandaff, Lord Braye and Lord Arundell, expressed their strong dissatisfaction, while Viscount Halifax, a prominent Anglo-Catholic, attacked it in similar terms to Grey. The Archbishop, however, withdrew his motion, which he feared would not succeed, and the discussion ended with the Lord Chancellor declaring that it had been out of order ever since it began. He promised that there would be opportunity for amendments when a bill based on the report was introduced.[9]

Opponents of the 'obnoxious report' regretted they had not forced the Archbishop to divide the House on his proposal which, in retrospect, they believed would have been carried. 'We shall never, I fear, have so good a chance again', Lord Stanmore wrote to Halifax, the next day. Fighting the bill would be much more difficult as everyone would have 'his own pet nostrum' to urge and care little for those of others.[10] The truth of this soon became evident. Halifax encouraged Grey, his relative, to continue the fight against 'the relics of bigotry and barbarism'. The Lord Chancellor, he declared, was 'pitiable', Lord Salisbury 'no better', and the Archbishop had 'made a mess of it'.[11]

Lord Salisbury presented the government's bill to the House on 19 July. It enshrined

the committee's report except that in response to Catholic objections the word 'adoration' was omitted from the section referring to the Virgin Mary and the saints so that it now read that such invocation was contrary to the Protestant religion, and, as it had been pointed out that even the pope could affirm this, 'in which I believe' was added after 'Protestant religion'.[12] The measure had a rough passage through the House. The Catholic peers, Viscount Halifax, and Lord Kinnaird (representing the extreme Protestants), expressed from their respective standpoints strong opposition to the proposed form.[13] Many other objections were raised, especially to 'the Protestant religion in which I believe'. Viscount Halifax declared that he could not vote for 'a form which asks the King to say he believes in the Protestant Religion'.[14] The Bishop of Salisbury protested that the terminology was entirely wrong: a person does not *believe* in a religion but *practise*s it, a matter of worship totally different from a profession of faith; it was 'impossible' that these words should stand.[15] The Prime Minister was forced to admit that everybody was against the bill but, as Lord Stanmore had predicted, everyone favoured a totally different alternative. If the bill was wrecked, Lord Salisbury warned, the existing declaration would be perpetuated, and to avert this the majority allowed the measure to proceed.[16]

Meanwhile Grey was attempting to muster opposition. He had a long talk late at night with Lord Northbrook who took away papers that Grey offered and agreed to meet him again. Grey asked Lords Cowper and Morley to accompany him at the next meeting.[17] During the committee stage of the bill Grey proposed that repudiation of Roman Catholic beliefs should be replaced by 'I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion as established by law'. The Bill of Rights and the Coronation oath, he contended, provided all the security that Protestants needed to exclude a 'popish prince' from the throne. It would be a great mistake to insist on public repudiation of beliefs dear to Roman Catholics so 'pandering to the bigotry' of a certain section of the population for the sake of political support. He was unwilling to purchase the votes of any portion of the electorate 'by alienating the affections of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects'.[18] His amendment was rejected, as were all others. Ministers had no intention of devising a new declaration but wished merely to render the existing one inoffensive. The bill passed its third reading, but it had become increasingly evident from the stance adopted by the Catholic peers that there was little prospect of its becoming law. Lord Salisbury angrily declared that by seeking alterations to the declaration which he regarded as unacceptable they had marred a very fair chance of removing 'a stain on the statute book'.[19] Realising that in the Commons the bill would be vigorously attacked both by Catholic Irish nationalists and Protestant Ulstermen, ministers quietly abandoned it and showed no inclination to return to this controversial subject.

Two years later, Grey resolved to introduce a bill into the House of Lords to abolish the declaration. On hearing of Grey's intention, the Catholic peers sent him two draft bills, one to abolish the declaration, the other to modify it along the lines of a profession of faith in the doctrines of the Church of England.[20] Grey passed the drafts to Edward Coles, a lawyer who was preparing his bill. By the end of May 1903 the bill was ready, but Grey became ill and felt unable to proceed. 'Very sorry to hear you are so much

amiss', the Duke of Northumberland wrote to him, on 2 June. 'You undertake too much, & will have to recognize anno domini to some extent even at your tender years'.[21] The Catholic peers prepared to present the bill themselves. 'We feel it would be altogether monstrous to insist on your proceeding with the Bill, as you are so anxious not to have to do so', the Duke of Norfolk wrote. 'With many thanks, therefore, for your kindness in having come forward in the matter, we propose now that I or someone else should introduce the Bill'. He hoped to state that Grey had prepared it and would have proposed it himself had not circumstances over which he had no control intervened. This would 'prevent its being supposed that the Bill is a purely Catholic fad'.[22] Grey, however, recovered sufficiently to carry the bill forward himself. He proposed to introduce it on 18 June and have the second reading on the 25th. Norfolk was anxious to avert any postponement. 'I venture to hope you will let *nothing* drive your 2nd reading from the 25th', he wrote on 15 June. 'I have whipped up all our people and I feel any further changes may be disastrous'.[23] There was indeed uncertainty about the date of the second reading. Lord Stanmore expected that when he arrived in London he would hear that it had been postponed for a week. He asked Halifax to inform Grey that he wished to speak. It would be 'rather too hard' to hurry to London for that purpose and find himself 'crowded out'.[24] The Lord Chancellor also wanted to speak, but, as 25 June would be 'extremely inconvenient' for him, he asked Grey to put off the second reading to a later date.[25] This placed Grey in a dilemma as he had already promised Norfolk that it would be on 25 June. As we shall see, this had unfortunate repercussions.

Grey duly introduced the bill on 18 June. It recited various statutory provisions securing the Protestant succession and called for repeal of the enactments requiring the declaration which was unnecessary and 'painful to the feelings of a large number of His Majesty's faithful subjects'. Several petitions in favour of the bill were presented to the House including one from Bellingham in Northumberland.[26] 'I am sure you have the most earnest thanks of all of us for presenting the Bill', Norfolk wrote to Grey the following day. He believed that all the Catholic peers would do their duty. He proposed that Grey should issue a whip with eight or ten names, but he agreed that Halifax should not be included. He believed that it would be 'more judicious if he were not to speak'. Probably it was feared that Halifax might raise theological points, as he did in 1901, and so cloud the issue.[27] Grey had already received encouraging promises of support. The Earl of Jersey, however, while agreeing that the declaration should be abolished, wished to know that the King did not object. Grey thereupon wrote to the King but the reply from the private secretary merely expressed the King's thanks for the information.[28] The Earl of Glasgow believed that the declaration should be modified rather than abolished because its abrogation would be 'another cause of intense irritation to the Nonconformists'. They would regard it as the result of 'sacerdotal influence', and 'they did not need any more "pinpricks" just now'.[29] There was indeed a close connexion between Nonconformist opposition to the Education Act and abolition of the declaration.

In moving the second reading of the bill on 25 June, Grey argued that as the government, since abandoning their former measure had not shown the slightest

intention of taking action, those who believed that the interests of the Empire required removal of 'an undoubted grievance really felt by many millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects' had no option but to press for abolition of the declaration. The protests from many parts of the Empire in 1901 showed that its retention was a 'serious thorn in the flesh' of Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and he was convinced that there should be no delay in removing what might in future become an excuse for disloyalty to the crown. 'A feeling of justice to Catholics' caused him to resent their being placed in a position 'inferior to the Buddhist and Mohammedan subjects of the King'. The declaration was unnecessary and ineffective as a safeguard of the Protestant succession. It could not even prevent an honest change of mind by one who had taken it in good faith. That 'silly and ignorant people' might regard the bill as weakening the Protestant character of the crown should not be allowed to outweigh the very solid grievance of twelve million subjects.[30] Several other speakers stressed the inadequacy of the declaration for its supposed purpose while it outraged the deeply held convictions of Roman Catholics. Lord Stanmore described its language as 'an anachronism and an absurdity'.[31] The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Thomas Davidson, opposed the bill but called for a positive declaration, not a negative and needlessly insulting one, to be devised under the auspices of the government. The matter should not be allowed to rest but carried forward with vigour and determination in which the bishops would gladly co-operate.[32] Lord Burghclere also stressed the need for urgent government action,[33] but the Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House, made clear the government's absolute opposition to the bill. He referred to the impasse of 1901 for which he blamed the attitude of the Catholic peers which still remained the same, and, in view of the strong opinions in favour of retaining a declaration then expressed by leading politicians, it would be 'nothing less than trifling with the House' to ask it to sweep away a constitutional enactment to which such importance was attached and which was regarded by a great part of the country as a most valuable security for the Protestant succession. To provoke 'an acute and bitter controversy throughout the length and breadth of the land' on historical, constitutional and theological questions when there was no probability of a settlement could not be an act of conciliation to Roman Catholics. He severely criticized Grey for introducing his bill at very short notice and for refusing to defer it until the Lord Chancellor could be present. The course he had adopted was not in the highest degree 'respectful either to members of this House or to the country at large'.[34] The government issued a three line whip and defeated the bill by 109 votes to 62. Grey hoped that the government would at least take action along the lines that the Archbishop of Canterbury had suggested, but it showed no desire to give the matter further consideration.[35]

Although naturally disappointed, the Catholic peers were gratified that the bill had gained an impressive number of supporters including several former representatives of the sovereign in outlying parts of the Empire.[36] The Duke of Norfolk regarded such strong support, together with the Archbishop's speech, as of 'the greatest significance'.[37] Grey, too, felt that the Archbishop's speech provided ample justification for his having introduced the bill.[38] Viscount Llandaff declared that Grey had earned the gratitude of all Roman Catholics in the Empire and 'continued those illustrious traditions which are inseparately connected with the name he bears'.[39] The Duke of

Norfolk likewise expressed thanks on behalf of every Catholic 'for what you have done for us in the name of justice'. As a token of their gratitude the Catholic peers donated £25 towards Grey's expenses.[40] Although progress had been made the battle was far from won, and despite further attempts against the declaration it remained in place for a further seven years.

Grey was shocked and deeply wounded by the Duke of Devonshire's 'public censure' of his conduct. He believed that he had previously informed the duke of the difficulty in which he was placed by his promise to Norfolk and the Lord Chancellor's subsequent request, and that Devonshire had remarked that he did not think that the Chancellor's presence was 'quite indispensable'. 'I am compelled to think', he wrote to Devonshire after the debate, 'that your action towards me requires more explanation than my action towards the House'.[41] Devonshire replied that he had been in a great hurry to catch a train when Grey approached him and could not remember the conversation. He acknowledged that the Lord Chancellor's presence was not indispensable, 'but I still think that the procedure was unduly hurried, and I do not see why I should not say so'. He admitted that 'all the objections which I now see to your hasty proceedings did not occur to me at the time, or I should have pointed them out to you'.[42] Grey could hardly have been satisfied by this response but he made a deferential reply: 'As there is no one in political life for whom I entertain the same feeling of respect that I do for you, so there is no one whose just disapproval I should be so sorry to incur'.[43] Presumably he did not regard Devonshire's disapproval as 'just'.

Grey's career was not damaged by his promotion of this cause. The following year he was appointed Governor General of Canada, a post that he held until 1911. He was thus absent during the continuing saga over the declaration. The Conservative government remained unyielding in its attitude, and the Liberal administration which replaced it in 1906, although sympathetic to the Catholic cause, proved unwilling to act until the unexpected death of Edward VII in May 1910 forced ministers to do so. They then drove a modified declaration through the Commons with great rapidity amid loud protests at unprecedented use of what is now termed the guillotine. The monarch had merely to profess that he or she was a faithful Protestant and would uphold the enactments securing the Protestant succession to the throne. This bland formula, which extreme Protestants regarded as totally inadequate, removed discrimination against Roman Catholic doctrines and must therefore have satisfied Grey's concerns.[44] His imperialism and regard for justice prevailed over his hostility towards sacerdotalism, which, if it gained ascendancy, he considered 'highly dangerous' to individual freedom of conscience, thought and action, 'the very foundations of our national prosperity'.[45] Although lingering suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church was evident during the long debates in parliament on this issue, most members of both houses exhibited a remarkable degree of religious toleration. Catholics were recognized as loyal citizens who should no longer be affronted by insults to their religion at the beginning of the sovereign's reign.

Notes and References

Abbreviations:

PD *Parliamentary Debates.* The 4th series (1892-1908) reports proceedings of both Lords and Commons in each volume. The 5th series beginning in 1909 has separate volumes for Lords and Commons. The numbers after each volume refer to columns, not pages. Unless otherwise stated, all references in this article are to volumes in the 4th series.

EGP The Earl Grey Papers preserved in the Archives and Special Collections section of Durham University Library. All references in this article are to the papers of the 4th Earl.

1. Sir Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII, A Biography* (2 vols, London, 1927), vol. 2, p. 23. Lord Herries, who was near the King when he read the declaration, said he never saw anyone so embarrassed and confused as he was. Statement by Swift MacNeill, *PD*, 5th series, *Commons*, vol. 19, col. 2213. See also Herries, *PD*, 4th series, vol. 91, cols 367-74.

2. Grey on the second reading of his bill to abolish the declaration, 25 June 1903, *PD* vol. 124 col. 494.

3. *Some Public Protests against the Royal Declaration from Distant Parts of the Empire*, copy in EGP, 245/9.

4. Lord Salisbury, 21 May 1901, *PD* vol. 94, col. 754.

5. *PD* vol 91, cols 778-80; and vol. 96, col. 1125.

6. Copies of both representations are in EGP, 245/9.

7. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords*, 25 June 1901, EGP, 245/9.

8. Revd F.R. Grey to Grey, 5 August 1879 and 11 April 1881, EGP, 245/1; EGP 245/7.

9. 8 July 1901. For the Archbishop's intervention, Grey's speech and the subsequent discussion, see *PD*, vol. 96, cols 1103-33.

10. Stanmore to Halifax, 9 July 1901, enclosed in Halifax to Grey, 11 July, EGP, 245/9.

11. Halifax to Grey, 8 July 1901, *ibid*.

12. *PD*, vol. 97, cols 966-70.

13. Debate on the second reading, 23 July 1901, *ibid*., cols 1264-94.

14. Halifax to Grey, Saturday [20 July?], EGP, 245/9.

15. *PD*, vol. 97, cols 1291-3.

16. *Ibid*., cols 1293-4.

17. Grey to Halifax, 20 July 1901, EGP, 245/9.

18. 1 August 1901, *PD*, vol. 98, cols 821-22.

19. *Ibid*., cols 1232-4.

20. Llandaff to Grey, 3 February 1903, with enclosures, EGP, 245/9.

21. Northumberland to Grey 2 June 1903, *ibid*.

22. Norfolk to Grey, 30 May 1903, *ibid*.

23. Norfolk to Grey, 15 June 1903, *ibid.*

24. Stanmore to Halifax, 16 June 1903, *ibid*.

25. Halsbury to Grey, 19 June 1903, *ibid*.

26. *PD*, vol. 124, col. 491. Other petitions in support of the bill were from Catholics in Bishopton, Bristol and many towns in Yorkshire. The Imperial Protestant Federation petitioned against the measure. There is a copy of the bill in EGP, 245/9.

27. Norfolk to Grey, 19 June 1903, i*bid.* When the government introduced its bill in 1901, Halifax made a long speech to which the Archbishop of Canterbury commented that it illustrated the mischief that necessarily arose from the course taken. Halifax had raised various theological opinions which, the Archbishop declared, was not the business of the House to consider. *PD*, vol. 97, cols 1277-84.

28. Jersey to Grey, 17 June 1903; Knollys to Grey, 19 June, EGP, 245/9.

29. Glasgow to Grey, 20 June, *ibid*.

30. *PD*, vol. 124, cols 494-502.

31. *Ibid*., cols 517-8.

32. *Ibid*., cols 504-11.

33. *Ibid*., cols 511-12.

34. *Ibid*., cols 518-24.

35. Grey's closing speech, *ibid*., cols 527-8; EGP, 245/9

36. The Earl of Aberdeen made this point in supporting the bill, *PD*, vol. 124, cols 502-4.

37. Norfolk to Grey, 25 June 1903, EGP, 245/9.

38. Grey's speech, *PD*, vol.124, cols 527-8.

39. *Ibid*., cols 512-14.

40. Norfolk to Grey, 25 June and 12 July 1903, EGP, 245/9.

41. Copy Grey to Devonshire, 'Thursday evening' [25 June], *ibid.*

42. Devonshire to Grey, 26 June, EGP, 207/5.

43. Copy Grey to Devonshire, 29 June, EGP, 245/9.

44. For a full account of the proceedings see my article 'The Royal Declaration against Transubstantiation and the Struggle against Religious Discrimination in the early Twentieth Century', *Recusant History* (2011), pp. 555-572.

45. Grey in introducing the second reading of his bill, *PD*, vol. 124, cols 494-502.

DAVID JONES AND NORTHUMBERLAND

Leo Gooch

Just to recall the names of Belloc, Chesterton, D'Arcy, Dawson, Knox, Gill, McNabb, Sheed and Ward is to evoke the 'golden age' of modern British Catholicism between the two World Wars when this highly articulate and prolific group of writers and painters (mostly convert, lay, non-Irish and non-recusant) flourished and was widely respected. One person who must be included in this gallery is David Jones who was born in 1895 and described himself as 'a Londoner, of Welsh and English parentage, of Protestant upbringing, of Catholic subscription'.[1] He has an interest for readers of this journal because for several years in the 1930s he spent his summers in Northumberland and found inspiration from its landscape and history.

