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Dilston Castle and Chapel

James Radcliffe, third earl of Derwentwater

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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 £7 (individual) £12 (joint) which includes a copy of its annual journal *Northern Catholic History*. The Editor welcomes offers of articles for future editions from whom a style-sheet and details of the availability and price of back issues can be obtained.

THE CATHOLIC AND JACOBITE RADCLIFFES OF DILSTON

Leo Gooch

The Radcliffes of Dilston in Northumberland had become a family of substantial economic importance and social prestige by the time of the Reformation and would go on to gain entry into the higher ranks of the English peerage. That rise was achieved notwithstanding the family's recusancy; its extinction came about because of a fatal adherence to Jacobitism. The first Jacobite Rising of 1715 – the Fifteen – and the execution of James Radcliffe, third earl of Derwentwater, for his part in it are major events in the Catholic history of the north-east and it is therefore appropriate that this edition of *Northern Catholic History* marks the tercentenaries of both by reflecting on the Catholic and Jacobite history of this pre-eminent dynasty of the region.

Francis Radcliffe (1563-1622) was five years old at the accession of Elizabeth I; he married well and, at the age of twenty-five, he came into a sizeable inheritance at the death of his father George in Armada year. He was, however, a marked man. In 1586 he was reported for harbouring priests at Cartington; in 1595 he and his wife were indicted for recusancy; and in the following years Tobie Matthew, Bishop of Durham, reminded Lord Burghley that Radcliffe was 'a great recusant' and 'an obstinate, dangerous and not unlearned recusant'. In 1601 Radcliffe got wind of his imminent summons to Newcastle to answer for his non-attendance at church and he went into hiding. He suffered the forfeiture of property and he was imprisoned in York at the end of the reign. He was pardoned after the accession of James I and he compounded for his estates. In 1616 he was denounced for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot for which he was alleged to have held £500-£600 which he is said to have used later to build the chapel at Dilston. The building of a Catholic chapel at this time was undoubtedly provocative, to say the least, but the informer, a bounty-hunter seeking to gain a reward for turning in recusants, stupidly deposed that Guy Fawkes, a Yorkshireman, was at Dilston using the alias of John Johnson. In fact, Johnson was the harmless building contractor. The case against Radcliffe was dismissed but, remarkably, the chapel was allowed to stand.

Despite his determination to maintain the old faith, publicly and privately, Radcliffe entertained social ambitions and in 1620 he paid £700 to be nominated to a baronetcy (which was granted, incidentally, by the same king who had been the target of the plot in 1605).The Radcliffe baronetcy was the only one in the county until 1642 when the Haggerstons and Widdringtons were invested. Sir Francis took a town-house in Newcastle at about this time. It is thought to have been 33/4 The Close, along from Sandhill near the river, where 'several noble and opulent families' had residences. After the Revolution, a new

house of two storeys and a garden was taken on the west side of Newgate Street at the northern edge of the old city. It was in this house that the town's first Catholic secular mission was housed and the priest was effectively one of the Radcliffe family chaplains.

Sir Francis had thirteen children by Isabella Grey of Chillingham; three of the seven sons died young and two were given small estates (one of whom married an heiress and was made a knight bachelor; the other was killed in the Civil War). Sir Francis died at Christmas 1622 at about the age of sixty leaving a substantial estate which he had extended and, since his brothers had no issue, Edward Radcliffe inherited the title and most of the family fortune. Of his seven daughters, two predeceased him, one married and the other four became Poor Clare nuns at Gravelines. Margaret, the eldest, was professed as Sr Margaret in 1612; Elizabeth was professed as Sr Barbara five years later; Dorothy and Anne made their professions in 1639, as Sr Dorothy Frances Bruno and Sr Clare Benedict respectively. Dorothy and Anne both died after some twenty years in the habit and after long and painful or tedious sicknesses.

Sr Margaret Radcliffe was ambitious; in 1622 she was appointed Superioress of a newly founded English Franciscan convent of the Third Order in Brussels. Four years later the community elected one of their own as her successor and Sr Margaret was obliged to return to Gravelines, but doubtless encouraged by her experience and with aspirations to the leadership of her own community. At any rate, in 1629, the chaplain at Gravelines, for reasons unstated but probably under the influence of a factional interest, deposed the abbess, Mother Elizabeth Clare Mary, and installed Sr Margaret in her place: the community was set at odds. Shortly afterwards, a fire at the convent destroyed three dormitories, the refectory, the novitiate and a granary although none of the nuns or their pupils was hurt. When the Governor of Gravelines called to express his dismay, he heard of the dissensions and he arranged for a senior cleric to intervene. A new election was agreed upon and the former abbess was restored to office. The chaplain was dismissed and Sr Margaret was invited to leave and become abbess of the newly established daughter-house at Aire and she left Gravelines with her sister Elizabeth and a coterie of ten nuns. Elizabeth died at Aire on 31 March 1645 after a 'long and greevious Sickness'; the 'Venerable' Margaret died on 26 August 1654 in her seventieth year having left 'great Examples of the perfect practice of all the Virtues, Namely of a Singular Devotion, very assiduous in the well Spending of her time, and in gitting of humble work.'

At his succession as second baronet Edward Radcliffe (1589-1663) was aged thirty-three. It is likely that he was educated at one of the English Catholic colleges on the continent before he entered Gray's Inn at the age of nineteen, which was typical of the upbringing of the Catholic gentry since they were barred from the universities. He married Elizabeth Barton, a Yorkshire heiress and they had ten children: two sons (one of whom died young) and eight

daughters. It was intended that three of the girls would become nuns but, having tried her vocation, Dorothy left the Benedictine abbey at Cambrai and only Clare and Ursula were professed; Clare took the name Bridget but Ursula kept her baptismal name. Clare died in 1681 and Ursula in 1689 and were buried in the same grave.

Sir Edward prospered despite his recusancy although he could not fully escape its consequences. He compounded for his estates in 1629 with an annual payment of £240 which was discharged in 1632. In 1637 ecclesiastical proceedings were taken against him at Durham for allowing his first two children to be unlawfully baptised, that is, privately at Dilston rather than in the parish church, and he was fined £200; for the same reason he also had to obtain retrospective approval for his marriage. He did not take to arms in the Civil Wars, but, as a recusant and delinquent, the sequestration of the family estates under the Commonwealth was inevitable. Prudently, however, in 1639 he had taken legal steps, as did all Catholic gentry families (and he himself was a lawyer), to protect his wife's jointure and his children's patrimony by placing the estates in trusteeship. The sale in 1652 of his life-interest in the estate could not be prevented, however, but it was bought back the following year by Francis his son and heir who had been kept out of the royalist army deliberately. The Radcliffes emerged bloodied but unbowed from the Civil War and had lived to see the restoration of the monarchy; they had maintained their Catholicism and, despite legal pressures, had saved their estates, albeit somewhat expensively.

Proceedings for recusancy had been taken against Lady Elizabeth in the early 1660s, and it is from about that time that specific evidence of the family's support for the Church becomes apparent. Both Sir Edward and Lady Elizabeth were generous to the convent at Cambrai. The convent annals marked their deaths (both were interred in the vault of the chapel at Dilston):

> A.D. 1663. Dec. 24. New Style. Departed this life our Hon^{ble} Benefactor Sir Ed. Radcliffe of Dilston ... who, having here in this Convent 2 daughters Religious, was a very good friend to our house. Likewise on 28 Dec. 1668 departed this life his Lady, the Hon^{ble} Eliz. Radcliffe ... She was a Noble Benefactress to this Convent giving us in her lifetime 900£ Sterling to establish for our Convent a perpetual of 54£ per annum & at her death gave us 50£ sterling more.

Sir Edward's bequests included a capital donation of £400 to fund the training of priests at the English College, Lisbon, for the English mission, and there was a continuing link between the family and the college over the years.

A permanent chaplaincy at Dilston Castle was established in the post-Restoration years. Wealthy recusant families often supported more than one priest: a family chaplain and another as a missioner for the household, tenantry

and neighbourhood, though both would be boarded in the mansion. Families with a town-house or widely dispersed estates might have yet another. The engagement of more than one priest avoided pastoral difficulties which could arise when the chaplain was required to travel with his patron. There was a continuous succession of chaplains and missioners at Dilston almost until the dissolution of the estate. The chaplaincy system had its secular uses too; chaplains were employed as tutors to the children and also as channels for the payment of school fees and other monies due to relatives abroad. Clare and Ursula Radcliffe, Benedictine nuns at Cambrai, received their allowances of £27 a year each through Dom Francis Lawson, who was on the mission in Northumberland. The fees of £25 for each boy at school in Flanders were paid through the priest William Meynell.