Jones studied art in London between 1910 and 1914 and he then served with the Royal Welch Fusiliers in the First World War. His experiences on the Western Front were influential on his verse but, more importantly, he was deeply affected when he once came across a byre near the front line in Flanders and saw through a chink in the wall a dimly-lit group of huddled figures in khaki kneeling in the hay before an improvised altar on which Mass was being offered. In 1917 near Ypres, he found himself 'wondering about the Catholic tradition … Four years later again, in 1921, I found myself unable to do other than subscribe to that tradition.'[2] He was received into the Church in St Cuthbert's, Bradford, by the colourful Fr. John O'Connor (who would receive G.K. Chesterton in the following year, and who became the model for GKC's Father Brown). The priest introduced him to Eric Gill, leader of a community of artist-workmen at Ditchling in Surrey working under Dominican inspiration; Jones joined the group and was presently enrolled as a Dominican tertiary.

In 1924 Jones became engaged to Petra Gill but she broke off the engagement three years later; he would remain unmarried although he became attached to other women. Indeed he had an extraordinary devotion to the feminine – as earth mother or queen of heaven – and he was much taken with 'that superb marble relief carving of Tellus Mater which formed one of two panels (the other was the goddess Roma) on the east front of the Ara Pacis Augustae facing the Flaminian Way leading north from Rome' [right] which represented for him the feminine archetype: awe-inspiring and august yet tender and protective. The influence of the carving is clear in many of his female representations. This intense feeling stemmed from a conviction that the achievements of human civilisation were not just man's alone:

> The truth is that whether we are Greeks or barbarians, Celts or Romans or whoever we are, we cannot, for long suppose a creativity without the female principle.

There is always a Virgo Potens …[3]

Although this concept counted for little in the hyper-masculine world of Gill, Jones's time at Ditchling was clearly important.

Jones became a regular at meetings of young Catholic intellectuals in the home of Tom Burns in Chelsea. But, as he said, he did not find his individual means of artistic expression until he reached the age of thirty. In 1925 he was elected to the Society of Wood-Engravers and two years later he was admitted to the most progressive arts group of the day, the Seven and Five Society (seven painters, five sculptors, including Ben Nicholson, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore and John Piper) and he exhibited with it each year until 1933, a five-year period which marked a peak in his artistic career. He left the Society when it turned to abstraction since he chose to remain a representational painter.

His thought had moved into a world of sacramental signs, myth and folk-tale. Jones is comparable to Blake in his reverence for the whole created world and his deep conviction of the intimacy between art and the sacred, a relationship which he would summarise later in an essay entitled *Art and Sacrament* (1955):

> The artist deals wholly in signs. His signs must be valid, that is, valid for him and, normally for the culture that has made him … A sign then must be significant of something, hence of some 'reality', so of something 'good', so of something that is 'sacred' … [T]he art of man is essentially a sign-making or 'sacramental' activity.[4]

Catholicism and its *signum* the Mass was the supreme expression of this concept and the central rite of European civilisation. (Jones would never cease to be appalled at the loss of the Latin liturgy.) *The Anathemata* (1952), which centres the whole of western culture symbolically and metaphysically in the Eucharist, was described by W.H. Auden as 'very probably the finest long poem written in English in this century'.

Jones first met Helen Sutherland in 1928 in connection with an exhibition at the Beaux Arts Galley in London and, following a joint exhibition he gave with Gill in London in 1929, she invited him to visit her at the 'highly picturesque and extremely

complicated' Rock Hall[5], some four miles north and east of Alnwick. From this point Rock became one of his homes and he would benefit immensely from her generous patronage and financial support. Thriftily, she would send the impecunious artist a third-class train ticket, but Jones preferred the extravagance of first-class travel and would transfer to third only at the station before his destination.

Helen was the only daughter of Sir Thomas Sutherland, ship-owner and M.P. She was educated at the Convent of the Assumption in Paris, 'whose frugality and order she loved', but, having made the acquaintance of the archaeologist R.C. Bosanquet[6] and his wife Ellen Hodgkin, she became a Quaker in 1914/5 when she was twenty-three years old; she did, however, return to Catholicism late in life. On being widowed she resumed her maiden name and in 1929 she leased Rock Hall from the Bosanquets and lived there most of the time. She had become a wealthy woman and had begun to buy modern art which she hung at the hall. She acquired works by Courbet, Seurat, Derain and Maillol on visits to Paris, and she became a major patron of young English artists both in buying their work and in offering other forms of support, especially 'creative refuge' at Rock. She became a patron (and ultimately a Life Honorary Member) of the Ashington Group of 'pitmen painters', entertaining them at Rock, and buying some of their pictures; there they also met and discussed art with Jones. [7]

Rock Hall and its views proved to be a compelling subject for Jones who would

> always work from the window of a house if it [was] at all possible … I like the indoors-outdoors, [giving a] contained yet limitless feeling … and the space, park, north, serene, clear silverness of Rock[8]

was ideal. His little room over the porch looked across an open park to the small Norman village church of Ss. Philip and James, and he painted some of his most magical and successful watercolours of that view: 'Chapel in the Park' (1932) and 'Window at Rock' (1936). These years during which Jones visited Rock was a highly prolific period in his artistic life: he estimated that he completed an average of fifty paintings a year.

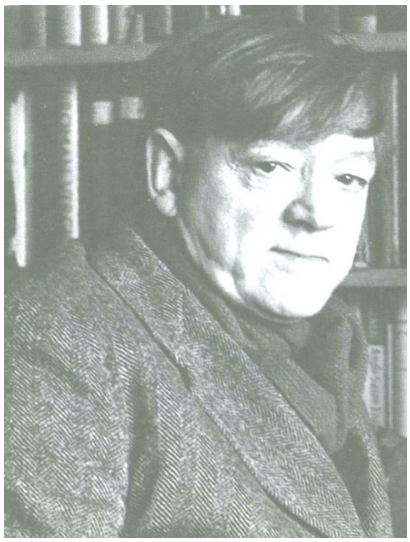
Jones came to love Northumberland's historical associations. He visited the Farne Islands and walked Hadrian's Wall, which he loved because 'one feels the presence of the Legions in a most extraordinary way' and it gave him 'the feeling of the past living in the present'.[9] The land of the Romans was also the land of the early Christians. In later life Jones delighted to talk about early post-Roman Britain and Bede who had the Anglo-Celtic Northumbrian Christian tradition as his background. He much admired the purely linear designs in Anglo-Saxon illustrated manuscripts, of which the Lindisfarne Gospels are a prime example. He also found inspiration in folk-writing of Celtic origin and its 'affection for the intimate creatureliness of things.'[10] Sir Thomas

Malory's *Morte d'Arthur,* was for Jones one of the most significant works of literature and he used Rock to illustrate Lancelot's coming to a chapel in 'The Chapel Perilous'.

Much to Jones's regret, when her lease of Rock Hall ran out in 1939, Helen moved to a farmhouse on the 'wild and remote' Cockley Moor above Ullswater. He did, however, visit her in Cumberland and was relieved to find that it had 'all Helen's civilized feeling just as Rock had' and he was able to complete a number of landscapes.[11] Sutherland died in 1966 leaving Jones £5,000, 'a chronometer, my scissors, my ivory paper knife, knee rug, shawl and blanket and some tea cups'.[12] At her wish she was buried in the churchyard of Ss. Philip & James at Rock. She was particularly fond of the church and, during the early thirties, she gave textiles designed by Barbara Hepworth for the altar and asked Ben Nicholson to design and make its Offertory Box, an object which is among his greatest work. Her grave is marked with a beautiful headstone executed by Nicolete Gray – a student of Eric Gill and one of Jones's biographers.[13]

In 1970 Jones moved into a nursing home in Harrow run by the Little Sisters of Mary where he died in 1974 having been made a Companion of Honour although ill-health prevented him receiving it in person. He had already been awarded an OBE and on being invested in 1955, the Queen asked what he did. Jones replied that he was a painter, adding drily that her mother had quite a collection of his pictures. He was also honoured by various academic institutions and both *Agenda* (1967) and *The Chesterton Review* (1997) devoted special editions to him. The extent of his influence is illustrated by his wide circle of friends in British intellectual life. His international reach was confirmed when Igor Stravinsky insisted on visiting him immediately on arriving in England in 1963. On leaving the house, the Russian remarked that it had been 'like visiting a holy man in his cell'.[14] (Stravinsky wrote a number of fine musical settings of liturgical texts, including the Ordinary of the Mass.)

Jones worked in more branches of art than many artists: he was a masterly book illustrator in watercolour and wood-engraving, and a leading painter of still-lifes, landscapes, figure-paintings and painted inscriptions. Many of his works have been acquired for public art collections including the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle. Then there is his literary work. According to Graham Greene and W.H. Auden *In Parenthesis* (1937, a large part of which was drafted at Rock) about his experience in the trenches is the greatest literary work on the Great War and the first authentic epic since *Paradise Lost.* T.S. Eliot thought it a work of genius. That and *The Anathemata* represent his principal and enduring legacy to English literature. Jones was certainly the foremost English Catholic poet after Gerard Manley Hopkins but Eliot and Herbert Read go further by placing him in the first rank of modern writers, and Hugh MacDiarmid considered him



to be the greatest native British poet of the century. Like other visionary writers, however, such as Blake and Hopkins, he fell into posthumous neglect (though he would hardly have regarded literary posterity as his right) and he is now read only by those who look at the world with a Christian understanding of the sacramentality of all things and the proper connection between art, religion and social theory.

David Jones's accomplishments in the visual arts and poetry were deeply conditioned by his Catholic faith and intense appreciation of the complex inheritance of ancient cultures – Celtic, Nordic and Roman – which comprise the pre-history of Christianity in Britain – and which became the inspiration for his thought and work. In any event, while one would not want to claim overmuch for the Northumbrian influence on David Jones, it was in this context that the small village of Rock came to play a significant part in twentieth-century British Catholic cultural history.

Notes and References

1. D. Jones, *Epoch and Artist* (1959) p. 109.

2. *Epoch and Artist* p. 28.

3. D. Hirst, 'Fragility and Force: a theme in the later poems of David Jones', R. Mathias (ed.), *David Jones, eight essays on his work as writer and artist* (1976) pp. 101 ff.

4. *Epoch and Artist* pp 112, 157, 161.

5. N. Pevsner, *Northumberland* (1957, rev. 1992) p. 551. Rock Hall is Grade II* listed. The manor of Rock was owned by several families: Rock, Swinhoe, Lawson, Salkeld, Proctor, Holford and Bosanquet. There has been a house on the estate from the 14th century which was possibly converted to a tower house in the next century and which was remodelled by the Salkelds in the 17th century. The house was badly damaged by fire in 1752, but was restored c. 1820 when John Dobson created a new and unusual south front with two semi-octagonal bays.

6. An incidental local Catholic connection occurs here with the transcription and annotation by R.C. Bosanquet of 'Dr John Lingard's notes on the Roman Wall (1800 & 1807)', *Archaeologia Aeliana* ser. 4, vol. 6, (1929) pp 130-162.

7. W. Feaver, *Pitmen Painters, The Ashington Group 1934-1984* (1988) esp ch 3. No-one in the Group appears to have painted her or a scene at Rock. Although Helen Sutherland appeared delicate, she kept a rigorous personal regime in diet and exercise. She has been described as 'high-minded, spiritual and slightly austere' (*ODNB sub* Nicolete Gray) also as 'Rather Abbess-feeling in this Abbey-like house of Rock' (Feaver, p. 29).

8. P. Hills, 'The art of David Jones', *David Jones* (Tate Gallery 1981) p.56.

9. K. Alldritt, *David Jones, writer and artist* (2003), p. 109.

10. Hills, p. 48.

11. Alldritt, p. 135. A fellow-guest was the poet Kathleen Raine (1908-2003, of Catholic Scottish & Durham ancestry and Northumbrian upbringing) who would become one of his major protagonists.

12. Alldritt, p. 172.

13. Gray (1911-97), was a Quaker by birth but became a Catholic under Fr D'Arcy, SJ. She was an art critic, historian of lettering and letter-carver (with three inscriptions in Westminster Cathedral). She wrote two books on Jones; she inherited Sutherland's art collection which included many of his works. Her artistic practice corresponded with his: 'to make the material things which surround us

echo spiritual things by their order and beauty'. E. Pakenham, *Catholic Approaches* (1955) p. 126.
14. Alldritt pp. 155, 164.

THE ROMAN DIARY OF ANTHONY ROBSON, 1869/70

Contributed by Brian Harvey, edited by Leo Gooch with Eustachio Liuzzi.

The diarist is the 22-year-old Anthony Robson of 72 Rye Hill, Newcastle, manservant to James Chadwick, second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle. He accompanied the bishop to Rome for the First Vatican Council which was convened on the feast of the Immaculate Conception 1869 and suspended sine die in August 1870 because of war. The diary is not reproduced in its entirety, for a number of repetitions occur. His daily routine included morning Mass (in the house or in a local church), Benediction in the afternoon, a walk on the Pincian Hill, as well as frequent visits to the post office – these details are omitted after their first appearance unless he adds some other particular. Editorial clarifications are given in square brackets or in italicized notes. It has not been possible to identify every person mentioned. The diary speaks for itself and requires no interpretation but it may be read in conjunction with Bishop Chadwick's own letters (*Ushaw Magazine* vols 71/2, 1961/2) and *NCH* No. 46, 2005.

A few remarks on my journey to Rome and back with Dr Chadwick, Bishop of Hexham and NCastle

1869 November 16. Set out from Newcastle for London, met Bishop, arrived at Mrs Dunn in London the same night. Went to St Patrick's heard Father Clare* preach.

* *St Patrick's, Soho; James Clare, SJ, Rector of Farm Street Church.*

17. Went to Farm St church for Mass. Saw the Convent of Perpetual Adoration [Tyburn]. Called at the Archbishop [of Westminster]'s house in York Place. In the evening went to see [Charles, 'The Great'] Blondin walk on the tight rope. It was a very foggy night, the streets were quite dark we could not see our way.

18. At Mrs Dunn's all morning. Called at York Place in the evening. Went to St Patrick again in the evening heard Father Clare preach and got Benediction

Nov 19. Left London for Paris – Sailed from Folkestone to Boulogne, a good voyage. Saw Lord Bute's* men going to Rome, travelled with them from London to Paris. They had a great deal of Plate with them which they had to pay duty on. At Paris we kept at the Hotel Julia.

* *John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute (1847 – 1900). He was received into the Church by Mgr Capel in London in December 1868, and later confirmed by Pius IX, in Rome.*

20. Left Paris for Macon by express train. Slept at Hotel La Europe, Macon

21. Sunday morning. Heard Mass & set out for Aix le Bains. Got in for Benediction at Aix l B. Saw the sulphur waters coming quite hot out of the ground, wonderful sight to see. All wood fires in France, the weather cold.

22. Set out for Turin. Crossed the Alps by the Mount Cenis. The mountains of snow & ice very difficult to ascend, the snow four or five feet deep in some places. Arrived at Turin at midnight after a safe journey. Stopped at Hotel de Ligure

23. Left Turin by early train for Bologna. Weather a great deal warmer. Vineyards on all sides as we passed along, late in the season for the fruit. People dressed very different from English. Strange hats women for the most part wearing hoods or white caps. Carts and wagons drawn by oxen. All wood fires in Italy difficult to get warmed. Stayed at Hotel de Italia.

24. Went to see the church of St Luke and the shrine of Our Lady over the High Altar very richly adorned in precious stones & diamonds & gold & silver. We had to walk about two miles under cover to get to the church. The Mysteries of the Holy Rosary are painted on the walls where you walk along. There were beggars sitting begging an alms of us as we passed along. They also pray for you. We went to see the church of St Catharine [de' Vigri] and saw the Saint's body sitting in a case or Shrine &c. She has been dead about 400 years. The Bishop moved her hand and arm. I kissed the Shrine &c. Her face was almost black with the exception of one white spot on the cheek. Tradition says that our Lord appeared to her and kissed her on the cheek.

25. Started for Loreto. We stopped at the Hotel ~~de~~ Rosa Went to see the church of the Holy House at Loreto. The Bishop said Mass in the Holy House. I went to Confession & Holy Communion. This is said to be the very house in which Our Lord lived with our Lady & St Joseph. It was carried by angels from Nazareth to Dalmatia where it remained for a time. From thence to Loreto, there it has been for the last 600 years. Over the altar in the Holy House is the wonderful Madonna of our Our Lady decked with precious gifts. There are large silver lamps hung round the H.H. burning night & day. There is a monk to look after them. A soldier was on duty during Mass. A very large church has been built over the H.H. I saw a cup out of which it is supposed Our Blessed Lord supped, was allowed to kiss it & had some beads blessed in it by one of the priests. Left Loreto for Ancona about 4 o'clock. We stopped at Ancona all night at Hotel R. Della Pace.

26. Left Ancona for Rome, very high mountains & rocks on the way as we passed along. We arrived in Rome at half past nine in the night. Mr Croskell* & Mr Church met us at the station and gave us a kind reception. It was a very quiet night & every thing seemed to breathe of Peace. We lodged in the via Sistina with Mr Church**. I got on very well with the servants Aggurtena [i.e., Agatina] was very good & kind. Bernard Cuddon*** spoke to me about her before I went to Rome, she had been very kind to Canon Wilkinson & Barney when they were in Rome.

* *Revd. Thomas (1820-1900) of Leeds diocese; he spent much of his life at Ushaw College.*
** *At No 57, 1º Piano, an English boarding-house. Chadwick called Church 'an old screw'.*
*** *Barney Crudden was Wilkinson's manservant.*

27. I unpacked my luggage in the morning and went out with the Rev. Chs Dunn*. We had a good view of Rome from the Pincian Hill a very grand place for walking & driving. Sun set at 5 o'clock, dark at 6, hardly any twilight. It was very beautiful to hear all the bells ring out the Ave Maria.

** Charles Dunn (1832-1904) of Hexham & Newcastle.*

28. Sunday morning the Bishop said Mass at St Joseph's church.* I served. I thought the boys who served Mass in Rome very much wanting in attention to what they were about. I went to High Mass at St Peter's. I saw the Holy Father [Pius IX, left] for the first time. There was a grand procession. I was very much struck by the scene of the church and the beautiful singing. There were a great number of soldiers on guard during Mass. There was a great number of Bishops present. I met Mr Torphey & Mr McDonnell from the English College**. I thought the streets very narrow & bad footpaths being nearly all pavement. In the afternoon walked on the Pincian Hill.

** S. Giuseppe, via Capo le Case, a two-minute walk from the lodgings.*
*** Daniel Torpey and Archibald McDonnell, students at the Venerabile, via di Monserrato. Originally a hospice for pilgrims, it was converted into a seminary in 1578.*

29. Went out with Mr Johnson, saw the grand church of St Mary Maggiore's & St John Laterano. Went to see the body of Blessed Leonard of Port Maurice quite entire in a shrine under the high altar, also the room in which he died*. Saw the Colosseum the largest & finest ruins in the world. Also saw the dungeon in which St Peter & St Paul** were imprisoned. I was very tired with my long walk.

** In the Franciscan convent of S. Bonaventura on the Palatine. Leonard died in 1751, was beatified in 1796 and canonized by Pius IX in 1867. ** The Mamertine Prison in the Forum.*

30. In the house all morning. The Marquis of Stacpoole* called on the Bishop. Dined at the Scotch College**. Went to St Peter's in the afternoon. Canon Bamber*** arrived in Rome.

** George Stanislaus de Stacpoole, third papal duke, of Fontenelle Abbey, Normandy. As a widower he was ordained a priest and was made a domestic prelate to the pope. The Benedictine abbey was confiscated in the French Revolution but the duke later bought it and restored it to the Solesmes congregation. ....*
*** Feast of St Andrew. The Scots' College (Collegio Scozzese), via delle Quatro Fontane, founded in 1600.*
**** John Bamber (1819-1902) Rector of St Mary, Sunderland; canon from 1869.*

December 1. Mass at St Joseph's at half past seven. Went to the English College. Saw Dr [Thomas] Grant the Bishop of Southwark & Called at the American College* also at the Irish College** & at the Hotel Minerva

** The North American College, founded by Pio Nono in 1859 in the Casa Santa Maria, via Humilita, at the foot of the Quirinal Hill, was re-established at the summit of the Janiculum Hill in 1953.) ** The Irish College was established in 1627 near the Torre del Grillo. In 1850 it was transferred by Pope Pius IX to the church and convent of St Agatha dei Gota in via Mazzarino. The heart of Daniel O'Connell is preserved there in accordance with his last wish leaving his 'soul to heaven, his body to Ireland and his heart to Rome'.*

2. Went to the English College then to St Peter's. There was a meeting of Bishops. Afternoon went to St M Maggiore's. Saw the crypt. Exposition, got Benediction. Saw a few churches on my way home.

3. Walked along the main street called the Corso. Saw the church of St Ignatius [S. Ignazio] where the body of St Aloysius is enshrined. After went out with the Bishop in the new Brougham. Called at St Augustine's [S. Agostino in the piazza of the same name] and at Library of the English Zouaves.* Went to St Peter's saw the grand staircase at the Pope's Palace. We had rain that night which washed the streets a little cleaner. The weather was very oppressive, bad for the Bishop's complaint.

** The Zouaves (Zuavi Pontifici), were mainly single Catholic young men who volunteered to fight for Pope Pius IX in his struggle against the Italian Risorgimento. The regiment was international and, by May 1868, numbered 4,592 men of whom fifty were English. Canon Thomas W. Wilkinson, missionary rector at Crook, Co. Durham, recruited and financed six Zouaves from his congregation: Felix McTimney, James Quinn, John Norton, Thomas Carlon, Pat Clusky and Bernard Riley. The regiment was billeted in various ecclesiastical buildings around the city: the English had quarters at the Gesù. The English Zouave Library had just opened at 91 Piazza della Valle (opposite S. Andrea). It comprised a chapel, a library of books and periodicals, a reading and writing-room, a billiard room and a refreshment room. The Zouave's English chaplain, Fr Anselm Gurdon, and secretary, Mr Johnson, lived there.*

4. Went out with Canon Bamber. Called at the E. Coll. saw the church there.* Called at the Library of E. Zouaves. Saw a game of billiards in the aftn. Went out with Billy, saw two or three churches. The Bishop did not go out today, a cold seems to be hanging upon him for the last few days.

** The re-building of St Thomas of Canterbury began in 1865; Pope Pius IX laid the first stone.*

5. Got up at six o'clock. The Bishop had had a very bad night – slept very little. He suffered a great deal with his chest. I went to Mass at St Andrea's* then remained all day with the Bishop. He had a very bad attack, breathing very difficult got a little better about 8 o'clock. I sat up all night. The Bishop had rather a better night.

** S. Andrea delle Fratte, a few minutes walk from the lodgings.*

6. Bishop still keeping better. Stopped in bed all day. Dr Sawick [?] an Italian came to see the Bishop, he spoke English very well. He was kind and I think a clever old Doctor. He attended the Pope when he was unwell. I did not go out today.

7. Bishop still keeping better. He got up about 12 o'clock. I went out in the afternoon to see the Holy Father visit the church of the Twelve Apostles [S. Apostoli]. There was such a great crowd of people. The Pope came in a grand carriage drawn by 6 horses. There was great shouting when the Pope got out of his carriage. I felt it a good thing to be rather tall so as I could see over people's heads.

8. Opening day of the great Vatican Council. We went to the E. College from there to St Peter's with three other Bishops, Grant, [William] Turner [Salford], & [Robert] Cornthwaite [Leeds]. There was such a grand procession of Bishops from one of the halls in the Pope's Palace to the Council Chamber. Our Bishop & Bishop Grant went into the Council Chamber before the other Bishops. They did that by the Doctor's wish as he said the procession would be too long for them. I think it did them more harm as they had to force their way through such a mass of people in St Peter's. The soldiers helped to clear the way. Our Bishop told me that he nearly fainted when he got into the Council Chamber. The ceremony began about 8 o'clock in the morning and it was about 4 in the afternoon before it was over. Such lots of people and

carriages, I never thought I should have seen such a sight. There were about 800 Bishops present. The singing was very fine. The weather was wet.

9. Walked out along the Corso. Went to the church of St Augustine & saw the wonderful statue of Our Lady. Great numbers of people come to visit it and use the oil of the lamp.* The weather wet & streets very dirty.

** The statue of the Madonna del Parto is one of the most venerated in Rome.*

10. Second meeting of the Council which was private, not so many people there as on the first day. Weather wet. Mass in the house, an Italian priest has a little chapel on the third floor. I did not go out in the afternoon.

11. I went to the English College with a note for Dr Grant. I begin to know my way about Rome a little better. I went out with McCluskey in the afternoon. We saw the church of St Gregory's where St Augustine was sent from to convert England.*

** S. Gregorio al Celio. In 594AD Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine to convert Britain. Bede describes Gregory as the 'Apostle of the English'. This would become the titular church of Cardinals Manning and Vaughan.*

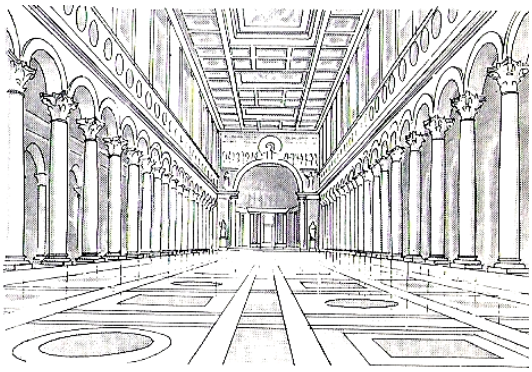
12. Went to the American College with a note. Went to the church of St Ignatius, heard Mass at the altar of St Aloysius, his body lies under the altar. Walked on the Pincian Hill, heard the band play. The Italians are fond of music. Got Benediction in the church of St Charles* at 4 o'clock

** S. Carlo al Corso, dedicated to St Charles Borromeo (1538-84) who held a particular regard for the English recusants. Thomas Goldwell, the last surviving pre-Reformation bishop, and Owen Lewis held office under Archbishop Borromeo in Milan. The archbishop entertained Edmund Campion, Luke Kirby and other priests on their journey to England in 1580.*

13. I did not go out weather wet. In afternoon went out with the Bishop in a cab. Called at the Irish College & at the Hotel Minerva and at the Propaganda Fide*

**Office of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the Palazzo di Propaganda Fide (by Bernini & Borromini) at the southern end of the Piazza di Spagna.*

14. Third meeting of Bishops at St Peter's at half past eight. Went out with Canon Bamber to the railway station then to St Paul's outside the Walls, a very beautiful church [right]. It has four aisles & nave, marble floor and pillars. Every thing seems to match so well. The high altar is built very much like St Peter's. Went to St Augustine's in the afternoon. A great number of people visit this church to pray before the statue of Our Lady. They also kiss the foot which is very much worn by people rubbing it after they have kissed. I did the same as others. After a time the customs seemed so strange to us English at first. Poor England when will thou be converted in thy heart thou who wast once the land that loved Our Lady so much. Miss H Johnson gave me a note to put beside the figure of our Lady. I complied with her request.



15. Walked out with the Bishop. Called at the Scotch College and at a small church

on the way to St John Lateran's. In the afternoon walked in the Corso, weather much improved.

16. Mass in the house. Went to the General Post Office, got some postage stamps. Saw the church of Perpetual Adoration*. Afternoon went to St Augustine's, dark about 5 o'clock.

**S. Maria Maddalena, now demolished, belonging to the 'Sacramentine', Nuns of the Perpetual Adoration.*

17. I did not go out this morning, read the newspaper, wrote a letter to Mrs Pattison, went to the Post Office, visited one or two churches. The Bishop went out with Canon Bamber walking.

18. Went to St John Lateran's to see the ordinations. There were about 72 took orders, very grand sight. The Cardinal Vicar [Patrizi] did the ceremony, the Marquis of Bute was in the church. Went to the E. College and to confession to Mons. Stonor*. Afternoon to St Augustine's.

** The Hon. & Very Revd Edmund Stonor. Mainly resident in Rome; he was chief chaplain of the English-speaking Pontifical Zouaves. He coached the English Zouaves in cricket in the Villa Borghese. He was made Archbishop of Trebizond in partibus infidelium in 1889.*

19. Mass in the house, went to Holy Communion then to St Peter's, meeting of Bishops. Afternoon went to hear Father Bourke preach on education, a very good sermon. The Bishop went to see the Pope in the evening. I went with him into the Pope's Palace as far as the large hall, very high and grand staircase to go up. I saw the Swiss soldiers on guard, one of them tried to speak English with me. He asked if I like Rome and if we had good beer in England. The Swiss are a fine body of men and have a very pretty dress.

20. Meeting of Bishops in St Peter's. The Archbishop's* carriage came for our Bishop. Weather a good deal better.

** Henry Edward Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. He lodged in the via del Tritone.*

21. Went to E. College with a note. Afternoon went out with the Bishop and Canon Bamber to see a Cardinal laid out in state. The coffin was closed and monks singing office. We went to see St Peter's in Montorio [on the Gianicolo] where St Peter was crucified with his head downwards. The church has been built over the spot. We got some of the earth which they give you from underneath the flags[tones]. We went to see the gates by which the French entered Rome in 1848 when the Pope was banished for a time and restored by the French army.* We also went to see the church of St Philip Neri's**. Saw the altar where his body lies and the room where he used to say Mass, his bed, and his confessional. He was a very great saint – he used to be raised up in the air whilst saying Mass, after the elevation, for an hour and a half at a time.

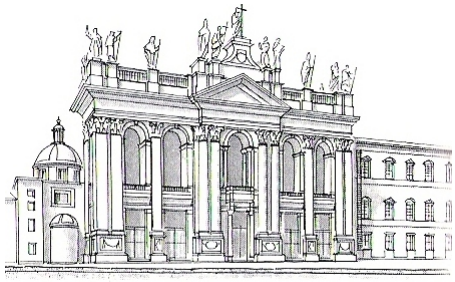
** Porta di S. Pancrazio, formerly the Porta Aurelia. Pope Pius IX returned to Rome in April 1850. ** In 1575 the ancient church of S. Maria in Vallicella, on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, was bestowed on Philip Neri for his community of Oratorians ('Filippini'). It was immediately rebuilt and became known thereafter as 'Chiesa Nuova'.*

22. The Bishop was not very well. He did not say Mass. I went to St Charles in the Corso and heard Mass, then walked on the Pincian Hill. Did not go out in afternoon.

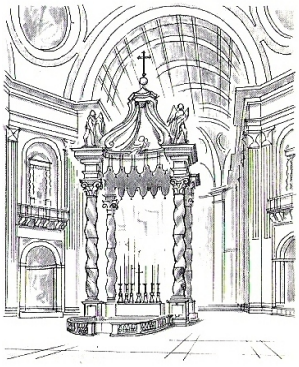
23. I went to the church of St Thomas with a note for Father Bulletta.* Afternoon went out with [blank] to the Post Office also to Cardinal Antonelli's**, he lives at the top of the Pope's Palace.

** Probably S. Tommaso in Formis, Via Celimontana. The bishop would appoint Giovanni Bulletta (b. 1828, ordn. 1852) to assist Mgr Thomas Witham at Lartington in 1871.*
***Giacomo, Cardinal Antonelli (a deacon not a priest), Secretary of State to Pius IX, known as 'the Italian Richelieu'. When he was dying, the Pope hoped he would make a good confession.*

24. Went to the Archbishop's with [blank] Afternoon went to Vespers at St Peter's. Saw the Holy Father carried in procession in his grand chair up the church, he gives his blessing as he goes along.



Roma: S. Giovanni in Laterano



Roma: S. Pietro

25. Christmas Day. Got up at 1.45 a.m. Went with Canon Bamber to St John Lateran's for High Mass. Very grand singing. We passed through St Mary Maggiore's beautifully lighted up with candles. All the Bishops went to St Peter's. The Pope sang High Mass. I saw the Holy Father carried into church, a grand sight to see. We could not kneel there was so many people in church. I got a good view of the Pope when at the altar. He is a most saintly looking man. Heard the silver trumpets at the elevation – they were very sweet – I could not tell where the sound came from. Afternoon went to hear Mons. Capel* preach. Got Benediction then went to St Mary Maggiore to see the crib exposed.

**Monsignor Thomas John Capel (1836-1911). He was dubbed the 'Apostle to the Genteels' because of his high profile converts to Catholicism (including the Marquis of Bute) for which he was caricatured as Mgr Catesby by Disraeli in 'Lothair'. Various scandals would lead to his banishment to the US and eventual suspension from the priesthood.*

26. Went to St Charles for second Mass. Went to hear Mons. Capel preach. Went to see the church of St Mary of the Angels which was once the Baths and reading rooms of the old Romans*. Saw the exhibition hall. It is a very fine building to be opened early next year.

** S. Maria degli Angeli on the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian.*

27. Holiday of Obligation. Went to St Andrea delle Fratte's for second Mass. Very nice crib. This is the church where the Jew was converted*. Weather very bad.

** On 20 January 1842, a Jew named Alphonsus Ratisbonne was suddenly converted to the Catholic faith having experienced an apparition of Our Lady in a side-chapel of the church.*

28. Meeting at St Peter's at nine o'clock. Afternoon went with Canon Bamber to hear

the little children preach*. Called at Father Bulletta's.

** In the Octave of Christmas, children aged between 4 and 10 recited poems or read short sermons in front of the crib in the Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Ara Coeli [Altar of Heaven], also known as S. Maria in Capitolio because of its location adjacent to the Capitol.*

29. Did not go out in the morning. Very wet day. Went to hear Dr Manning preach at the English College. Bishop went to Mr Bodenham's in the evening.

30. Meeting of Bishops at St Peter's. A clear frosty morning. Afternoon went to E. Coll with a note. Called at the Ara Coeli. Heard the children preach again.