Francis Radcliffe (1625-1696), third baronet, married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Fenwick and widow of Henry Lawson of Brough who was slain in the Civil War. In producing ten children, five boys and five girls, this generation of the family was no less fruitful than its predecessors. Of the girls, one died in infancy, one married, two became nuns and one remained single. The boys, Edward, Francis and Thomas, were educated at the English College, Douai in the late 1660s, all of them using the alias of Gray or Grey, the maiden name of their great-grandmother. Edward was required to return home and, in due course, marry, succeed to the title and hand on the family inheritance. Francis entered Gray's Inn to study conveyancing; four years later he and his father, sensing a growing anti-Catholic sentiment in parliament, and just to be on the safe side, placed the patrimonial estates in the trusteeship of the Protestant Dissenter Ambrose Barnes, a Tyneside merchant and a business partner in the lead trade. Thomas, who for a time laboured under some mental delusions, had his own property elsewhere in the county, and Arthur, whose eccentricities also gave increasing cause for concern, lived at Capheaton. William lived in Rome, perhaps estranged from the family – he has been described, without explanation, as 'rather shady' (rents due to him were conveyed through the chaplain Roger Mitford). Mitford, a Northumbrian, spent the whole of his priestly life with the Radcliffes, as chaplain to Sir Francis and for several years as tutor to his sons William and Arthur. Sir Francis took Mitford with him to Rome in 1675. (Mitford died in 1697 and was buried in Corbridge church; Francis and Thomas Radcliffe were his executors.)

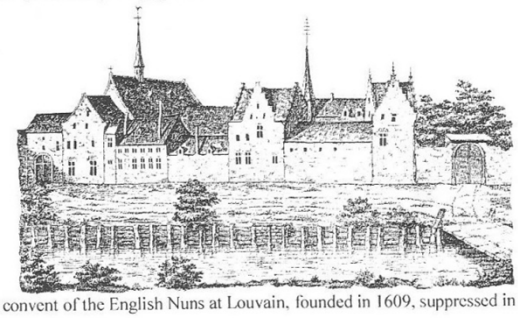
Within seven years of the Restoration, Sir Francis regained ownership of the forfeited estates and had practically doubled the value of the family's landed possessions from which he drew £6,263 a year. The significance of his wealth and social standing was not lost on him, the most ambitious of all the Radcliffes. In 1672 he conceived the idea of a marriage alliance with the royal family. This was not wholly unreasonable. He was very well off, he held the premier baronetcy in the north, and his family had loyally supported the royalist

cause in the Civil War at some cost. He therefore proposed his son Edward as a suitable match for Lady Charlotte, natural daughter of Charles II by the Duchess of Cleveland; he also suggested an earldom for himself. But nothing came of it because the king was hard-pressed politically and Sir Francis was a prominent recusant.

The dangers facing high-born recusants did not disappear at the Restoration, for the public obsession with conspiracies brought them under constant suspicion and harrassment. In 1679 Sir Francis was taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms on suspicion of complicity in the alleged Popish Plot (he was supposed to have been earmarked as Major General of the Army should the plot succeed) but he was discharged on giving sureties of £5,000 for his good behaviour and of staying within five miles of Dilston. His son Thomas was a prisoner in the Tower for eighteen months in 1678/80 as another victim of the plot. Four years later, however, a determined attempt at his entrapment was made. Joshua Bowes, proprietor of a coffee-shop in London, had a conversation with Miles Prance, a Catholic gold-and silver-smith of Holborn who clearly held a privileged position among the recusant gentry families who did business with him, and he would know a great deal about their chaplains and chapels. In 1678 Prance was implicated in the murder of Sir Edmund Godfrey and while he was in Newgate Gaol he was 'turned' and agreed to act as a government spy on his release. Bowes told Sir Francis that Prance had remarked that seldom less than four priests were kept at Dilston and they were kept safely out of sight 'in a little loft that they go up to by a ladder, and, when they carry them meat, the ladder was taken away'. Bowes merely said that none of the rooms he had seen were like that but Prance insisted that the cook had told him as 'a real truth'. Bowes said that the cook was lying but he himself remembered that an old groom had remarked on the presence of a young man whom he supposed to be a priest. Bowes realised only too well that Prance's information, though inaccurate in detail, had a factual basis and he was sufficiently concerned to warn Sir Francis to take more care even though the religion of the Radcliffes was perfectly well known and that Dilston was the headquarters of the church in Tynedale. Indeed, between 1681 and 1684 Sir Francis, his wife, three sisters and sons Edward, Thomas and Francis, the steward Richard Hailes and others in the household were presented as popish recusants by the churchwardens in Corbridge. In August 1687 year Bishop John Leyburn confirmed 481 Catholics of Tynedale at Dilston.

Unscrupulous individuals in search of a fortune are often attracted to wealthy Catholic maiden ladies. James Prichard, a Welshman, was educated and ordained at Douai soon after the Restoration but his subsequent career is not known. He may, however, have been at Corby Castle with the Howards to judge by a letter written around 1683. Prichard had approached Catharine Howard telling her that he would arrange the 'marriages' of Sir Francis Radcliffe's

daughters Margaret, Katherine, Mary and Elizabeth. It is clear from the context that ‘marriage’ was code for entering a convent. He had enquired about the dowries they would receive but when he found that it would only be £500 each, he urged, more forcefully, a much larger sum and £100 a year for life which, he said, would set up the convent. Miss Howard was convinced that his proposals were not made from motives of piety but confirmed what she had ‘several times heard, that he was not satisfied as he was’ and intended to become ‘confessor to the monastarie’, by persuading the girls to take the veil. Having been found out, he gave up. In the event, Margaret married, Mary remained single, and Catherine and Elizabeth were professed in the well-established Augustinian convent of St Monica’s, Louvain, five years later.



The convent of the English Nuns at Louvain, founded in 1609, suppressed in 1796.

In every respect, except religion, the Radcliffes of Dilston led lives similar to those of other English squires and landowners – as the chief family in Tynedale, they may even have been grander; Sir Francis certainly lived in a princely style and was said to be ‘wedded to a life of ease’.[23] It comes as no surprise that Sir Francis would again try for a royal marriage alliance now there was a Catholic king – James II. In 1687 the proposal for a union between Edward Radcliffe, twenty-two years old, and Lady Mary Tudor, the late King Charles’s daughter by Moll Davis was accepted but only (at the king’s request) by withdrawing the requirement for her conversion to Catholicism. The marriage took place in August and the newly-weds took a house in Arlington Street, off Piccadilly, from which they could play their full part in the fashionable life of the capital. In March 1688, Sir Francis was created Baron Tynedale, Viscount Radcliffe and Langley, and Earl of Derwentwater.

The Stuart loyalties of the Radcliffes were again put to the test in 1688 before and after the Revolution. In the closing months of James’s reign, while the earl and Edward his eldest son prudently stayed at home, the earl’s three younger sons joined the army. Francis raised an independent troop of cavalry which, under his captaincy, was incorporated into the new Regiment of Horse formed by Colonel Henry Slingsby. Thomas was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Duke of Newcastle’s newly formed Regiment of Foot and William became a captain under him. The regiment comprised mostly Northumbrian Catholics; the officers included a Brandling, Clavering, Conyers, Riddell, Sanderson, Selby, Tempest, and Widdrington. These regiments were disbanded in January 1689

but the deposed king retained the loyalties of the officers. Francis refused to take the oaths to the usurper and was gaoled. Dilston was carefully watched since it was bound to be a centre of Jacobite intrigue. Suspicious gatherings of up to seventy or eighty horsemen were seen there in 1689 but the expected counter-revolution never materialized and the Radcliffes kept a low profile.

In 1697, the second earl (left, portrayed c.1690 by Clostermans,) engaged Benjamin Petre, twenty-five years old and newly-ordained, as family chaplain in succession to Roger Mitford. Petre was the youngest son of a wealthy esquire in Essex with Stuart connections. These were ideal credentials for a nobleman's chaplain, but Petre was rather 'gentle, pious, humble, timorous and affectionate' and not at all ambitious. He seems to have had a lot in common with the second earl who was bookish, liked the theatre and had written a little poetry. The family then comprised the earl and countess with their children James, aged eight, Francis, six, Charles, four, and Mary, an infant. (The names James and Charles had not previously been used by the family and the choice was an obvious gesture of homage to the Stuarts.)The countess did not require Petre's ministrations because she remained implacably opposed to becoming a Catholic and the marriage broke down in 1700. The earl, being a Catholic, could not remarry; but shortly after his death in 1705 the countess married the man she had lived with since the separation.