31. Went to the E. Coll with the Bishop then to St Mary Maggiore's. Heard Mass for the last time in 1869. Afternoon went with the Bishop to the Gesu*. The Holy Father was there and gave Benediction. Great crowds of people. Church was well lighted up. The singing was very grand.

** The principal Jesuit church in Rome housing the altar-tomb of St Ignatius Loyola.*

1870 January 1. New Year's Day. [Papal] Cappella at St Peter's. The Bishop went. Saw the Pope assist at the High Mass. Afternoon went to hear Mons Capel preach then took a walk with Docherty by the Colosseum. Very fine night

2. Went to St Charles's for second Mass then to Fr Bulletta's with a note. Afternoon went to hear the sermon at three o'clock. Took a walk with Billy and Norton. Fine sharp night. Bishop dined at E. Coll.

3. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to the church of Perpetual Adoration. Afternoon went to the Post Office and Father Bulletta's and left some cards for the Bishop.

4. Meeting at St Peter's. Bishop was not very well this morning. I went to a church in the Corso for Mass and visited the church of the Quantora.* Afternoon did not go out. Wrote a letter to my brother William.

** Except during the Triduum of Holy Week, Quarant Ore, the Forty Hours Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, went on continuously in Rome, passing from church to church in turn.*

5. Mass in a church in the Corso. Afternoon went to St Augustine's then to Benediction at church of Perpetual Adoration.

6. Meeting of Bishops at St Peter's.* All wore copes and mitres like the 8 of December. The doors of the council chamber were open I got a very good view in. Afternoon went to Benediction at a convent near the four fountains, very sweet singing**. Bishop not well, has a cold.

** Opening of the Second Session. ** Until their demolition in 1876 there were convents of the Incarnation and St Teresa near S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (Borromini), via Quirinale.*

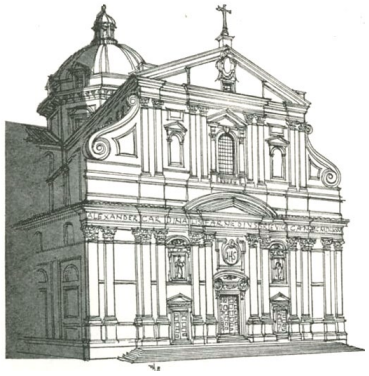
7. Went with Canon Bamber to the fair*, bought some crosses.

** The annual Christmas fair in Piazza Navona*

8. Went into the country a short way.

9. Mass at the church of the Capuchins.* Bishop not well, did not say Mass, stayed in bed all day. Went to hear Monsr Capel preach and got Benediction.

** S Maria della Concezione, Piazza Barberini. Beneath the church are four open vaults in which are displayed the skeletons and skulls of dead friars.*



to the old Roman docks [Marmorata] where they landed all the marble in the olden time. They have discovered some marble lately that has been covered over by the river flooding sand so high we got some of it to take away with us. We went to St Lawrence's – saw the church and cemetery – very pretty. Saw Julian Watts-Russell's grave & Dr Teaby's [?] with marble headstones*. Went with the Bishop to Mons. Nulty's.

** The tombs of the Pontifical Zouaves who died defending the Papal States are in Cimitero di Campo Verano by S. Lorenzo fuori le mura including that of Julian ('Giulio') Watts-Russell, an eighteen-year-old, Ushaw-educated, English Zouave, killed at the Battle of Mentana in 1867.*

21. Meeting of Bishops at St Peter's. First day for having our own carriage – one horse. Meeting finished about half past twelve. Went to Mons Nulty's with the Bishop then to grand Vespers at the church of St Agnes where she was martyred.*

**S. Agnese in Agone, Piazza Navona (by Borromini). The feastday of St Agnes.*

22. Meeting at St Peter's. Weather very cold. Went to Confession. Afternoon went out with the Bishop in the carriage. Called at Mrs Moor's. Began to rain at night.

23. Mass in the house, went to Holy Communion. Weather very wet. Afternoon went to hear Mons Capel preach. Saw Mrs Lamb's maid.

24. Meeting at St Peter's. Bishop dined at Mrs Moor's. Went to the Marquis Stacpoole's. Sent a letter to my Brother William.

25. Meeting at St Peter's. Bought some Rosary beads. Afternoon went out with carriage. Called at the Globe Hotel and at 85 via Condotti*. Bishop dined at the Marquis of Sulupi's [?] then went to Mons Nulty's.

** The lodgings of Bishops Amherst and Clifford*

26. Bishop had a little cold upon him. He took a rest in the morning. Afternoon went out with the carriage. Called at the Globe, went to the E. College then home.

27. Meeting at St Peter's. Weather very cold & frosty, the fountains were covered with ice. Afternoon went to the Hotel Minerva, saw my friend John Irish. Went to Madam Rosars [?].

28. Meeting at St Peter's, got out about ½ past twelve o'clock. Went out with the carriage at ½ past 3 o'clock, made some calls. Went to the church of St Louis*, saw a grand military funeral. The Bishop got a little fresh cold.

** S. Luigi dei Francesi (St Louis of France), via della Scrofa, the French church in Rome.*

29. Went to Fr Bulletta with a note. Saw the Holy Father as he was leaving the American College. Weather very frosty & cold. Afternoon walked outside the walls. Got Benediction at Convent of Blue Nuns,* very pretty sight.

** Unidentified. The term 'Blue Nuns' is applied to more than one order.*

30. Went to the church of St Martina's, saw the saint's head exposed. Mass at the same altar below the ordinary church, it was well lighted up.* Afternoon went to hear Mons Capel preach on indulgences.

** The feastday of St Martina whose shrine is in the crypt-chapel of S. Martina in Foro (now Ss. Luca e Martina).*

31. Meeting at St Peter's. Saw the Sistine Chapel in the Pope's palace. Afternoon went out with the Bishop to look at some lodgings near to St Thomas's. Went out at night to Marquis Sulupi's and to Mam. Lomax's. Weather very cold.

February 1. Went to the church of the Twelve Apostles to see a funeral service for a Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Pope was there & the church was beautifully draped in black & gold. A great many noble people were there with their carriages. Afternoon went to the ch. of St Clement's, it is the feast of St Ignatius. Heard a good sermon by Father [Thomas] Burke on the martyrdom of the saint. He, F.B., is a most eloquent preacher. * Went to General Slade's at night.

** The feastday is that of St. Ignatius of Antioch whose relics are under the high altar with those of St Clement. The church is a 12th-century edifice built on a 4th-century church over a 1st-century mansion. The preacher belonged to the Irish Dominicans whose church it is.*

2. Meeting at St Peter's. Candlemas Day grand procession. A great number of people in full dress. The Pope was carried in. Afternoon went to Benediction at St Andrea della Fratta, sermon by Mons. Capel on devotion to the B. Virgin. The Bishop dined at the Marquis of Stacpoole's.

3. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to hear Fr Burke preach at the Irish College.

4. Meeting at St Peter's, heard Mass there. Afternoon went off with the carriage to make some calls. Canon Bamber left this morning for Naples and then to the Holy Land.

5. Mass in the house. Master George de Stacpoole, served the Bishop's. Went to the I[rish] Coll. Feast of St Agatha, High Mass and sermon by Fr Burke. Afternoon went out with carriage and to the H. Minerva with a note for Master de Stacpoole.

6. Went to St Mary's in Trastevere, feast of St Dorothy. Went to another church, saw a procession with the Blessed Sacrament round the piazza. Afternoon hear Mon. Capel preach a good sermon on the B. Sact. In the evening I heard a Jesuit Father preaching in the Market place. Went to E. Coll. With a note for Dr Grant.

7. Meeting at St Peter's. Fr Bulletta dined with the Bishop. We went to visit F.B. in the evening.

8. Meeting at St Peter's, got out about 12 o'clock. Saw Mr B & Miss B Lamb in St Peter's. Afternoon went out to order some wood for fires & with a note to Dr Maddelana's. Saw an Irishman in our street making a great row with some boys. Bishop dined at the Marquis Suluip's.

9. Mass in the house. G de Stackpool served and stayed Breakfast with the Bp. Did not go out this morning. Afternoon went out with the carriage, made some calls. Bishop dined with the Lambs. Weather cold.

10. Meeting at St Peter's. Afternoon, posted a letter to Canon Bamber. Went to the Pincio, heard the Zouaves band play. Bishop dined at Mrs Moor's. I waited at dinner with two other Italians.

11. Mass in the house. G de Stackpool served and breakfast with Bishop. Walked to St Peter's then got some postage stamps for the Bishop. Visited St Augustine's.

Afternoon went out with carriage to post office. To the Gesu , heard a sermon. Got Benediction there. Went to Mons. Nardi's* at night.

** An influential official in the Roman Rota, a staunch infallibilist and said to have been made a cardinal in petto by Pio Nono.*

12. Went to the Gesu, saw Father French, I also saw Father H. Berry* saying Mass there. Afternoon went to confession to Father French at the Gesu then walked to the old palaces of the Caesars with John Irish.

** Henry Berry (1843-1904) ordained in 1868 for Hexham and Newcastle.*

13. Mass in the house, went to Holy Communion, then went to the post office & English College with a note, then to the Gesu, heard a sermon, got another Mass. Afternoon heard Mons Capel preach on the priesthood. Went to the Pincio, heard the band play.

14. Meeting at St Peter's, got out about one o'clock. Weather very wet. Afternoon went to Vespers and Benediction at the convent of Blue Nuns, a very good place.

15. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to see Father Bulletta during the Council meeting. Afternoon went to the English College with the Bishop, then went and got my hair cut. Waited at dinner at Mrs Moor's, went to Mons Nardi's afterwards.

16. Got Mass in the church Santa Maria del Popolo*. Saw a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in the open air. Afternoon went out with the carriage, made some calls, visited the church of the Capuchin monks, saw all the bones and skeletons of those that have died in the convent or house. Called on Dr Grant who has been very unwell but is a little better today. Took a bishop up in the carriage who had come twelve thousand miles to be present at the Council. 56 days journey. I got his blessing and shook hands with his chaplain. They came from Australia.

** Immediately inside the Porta Flaminia, through which English pilgrims and missionaries would pass to take the Via Francigena north to the Channel ports.*

17. The exhibition* was opened by the Pope in presence of Cardinals and Bishops assembled in Rome. The weather was warm. Mons Maddalena dined with the Bishop. Went out at three o'clock with the carriage, made some calls. Went to Mrs Montieth's in the evening.

**Exhibition of Christian Art at S. Maria degli Angeli, open for the duration of the Council. Exhibits came from all over Europe.*

18. Meeting at St Peter's.

19. Visited the church of St Marcello*, got Benediction in Corso. Afternoon walked on the Pincian, saw the Carnival begin, horse races in the Corso.**

** S. Marcello in Corso. The tomb of Cardinal Thomas Weld (d. 1837) is in one of the chapels.*
*** Carnival began on the Saturday before Ash Wednesday. On the afternoons of Monday and Tuesday six unmounted horses were started from the Galoppatoio on the Pincio and made to race down the Corso to the Piazza Venezia. The Corso is illuminated on Shrove Tuesday and people rush about with moccoletti – candles – challenging each other to blow them out.*

20. Weather fine. Afternoon went to the sermon with the Bishop. Mons Capel preached on scandal. Bishop dined with Lord Stanley*. At five o'clock I went to

inquire after Father Bulletta, he is a little better today. I heard a sermon in the open air. Went in procession to St Ignatius.

** ? Sir Thomas Massey Stanley, Bt.?, who married Mary Haggerston of Haggerston Castle*

21. Meeting at St Peter's. Weather very fine. Afternoon went to the deaf and dumb asylum, saw them write and speak by signs. Went to see a play by poor boys who receive this education from the Pope's government.

22. Meeting at St Peter's, got out at half past one o'clock. Afternoon wrote to Mrs Pattison & to G Parkin. Went to the Hotel Minerva, saw Father H Berry. Got my beads & gave him the letters. Waited dinner at Mrs Moor's. Cardinal Cullen* was of the party.

** Paul Cullen (1803 – 1878), Archbishop of Dublin, the first Irish cardinal. He is credited with the formula for papal infallibility which the Council was about to approve.*

23. Mass in the house. Went to Mons Maddelana's, got Mass at St Andrea della Valle. Afternoon went out with some notes then to the sermon at four o'clock at St Andrea De Fratta and got Benediction. Saw the horses start for the race from the Pincian Hill. Weather cold.

24. Wet day. Afternoon posted some letters, visited the church of the Blue Nuns, got Benediction.

25. Wet morning. Got Mass in a church near to the Hotel Minerva. I had my umbrella stolen during Mass. Weather wet.

26. Went to Mons Stonor's. Very warm morning. Afternoon went out with the carriage. Called at E. Coll. Dr Grant was a little better. Went to see the horses start for the race. Went to the opera at night.

27. Weather very wet. Went to the Gesu for second Mass. The Cardinals were there, the altar was lighted up by hundreds of candles. They had three day exposition. Afternoon went to the sermon then went with the Bishop to see Mrs Lamb who has been very ill. The Bishop dined with Lord Stanley. I got Benediction at St Trinita dei Monti [Trinità de' Monti].

28. Paid for a ½ load of wood. Visited the Gesu, the figure of St Ignatius was exposed. Afternoon went out with the carriage to E. College. Saw the horses running along the Corso. The Bishop dined with Mrs Brown

March 1. The Bishop went to Frascati with Bishops Amherst & Clifford. Went out with John Irish to the church near the Minerva*. Went to the Gesu for Benediction and Confession. The Carnival closed.

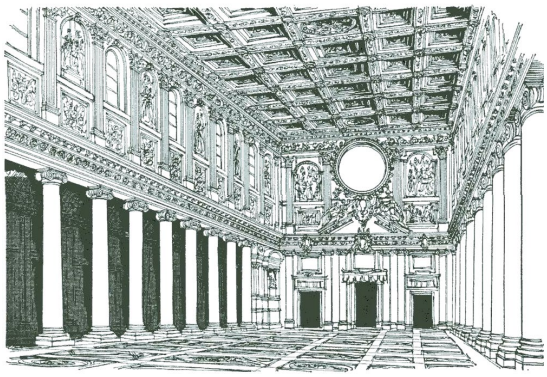
** S. Maria Sopra Minerva, the chief Dominican church in Rome, built largely in the Gothic style. The remains of St Catherine of Siena are under the high altar.*

2. Cappella at St Peter's, saw the Holy Father. Got ashes this being Ash Wednesday. Went to sermon and Benediction. Visited the church of Blue Nuns. Walked on the Pincian at sunset.

3. Walked to the Colosseum and to St John Lateran's & St Mary Maggiore. Went to sermon by one of the American Bishops in the church of St Marcello. Went to

Benediction at church of St Isidore.*

* S. Isidoro, church of the Irish Franciscans



S. Maria Maggiore

S. Maria Sopra Minerva

4. Saw Mrs Moor's maid. Went out with carriage, visited St Gregory's, St John & Paul's, St Stephen's Rotonda, St John Lateran, the Scala Santa.* The Bishop called at Mrs Howard's & at Mrs Lamb's.

** The portico of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo was erected by Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear). S. Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian Hill is one of the most ancient Christian buildings in Rome. The faithful customarily mount the 28 steps of the Scala Santa, close to the Lateran, on their knees.*

5. Mass at the church of St Isidor. Went and saw Mons dea Anglia [Cardinal de Angelis]. Went to Trinita dei Monti, saw Quin & Carroll [Zouaves] on guard. Went to the Minerva. Bishop dined with Marquis of Stacpoole.

6. Went to Madam Lomax's with the Tablet then to St Augustine's for second Mass. Went to the E. Coll with a note then to St John & Paul's with John Irish. Weather very dull.

7. Went to St John & Paul's for High Mass & Benediction. Father Doyle dined with the Bishop. Went to Benediction at St Isidor's. The grand carving arrived from Buletti's* at Newcastle quite safe.

** In 1869, Anton Leone Bulletti of Red Barnes Villa is listed as an 'artist'; in 1873 he was at 17 Eldon Square and is described as a 'sculptor'.*

8. Went to Mons Maddla with a note. Walked to the Porta Pia. Bishops Amherst, Clifford & Maddalena dined with the Bishop.

9. Went to St Frances of Rome [S. Francesca, formerly S. Maria Nuova], being her feast, the Cardinals were there. Saw the body in a case below the church. Weather very fine. Went to sermon by Mons. Capel, got Benediction. Went to St Isidor's with a note. Walked round by the station & the four fountains.

10. Bishop went to Albano for the day. I went to St Peter's in Montorio, a good view of the city from it. Weather very warm. Went to sermon by an American Bishop & Benediction. Walked with Docherty to St Isidor then to the reading rooms.

11. Went to Card. Antonelli with the carving. Made some calls. Mass in St Charles. Weather warm. Afternoon went to the church of St Agnes outside the walls*. It was built where the remains of St Agnes were discovered. On the festival of the saint they bless two lambs in the church, they are then given to some nuns in Rome. Their wool

is used for the palliums given to ~~high~~ church dignitary. Saw the hall where the Pope and a number of people fell to the ground without being hurt. Saw the catacombs underground where the Christians used to live and say Mass. A very fine view of the mountains covered with snow to be seen from here.