As well as acting as chaplain, Petre tutored the earl's sons. He used the family library (of around one hundred books) and it is worth looking briefly at it for what it reveals of the intellectual aspirations of the Catholic upper classes of that time. The library was clearly intended to be an educational resource rather than a recreational collection. The largest categories of books were classics and ancient history, devotional literature, theology, catechetics and church history. There were volumes of general and British history, dictionaries and grammars, science textbooks (geography, mathematics and physics) and travel including books of maps. This was a wide-ranging collection from which a diligent tutor could impart a well-rounded Catholic and secular schooling. The library, which was probably replicated in similar houses, illustrates the importance given to the education of a Catholic gentleman's children at this time; their overall cultural

attainment was of a higher standard than that reached by many of their non-Catholic contemporaries and the basis for such development was provided by their home-libraries and the colleges on the continent. The schoolroom was closed in 1702, however, when, no doubt to the intense displeasure of the countess, their father sent James and Francis to the Stuart court at St. Germain, at the request of Queen Mary, widow of James II, to be companions and fellow-pupils of Prince James their cousin. Their younger brother Charles was despatched to Everingham to live with his aunt Margaret who was married to Philip Constable.

James Radcliffe succeeded as third earl in 1705 and is said to have then undertaken a Grand Tour with Petre as his tutor. A Catholic tourist's itinerary usually included Rome but there are no references to him being there, though he might have wanted to visit his uncle William. Paris was another important destination for tourists but he would have become familiar with its sights as a matter of course living as he did at St Germain only ten miles to the west, and he would have been equally accustomed to Versailles. There was one city, however, which he would almost certainly have wished to visit which, after Rome and Paris, was the most important destination for Grand Tourists, and that was Brussels, capital of the Catholic Austrian Netherlands, where there were important buildings and art collections to be seen. In Derwentwater's case there was an additional reason: the town of Louvain lies a few miles to the east of Brussels and his aunts Catherine and Elizabeth had been nuns in St Monica's convent there since July 1688. They had never seen him and it is unimaginable that he would not have allowed his aged aunts to dote on him for a while when he was abroad.

Derwentwater is next reported onboard the *Le Salisbury* as a participant in the abortive Franco-Jacobite expedition of 1708, probably incorrectly although Prince James was embarked in the *Mars*. In November 1709 the earl and his brother Francis were permitted to return to England. It is not at all clear why a Whig government should issue such a licencs. It would have been reason enough to refuse had they been embarked with the French in 1708, but it was common knowledge that they were on the closest terms with the deposed royal family and familiar with the courtiers and their talk of Prince James's recovery of the throne. To allow a wealthy and influential Jacobite earl, favourable to the overthrow of the Hanoverian succession, back into the country hardly seemed prudent. The only plausible reason is that he was not considered to be a real threat, or if he was, it would be easier to keep an eye on him in England.

In February 1710, Derwentwater travelled throughout the north to establish contact with his kinsfolk and to inspect his numerous estates. He also formed a circle of friends, mostly Catholics and Jacobites, of whom he became the natural leader. He was described as personable, slim, fair, and an accomplished singer and guitarist. He was hospitable and generous to his friends and he

impressed even cynics like Tobias Smollett who described him as amiable, open-hearted, brave, generous, hospitable and humane. He was also generous to 'the multitude of people whom he employed on his estates' with whom, unsurprisingly, he became popular. The people of Tynedale must have been delighted with the resumption of the good old days they had known under the first earl. (The second earl had preferred to live in London.) Derwentwater enjoyed all field sports – beagling, hunting, shooting and so on. In his few surviving letters he refers familiarly to Tom Errington, Jacky Swinburne, Jack Thornton, and other young Catholic Northumbrian gentlemen with whom he regularly attended race-meetings, hunted, exchanged visits and dined. Francis lived in London while Charles was sowing his wild oats in the north; the earl worried about their extravagant habits. (He would later suggest that Charles would fare better if he took up reading – a fond hope.) These carefree years as a bachelor ended in July 1712 when Derwentwater married Anna Maria, eldest daughter of Sir John and Barbara Webb, a west-country heiress whom he may have first met at St Germain or in Paris.

Celia Fiennes, travelling down Tynedale in 1698, rode 'through Lord Derwentwater's Parke just by his house which is an old building not very large'. In 1710, Derwentwater decided to modernise it ignoring the opinion of a friend that the existing mansion was perfectly adequate. He had returned from the continent where he had become a polished and cultivated young nobleman, used to great houses and persuaded of the superiority of European art and architecture. With the world at his feet, an income of around £6,500 a year, and no dependents, he was not to be dissuaded from recreating at Dilston what he could of the more elegant life he had known and enjoyed when abroad and in London. Palladianism became fashionable just at that time; the style, solid and plain, was well suited to the conservative north and its harsh climate and would be adopted when other houses in the region were altered or rebuilt later. Internally, however, the house was much less restrained, but richly furnished with Turkey carpets, marble tables, large mirrors, tapestries and other painted wall-hangings, family portraits, pictures and prints.

While he was at St. Germain, Derwentwater attended the Jesuit College of St. Louis le Grand in Paris with his fellow Northumbrian, William, fourth baron Widdrington who was well known at St Germain. The Widdringtons had a long royalist and Catholic history. Sir William was raised to the peerage as Baron Widdrington in 1643. He died in the Battle of Wigan fighting for the king. Little can be said of the second baron who died in 1675, but his younger brother Edward was killed at the Battle of the Boyne. Another brother, Ralph, was notorious as a 'favourer of papists', and was active in regional politics until he was thrown out in 1689. The third baron was Governor of Berwick and Holy Island in 1686 but was dismissed in 1688 and kept under surveillance. He was reported as having ridden out of Widdrington Castle with sixteen armed

horsemen in April 1689. He later retired to the continent and moved around France in a coach pretending to be a tourist to avoid detection as a Jacobite activist. He died in 1695 leaving three sons on whom he entailed ‘a high and chivalrous but unfortunate attachment to the House of Stuart’. The fourth baron was second in importance to Derwentwater in northern Catholic and Jacobite circles though he was ten years older. He lived chiefly at Stella in north-west Durham, a Tyneside coal-mining property which he acquired through his marriage to Jane Tempest in 1700; he had known her father Sir Francis at college in Paris. Widdrington had ‘a careless temper’ and was ‘cherished for his hospitable character’; he had a reputation of being ‘greatly attached to all country diversions’. The family motto was *Joy sans Fin*. He was widowed in 1714 and left with three sons and five daughters.

The pleasures of life at Dilston ended in 1715. Derwentwater had become involved in Jacobite politics immediately upon his return to England and, in fact, his arrival had served to re-invigorate the cause. Certainly, the government obtained ‘early information that the Roman Catholics in Northumberland, Cumberland and the Bishopric of Durham, in conjunction with many discontented Protestants in those parts’ would rise against the new ruling house. Richard Towneley gave an assurance that there would also be ‘a general insurrection of at least 20,000’ Catholics and non-jurors of Lancashire. Nonetheless, the accession of George, Elector of Hanover, to the British throne at the death of Queen Anne in the late summer of 1714, went unchallenged though it was not universally welcomed.

Belatedly, in 1715, the court in exile began to plan an armed uprising in conjunction with an invasion under French auspices. Several considerations made the north-east ideal for insurgency operations. It was French policy to land only where there was firm evidence of substantial indigenous support for an invasion and there was no shortage of friendly and suitable coastal estates from the Tweed southwards almost to the Tyne, upon which an expeditionary force could be received and sustained. Moreover, the ‘greatest part of the inhabitants of these districts are well-affected towards his Majesty, and may join him without any hindrance’. The key threat, however, was the capture of Tyneside and the seizure of the collieries so that the capital’s fuel supplies would be brought under James’s control. The plan, then, was to form a Franco-Anglo-Scottish Jacobite army in Northumberland seize Newcastle and then sweep all before it in a descent on the capital to depose the Hanoverian upstart. The crucial strategic function of the Northumbrians was to prepare the ground and assist the insurgents with expert local knowledge. Although the overall plan was altered to have the main landing on the south coast (as had happened in 1688) the capture of Tyneside and the disruption of the coal trade remained the main objective of the Northumbrians with reinforcements from abroad.

The chief northern Jacobites were the two Tory and Anglican members of parliament, Sir William Blackett and Thomas Forster and the two principal Catholics, the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Widdrington. Blackett got cold feet and withdrew to his seat, Wallington Hall, and stayed there until it was all over. Thomas Forster, a High Churchman and M.P. for Northumberland, was a popular sporting squire; he was required to mobilise the rural Anglicans and country gentry to most of whom he was related. The participation of the northern Catholics was entrusted to Derwentwater and Widdrington. None of the four leaders had military experience; their position was based solely on their rank, influence and popularity. Forster was given overall command simply because he was the most senior Anglican – it was out of the question that a Catholic should take that role. As Derwentwater said

> The Catholics were not to appear at the head of the business; High Church was to do it. And whom could we in Northumberland pick out to please High Church better than Mr. Forster, Knight of the Shire, who represented all of them?

In any case, Derwentwater was barely of age and Widdrington was not admired by the Anglican Jacobites who said of him: 'he was wonderfully esteemed at home by all the gentlemen of the county, and it had been happy for him and, so we thought, it would have been better for us if he had stayed at home'. But then, Widdrington was not, and did not pretend to be, a professional soldier.

On Thursday morning 6 October, Derwentwater accompanied by his brother Charles (Francis Radcliffe had died a little earlier) some friends and servants, rode out from Dilston Hall passing northwards through Corbridge to rendezvous with Forster and Widdrington. Forster expected 'the whole body of Tories to be in it' but he was to be bitterly disappointed. Not the slightest interest was shown in the Fifteen by any of the major Anglican and Tory families of the county which came as much of a surprise to the government as it did to the Jacobite leadership, since it was convinced that there was 'but too good a disposition in some people to it'. The Whigs made no attempt to put a stop to the rising and were content, like Blackett to remain incommunicado at home until the crisis had passed. Such was the disinclination of the gentry to support the rising that it was said that the Catholics went out taking 'only three Protestants with them'. Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, remained in London during 1715 and made no public statement about the rising taking place in his diocese until the Jacobites had left it; only when the whole thing was over did he commend the citizens of Berwick and Newcastle for their loyalty. The earl could hardly contain his anger and contempt for all those who had 'engaged him and other Papists to come in to their support and who promised to join them with considerable numbers, but had now left them in the lurch' and told his friends to have nothing to do with any of them. Widdrington said that he could not have sat 'still in this cause when his neighbours and so many others' had promised to go out. Forster

remarked that he had been ‘blustered into this business’ by such people but he would ‘never again believe a drunken Tory’.

If Forster and Derwentwater were disillusioned by the response of the *Anglicans,* they cannot have been overjoyed at the turnout of the *Catholics* either for, although it was undoubtedly more generous, it fell short of what might have been predicted given that they had always expressed support for a rising. Some Catholic families offered only token support and limited their participation to individuals who had least to lose except, of course, their lives. William Errington of Beaufront Castle chose to remain at home to preserve the family’s estates. His brother Thomas had been an officer in the French service and had gained the reputation of being ‘a good soldier [and] a gallant gentleman of great natural abilities’, and as one of the very few Catholics to have had military experience his participation in the rising was essential but he tried to deter Derwentwater from going out. Errington did join but ‘he would not have engaged in this rebellion had not the many obligations he lay under to the Earl of Derwentwater prevailed with him’. Edward Charlton of the Bower did not go out, but, knowing that his sons William and Edward were deeply involved, he took the precaution on the very day the Northumbrians rose, of conveying his estate in trust to a Protestant for the benefit of his grandson. John Clavering of Callaly went out but he would not let his eldest son Ralph to join him. Edward Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange stayed at home but he was unable to dissuade his son Thomas from going out. Thomas Gibson of Stonecroft Farm did not join but his son George went out. George Sanderson of Healey stayed at home ‘to ensure the preservation of the family acres’ but his younger brother William went out. Sir William Swinburne of Capheaton, the earl’s closest friend, was prevented from going out by his precautionary arrest and he had prudently sent his seventeen-year-old heir John abroad with his priest-tutor.

While these families limited their contribution, others did not bother to offer even that. The Charltons of Hesleyside, Thomas Selby of Biddlestone and Edward Horsley Widdrington of Felton and Longhorsley, were conspicuously absent. Ralph Brandling was in gaol in York Castle ‘on account of religion’ but his brother Charles was not disposed to represent the family. The Haggerstons had been prominent in the reign of James II and active in the king’s cause in Ireland and were expected to appear, but they did not. Carnaby, seventeen years old, was abroad from 1710 to 1719 on the Grand Tour with his priest-tutor. His uncle Edward Haggerston did not go out notwithstanding his friendship with Thomas Forster. No Catholic gentlemen in County Durham went out. The response North Yorkshire was no more enthusiastic than in Durham.

No Catholic priest in the north-east came out much to the disgust of the Prince. The observance of Anglican Divine Service during the rising is well-documented, but there is no record of the celebration of Mass. Derwentwater supported three priests, two of Widdrington’s close relatives were Jesuits and

George Collingwood's brother Thomas was another Jesuit – they all stayed at home. The northern vicariate was *sede vacante* from 1711 to 1716 so no episcopal influence was brought to bear either way, but the absence of Catholic priests can only have been deliberate. Although Jacobitism was strong in the English diaspora, the mission in England held to the policy of the Holy See which was 'not to intermeddle with the political concerns or intrigues of state'. The government would have gained an invaluable propaganda coup if it could have shown that priests, especially Jesuits, were in arms with the Jacobites.

Of the named Jacobites described as noblemen, gentlemen or as half-pay officers; just under half (thirty-nine) were Catholics. They were divided into troops but there was very little military talent or experience to go round as typified by the commander of Derwentwater's Troop – his brother Charles Radcliffe, described as 'young and bold, but too forward. He has a great deal of courage which wants a few years and a better cause to improve it'. Others of a similar background included: Ralph Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange, eighteen, Thomas Riddell of Swinburne, twenty, who had 'a little before the rebellion come from the college beyond the seas', Edward and James Swinburne with their two younger sisters who acted as despatch riders while the Jacobites were in Northumberland, Thomas Lisle, seventeen, employed as a spy and John Shafto lately returned from the continent and said to be 'a most violent bigot' to his Catholic faith. The older men included John Thornton, who had a 'good estate' at Netherwitton, George Collingwood of Eslington, 'a very pious gentleman and well-beloved in his country', George Gibson, whose family had terrorized Hexham in the Jacobite interest for years, William ('Bowrie') Charlton of Reedsmouth and Edward, his brother a doctor, both incorrigible throwbacks to their family's reiving past, and William Sanderson, described as having 'many valuable and endearing accomplishments'. An assortment of smugglers, border reivers, horse thieves and sheep stealers added little to the credibility of the force as a disciplined fighting unit. When they joined the Scottish contingent Brigadier William Mackintosh could hardly believe his eyes so appalled was he at their appearance and at their being armed with nothing but swords and whips.

It is clear, then, that for the most part the northern Jacobites confounded the worst fears of the British government and the high hopes of the Stuart court and the local Jacobite leadership. Contrary to expectations, the Anglicans were generally averse to rebellion. A number of Catholics were also opposed to the rising, others offered minimal aid, some kept out of the way and one or two were prevented from taking part by the authorities. The promised backing from Lancashire failed to materialize. The general lack of support was, of course, the crucial factor in bringing the rising to an ignominious end at Preston on 14 November. Lord Carlisle told the Secretary of State: 'All the Roman Catholics of Northumberland and of [Lancashire] are now in your power'. Unsuccessful

though the rising was, the government was still determined to exact ‘a terrible vengeance from those who took part’ especially Derwentwater and his family.

Derwentwater and other peers were brought from the Tower to the Bar of the House of Lords on 19 January 1716 and impeached for high treason. They acknowledged their guilt, but with mitigation. Derwentwater maintained that he had not been privy to, or involved in, any long-standing plot to subvert the establishment; nor was his participation in the rising premeditated, and he took the first opportunity to submit to the king’s mercy. He added a pledge of his future loyalty and asked their lordships to consider the dire effect his execution would have on his innocent wife and children. On 9 February judgement was given in Westminster Hall before both Houses with full ceremonial. Lord Chancellor Cowper scorned Derwentwater’s plea of ignorance: his inclinations to rebel were so well known that ‘your zeal to engage in this treason was so strong as to carry you into it on the least warning and the very first invitation; that you would not excuse yourself by want of preparation as you might have done …’. Cowper sentenced them all to death adding that they were to be executed without delay. The earl was to be hung, drawn and quartered, which was a deliberately ignominious form of execution, and one which was usually meted out to plebeian traitors. His rank was later acknowledged, however, and beheading, the traditional method of despatching a nobleman, was conceded.

Considerable efforts were made to obtain reprieves for the condemned men; even the House of Lords presented an Address to the King, beseeching mercy. Lord Waldegrave (Lady Derwentwater’s brother-in-law) and an unnamed peer went to the Tower and offered the earl his life if he conformed to the Anglican church and acknowledged the Hanoverian succession. A similar offer from the Lord Chancellor was conveyed to him. The Countess of Derwentwater, in her second pregnancy, left Dilston Hall in November to be with her husband. She was introduced into the king’s presence outside the chapel of St James’s Palace by several peeresses. The king said he would grant a reprieve only if the earl revealed the details of the plot. She told him that Derwentwater was above being a common informer and withdrew. Mary, the Dowager Countess, also spoke on behalf of her son, but to no avail. A final appeal from the House of Lords failed to move the King – the earl’s execution was inescapable.