** S. Agnese fuori le mura, via Nomentana, built in 324AD. In 1855 the church was re-decorated by Pio Nono in thanksgiving for his escape when the floor of a room in an adjoining house gave way and he, his attendant prelates and one hundred seminarians fell into the room below.*

12. Afternoon went to St Gregory's, it being his feast day. Saw the table where he used to feed the poor and once an angel sat down with them. Very grand singing.

13. Went to Father Bulletta's then to St Agnes's for Mass. Second Sunday in Lent. Afternoon went to sermon by F Bourke, then went out with the Bishop walking to see a villa and grounds, very pretty place. Called on Mrs Lamb. Bishop dined at Marq Stacp's. I went to confession to Father French. Got Benediction in a church near St Ignatius. Very wet night.

14. Afternoon Father Bourke preached at St Clement's. Weather wet.

15. Went out with the carriage at 11 o'clock. Called at Mons Maddalena's at E. Coll. Cold weather. Afternoon went to Mons Capel's, he is unwell. Bishop bought a pair of spectacles. Went to the Minerva at night, the Bishop dined there.

16. Bishop not well. Mass at St Paul's. Went to Mons Maddalena's and to F Bulletta's & to Browns. Afternoon went out in the carriage, made some calls, went to the post office. Bishop dined with Mrs Lamb.

17. Called on Mons Capel, he is better today. Went to see Mr J Benett who was unwell. Went to St Isidor's, the feast of St Patrick, High Mass, Dr Manning preached. The church was very full. Bishop dined with the Fathers then went to the Irish Coll.

18. Meeting at St Peter's. Saw the Holy Father out in his carriage, saw him again in St Peter's. He goes to pray before the B. Sacrament every Friday in Lent. All the Bishops went with him, it is a grand sight to see. Afternoon went to the Hotel Inglaterra with the Bishop then to St Augustine's and to confession to F. French.

19. Feast of St Joseph. Went to High Mass at the little church near of that name. Weather fine but rather cold. Afternoon went to St Thomas, the bishop gave Benediction there. I took a note to Dr Amherst.

20. Capella at St Peter's. Went to sermon then to Father Bulletta's.

21. Went out with John Irish to St Mark's*. Saw all the relics exposed. Weather fine.

**S. Marco, Piazza Venezia, the stational church for the Monday of the third week in Lent when the relics are exposed.*

22. Meeting at St Peter's. Mass there. Went to F Bulletta's with a note. He dined with the Bishop and went to the exhibition in the afternoon. I walked out with Quin, Carroll & Mr Timney [Zouaves] to St Mary Maggiore's, St J. Lateran to the Holy Staircase & home by the Colosseum.

23. Meeting at St Peter's. Miss Swarbrick dined with the Bishop. Went to the sermon at 4 o'clock. Bishop went to Bodenham's.

24. Meeting. Went out with the carriage to a photographer's. Weather wet. Bishop went to General Slade's in the evening.

25. Went to the Minerva. Saw the Holy Father come in state carriage, the cross bearer rode on a mule dressed. The people threw flowers out of the windows on the carriage. Went to the Colosseum and to St Mary Maggiore's to Vespers, Trinita dei Monti for Benediction.

26. Meeting at St Peter's.

27. Walked to St Peter's, saw the H. Father & the golden rose plant*. Went to sermon then to C of B.N.

**Formerly, in Santa Croce on Laetare Sunday, the Pope blessed a golden rose, symbol of the joys of heaven purchased by the Lord's Passion. It was then presented to some Catholic prince or monarch. Henry VIII received one three times and Queen Mary I was given one in 1555. The ceremony was later transferred to the Sistine Chapel.*

28. Meeting at St Peter's. The Lambs left Rome today. Went to Madam Lomax's & to Brown's. The Bishop had a cold upon him, he did not go out.

29. Meeting at St Peter's. Walked to the church of St Joseph's with John Irish. Went to Mrs Moor's. Saw Docherty, walked with Joseph R.G. to a cardinal's and to a razor shop, very bad razors in Rome.

30. Meeting at St Peter's. Walked outside the walls with John I. Mons Maddalena not well, he did not attend the meeting. We began the fresh carriage today with two good horses. Went to St Paul's outside the walls, saw the chains which bound St Paul, kissed them and touched my rosary beads to them. Came back by the ch of the Ara Coeli. The Bishop has a cold upon him. Ordered some wood.

31. Bishop did not go out to the Council on account of his cold. Went to Dr Amherst with a note. Weather rather cold and a little rain. Went out with John Irish to railway station then to sermon at St Marcello in Corso. The Bishop had a bad night with his cold. I sat up all night.

April 1. Bishop rather better this morning but weak after the attack. Went to Mass at St Andrea della Fratte's. Meeting at St Peter's but the Bishop stopped in bed all day.

2. Bishop had a better night, got up at half past ten, did not go out. I went to Mass at St Andrea della Fratte. Went to Belgian Coll. [adjacent to S. Andrea in Quirinale] with a note & to Fr Bulletta's, to the church of St Augustine's, to Confession at the Gesu & Benediction. Weather rather cold.

3. Went to the Gesu for second Mass. An American Bishop consecrated by Cardinal Barnabo, sermon in Italian. Weather warm in the middle of the day. Went for Mons Maddalena with the carriage. He made a collection after sermon by Mons. Capel. He preached on: out of the church there is no salvation. There was a great number present.

4. Meeting at St Peter's. F. Burke began a retreat in a church in the Corso. I went to it. He is a most holy man and very eloquent. Mr Pyke dined with the Bishop & walked out with him. Visited the church of exposition & St Augustine's. Went to the sermon which was on mortal sin and its dreadful consequences. Got Benediction in

the same church. Thunder & lightning & rain at night.

5. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to the sermon: on sin in the soul of man. Council was over about half past eleven. Went to the E. College & to Mons Maddalena's. He went out with the Bishop in the carriage. I went to the sermon which was on venial sin. Visited a small ch. of our Lady.

6. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to the sermon on sin and its consequences. There was a good attendance. Bishop went out with the carriage. Lady Herries called*. Walked out with Joseph, Italian**. Went to the sermon, was on the judgement of God.

** Wife of William Constable-Maxwell, Lord Herries. Their youngest son and two Vavasour nephews were serving with the Zouaves. ** Giuseppe, manservant to Mgr. Rufo.*

7. Meeting at St Peter's, saw a great number of the Pope's soldiers at drill. Went to the sermon which was on Hell, a fearful meditation but a great help to convert the sinner. God knows in this age we want something to keep before our minds the great truths, for the world would fain forget the God who created it. Oh poor fools we would be to serve the world and [not]Almighty God. Bishop went out with Mr Dunn. I went to the sermon which was on the mercy of God to the sinner. I went to confession to F. Burke. The Bishop went to F. Bulletta's in the evening. Weather wet.

8. Feast of the seven dolours of our B. Lady. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to the sermon: prayer, the necessity and greatness of it and the conditions of it. Exposition followed the sermon and confessions by F. Burke & Mon Capel. The meeting was over at 12 o'clock. Weather wet. Went to the sermon on the B. Sacrament and the real presence of our Divine Lord in Holy Communion, followed by Ben. Walked home with John Irish. Visited a little church of our B Lady.

9. Went to sermon on devotion to the Blessed Virgin: no one can honour her more than God has honoured her. Went out with the carriage, called at Mon. Nardi's and Archbishop Maddalena's, then to post office. Went to the sermon on heaven. Went to order the carriage for half past eight.

10. Went to St Peter's, Palm Sunday, and saw one of the most beautiful processions that could be seen in Rome. The Holy Father was carried round the Church & portico. Heard the long Gospel sung, which was very fine. Went to the sermon on Holy Week. The Bishop dined with Miss Swarbrick.

11. Mass in the house. Went to Miss Bowden's with a note. Went to St Maria della Angeli then to see the deaf & dumb girls, orphans.

12. Meeting at St Peter's. Saw the two Miss Collins there. It rained very much today as we came home from the Council. The streets were like a river, it washed some of the stones away. There was lightning, thunder & hail. The Bishop dined with Mr & Mrs Church. I waited. Bishop went to Mon. Nardi's at night.

13. Bishop dined with Dr Amherst. Went to Tenebrae at St Peter's, heard the Lamentations very grand – great number of people.

14. The Holy Father gave all the Bishops leave to say Mass (Holy Thursday). Cappella at St Peter's, one of the Cardinals sang Mass. Procession to the Sepulchre. The Holy Father gave his blessing from the balcony of St Peter's, it was a beautiful

sight, and his voice was quite clear & strong, there was a great cheering afterwards and ringing of bells. The guns of [Castel] St Angelo were fired. The Holy Father washed feet of 13 priests on this day and waited on them at table. Went to St John Lateran's to visit the Sepulchre & hear the Lamentations. Went to St M. Maggiore's, to St Catherine's [of Siena, Piazza Magnanapoli] & the Gesu & St Charles in the Corso. Weather very warm.

15. Good Friday. Went to St Peter's for the function. Heard the Passion sung, which was very fine, kissing of the holy cross. Went to the holy staircase, then to the Colosseum to make the Stations [of the Cross]. There was a sermon in Italian. Went from there to St Ignatius to hear the Psalms and the Miserere, then to St Marcello's to hear the Stabat Mater.

16. Holy Saturday. Went to St Peter's. Heard the Prophesies, blessing of the font. All the church bells in Rome rang at the Gloria and the guns were fired & &. I went to confession in St Peter's. Weather fine but windy. Went to call on the Cardinals. Very fine sight to see a sunset from the Pincian.

17. Easter Sunday. Mass in the house, went to Holy Communion then to St Peter's at 9 o'clock. The grandest day in the whole year. High Mass sung by the Holy Father, attended by all the Cardinals & Bishops. There was also present a great number of nobles and the Ambassadors in full dress & such grand carriages. I heard the wonderful trumpets at the elevation which are sounded from the dome of St Peter's. Then came the wonderful sight the blessing of the world by the Pope from the balcony of St Peter's. The largest number of people & carriages I ever saw. I got such a good view both of the Holy Father and the people. I never saw such a sight in my life. When the Holy Father raised his arms to bless & his voice was so clear he could be heard a great distance off. No one could help being moved by such a sight & no words or pen can describe but once you see it you can never forget it. It took us an hour and a half to go from St Peter's to our house. The troops were all drawn up in front of St Peter's, the bands played and the bells rung out their joyous song, the people shouted and cheered the Holy Father, but they did not cheer half so well as the English do. Afternoon went to the sermon which was the last of a course by Mons. Capel. In the evening went to see St Peter's illuminated, it began about seven o'clock. The first part was not so good as the second at eight o'clock. In an instant the whole building appeared to be in a blaze of light. There was a great number of people & carriages. We went to the Pincian Hill to view St Peter's from the distance. It was beautiful: it looked like a mountain of light which cannot be hid. I watched it until a quarter past ten then there was a great number of lights burning. You did not tire of looking at it and felt sorry to leave it.

18. Walked out with John Irish to the Minerva church & to St Ignatius for the end of the Forty Hours Adoration. Bishop dined at the Globe. Went to the fireworks at night which were very grand but an awful crush of people, it lasted about an hour. Some of the troops were drawn up in line to keep order, the cannons were fired.

19. Meeting at St Peter's. Went to Fr Bulletta's with a note. Weather hot. Council over at 12 o'c. Read the Tablet. Very fine night. Bishop went to the Zouaves play.*

** The English bishops all attended English amateur theatricals at the Teatro Argentina.*

20. Walked on the Pincian with the Miss Collins. Finished a letter to Sleetburn* went to post office. Went to St Augustine's. Went to Brown's for brougham. Walked to the Porta Pia. Went out with the carriage to see the illuminations. Went to the Patrimony of St Peter's, a great number of carriages, it took a long time to get away. Went to the other P[illeg.]s on foot, they were very well lit up. The pictures of our B. Lady were very fine. All the obelisks were lit up and arches were raised, rockets fired and guns to commemorate the Holy Father's return from exile and his escape at the fall of the room at St Agnes's.** Madams Coleman & Spencer left Rome today.

** Sleetburn Mill, a mile or so from Ushaw College, the Robson family home. Anthony went to the college as a pantry-boy in about 1859. He rose to more prominent positions and was probably selected for his present job when Professor Chadwick became bishop in 1866.*

*** A major celebration at St Peter's and elsewhere in the city commemorating the return of Pio Nono to Rome on 12 April 1850 from Gaeta where he had been an exile since 24 November 1848. The celebrations were transferred from the actual anniversaries which fell this year in Holy Week. As their contribution to the festivities, the resident English gentry held horse-races on the Via Appia Antica beyond S. Sebastiano and the tomb of Cecilia Metella.*

21. Went to St Augustine's, the Holy Father was there, for a requiem Mass for a cardinal. I got very close to the Holy Father. The Cardinals were present. Went out with John Irish to the [blank] Got Ben at Con of Per Pet Ador. Walked on the Pincian with Joseph of the third floor.

22. Had a cold on me, took a rest. Went to St Andrea's for Mass. Walked on the Pincian, it was a lovely morning. Paid for fire wood. Three students from the English College called on the Bishop: J. Dunn, C Croskell & Kirkham*. Lady Herries went out in the carriage with the Bishop. Went to went to see a small church where our Lord met St Peter when he was going away from Rome [Quo Vadis, via Appia Antica]. He asked our Lord where he was going and he said to Rome to be crucified again. Then St Peter turned back and was taken and crucified with his head downwards. Went to the church of St Sebastian,** there is a beautiful figure of the saint in marble with arrows in him & with his hand tied to a tree. Saw the real arrows and also the stone which our Lord [stood] upon when he met St Peter. Went to St Maria in Trastevere which is going through repairs on the floor. Saw the Holy Father pass in his carriage, we got his blessing. Went to St Francesco in the Reppito***, to St Marcello in Corso, to St George's****, then home.

** Joseph Dunn (ord.1875),Charles Croskell (ord. 1874), William Kirkham (ord. 1874).*
*** Basilica of S. Sebastiano, via Appia Antica, with extensive catacombs.*
**** S. Francesco a Ripa, in Trastevere, where Francesco Bernadone [of Assisi] lived in 1212AD.*
***** S. Giorgio in Velabro which would become Cardinal Newman's titular church. The English Zouaves attended Mass here next day, 23 April, the Feast of St George, patron of England and their own patron, celebrated by Bishop Ullathorne. In the afternoon 59 of them were received in papal audience in the Vatican Palace. The Pope spoke to them in French.*

23. The Bishop was not quite well, took a rest. I went to the Scotch College with a note. Got Mass at the Capuchins. Heard the news of poor Mrs Wills death, it was a great shock to me. She was so well and hearty when we were in London. How uncertain is life, we should always be prepared for death. Took the Tablet to Madam

Lomax's. Went to confession at the Gesu. Got Ben at a church on the Quirinal. Bishop went to see Father Bulleta in the evening.

24. Meeting at St Peter's, a session at which the things finished by the Council were published. The Bishops went in red copes & white mitres. It was grand to hear the Te Deum at the end of session. Bishop dined with Mr Pyke. Got Ben at the Quirinal.

25. Misses [Eliza] Swarbreck and [Mary] Baily came to Mass and breakfast with the Bishop. Went out in the carriage to where the French are excavating,* the Holy Father was there. I was close to him. The people were like to pull his hands off getting his blessing, the guards could not keep them back. To Madam Lomax at night.

* Under S. Clemente. A mansion, thought to be the house of St Clement, was found in 1867.

26. Mass in the house for P. Rooney. Went to exhibition with Miss Collins. There were some beautiful pictures and marble figures and church plate. The weather was very warm. Went out with Lord Henry Carr's [Kerr] carriage, Lady Carr & her daughter, to see some of the hospitals and fever houses. They are very clean and so kindly attended by the good religious. The Bishop went to the Roman College [The Gregorian University] in the evening to a lecture given by one of the Jesuits.

27. Mass in the house for Mrs Wills. Went out with the carriage at 11 o'clock. Called on Lord Herries, saw the maid I had met at Minsteracres. Went to some vestment shops & the English College. Went to Mrs Moor's in the evening.

28. The Bishop walked out with one of the monks from St Gregory's. Went out with the Miss Collins to St Marcello, heard Mass there. Weather rather wet. Three students went with the Bishop to St Paul's outside the walls then to St John & Paul's. Grand Vespers there, saw the room of St Paul of the Cross.* Bishop went to General Slade's in the evening.

** The Passionist church. Paolo Francesco Danei (d. 1775, canonised 1867). His body is in a side chapel of the church. He is said to have been the first to organize public prayers for the conversion of England but there had been many such campaigns before. Contemporaneously with St Paul of the Cross, James III, the Old Pretender (d. 1766,) instituted a weekly 'perpetual intercession for the conversion of England' in the church of S. Maria in Campitelli, the first titular church of his son Henry, Cardinal-Duke of York.*

29. Meeting at St Peter's, Mass there. Mons Maddalena said Mass in the Council, got out at 12.30. Posted letters, walked on the Pincian. Ben at Con of Per Pet Ador. Saw the Holy Father there. Bishop went to Mons Mullen's. I went to F. Bulletta with note.

30. Meeting at St Peter's. Wet morning. Saw through the gallery of statues [in the Vatican Museum]. Father Bulletta and the parish priest dined with the Bishop. Went to confession to F. French at the Gesu. Visited the little oratory of our Lady.