Derwentwater received the ministrations of the Jesuit George Pippard (*vere* Brown) during the last two weeks of his life. Pippard described the earl’s demeanour as highly edifying and composed. The earl saw his wife and son John for the last time on 23 February. He was sent a long letter of spiritual counsel by Bishop Bonaventure Giffard which scrupulously avoided any mention of the circumstances that had brought him to such an end. That night Derwentwater wrote letters of farewell to his wife, mother, brother Charles, parents-in-law and aunt, Lady Mary Radcliffe. His main concern was that they remained true to the Catholic religion and that they cared for one another and

his children. At ten o'clock the next morning, having made his confession, and having declined a glass of wine to fortify himself against the cold, he was brought to Tower Hill. He walked to the scaffold accompanied by Pippard and one or two others. After spending some time in prayer he read a prepared speech to the onlookers in which he apologised for scandalising some friends by pleading guilty to treason. That, he said, was simply because he had been taken while actually in arms. But, to remove any doubts about his true loyalties, he went on to say that he had never owned any other but King James III as his rightful and lawful sovereign:

> Him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing him to be capable to making his people happy. And though he had been of a different religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors, being thereto bound by the laws of God and man … I intended to wrong nobody, but to serve my king and country, and that without self-interest, hoping by the example I gave to have induced others to their duty; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak the truth … I only wish now that the laying down [of] my life might contribute to the service of my king and country and the re-establishment of the ancient and fundamental constitution of these kingdoms without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them.

The offer of a reprieve in exchange for the renunciation of his religion was contemptuously rejected as 'inconsistent with honour and conscience' and he would die a Roman Catholic. He fell to prayer a second time and went to the block coolly and without reproach. His body was interred in the family vault in the chapel at Dilston.

On 7 May Charles Radcliffe was arraigned at Westminster. Alexander Menzies recounted that en route

> the mob stopped our coach and notwithstanding that our coach bade six soldiers, they almost drew us out of the coach. All the ladies and mob cried and weeped and cried that the Almighty would preserve us against all our enemies … we almost never could come home; twenty thousand followed us, and all for Derwentwater's brother.

Radcliffe was tried on 18 May, but, 'having little to urge in his defence' he was found guilty and sentenced to death, but his execution was deferred. On 11 December he attended a party given by his fellow-prisoners in Newgate Gaol. Radcliffe and several friends walked through an open door into the debtor's ward where the turnkey, supposing them to be visitors, obligingly let them out

of the prison. Radcliffe hid in London before escaping to the continent to join the Stuart court at Urbino. He later became the Chevalier's agent in Paris. He was one of the very few Northumbrians to engage in the rising of 1745 for which he was beheaded – an implicit recognition of his noble status.

In the government's view, 'the Roman Catholic Interest' in the northern counties had to 'be entirely ruined' if further Jacobite scares were to be prevented. Forfeiture of property was seen as the most effective means of doing so and two acts of parliament empowering the government were passed. The first specified that the estates of all persons convicted of high treason were to be confiscated and vested in the crown for disposal by a Commission to Enquire into the Estates of Certain Traitors and Popish Recusants. Entailed and marital estates were exempted. The second ordered all Catholics to register their real estates, and all income arising out of landed property, so that they could be assessed for a contribution 'to all such extraordinary expenses as are, or shall be brought upon this Kingdom by their treachery'. The heads of families who had long been well versed in property law and were expert in protecting their estates, at once began to take evasive action to safeguard their property wherever possible. The majority of Catholic estates were entailed and made immune from permanent confiscation as a matter of course but the new laws required additional measures to prevent estate revenue passing to the crown. The Commissioners found themselves involved in many time-consuming investigations as they tried to unravel the complications in which the Catholics deliberately enmeshed their affairs and who gladly engaged in protracted disputations with the authorities; if they were going to lose their estates, then they had nothing to lose by being awkward for as long as possible. After five years in existence, the Commissioners had to admit that they had only been able to dispose of property worth £5,000 a year.

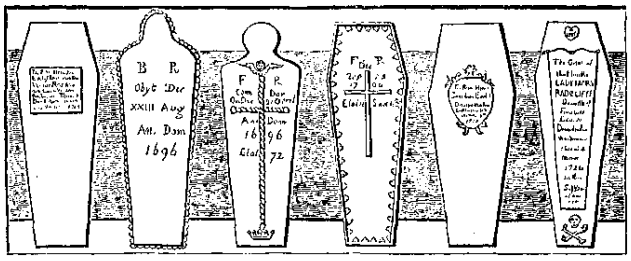
The capital value of the Radcliffe estate was put at £93,000 and the government had no intention of letting such a valuable and lucrative estate escape its grasp and the Commissioners seized it without delay. In April 1716, however, the family proved that the estates were entailed on John Radcliffe, the earl's six-year-old son and heir, and the family recovered the property. John, however, was a sickly boy and if he died before coming of age, and without male issue, the estate would revert to the crown since the next in line was Charles Radcliffe a convicted traitor and debarred from inheriting. John had been taken to live in Lumley Castle during the period of his father's trial and execution (his sister Anna Maria was a babe in arms). Derwentwater was only too well aware of the need for his children to have powerful trustees to protect them against his mother, Lady Mary, the Dowager Countess, who was intent on gaining the guardianship of her grandchildren so as to raise them as Anglicans and control over their estates. She had the law on her side, of course, and the trustees advised that the only way that Lady Derwentwater could keep custody

of her children was to get them out of the country. In 1721, then, accompanied by her father, Sir John Webb, the Radcliffes went to live in Brussels and her chaplain, Benjamin Petre, now a bishop, left her service. Lady Derwentwater died two years later and her body was interred in the chapel of St. Monica's in Louvain, where two of her Radcliffe aunts had lived since 1688. The children stayed on in Brussels with their grandfather and priest-tutor.

John Radcliffe, suffering from dropsy, returned to England in August 1731 but his condition was hopeless and he died aged eighteen and unmarried on 31 December 1731. His body was taken to Brussels and interred next to that of his mother. The government now moved to take over the Derwentwater estates from Charles Radcliffe, John's convicted heir. But even now the crown was unable to gain unfettered possession because the estates would revert in due course to Charles's untainted sons, James Bartholomew and James Clement. An act of parliament was therefore devised to prevent the foreign-born issue of convicted traitors inheriting English titles or landed estates. Nothing further stood in the way of the government and the Radcliffe estates, now valued at £9,000 a year, were at last under Treasury control, but it had taken sixteen years and some legislative manipulation to achieve. Another act was passed in 1735 allocating the revenue of the estate to the completion of the Seaman's Hospital at Greenwich. Nonetheless, the government was powerless to prevent some entailed annuities from being paid from the estate's income to younger and untainted members of the family. In 1749, however, after his father's execution and shortly after coming of age, James Bartholomew accepted that the government would never surrender the estate and went along with an act of parliament by which, in return for one payment of £30,000 to be shared among his brothers and sisters he gave up his claim to it. The last of the family to receive an income from the estates was James's son Anthony Radcliffe who negotiated an annuity of £2,500 in 1788. He died in 1814 but the pension did not lapse until his widow's death in 1861. Although these were trifling sums considering his antecedents had lost around £300,000 in the Stuart cause, they indicated that the financial ruin of the family was complete.

Perhaps the only one of the family to have a continuing relationship with the Church in the north is Lady Mary Radcliffe, the youngest and unmarried daughter of the first earl. She left home in 1703 with an income of £905 a year to set up independently in Durham and she built a new house in Old Elvet ('Popish Elvet'). Enemies confidently but wrongly asserted that the house was 'really designed for a Nunnery (as at York) for entertainment young Ladys of that persuasion' but it was never other than her private residence. Ferdinand Ashmall, who had been missioner at Dilston some twelve years earlier, moved from the neighbouring secular mission in Old Elvet to be her chaplain. He was followed six years later by Augustine Jenison, gentry-born in Durham and thirty-two years old. In 1715 she inherited her brother Thomas's estates, valued

at £3,000. Lady Mary and Jenison were interrogated after the Fifteen and he fled soon afterwards to be replaced by Luke Gardiner (alias Robert Carnaby or Mitford) nephew of Roger Mitford. The chaplaincy ceased when Lady Mary died in 1724. She left her large fortune for the support of the secular clergy in the counties of Northumberland and Durham. Lady Mary was the last of the family to be interred in the vault of Dilston chapel. But the century-old and first recusant chapel in the north could no longer be used for Catholic rites and was converted for Anglican usage when the estate was lost in 1735. The vault was cleared in 1874; the coffin of the third earl was taken to Thorndon Hall, seat of the Petres in Essex, and the others were reinterred at St Mary's in Hexham.



The layout of the Derwentwater vault, Dilston Chapel (pre-1874)**.**
Left to right: *Edward,* 2nd Earl*; Barbara Radcliffe,* sister of the 1st earl;
Francis, 1st Earl*; Francis Radcliffe,* 2nd son of 1st earl; *James,* 3rd Earl*;*
Lady Mary Radcliffe, daughter of 1st earl

Every generation of this leading Northumbrian Catholic family was caught up in the national crises of the post-Reformation era: the Reformation itself, the Gunpowder Plot, the Civil Wars, the Popish Plot, the Revolution and the Jacobite Rising of 1715. But the Radcliffes were great survivors: 'tenacious, progressive, ambitious and efficient north country landowners', fully capable of weathering the next storm. Indeed, even when they were in the gravest danger after the Fifteen they were at first highly successful in protecting the family inheritance which had been carefully built up and strongly defended during their recusancy years. It was only by the government's enactment of vindictive legislation that the Radcliffes of Dilston were finally brought down.

Bibliographical Note

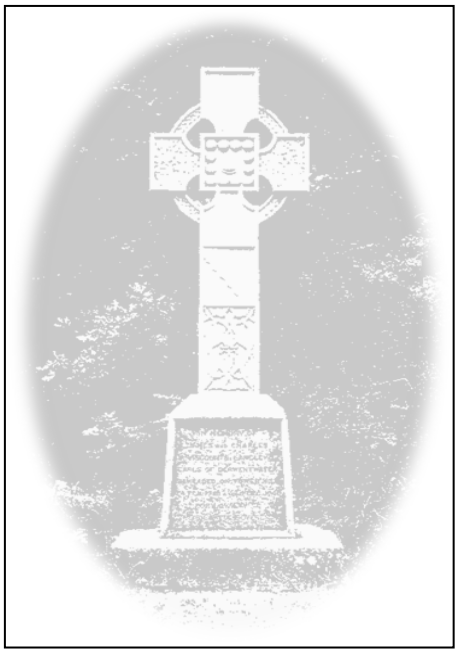
This article is based principally on:

L. Gooch, **A Northumbrian Recusant Gentry Family: The Radcliffes of Dilston in the long Seventeenth Century,** The Dilston Papers No. 1 (2007

L. Gooch, **The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North-East England 1688-1745** (1995)

F. Dickinson, **Tracking a Legend: A North Country Legacy of Jacobite Times** (2006)

Two rare faded Victorian photographs of the crosses erected to the memory of the Radcliffe family.



The Langley Cross in its original position until 1883.(It now stands on a busy road near Langley Castle.) The inscription reads: *To the memory of James and Charles, Earls of Derwentwater and Viscounts Langley, beheaded on Tower Hill, 24 February 1716 and 8 December 1746 for Loyalty to their lawful sovereign.*

The Hexham Cross in its original surroundings in the forecourt of St Mary's church, Hexham, where the remains of the first and second earls of Derwentwater; Francis Radcliffe, Barbara Radcliffe and Mary Radcliffe were reinterred in 1874.

THE DERWENTWATER ARCHIVE & OB JECT COLLECTIONS AT USHAW COLLEGE

Jonathan Bush & Claire Marsland

Ushaw College is home to an important legacy of Jacobite history: a collection of archives and material culture gathered together by Richard Duncan Radcliffe in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is not clear whether he was a descendant of the Radcliffes of Dilston, but it is evident that he had a passion for their family story. He spent years collecting memorabilia from Dilston at auctions and through his connections in historic and antiquarian societies. It is a varied collection, incorporating items relating specifically to the Radcliffe family and others generally connected to the Jacobite cause. In 1909, he arranged for his collection to be taken to Ushaw College, deemed an appropriate home for relics of such an important recusant and Jacobite family.

In March 1688 Sir Francis Radcliffe of Dilston was created Baron Tynedale, Viscount Radcliffe and Langley and earl of Derwentwater. He was succeeded by his son Edward, who married Lady Mary Tudor, daughter of Charles II by his mistress, Mary 'Moll' Davis. It is their son James who is perhaps the most widely known member of the Radcliffe family. He was brought up in the exile court of St Germain as a companion to the young Prince James Francis Edward Stuart. He succeeded to the earldom in 1705. In 1715, he joined the Jacobite rising with his brother, Charles, for which he was executed for treason in 1716. Following his death, the Derwentwater title was attainted and the estates were confiscated. Nonetheless, the family continued to use the title and his son John, known as the fourth earl, died in 1731. Charles Radcliffe became the fifth earl; he had fought with his brother James in the '15, and had escaped to France but he was captured thirty years later on his return to support the 1745 rising and he was executed in 1746. Although the earls of Newburgh, James and Anthony, continued as respective titular sixth and seventh earls of Derwentwater later in the century, the male hereditary line died with them in 1814.

Archives

The Derwentwater papers in Ushaw College Library comprise original manuscripts and transcripts of the Derwentwater earls and the Radcliffe family. The large number of transcripts, compiled by R.D. Radcliffe in the 1890s are taken from the original documents which, in a number of cases, no longer survive. The material itself, mostly letters with some legal papers, is chiefly of a personal nature. There is a large amount of correspondence relating to the financial transactions of the Radcliffe family. For example, a letter from Elizabeth Fenwick to her sister, Katherine Radcliffe, concerns her wish to settle a dispute over money without the need for legal proceedings.[1] There is also a letter from Dorothy Fenwicke to an unknown recipient, requesting that the recipient's son, who intended to marry her, should discontinue his suit owing to the fact that her fortune was not as great as she had stipulated.[2]

The management of the Radcliffe estate is another notable topic though some of these letters are fairly mundane. A letter from F. R. [Francis Radcliffe] to Mrs Dorothy Fenwicke concerns his opinion of a tenant, Mr Watson, and his difficulty in arranging a longer tenure owing to an agreement already made with a Georg[e] Marshall.[3] Nevertheless, there are also documents highlighting the difficulties faced by the Radcliffe family when those accused of high treason following the Jacobite Rising of 1715 had their estates seized by the Forfeited Estates Commission. There is a file of papers relating to the legal rights of Charles Radcliffe to the forfeited estate of the third earl of Derwentwater[4], as well as legal opinions by Edward Worthey and L. Conyers in the case of Lord Derwentwater to hear appeals from the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates[5] John Radcliffe's (titular fourth earl) marriage settlement was established before the Court of Delegates on appeal from the Forfeited Estates Commission, ensuring that the estate remained in the hands of the Radcliffe family until John's death in 1731 and granted to Greenwich Hospital four years later. A letter from James Booth (a solicitor) to Lord Derwentwater, dated 25 April 1749, relates to James Radcliffe (Lord Kinnard's) claim to the estates.[6] The estates were eventually transferred by the Greenwich Hospital Act (1865) to the Admiralty Board, who subsequently sold them.[7]

The manuscript sources concerning the Derwentwater/Radcliffe estates are supplemented by a number of early eighteenth century printed items, mostly Acts of Parliament and petitions, shedding light on the difficulties faced by the Derwentwater family and Catholics generally in the confiscation of their land.[8] With the exception of the difficulties faced by the Radcliffes in the management of their estate following the Jacobite Rising, there is rather disappointingly little on the rebellion itself, with the exception of a series of transcripts relating to it copied from the Clavering of Greencroft manuscripts held at Durham University Library Special Collections. Like many other recusant Catholic families, the Derwentwater's faith remained steadfast against the prevailing anti-Catholic culture of the time and this is evident in the correspondence. Some letters, for example, make reference to the Catholic faith of various members of the Derwentwater family. Perhaps the most interesting letter in the collection concerns a very personal and frank letter from Dorothy Radcliffe to her father, Edward, in which she explains her reasons for not wanting to become a nun. In the letter Dorothy, describes the convent life as being 'so extremely contrary to my inclination yt it is impossible to have any content in it, or to comply with the obligation of so strict a holy institute not having a vocation at all yt way' unlike her two sisters who take such 'comfort and satisfaction' from it. She urges her father to 'consider me and take care for me as yr poore Childe' and to place her either with her sister Jane 'or where else in yr providence … you shall please to place me.'[9] The letter is evidence that, for certain seventeenth century Catholic women, convent life was not always an attractive option. Nevertheless, five years later, it was quite clear that Dorothy's decision not to join a convent had not affected her Catholic faith. In a letter to her brother, Edward Moore, she urges him to embrace Catholicism for 'there is noe

friend I have though most desire to see, whose conversion to the Catholique faith I should most congratulate, than yours', spending the rest of the lengthy letter outlining the obvious advantages in doing so.[10]

The Object Collections

The objects of the Derwentwater and Stuart collection give an interesting insight into the cult that surrounded the Jacobite cause. When the collection arrived at Ushaw in 1909 it was displayed in a specially built Radcliffe Reliquary that was situated in an alcove on the President's Gallery, thus an indication of the importance in which this bequest was held. Along the wall of the alcove the College recreated wooden crests of recusant families who were involved in the Jacobite risings and commissioned a stained glass window containing the arms of the Radcliffe family. The reliquary was cordoned off by a wrought-iron gateway, the design of which was a reproduction of the ironwork from the south-west door of the cloisters of Durham Cathedral. The collection is composed of items owned or associated with the Radcliffe family and relics of the Jacobite movement.