May 1. Mr [blank] of Darlington, a convert, made his first Communion having been received into the church by F. Burke. Went to St Andrea della Fratte for second Mass the singing was very good by a number of boys. Went to Mons Nardi's with a note.

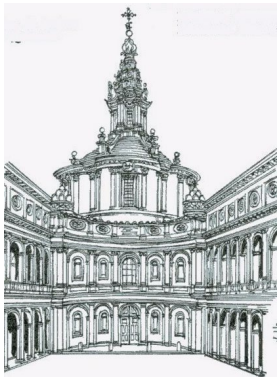
2. Went out with the Miss Collins to the Greek church* & to the Capuchins. Saw all the bones of those who have died in the convent. Lady Herries went out with the Bishop in the carriage. Saw the hospital de Santo Spirito.** A great number of men

laid up with Roman fever, saw one man receive extreme unction. Went to the palaces of the Caesars [on the Palatine Hill] then to the church of St Bonaventure – saw the body of St Leonard and the room where he died. Went to the Gesu to confession. Visited the oratory of our Lady.

** S. Atanasio, adjoining the Greek College, via del Babuino.*
*** Ospedale del S. Spirito on the Lungotevere in Sassia. A hospice for English pilgrims was established here in the 8th century. The first church, dedicated to S. Maria in Saxia, (i.e., 'St Mary in the Anglo-Saxon Quarter') was changed to S. Spirito in Sassia at the end of the 12th century. The Serristori Barracks, chief depot of the Pontifical Zouaves, stands opposite.*

3. Feast of Finding of the Holy Cross – my birthday, 23rd. Went to the Scotch College with a note for the Archbishop Eyre*. He arrived yesterday. Went to Madam Lomax with the paper. To the Sapienza** for 12 o'clock Mass. To Brown for brougham. Called for Archbp. Eyre with the carriage. Went to Santa Croce*** for Vespers. Evening went to G. Slade's – Sulipe & Bowden.

**Charles Eyre. He preceded John Bewick as Vicar General of Hexham and Newcastle and was now Administrator Apostolic of the Western District of Scotland.*
*** Church of S. Ivo alla Sapienza [Borromini,] University of Rome, Palazzo della Sapienza.*
**** The basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, founded by St Helena to house the great relic of the True Cross brought by her from Jerusalem in the 4th century.*



S. Ivo alla Sapienza

S. Croce in Gerusalemme

4. Meeting at St Peter's, got out at one o'clock. Weather warm. Got a letter from Canon Bamber at Naples. Went to Browns for Chapn – went out with the carriage at 5 o'clock. Called on the Earl of Gainsborough, Mrs Bodenham. Went to station to meet Canon Bamber at 7 o'clock, went with him to take lodgings. He had supper with the Bishop and he looks very well after his long journey to the Holy Land.

5. Removed Canon Bamber's things. Bishop went to a photographer. Went to St Peter's in Montorio with the Bishop and Can. Bamber in the carriage. Bishop dined with Mons. Boone*.

** The Belgian Auguste Boone (1840-1915) missioner at St Peter Port, Guernsey.*

6. Walked on the Pincian with Joseph.

7. Weather warm. Father Bulletta dined with the Bishop. Went out with the Bishop to St Charles in Corso. Went to Confession to F. French at the Gesu. Visited 2 or 3 churches. Canon Bamber called at night, had a game of chess.

8. Feast of the Patronage of St Joseph.* Called on Canon Bamber for the Bishop's

Foreola [?] Went to St Isidor for second Mass. Bishop dined at the E. College. Evening went to Mrs Moor's.

** In 1689, the Carmelites secured this feast of their patron for the third Sunday after Easter.*

9. Ordered the carriage. Went to the exhibition with Can. Bamber, returned about 4 o'clock p.m. Weather very warm. Bishop went off with Archbp Eyre & Lady Herries in the carriage. Bishop went to Madam Lomax in the evening.

10. Went to the Earl of Gainsborough with a note. To M Lomax with paper to the Minerva. To St Ignatius, got Ben at the altar of St Aloysius. The Bishop dined with Mons. Boone. Read the Tablet. Canon Bamber called.

11. Mass in the house. Two Miss Bowdens for Mass & breakfast. Went to Dr Amherst. To hotel for umbrella. Wet weather. Earl Gainsborough evening.

12. Went to Miss Bowden with a note. To St Andrea della Fratte. With Canon Bamber to see the French excavations.

13. Meeting at St Peter's, got out at ½ past 11 o'clock. Went out with Dr Amherst. Took a drive to St Peter's in Montorio then to see the Villa Pamphili, very beautiful grounds & fountains, walked in the gardens.

14. Meeting at St Peter's, got out about ½ past 1. Went to the Mint, saw them cutting up silver for coins, did not buy anything. Went to confession to Fr F at Gesu. Got Ben in Sant Maria in Via Lata in Corso. Canon Bamber called at night.

15. To St Isidor's for second Mass the feast day of that saint. Went out with the carriage, called at Madam Stonor's, Dr Amherst, Lady Herries, E. Coll. Mr Howard's at night. Weather warm.

16. Went to Earl Gainsborough's with a note, then to Santa Maria della Angeli. The Pope gave the prize for the exhibition in Rome*. Went to the Vatican Museum, called at one or two shops, walked out with Canon Bamber & one of the monks from St Gregorio. Bought some crosses in the via Condotti, also some views and portraits in another shop. M. Sulip's in the evening.

** Chadwick said the exhibition had been a financial failure.*

17. Went to Mentana for the day with the Bishop, Archbp. Eyre, Dr Amherst, Mr Maxwell and the three Miss Bowdens. Weather fine, rather dusty. It is a very poor village. Saw where the fight took place and the spot where Julian Watts Russell fell. It is marked by a white cross.* Saw the house he was shot from. Saw the house where Garibaldi took up his headquarters the big coward he ran away. Returned to Rome about 7 o'clock, had tea & ices. Walked to the Scotch College with Arch. Eyre. Canon Bamber called at night, he was very good company.

** The memorial was vandalized and Claude Lindsay, an English priest at S. Lorenzo, had it transferred to the chapel of the Venerabile in 1895.*

18. Meeting at St Peter's, got Mass there. Went to the Mint with Canon Bamber to buy some medals then to the Vatican Picture Gallery. Saw the finest picture in the world, by Raphael.* Went to a shop in the Piazza of St Peter's to buy some rosaries, crosses & medals for Canon Bamber. He spent about £8. Came home in a cab,

weather very hot. Afternoon got things from Canon Bamber to be blessed. Went to the Minerva Hotel. Bishop Conity left Rome today for Ireland with his servant John, my great Roman friend. Visited St Andrea della Frate. The Bishop went to the Earl of Gainsborough with Arch. Eyre.

** Probably 'The Transfiguration' – generally considered his best work. It was looted from S. Pietro in Montorio by Napoleon in 1798. On its recovery in 1815 it was hung in the Vatican.*

19. Meeting at St Peter's. Paid a bill for Canon Bamber in Piazza of St Peter's. Went to F Bulletta's with a note. Got Mass in St Marcello. Went with Canon Bamber to our house then to St Clement's with crosses to be blessed. To the Capitol. To the Bank of Plowden for change. To a photographer's shop. Went to the Capitol Museum* then to get a cracked half sovereign changed. Went to where Canon Bamber dined then to our house. Took fresh rooms at 72 via Sistina. Made some things ready to move.

** The municipal museum of Roman antiquities on the Capitoline Hill.*

20. Meeting at St Peter's. Got some beads blessed for Can. Bamber. Moved our things to 72 via Sistina. Weather warm. Got things very well arranged in the house after a good warming. Can. Bamber called at night.

21. Mass at Mons. Rufo's, breakfast at Church's. Meeting at St Peter's. Got some more things blessed for Canon Bamber. Got home about half past one. Dined at Biddows. Went to Browns for candles. Went to Canon Bamber with his things, blessed. To see the Capitol. Bishop went to E of Gains'h with Arch. Eyre at night.

22. Mass at Mons Rufo's, breakfast at our own place. We got rooms for 5 lira a week and buy our own food. Did not go out this morning, the sun was too hot. Dined out in a public dining room. Bishop dined out with Can. Bamber. Two Zouaves called, I walked out with them on the Pincian. Ben. at the Roman College.

23. Meeting at St Peter's. Went out with Canon Bamber to St Isidor's to see about a box to pack his things in. To the bank. Went with C.B. to get his breakfast. To St Peter's, the meeting was just over when I got there. The Bishop took luncheon with Mr Church. I dined at the same place as yesterday. The Bishop went with Arch. Eyre to E. Gains's. I went with Can. Bam. to the photographer, then with Joseph to buy some thin clothes. Ben at St Andrea del fratta, weather hot.

24. Meeting at St Peter's, got Mass there, got out at one o'clock. Went to the same place for dinner with Canon Bamber. Drove out in a cab with C. Bam, got some buckles and passport. I packed some of his things up. Walked out with Docherty. Ben at St Andrea del Valle. Called at Browns for biscuits & bread.

25. Mass at Mon Rufo's. Meeting at St Peter's, got some crosses blessed for Can. Bam. Got out at ½ past 1. Dinner at the same place. Packed some more things for Can. Bam. Evening went to Monte Mario, got a good view of the city, the best I have seen. Saw a beautiful sunset and the fire flies with Bishop and Bamber.

26. Went with Can Bam. to St John Lateran's This being the feast of the Ascension, The Pope gives his blessing from the balcony of the church, the same as he does on Easter Sunday from St Peter's. There was a great gathering & a very dusty day. Went with Can Bam to his house, put all ready for starting in the morning.

27. Went to Shee's to send the box away for Can Bam. He left Rome this morning for Florence. Went to the church of St Philip [Neri, his feastday], the Pope was there and the Cardinals. Dined at the same place. Went to Shee's, to Canon Bamber's room to see if all things were gone off. Then with Joseph to the street of St Louis with a message. To Madam Lomax with the paper. Got some Seltzer water. Weather hot.

28. Meeting, got out about ½ past 1. Dined at the same place. To Miss Baile's at night.

29. Mass at 57 via Sistina. Bishop dined with Mons. Howard*. I dined out as usual. Father Bulletta left Rome for England, to be chaplain to Mr Witham, Lartington Hall. Weather cool this evening, thunder & lightning.

** Edward Howard, Archbishop of Neocaesarea and coadjutor of Frascati. He would be raised to the cardinalate in 1877.*

30. Mass at 57. Meeting at St Peter's, bought more medals. Dined at the same place. To Browns. Evening went with the Bishop to Miss Baile, Madam Lomax, Marq. Sul.

31. Meeting, bought a small cross on the Corso. Saw the Jews synagogue [on Lungotevere Cenci]. Dined at same place. Walked out with Joseph. Archbp. Eyre called, Bishop walked out with him.

June 1. Got news of Dr Grant's death. He died at half past one this morning. He said Mass yesterday morning and took very ill in the evening. Went to Archb. Eyre with a note, to Mr Croskell. Went out with the Bishop in Arch. Eyre's carriage. To the station, posted letters, to Engl. College.

2. Meeting at St Peter's.

3. Mass at 57 for Dr Grant. To E. Coll, [Solemn Requiem] Mass there for Dr Grant sung by Dr Manning, a great number of Bishops there. Went to the Council after, got out 12.30. Took a bath, dined at same place. Afternoon J Dunn & D Torphey called. Went to Mons. Capel.

4. Father Vanderstichele* arrived in Rome, went with him to the Scotch Coll, then to St Peter's. Dined at same place. Bishop went to E. Gainsborough at night.

** Bruno Vanderstichele (1835-85) a Belgian priest serving in Hexham & Newcastle. In 1873 he opened a school-chapel at Elswick, Newcastle. His successor, Joseph Dunn, the student mentioned elsewhere in this diary, would build the church of St Michael.*

5. To St Peter's. The Pope attended the Mass today. Came back with Archbp. Eyre & F. Vanderch. Dined at the same place with F. Vander. Wet weather. Bishop dined with the Earl Gainsborough. I walked out with F. Van. Called at Scotch College.

6. Went with F Van to have his papers signed. Saw the grand staircase at the Vatican Place & the Sistine Chapel. Dined at the same place. Walked on the Pincian with F.V. to the Piazza del Popolo, Corso (or best street). To St Peter's, there was exposition of B.S. and prayers for the Council. The Pope was there and the Bishops. The church was well filled – got a good view. There were processions from the different churches to St Peter's. Bishop went to Madam Lomax with F. Vander.

7. Meeting, got out at ½ past 11. Weather wet. Went with F.V. to St Clement's, saw

the excavations. Went out to St Laurence's cemetery, saw the monument to the Zouaves.

8. Bishop took a rest. No meeting. To the [Cardinal] Vicar's with F.V. for leave for Mass. To the Belgian Consul.

9. Meeting. With F Van to Vatican Picture Gallery to buy some rosaries & medals. Dined at the same place. Went with F.V. to post office, the Dominican church, to St Gregory's, St John & Paul, St Stephen Rotonda, the prison where St Peter & Paul were kept, to the Ara Coeli, to the Gesu, then home very tired.

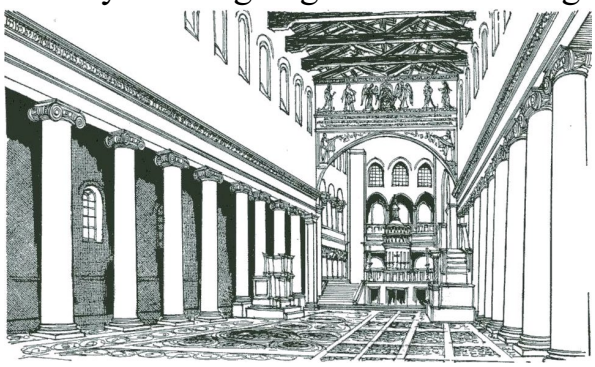
10. Meeting. To the Mint. Walked round St Peter's. Went to Railway Station with Joseph. Weather rather wet.

11. Went to the Mint, bought some portraits of the Pope in the Piazza of St Peter's. Walked to the Suspension Bridge.* Got out at ½ past 12. Went to the Holy Staircase with F.V. To St John Lateran's, to St Clement's, the church were the body of Blessed Leonard lies, to the Roman excavation.

* *Ponte dei Fiorentini (1863, destroyed 1944) across the Tiber near S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini.*

12. To St Peter's with F.V. Bishop dined at S. College. Walked on the Pincian with FV, the band played, a great many people & carriages.

13. Bishop rested. Meeting at St Peter's. F Van had an audience with the Pope. Saw the Holy Father going out in his carriage. Saw him again walking along one of the streets. Went after him until he got into his carriage – throng.



14. Meeting. Got Mass at St Peter's. Went out with F.V. to St Isidor's. To the S[cotch] College with Arch. Eyre & F.V. to St Lawrence [left] The Pope opened the monument for the Zouaves that were killed fighting for the Pope.* Weather fine.

* *The monument is surmounted by a statue of St Peter. (A monument to the Zouaves also stands in the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of the Lateran Basilica.)*

15. Meeting. Went with F.V. to the Mint, got some medals blessed. Saw the church of St Philip. Meeting got out at 12. Dined with F.V. Saw the Borgian picture gallery.* Went to the Belgian College, to St Agnes outside the walls, to St Peter's in Vincoli for some of the chains of St Peter, saw the real chains which bound St Peter.

* *The Borghese Gallery in the Villa Borghese.*

16. [Feast of Corpus Christi] Grand procession at St Peter's, it lasted about 2 hours. The Pope was carried and he held the B. Sacrament. The bells rung, the guns fired. The Holy Father gave the Benediction. The number of people was very great. Weather hot. Went with F.V. to see the French excavation but they were not open. To the church of the Capuchin's. F Vanderstichele left Rome this evening, I went with him to the station, bought some cherries.

17. Cappella at St Peter's, the Bishop assisted at the Pope's throne. 24 years today

since the Pope was chosen. He was presented with an address, he gave a reply. The Bishop took a drive with Arch. Eyre.

18. Meeting. Got some crosses, medals & rosaries blessed for the Bishop. Got some things packed.

19. Dined at the Leopary. Walked on the Pincian Hill, the band played.

20. Went to Albano with Joseph in cab to see the place, very hot day. Left Albano for Castel Gandolfo, the Pope's summer palace, saw massive Rocca di Papa, Frascati. Back to Rome at night about 8 o'clock, the streets were illuminated being the anniversary of his Coronation. A little rain.

21. Bishop was unwell, took a rest. Being the feast of St Aloysius I went to St Ignatius – High Mass. To Browns.

22. Meeting, Mass there. To Earl of Gainsborough's at night.

23. Bishop went to Albano for 2 days. Went to the station with him for the 6.30 am train. Went to the Council with Archbishop Maddalena.

24. Went to St John Lateran, being his feast day [Nativity of S. John the Baptist]. Came home with Archbp Eyre. Went to the station with Joseph.

25. Bishop came back from Albano at 7 o'clock am. Went to Council.

26. Walked on the Pincian, heard Zouave's band.

27. Went out with Joseph.

28. Meeting. St Peter's was illuminated at night. It was very much better than the last time I saw. Went to the front of St Peter's first then to Monti Cavallo.* To the Pincian, a very good view of St Peter's.