Among the items associated with the Radcliffe family is a beautifully carved cradle made of oak. Northumbrian in origin, it is believed that the cradle was made for the children of the Radcliffe family in the early part of the seventeenth century; an ornate plume and cherubs supporting an earl's coronet over the cypher '*E.R.*' are thought to have been added after the marriage of Edward Radcliffe to Lady Mary Tudor in 1687. Recent conservation carried out on the cradle has shown that it was once highly decorated; it was painted in bright colours and gold gilt; however, over time this has worn away leaving the cradle in its current dark wood colour. Accompanying the cradle is a Charles II chair, made of pear wood and carved with crowns, cherubs, foliage and flowers. Both the cradle and chair were on display at an exhibition about Bishop John Cosin in Palace Green Library, Durham, in 2012.

In 1892, Mr Radcliffe bought two single leather gauntlets at an auction. One is of French design, cream in colour with delicate raised silverwork embroidery around the hem; the other is English in style and is of brown leather with a red silk cuff embroidered with silver sequins. They are both traditionally thought to have been owned by the tragic James Radcliffe, third earl. At the same auction Mr Radcliffe bought relics of James Radcliffe taken from his coffin in 1805. These are now displayed in a frame and include a fragment from the cloth which covered the coffin, a nail which held the cloth in place and lace from the funeral shroud.

In the collection are a number of engraved portraits of members of the Stuart and Radcliffe family. These include engravings of Prince James Edward Stuart with his sister, Princess Louisa, a line engraving of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by Sir Robert Strange, and a large engraving of Prince Henry Benedict Stuart as a young man in armour by Daulle. Of the Radcliffe family, there is an engraving of James Radcliffe by Vertue, after a painting by Kneller, and a line engraving of '*The Lady Derwentwater with her lord's picture in her hand that was beheaded on Tower Hill 1716.'*

One of the most interesting aspects of Jacobite material culture is the use of domestic items to carry the message of rebellion. In particular, items relating to women are commonly found to be embroidered with Jacobite sentiments. As Neil Guthrie states, there was a particular strain of Jacobitism for women, who were not leaders of the cause but kept the message alive in homes across the country. Items such as pin-cushions, fans, garters and samplers were used to carry Jacobite propaganda but it is interesting that they were also practical objects used in everyday life.[11] The Radcliffe Collection contains two pin cushions and a pair of garters embroidered with Jacobite mottos. At only 9cm wide, the first pin cushion is made of bright blue, green and yellow silk thread with a long tape which can be unravelled as a measuring aid. It is embroidered with the words '*God Bless P.C [Prince Charles] and down with the Rump*'. The other pincushion is made of white silk and is embroidered with the names of those martyred after the 1745 rising. The garters, again of blue and yellow silks, are embroidered with the words, '*May we with one heart agree to pray that God may bless P.C.*'

One of the key items in the collection is a small plain looking locket that actually contains relics of the blood and flesh of King James II. Such relics of the 'rightful anointed King' must have had an emotive effect on their owners. Many Jacobites were Catholics and, to their followers, the Stuarts took on an almost semi-divine position with some calling for the canonisation of James II and his grand-mother, Mary Queen of Scots. Jacobite relics have therefore been viewed as sacred objects on a par with relics of the Saints.[12]

Finally, the collection includes an item related to Dilston Chapel. A splendid glass cabinet containing effigies of Saints from the Dominican Order is of extremely ornate decoration with raised metalwork embroidery, sequins and rouched silks. Engraved on the top of the cabinet are the words: '*From Dilstone Chapel, 1716'*. Its history, however, is unknown.

In 1993 the Radcliffe relics and archives were loaned to the Friends of Historic Dilston and formed part of an exhibition to generate interest in a project to restore Dilston Chapel and Castle. However, due to the uncertain situation at Dilston the collections were returned to Ushaw College in 2011. Details of a few of the items described above can be found in '*Treasures of Ushaw College: Durham's Hidden Gem*', Scala publishing, 2015.

Notes & References

[1] Elizabeth Fenwick to Katherine Radcliffe, 18 January 1652, UC/P30/4, Derwentwater/Radcliffe Papers, Ushaw College Library.

[2] Dorothy Fenwick to [?], 26 November 1652, UC/P30/5.

[3] [Francis Radcliffe] to Dorothy Fenwicke, 24 December 1654, UC/P30/8.

[4] Papers of Charles Radcliffe, 1732-1737, UC/P30/62a-u.

[5] Opinion by Mr Edward Worthey and Mr L. Conyers in the case of Lord Derwentwater, [1719], UC/P30/120.

[6] James Booth to James Bartholomew Radcliffe, 25 April 1749, UC/P30/122.

[7] Craster, H., *A History of Northumberland*, vol. X, *The Parish of Corbridge* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Andrew Reid & Company Ltd, 1907), pp. 295-303.

[8] For example: *An Act for explaining and amending an Act of the Eighth Year of His present Majesty's Reign, intitulated, An Act for the Application of the Rents and Profits of the Estates forfeited by the Attainders of James late Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Radcliffe* (London, 1738), UC/P30/115.

[9] Dorothy Radcliffe to Edward Radcliffe, October 1662, UC/P30/65a.

[10] Dorothy Radcliffe to Edward Moore, 26 January 1657, UC/P30/19.

[11] N. Guthrie , *The Material Culture of the Jacobites*, Cambridge, 2013.

[12] Ibid.

THE CHURCH AND REFUGEE WORK IN WORLD WAR I: A CASE STUDY

J. Dunleavy

The edition of the *The Tablet* dated 26 September 1914 devoted a great deal of its thirty-two pages to the outbreak of the Great War and carried numerous stories reflecting the impact the conflict was having on the Church at home and abroad. During the summer the Church had suffered the loss of Pope Pius X, who had been succeeded by Cardinal Giacomo Paolo Giovanni Battista della Chiesa (1854-1922) who had taken the name of Benedict XV. At home parliament had finally succeeded in enacting a bill granting home rule to Ireland. After such a long struggle it looked as though what was termed the Irish question had been disposed of once and for all. *The Tablet* carried reports of the bitter fighting in northern France, and the extent of casualties both military and civilian. Apart from the loss of human lives the journal deplored the material damage wrought by the combatants. In 1914 the German army had set fire to a large part of Louvain (Leuven), effectively destroying about half of the city. The scholarly Dr Louis Charles Casartelli, Bishop of Salford 1903-1925, was grief-stricken at the deliberate destruction of his *alma mater* the Catholic University and its library of some three hundred thousand books, about one thousand incunabula and a huge collection of manuscripts. The war gave rise to a dramatic dispersal of civilians hoping to seek refuge elsewhere. Neutral Holland was generous in providing accommodation for Belgians, as was France: the Belgian influx to Britain was about to begin.[1]

It is possible to gain some idea of the extent of human suffering due to modern war by referring to the letters column. On page twenty-two, for instance, there is a letter headed:

TO HELP REFUGEES.

> Sir - I have just received a large consignment of flags in the Belgian colours, also of bows and rosettes, all made by starving peasant women in Belgium.I am anxious to obtain a sale for these and any profits remaining after the paying the women will be for the aid of Belgian refugees in England. Will you allow me to ask your readers if they will help me by purchasing some of the flags?
> I am a Belgian priest, forty-eight years in England, and have small means of or opportunity for continuing this work.
> Yours faithfully,
> F POUPEART,
> 4 Catledine Road, Anerley, S.E.[2]

The chances are that few people reading of the events of 1914 will be familiar with the name of F. Poupaert. Yet in the north-east of England, where he ministered in various Catholic missions, he is not entirely forgotten. As the name suggests, he was one of number of European priests who volunteered for service in England at a time when the there was an acute shortage of parochial clergy. Frederick Poupaert was born at St Gellis, Bruges in Belgium on 25 April 1843. He was educated firstly at All Hallows, Dublin, where he would have encountered students preparing to serve in English-speaking countries. He planned to serve in Mauritius, then a British colony, but he abandoned this course and offered his services to James Chadwick, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle. He continued his studies at Ushaw and was ordained there on 7 June 1868. His first appointments were as curate at Darlington (1863) and Stockton on Tees (1869); chaplain at Cheeseburn Grange (1870); assistant at the cathedral (1873); and in charge at Wigton (1876). Three years later he was appointed to Washington, County Durham. He would remain there for some twenty years.[3]

The mission at Washington, dedicated to Ss. Joseph & Aloysius, had been opened by Bishop William Hogarth in 1863 as a school-chapel and was supplied from Houghton le Spring. The first resident priest was Fr Francis Cambours, a Frenchman from Tarbes near Lourdes, who was appointed in 1866. In September 1878 Bishop Chadwick opened an admirable church in the Decorated Gothic style designed by Messrs. Dunn and Hansom. This was twenty years after the Marian apparitions at Lourdes and the French priest adopted the dedication of Our Blessed Lady Immaculate for the new church. (Nothing further is known of Fr Cambours except that he died in 1892).