** Monte Cavallo, the alternative name for the Quirinale Hill because of the ancient equestrian statues in the piazza.*

29. Capella at St Peter's. The Pope sang High Mass, feast of Ss. Peter & Paul. The Pope has such a strong voice. Heard the trumpets sound at the elevation. Very fine to hear them, I think the men are up in dome of the church. Bishop dined with Lord Gainsborough. I went to St Peter's afternoon saw the crypt. Heard the Vespers with two choirs. Went to the fireworks at night on the Pincian, great number of people. They were very good fireworks. I took care of Miss Swarbrick & two Miss Bailes, one of them got frightened by the crush of people and went home. I had hard work to get her through the crowd.

30. Meeting. Saw J. Dunn there and took a walk with him. Bishop took him in to see the Council chamber. Bishop dined at the Irish College. Weather close & warm.

July 1. Meeting.

2. Meeting at St Peter's began at 3 o'clock. Afternoon Dunn, Kirkham & Croskell came for Tea, then went to the church of St Nicholas*, the Bishop gave Benediction.

**S. Nicola in Carcere, built on the remains of two temples. Extensive subterranean vaults.*

3. To Dr Clifford & Archbp Manning with a note. Dined out. Bishop dined at 6.30 in Corso. Walked out on Pincian, heard the band play.

4. Bishop had an attack of D--- [*sic*, ie diarrhoea] did not go to Council. Got up in the afternoon a little better. Dinner same place. Went with Joseph to take an Ice.

5. Meeting at St Peter's, the Bishop got out about 12 o'cl. Drove out with the carriage in the Villa Borghese, got some portraits of Dr Grant. Went to see two or three other places.

6. To St Augustine's. To Madam Rosars. Took an ice with Joseph and walk.

7. Went to have my portrait taken. To Santo Spirito hospital with a Belgian servant.

8. To Madam Lomax with the paper. Mass at St Mark's. Dined out. Went with Bishop & Arch. Eyre in the carriage. To Mar. Sulupe at night.

9. To Mons. Nardi's with a note. Dined out. Went to the photographer. Weather red hot. The fruit is very plentiful, oranges grown in the open air.

10. Went to order the carriage for tomorrow. Walked on the Pincian, band played.

11. Meeting at St Peter's, got out at 11.45 a.m. Saw [Zouave] Clusky who was on guard near our house. Came in to see me, had some refreshments. Weather very hot.

12. Began to pack up the case. An ice with Joe.

13. Meeting. Bishop saw the Holy Father. Weather very hot. Took a walk and bitter beer with Joe.

14. Packed the case up and sent it off to Newcastle on Tyne. Canny Newcastle, the Pride of the North. The Bishop dined at the S[cotch] College. I dined at the Lapery. To Browns. Weather hot.

15. Went to Mons Stonor, to Mon Nardi. Mr Croskell (Robert)* dined with the Bishop, I dined out. Went round to visit some of the churches before leaving Rome.

* *Robert Croskell (1808-1902) of Salford diocese.*

16. Meeting. Went to the Mint with the Bishop, Archbp Maddalena & Bishop Cornthwaite. Called at 26 Via della Fontinella. To Browns. To Mons. Stonor's. Had an ice. Weather warm.

17. Mass at Trinita de Monti, had breakfast there. Archbp Eyre and a German Bishop dined with our Bishop. Went out with the Bishop to the Deaf & Dumb Institution, saw the priest preaching by signs to them. Saw one of the girls writing very quickly. Went to order the carriage. Took an ice with Joe & Cooke

18. Bishop said mass at the Deaf & Dumb Inst. Got some lace & my cotta & rochets. Went to St Peter's – the great day. There was thunder & lightning. The church was not very full at first but by the time that the session was half over a great number of people came in. The hymn of the Holy Ghost was sung, then the voting took place. The Holy Father pronounced the great truth of Infallibility to be a dogma of Catholic faith. There was such an outburst of joy such as I cannot describe – there was cheering, clapping of hands. Then came the grand Te Deum all the people joined in it with the Bishops & Priests – it was glorious. I was standing near Mr Croskell during the time. A priest and a little boy dined with the Bishop. Clusky and another Zouave called. Went to Browns & Mons Stonor's. Very busy packing up to leave Holy

Rome, the home of a Catholic.

19. Went out to make some calls. Mr Croskell dined with the Bishop. Packed up and left Rome by the 7.50 train for Florence. I looked out of the railway carriage windows for a long time. I watched the churches with their towers & domes for miles away, first one then another was lost to my view until the grand dome of St Peter's was all I could see of the holy city. Farewell Oh Holy City. I bless Almighty God that I have seen thee in all thy glory with about a thousand Bishops together at the Vatican Council and I owe my visit to the holy city to a most kind and liberal master. None of the other English Bishops took their servants with them.

20. Arrived at Florence about 8 o'ck am, twelve hours from leaving Rome. Got breakfast and left by the 10.40 am train for Turin. Weather very warm. Dined in the railway carriage at Bologna – dinner was served on a kind of basket, they come for it at the next station. Arrived at Turin about 12 o'c p.m. having come about 600 & 30 miles without a stop.

21. Turin all day. Went out to see the town, very good streets & grounds.

22. Left Turin for Paris by the 5.25 am train. Crossed Mount Cenis at 8 o'clock. Great number of people travelling from Rome by this train. Second class passengers had to wait for the next train. Very dusty train. Rather late arrived at Paris next morning at 8 o'clock. Stopped at Hotel Windsor.

23. Drove out in the morning to some shops. Walked out in the evening with the Bishop. Saw the Emperor's palace and the grounds round about it [Palais de Èlysée, Napoleon III]. Very fine place for walking and driving, and well lighted up with gas.

24. Sunday went and hear Mass at a church near the Hotel Maddalena [Madeleine?] I think it was. Left Paris at 1.20 pm for London, arrived at London about 11 o'clock p.m. We had a good voyage. Slept at the Charing Cross Hotel.

25. Breakfast at the hotel. Went to Mrs Dunn with a note. Bishop went to say Mass at St George's cathedral [Southwark]. Went out with the Bishop to York Place, then to Burns & Oates. To Mrs Dunn's. I went back to the hotel, paid the bill. Got the luggage. Left London by the 5.25 p.m. train for York. Arrived 11 o'clock. Stopped at Seawin's Hotel one night.

26. Left York by the 3 o'clock p.m. train for Newcastle, Arrived at Ncle at 5 o'clock p.m. Thank God for my safety. The Bishop went to Ushaw. I followed him the next day. Returned to N.C. on Saturday. Went to the cathedral to preach on the Sunday.

Postscript

There are several pages at the end of the diary with occasional entries between 23 June 1872 and 27 September 1881 noting various episcopal and diocesan events, many of which are recorded in the *Northern Catholic Calendar.* Bishop Chadwick visited Rome and the Holy Land from October 1875 to June 1876, Rome and Spain from October 1879 to March 1880, and once or twice to Ireland but Robson did not accompany him and remained either at Rye Hill, Newcastle, or at Ushaw College where the bishop partly lived after becoming President in October 1877.

Robson also recorded a number of personal and family events, perhaps the most important of which were his marriage and the birth of the first of his six children:

24 September 1879. Anthony Joseph Robson and Mary Jane Dickman were married at St Mary's Cathedral by the Bishop of Hexham & Newcastle assisted by the Revd S Harris. John Robson & Sarah Dickman were Best Man & Bridesmaid. [The photograph is thought to date from about this time.]

7 September 1880. Mary Teresa Robson was born at six o'clock in the morning, the eve of the Nativity of our B. Lady.

12 September 1880 The feast of our B. Lady, our little daughter was Christened by Canon Vanderstichele. Edward Robson and Catherine Dickman stood for her.

Bishop Chadwick died in May 1882. Robson seems then to have become assistant sacristan at the cathedral. He later lived in Brunel Terrace and acted as caretaker of the church of St Michael which was opened in 1891 by the Revd Joseph Dunn whom he had first known as a student at the Venerabile some twenty years earlier during the Vatican Council. By the end of the First World War he had returned to Ushaw College as Hall Porter; he and his wife lived at the Sanatorium where his second daughter Clare acted as Infirmarian. Anthony's wife Mary Jane died in 1923 and he left Ushaw the following year to spend his last years with the Little Sisters at their care home, near St Michael's, where he died in 1927, aged eighty.

THOMAS SHINE: SECOND BISHOP OF MIDDLESBROUGH, 1929-1955

Margaret Turnham

From 1921, the character of Catholicism in Middlesbrough began to change with the appointment of Thomas Shine as coadjutor bishop to the ageing ordinary Richard Lacy with right of succession. Although Lacy remained in overall charge of diocesan policy, Shine assisted him with practical matters such as diocesan administration, confirmations and visitations. The eight years of joint administration may be regarded as transitional, however, and gave some indication of the future direction of the diocese during the years of Shine's sole episcopate. Unusually for the English hierarchy, Lacy and Shine were Irish, but whereas Lacy had his priestly formation at Ushaw and the English College in Rome, Shine received his in Ireland apart from a year spent at St Joseph's Seminary in Leeds prior to his ordination in that diocese. The main purpose of the latter was to provide a means for priests from outside the area to familiarise themselves with the Catholic culture and history of Yorkshire whilst completing their theological studies.[1] As a result, the outlook of the two men was very different: Lacy was more attuned to the English Church whilst Shine looked to Irish Catholicism. Shine's legacy may be summed up as triumphalism, bricks and mortar and, most importantly, the encouragement of an overtly Irish form of Catholicism, which had implications for the remainder of the century and beyond.

Thomas Shine was born in 1872 at Knocknaveigh, County Tipperary, Munster. His father was a successful farmer and the family was considered part of the emerging Catholic bourgeoisie in the late Victorian era. The family exemplified the situation in Ireland where ownership of land as a means of economic capital was important long before partition and the setting up of the Irish Free State. The main premise underlying economic capital was that land must remain as one entity and not be divided between successive generations. As a result one son would inherit the estate while promising to provide for the others who entered the church or one of the professions. Thomas was originally destined to become a doctor, his younger brother a priest, and the third brother to farm the estate.[2] All three brothers were sent to Rockwell College, which was run by the Holy Ghost Fathers and provided a Catholic secondary education for lay students as well as being the junior seminary for the archdiocese of Cashel. The atmosphere of such colleges inevitably fostered vocations amongst the lay students such as Thomas, who decided to proceed towards ordination rather than take up a medical career and he was accepted by Thurles, the major seminary for Cashel at the age of sixteen.[3] The fact that he was later sponsored by the diocese of Leeds, where he was ordained in 1894, would appear to indicate that Thomas was not regarded as priestly material for work in Ireland, but better suited for the 'missions' such as America or England. Despite this, his loyalty to the land of his birth remained foremost. He became known as an able administrator within the diocese of Leeds and he served there until his episcopal consecration in 1921. This efficiency was particularly noteworthy in 1910 when he organised the first National Catholic Congress held in Leeds. He was the epitome of the men who served as bishops in the English Church in the second generation, when their main task seemed to be

managing and sustaining the material aspects of the Church and diocesan structures:

> They were administrators rather than scholars, men of efficiency, duty and devotion…the impression is of a church which had become confident and routinized; splendid in its pastoral machinery, but in some sense lacking the genius of inventiveness.[4]

This in many ways sums up the difference between the first two bishops. When establishing the diocese, Lacy was the last of those Victorian bishops who combined pastoral care with administrative skill and a sense of pioneering inventiveness that seemed to disappear as Catholicism became an accepted part of the religious landscape. Shine concentrated on the minutiae of Canon Law, ritual and establishing an abundance of churches and schools, but crucially he took his lead from Ireland rather than local and English tradition. Aged priests in the diocese recall that there was a difficult relationship between the two men which seems to be borne out by the following comment made in 1950 when Shine was still bishop:

> If local patriotism in the various sees has not been sufficiently interested, if the successors of these prelates upon whom the burden fell of laying foundations have not been interested, who shall be expected to preserve their memory?[5]

As coadjutor and ordinary Shine took advantage of events in England, such as the abrogation of the ban on Catholic public processions in 1926, and the inter-war housing programmes in Hull, Middlesbrough and York, to copy what was happening in the Irish Catholic Church in the wake of the establishing of the Irish Free State in 1922, with which the Irish bishops became closely identified. The two most visible aspects of this were the establishment of an annual Middlesbrough Corpus Christi procession in 1925, and the churches that he designed or influenced. There was also a process of inculturation destined to bring about a change in the cultural behaviour of the Catholic population by importing the Irish form of Catholicism that was irrevocably linked to a sense of Irish national pride. At the same time it enabled future generations of Teesside-born Catholics in particular to absorb that culture from birth: Paul Valleley speaks of 'the church I grew up in as a boy in northern England where I was part of a community that still defined itself – though I didn't appreciate it at the time – very much in terms of its Irish immigrant roots.'[6] This was opposite to the policy of assimilation encouraged by the English hierarchy and his predecessor.

It was not until 1926 that it became legally permissible for the Catholic clergy to wear their vestments and clerical attire out-doors, although in practice it merely legalised and gave extra colour to what had become an accepted feature of the Catholic presence in the nation. In the light of such unofficial toleration small processions in honour of Mary had been held regularly in the area of the cathedral and churches in both Hull and York with the clergy and lay servers dressed in cassocks and cottas. From 1926 vestments could be worn and sacred vessels be used outside church buildings. However, the inauguration of a major outdoor procession in honour of the Blessed Sacrament at the suggestion of Bishop Shine was ground-breaking in that it pre-empted the change in the law by one year and also became an annual celebration of the vitality and identity of the Catholic presence in the town. (A

similar procession was inaugurated in the city of York at the same time, but it never attracted the numbers or fame of the Middlesbrough procession which continued until 1971.) Every Catholic in the Teesside area played a part and the many extant photographs reveal the colour and extent of Catholic involvement in the life of Middlesbrough.[7] An account of the 1928 procession in the 1929 *Diocesan Almanac and Directory* depicts the Catholic community in Middlesbrough at that time:

> a brass band opens the march, the processional Cross leads the way. Here come the children from the ten Catholic schools and institutions of the town, a mighty host of children, they march six deep; they pass … children and yet … still more children … the bloom of youth, the pride of parenthood, the hope of the future. They are almost five thousand strong, orderly, earnest, recollected … A striking group from St Philomena's presents an old-time tableau … The Children of Mary approach presenting a pageant picture of white and blue … Then the women pass, sombre, interminable lines of women brightened by the brilliant banners in their midst: women, young and old, rich and poor … they sing, they pray, they tell their beads alternately with some priests. Next walk the nuns, prayerful figures, silent and recollected … In contrast to the silent nuns comes the massed choir of men, women, and children, devoutly singing the liturgical and processional hymns … Then a host of two hundred altar boys … Priests follow … six thurifers swing their fragrant incense before the Sacred Host carried by the Coadjutor-Bishop under a rich and ample canopy. Catenians, Knights of St. Columba, and other notables, in evening dress, escort the Blessed Sacrament with lighted torches … Then comes a mighty army of men marching in close ranks, more than ten thousand strong: men from the works, men from the shops, men from offices, businessmen, professional men, reverent, orderly, bareheaded, testifying to the depth of their earnest Faith ... It is the triumphal march of Christ the King through the streets of Middlesbrough. All along the route, tens of thousands of onlookers reverently and respectfully watch and admire that endless and almost unbroken line of men, women and children testifying to their Catholic Faith.[8]

Two years later, at the height of the economic depression, the local paper estimated that 45,000 people participated in the 'two-mile long procession', but reserved especial praise for the 'wonderful mothers':

> It clearly told a tale of patient hours spent by parents who, in spite of hard times, were determined that their children should look smart for this important event. Many of the lovely white frocks … were home-made, but charming … Judging from the procession, one could scarcely have imagined that Middlesbrough was in the throes of a trade depression, but it is wonderful what mothers can do even in the worst of times.[9]

In Ireland at this time, John Turpin claims that until the British withdrawal after the 1922 treaty, the people had been

> starved of spectacle…Public spectacle was provided instead by the Catholic Church in the annual public Corpus Christi street processions, May processions and other church-related events with the flags, bunting, banners, clergy in

vestments, choirs bands and processions of girls in white and blue.[10]

The same effect was orchestrated by Shine in Middlesbrough and there was great competition to represent a school as its May Queen in the Corpus Christi procession.

The procession represented the Catholic community in its entirety and the above report reveals how the community had diversified socially since the early days of the town. A branch of the Catenian Association, a brotherhood of professional and business men who met together socially as well as for corporate worship, had been formed. Another group was the Knights of St Columba who were always prominent in marshalling processions and other major Catholic events. Two organisations to take root in the town during this early period of Shine's episcopate were both Irish in origin; namely the Legion of Mary and the Pioneer Association, the former being an apostolic association and the latter continuing the tradition of temperance. Alongside the older guilds and sodalities, the Catholic community formed an exclusive sub-culture in the town, later extended by the founding of the Young Christian Workers to include those young people who had just left school. This was an effort to keep them within the Church at a time in their lives when they met 'the enemy [i.e., the non-practice of the faith by parents] that causes so many boys and girls, as soon as they leave school, to grow careless, to neglect their religious duties, and act and live as if they were utter strangers to Catholic truth and Catholic morality.'[11]

In his preface to the 1930 *Diocesan Almanac*, Bishop Shine (left) clearly defined the policy for his episcopate: that a church be provided for every community.[12] This also signified a change from the policy of Bishop Lacy of building school-chapels, whereby a school was always established first and its building used for worship until money was available for a church building.[13] Another change was that in the cathedral, which under Lacy had been the heart of Middlesbrough's Catholicism, now no longer acted as mother to chapels-of-ease. Instead, new independent parishes were established in the areas of new housing, and the remaining chapel-of-ease became the parish of Sacred Heart and St Philomena in 1926. That Shine should have been courageous enough to implement such a policy of 'bricks and mortar' during a period of serious economic depression followed by war and the austerity of post-second world war England was in retrospect quite heroic. It resulted in twenty-six new churches being built during his episcopacy and required the support of the priests and people and much sacrifice, but also begs the question whether it was absolutely necessary. In Middlesbrough, three of the churches were within one mile of each other and of the cathedral: the individual baptism and marriage registers for the period show that as a new parish was established, the figures for the older parishes of the cathedral and St Patrick declined, suggesting that demographic changes due to the Council house-building programme were as much a factor in the estimated rise in the Catholic population of the town as migration. The people who moved into Middlesbrough during this period, moved into the houses of the old town (what Ruth Glass terms 'the north') and Newport which had been left empty by the

movement into the municipal estates. As Glass points out:

> There is a close mutual friendship between the housing estates and the north, for it is from there that the majority of tenants have come. They are still fond of their old streets and still frequent their old shops, churches and clubs. These visits are returned by Northerners who call on their relatives in the new council cottages and participate in some of their social activities … The bond between these two estates and their place of origin is particularly close because the estates are cut off by the wedge of suburbia between them … Thus the disjointedness of the town has been accentuated by inter-war housing.[14]

Many were drawn to the town by its large Irish population rather than any real prospect of regular work except unskilled labour on the building sites. For Catholics in the new parishes, the necessity of raising funds locally by such means as outdoor collections meant that traditional loyalties to the older churches were transferred to the new parishes, but the creation of new parishes also resulted in the beginnings of the decline of the Catholic Church in the diocese:

> The redevelopment and people moving out to the estates … caused a lot of our loss because they spread out and didn't really have to identify themselves when they went to a new place … kept themselves to themselves and from being very close they drifted apart. People knew each other in the older communities and in the new communities the less dedicated didn't bother and then the drift starts.[15]

The emphasis on a policy of church building was very much a manifestation of the policy of Irish inculturation that Shine instituted, whereby the mark of a successful priest in Ireland was that he had built a church for a community. But Shine went further in that he also designed two of the new churches and influenced the designs of two others.[16] His designs reflected not the Gothic revival style of the cathedral and St Patrick's, but the Hiberno-Romanesque style that was identified as the national expression of Irish Catholicism in the early twentieth-century.[17] With Italianate campaniles, rounded windows and carved doorways the churches express a Catholicism that rejects the English tradition of ecclesiastical architecture and also England itself, a country that for many of the Irish represented repression and an attempt to destroy their culture. In total Shine designed eight churches for the diocese in partnership with a Bridlington builder, Mr. F Spink.

Mention has already been made of some aspects of the Irish inculturation that took place during Shine's episcopate, none of which would have been possible without the co-operation of the priests. Hence, some two thirds of the diocesan clergy were recruited in Ireland between 1930 and 1955. The Marist Community were the main beneficiaries of this policy as local vocations had often been fostered through their colleges in Middlesbrough and Hull, so men started to gravitate instead towards the Community and its worldwide mission.[18] Inevitably, the Irish priests brought with them their own religious practices and ways of organizing their parishes, which according to P.J. Brophy, one time Rector of Carlow Seminary, was a lesser training than that given at Maynooth for priests serving in Ireland because 'the difficulties of pioneering life denied to them, polished oratory, elegance and literary output'.

Instead, they developed a practical priesthood that concentrated on teaching

> the essentials of the Faith, bringing people to Mass and the sacraments, providing churches and schools for their flocks, building up the framework of an effective church organization which ensures the growth and spread of the Church. [19]

The net result of this policy was a generation of priests who had a reduced understanding of the full nature of the priesthood. It left them able to catechize the faithful, but unable to evangelize them. It gave them an inadequate concept of ministry and denied the faithful of their parishes the full fruits of the Catholic faith and teaching. As one Irish priest said when talking about the pre-Vatican II church of his youth: 'No explanations were ever given. Catholics weren't told much.' This somewhat bleak assessment of the priests may be mitigated in several ways. There was plenty of pastoral care when it was needed. Parish priests would divide their parishes into districts and assign a district to each of his curates for pastoral care and visiting. Each curate would have to report on his day's activities to the parish priest each evening over supper. The curates with their own districts to look after would be aware of impending births and be near at hand in case a baptism *in extremis* was needed which, with a high infant mortality rate, was important. The 'Monday visit' made to someone who had missed Mass was not primarily to discipline them despite what people thought at the time, but out of concern for the welfare of the person's soul. A hidden corollary of this is that the priests did know their people and were able to discern who was missing from Mass.

Thomas Shine died in November 1955 as an Archbishop, a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Assistant at the Pontifical Throne and Knight Commander of the Holy Sepulchre. The hierarchy of the English Catholic Church was at the height of its self-confidence and fortress mentality. Unlike other churches its numbers were still growing, but much of what appeared to be successful was built on sand not rock and the same was true in the diocese of Middlesbrough. For eight years Shine had been assisted by an auxiliary bishop George Brunner of Hull, who had worked mainly in the south of the diocese. With a much smaller Irish constituency and more English priests, there appeared the beginnings of a divergence in the diocese into two distinct parts, which has lasted until the present day. As one person put it to me:

> In Middlesbrough most Catholics were Irish and terrified of the priests who were all Irish as well. They would hide if they saw one of them on the street. But in Hull, where we were more English, when we met the priest we'd wave and say 'Hi ya Father'.

What was common to both major towns was an overabundance of churches serving every small Catholic community that inter-war and post-war town planning had set up – a multiplicity that would continue to grow for another quarter-century before closures and amalgamations of parishes became necessary. The Middlesbrough Corpus Christi procession continued to be an annual spectacle until the mid-1970s when it was stopped for reasons of health and safety. In York and Hull church-based processions continued to be the norm. Irish priests continued to be recruited until 1984, but native-born priests also began to emerge once more after Shine's death. On

Teesside, however, there remains an impression of Catholicism and Irishness being linked inexorably together, though this is due in part to the continued Irish emigration into the area until the 1980s. Although this might seem to be a negative conclusion, the dissolution of some of Shine's legacy was influenced by external factors, for example, the growth of the 'Celtic Tiger' meant that emigration from Ireland ceased and even drew some people back to their homeland. The number of Irish vocations dropped, so the recruitment of Irish priests ceased to be possible. On the other hand the annual Lourdes Diocesan Pilgrimage which was inaugurated in 1952 continues to be one of the biggest English contingents, and the new parishes have served the 'baby-boomer' generation well. But none of this was obvious in 1955, so Shine appeared to leave a church that was healthy and promising – a successful bishop and successful diocese.

Notes and References

[1] St Joseph's was founded by Robert Cornthwaite who had become Bishop of Beverley in 1850 and Bishop of Leeds in 1879 when the diocese was divided into Middlesbrough and Leeds.

[2] R. Carson, *The First 100 Years, 1878-1978* (Middlesbrough 1978) 227

[3] J. Kearney, 'The Diocesan College', *The Furrow* Vol. 3:11 (1952) 580-587.

[4] E. Norman, *Roman Catholicism in England from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Second Vatican Council.* (Oxford 1986) 109

[5] P. Hughes, 'The Bishops of the Century', Beck G. A. (ed.) *The English Catholics 1850-1950* (London 1950) 194 n18

[6] P. Vallely, 'On being an English Catholic: from minority to mainstream – and back again? English Catholicism 1951 – 2008' (London Newman Lecture 2008).

[7] A pictorial tribute to the procession was produced by Council 29 of the Knights of St Columba in 1995 uncatalogued copies are held in Middlesbrough Diocesan Archives [MDA].

[8] *Middlesbrough Diocesan Almanac and Directory* (Leeds, 1929) 81-85.

[9] *N.E.D.G.* 08.06.1931

[10] J. Turpin, 'Visual culture in the Irish Free State' *JEH* Vol. 57, (Jan 2006) 73

[11] MDA. File N3/Pastoral Letters. T. Shine. *Pastoral Letter for Advent 1930.*

[12] *Almanac and Directory for the Diocese of Middlesbrough* (Leeds, 1930)

[13] e.g. St Patrick's Middlesbrough. The school was built soon after Lacy arrived as priest in Middlesbrough, but the church was not built until the turn of the century.

[14] Glass in M. Lock, *The Middlesbrough Survey and Plan*.(Middlesbrough 1946) 21

[15] Comment to writer in 2007

[16] Shine designed the Churches of St Joseph and St Francis and adapted the designs for Sacred Heart.

[17] Turpin, 67-70

[18] A former senior churchman of the diocese later estimated that some forty men had been lost to the diocese at this time because of their English nationality.

[19] P.J. Brophy, 'Irish Missionaries', *The Furrow Vol.3:1* (Jan., 1952) 26

REVIEWS

P. Harris, *The Architectural Achievement of Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-1882)* 2010 ISBN-10 0773438513

The history of ecclesiastical architecture is of perennial interest not least because a church building is the social locus for worship. So, although the Hansoms need little introduction to readers of *Northern Catholic History* given that Joseph's work in north-east England was covered in No. 50 (2009) and that of his nephew Edward in No. 49 (2008), new work on Catholic architects, like this excellent and detailed study, is always welcome.

Except for his invention of the eponymous cab, Joseph Hansom remains relatively little known compared to that other nineteenth-century architectural eminence A.W. Pugin. Yet Hansom's designs were important and innovative and came to express visually the Catholic Revival of the period. Moreover, and unlike Pugin, he was adept at dealing smoothly with demanding churchmen – an attribute which in most cases was (and still is) exceptionally difficult to sustain. And then, he was cheaper than Pugin – an important consideration when a congregation simply wanted a serviceable building at a price it could afford. Indeed, it is remarkable how versatile, imaginative and elaborate his designs were given the meagre financial resources he was allowed. In one case at least (for the Poor Clare convent in Darlington) he waived his fee and contributed to the building costs. At any rate, he garnered a national clientele among Catholics and built churches for them in the Gothic style to revive their historic pre-Reformation architectural credentials in the post-Emancipation era.

It would be remiss to ignore Hansom's other work such as his designs for various public and domestic buildings, schools and colleges, (not only Catholic institutions), and the foundation of the journal *The Builder* (which survives as *Building*). Similarly, he was responsible for the development of new constructional techniques such as the method of raising roof timbers, solar heating (at St Beuno's in Wales), the early promotion of iron and terra cotta (the latter to be produced apparently in a factory in Durham), and 'the revolutionary idea of galvanisation to prevent corrosion in an architectural context'. He even thought of infilling an iron framework with concrete, thus pre-figuring the modern skyscraper. Truly he was an eminent Victorian.

Disappointingly, the book lacks personal detail – his wife, for example, appears only fleetingly. (The anecdote about his youngest son running away to join the Zouaves and earning both a silver cross and bronze medal is derived from secondary sources.) This may be due to a lack of family papers or because the work is essentially an architectural history. But then, there is no catalogue of Hansom's buildings either. Admittedly, the author says that much of Hansom's output is still to be investigated and recorded but an interim list would have been of immense value. At least here in the north-east we can always admire one of his greatest achievements and a major Newcastle landmark which in all senses caps Pugin's work – the 222-foot-high spire of St Mary's cathedral.

Leo Gooch

B. Williamson, *The Arundells of Wardour; from Cornwall to Colditz* (2011 ISBN 9781906978129)

The Arundells were seated at Wardour Castle in south Wiltshire. Their family history extends over some five hundred years and, like most of the English Catholic gentry, they were astute enough to survive the persecution and financial penalties suffered by all recusants. But readers may wonder why this book has been sent for notice in *Northern Catholic History*. Well, because it was not the penal laws that brought the family close to ruin, but the damage inflicted on the estate in the early twentieth century by a certain dowager Lady Arundell – a Northumbrian.

Anne Lucy Errington of High Warden near Hexham, married the twelfth Lord Arundell in 1862; his estates brought an annual income of some £9,000. He died childless in 1906, and while the title passed to his brother Everard, an aged Jesuit priest, the estate was left to his widow for life, with provision for it to pass to any surviving inheritor of the title. So, she continued to live in the castle and the troubles began. In his history of the family, the last Lord Arundell (the title became extinct at his death in 1944) described her and her subsequent behaviour: She

> was a person singularly ill fitted to govern a landed estate. Narrow-minded, conceited and obstinate. … Her character was a mass of inconsistencies. A bigoted Catholic, she dismissed Catholic tenants and replaced them by Protestants … [S]he sold landed property and old family furniture at ridiculously low prices to gratify her passion for huckstering and her own private fortune was largely depleted …

There was much more along the same lines. She could only be prevented from selling family heirlooms by the High Court. She also tried to close the chapel in the castle to the public and she stopped the priest's salary ('how tired I am of Wardour affairs', he wrote). The bishop appealed to the Holy See and when matters were settled in his favour she left for Rome to have it out personally with the pope but the outcome of that encounter (if it took place) is not recorded.

Although the fifteenth lord and his family lived in the east wing of the castle, 'she maintained no relations with him' and did not speak to him during the last fifteen years of her life. She died in 1934: 'not one voice was raised to regret her passing on the estate which had been her home for 72 years'. No Arundell attended her funeral and I wonder if there were any Errington family mourners.

Leo Gooch

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NOTES

Tom McGuinness. The front cover reproduces three of the eight stained glass windows commissioned in 1988 by Fr Michael Finnigan from Tom McGuinness for the Blessed Sacrament Chapel of St Mary's, Bishop Auckland: *St Bede, writing; The Last Supper; St Cuthbert, preaching.* He also designed a new tabernacle. In all, he created nine windows for this his parish church – the ninth is a rose window high on the east wall in memory of Fr Peter Jarrett, the first parish priest. The designs were transposed on to glass by Edna Partridge and produced by Mark Smith. McGuinness was born in April in Witton Park where he attended St Chad's school and where his artistic talent was recognised and encouraged by his teachers, Miss McKenna and Miss Cullen. After leaving school he attended evening classes at Darlington Art College; he later joined the Spennymoor Settlement, a pioneering community arts group founded in 1931. He became a 'Bevin Boy' in 1944 and he worked in the coal

industry until he retired in 1983 and his inspiration was clear: 'my art mirrors my life in the mining community'. His first recognition came in 1949 when the Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead, bought his drawing 'Miner and Child' (1948). His work, which includes oil painting, gouache, lithography and etching, has since been shown in over seventy solo or joint exhibitions across the country. He died in February 2006, aged seventy-nine. R. McManners and G. Wales have published two studies:
Tom McGuinness: The Art of an Underground Miner (1997)
McGuinness: Interpreting the Art of Tom McGuinness (2006).

Diamond Jubilee. In August 2010, the North East Catholic History Society held a Reception to celebrate the priestly Diamond Jubilee of Fr David Milburn, DSH, and to mark his twenty-year chairmanship of the Society. HMEH Fra' Matthew Festing, OM, made a presentation and Brian Harvey summarised his achievements as a priest and historian. His magnum opus is *A History of Ushaw College* (1964) but he has also published many articles for this and other historical periodicals as well as the *Ushaw Magazine*. The Society was founded in 1974 with Fr W. Nicholson as Chairman. Following his death in 1987, Fr Milburn took his place. The Society has maintained an uninterrupted annual programme of talks, outings and the publication of *Northern Catholic History*. The Society's success is testimony to its vigorous and enthusiastic leadership as is evidenced by the approach of its fortieth anniversary.

St Cuthbert's Gospel of St John is the oldest book in the West to survive in its original binding. Dating from the seventh century, this small, fragile pocket volume has an intimate connection with St Cuthbert, having apparently been buried with him on Lindisfarne in 698AD. As the monks of Holy Island fled the Vikings during succeeding centuries, they travelled extensively around the region, and the Gospel was only discovered in 1104AD when his body came to rest in Durham. The British Library has bought the Gospel and will make it available for public display after conservation. It is intended that for 50% of the time it will be shown in Durham. Moreover, given that the university, cathedral and Ushaw College already hold a number of important incunabula, when the Lindisfarne Gospels return to Durham on a three-month loan in 2013 several of the world's most important Gospel manuscripts will be displayed together. [Information from BL and CCS, Durham]

The Postgate Society has been re-established by the Bishop of Middlesbrough as a Private Association of the Christian Faithful to promote the canonization of Blessed Nicholas Postgate and to foster devotion to the martyrs and those who preserved the faith in penal times. It also encourages the study of Catholic history in the north. Meetings alternate between Egton Bridge and Ugthorpe ('The Postgate Parishes'). (Secretary: Mr D Smallwood, 5a Anglers Quarters, Glaisdale, N Yorks YO21 2PE.)