Such churches lacking a benefactor could only survive with the aid of a loan, and Washington was no exception. Fr Poupaert and many of his fellow clergy were frequently exhorted by the bishop to try and reduce the debt by appeals to his hard-working congregation. Coal-mining was one of the main sources of employment locally, a demanding and dangerous occupation as Fr Poupaert was to discover. After only a few years in Washington the community was devastated on receiving news of an explosion at Usworth Colliery. The accident claimed the lives of forty-two miners, no fewer than fifteen being members of the Catholic congregation. Fr Poupaert and one of his parishioners served on the relief committee that raised funds for the relatives of the victims. The following appeal appeared in *The Tablet* of 14 March 1885:

> **THE EXPLOSION AT USWORTH COLLIERY**.—The Rev, F. Poupaert (Washington, Durham) and Mr. G. Wheatley (Usworth Colliery) make the following urgent appeal: Your readers will have heard of the lamentable accident at this place, whereby forty-two people lost their life; fifteen of these were Catholics; in no less than four

> Catholic houses two bread-winners perished. The relief which the permanent fund is able to give is found inadequate; therefore a committee has been established to obtain subscriptions to the Widow and Orphans' Fund. We, the two Catholic members of this committee, beg you to allow us, through your paper, to make an appeal to our fellow Catholics for donations to this fund.

Seemingly the response was so successful that in addition to making grants to applicants, a handsome stone memorial listing the names of the dead was erected in the churchyard.[4]

Such setbacks as the colliery disaster served to strengthen the bond between pastor and congregation. While he may not have made much impact on reducing the mission debt, Fr Poupaert had the satisfaction of knowing when he left Washington that he had made an impact on his mission. He had purchased an altar for the church from Bruges; it was dedicated to the Sacred Thirst which he explained in an appeal for donations printed in *The Tablet* of 3 November 1883:

> A few weeks ago, during one of those oppressions of sadness of heart, which many a priest with me experience too often at the sight of the desolation caused by drink, a sudden thought came to me like as inward inspiration, of erecting an altar in honour of the Bitter Thirst of Our Divine Lord, in expiation of the sin of drunkenness, and for the conversion of all drunkards; so that this altar might stand in this land, as it were, day and night pleading to heaven.

But in December he reported: 'I wish I could inform you that our efforts have met with the success which they deserve. I cannot…' Nonetheless, all told Fr Poupaert gave thirty years unstinting service to the northern congregations entrusted to him and he was held in high regard. His links with the north-east came to an end when he retired in ill-health in 1893.[5]

When Fr Poupaert severed his links with the northern diocese, his fellow-countrymen became aware of his presence in London and they enlisted his services in aiding refugees. Hence the letter to *The Tablet* reproduced above. While no account has been traced of the amount raised by his sale of Belgian flags, virtually every city and town in this country had a Belgian Day in the autumn of 1914. The colours of Belgium – black, yellow and red – were to be seen everywhere in the form of a rosette, a button hole, a bow tie, and miniature flags. The 'favours', as they were usually termed, might be made of some textile material, though paper was much cheaper and easier to handle. On most weekends the communities thus targeted reportedly seemed to be awash with the Belgian colours. Belgians it seemed became the flavour of the season. The need for further aid to the Belgians became more acute as the tide of war turned

against Britain and its allies. Thousands of Belgians sought refuge in neutral Holland, though later they headed for France and then Britain. Many of the refugees arrived here with few belongings, requiring the authorities to provide shelter, adequate clothing, and jobs.[6]

Relations between the newcomers and the host community, however, were not always easy. Despite the proximity of Britain and Belgium the people seem to know little of each other. For instance most Britons assumed the refugees would speak French, whereas on arrival it seemed the majority only had Flemish. What is more, the French-speaking Walloons invariably communicated in a patois. In addition to linguistic differences it was obvious the Flemish and Walloons did not get along at all well. When it came to providing work and housing for the two ethnic groups even more problems became apparent: it was all very confusing.[7]

The distribution of the refugees entrusted to the numerous relief committees presented more problems. Many of the Belgians seemed anxious to locate in London, ignoring the fact that, as in most capital cities, accommodation and services were expensive. The authorities were anxious to disperse the refugees to places where accommodation and employment was available. A good example of this was the case of the 'munitions works at Birtley in County Durham. Some of the Belgians there had experience of working in 'munitions at Liege and so were able to use their skills in the cause of the Allies. Elizabethville as it came to be called in honour of the Belgian Queen was to take on all the features of a Belgian town, with houses, shops, a church, school, a police station and a bar dispensing Belgian beer. Yet even then it took time for the community to adjust to life in their new surroundings. Meanwhile in the north-west at Blackpool, Britain's main resort, the landladies had plenty of spare rooms due to the decline in the seasonal holiday trade. Anxious to find employment, those of working-age were obliged to seek work elsewhere. The result was that the town was left with mostly very young or elderly refugees.[8]

Tony Kushner, in his study of migration, maintains that the Belgian influx to this country proved to be the largest refugee movement in our history. David Bilton states the exodus began in the latter days of August 1914 through the ports of entry in southern and eastern England: a peak of 265,000 was reached in June 1915. Kevin Myers has looked at the provision of schooling for the younger refugees, some of whom were able to attend Belgian schools, though where the numbers did not merit this provision the children attended existing schools. At the outbreak of war there were a number of Belgian nuns at convents and schools in this country, though few priests; by 1918 numerous priests were ministering to the religious needs of the civilians and military.[9]

The goodwill extended to the Belgians manifested in the autumn of 1914, what was often termed 'Belgian mania', was not to last. One of the reasons for

this could be attributed to the extension of the war. There were after all, refugees in Allied countries such as France, Serbia and Russia; there were compelling reasons for aid being allocated to them and Flag Days were held just as they had been previously for the Belgians. Inevitably there were occasions when people grumbled at the seemingly innumerable appeals. While earnings for men and women did rise during the war, the steady increases in the cost of living meant that the gains were soon eroded. Industrial disputes in the form of strikes arose among groups of workers who were not usually prone to such action. The introduction of food rationing late in the war helped mitigate the hardships experienced by many families.[10]

The careers of Belgian-born priests who spent a large portion of their lives in this country merits further investigation. Fr Poupaert lived at Beda House in Anerley, Surrey, for the last twenty-six years of his life and he died there on 17 July, 1924, aged eighty-one, and was buried at Croydon. The Catholic parish magazine published in Washington admitted that, given the passage of time, many of the congregation found it hard to recall his services. The clergy compiling the issue dated October 1924 appealed for information from parishioners who might have recollections of their erstwhile Belgian pastor, though whether this was forthcoming is not known, since there is no complete run of the parish journal. Searches of the columns of *The Tablet* have failed to produce any details that might have details suitable for an adequate obituary.[11]

The contribution of clergy from the Low Countries to the formation of the Catholic community here has not yet received the attention it deserves. Only recently, in a contribution to *Catholic Ancestor,* David Lannon suggested that in the late nineteenth century the composition of clergy in the Salford diocese drawn mainly from Holland and Belgium amounted to around one in three. The present number of the same journal has several contributions bearing on the Belgian presence on our midst. Although some work has been done on Elisabethville in Birtley for this journal, there is plenty of scope for further exploration.[12] For anyone embarking on further study of the subject the account published by Peter Cahalan, is a useful starting point.[13] Cahalan, however, is rather dismissive of the role played by the Church in respect of relief work. Admittedly where the Catholic community was none too strong, their contribution was limited but readers of this short article may well feel there is a need to fill this gap in our knowledge.

Notes and References

[1] *The Tablet,* 26 September 1914. J.M. Broadley, *Louis Charles Casartelli, A Bishop in Peace and War* (Manchester, 2006) ch. 6.

[2] *The Tablet,* 26 Sept, 1914.

[3] C. Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh priests, 1801-1914,* (Downside Abbey, 1993) p. 45; K Condon, *The Missionary College of All Hallows, 1842-1891* (Dublin, 1986) p. 329; B. W. Kelly, *Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions* (1907), pp 417/8; W.J. Nicholson, 'Belgian and Dutch Priests in North-East England', *Northern Catholic History,* no. 24, 1986, p. 39. Bishop Chadwick had recruited other Belgian priests and on his way back from the First Vatican Council he stopped off at Bruges to interview students. He did, however, write 'it will not do to have too many Belgians'. Cf., L. Gooch, 'Bishop Chadwick's Letters from Rome', *Northern Catholic History,* no. 46, 2005, p. 70/1, n. 20.

[4] H. and B. Duckham, *Great Pit Disasters: Great Britain 1700 to the Present Day* (Newton Abbott, 1973), p. 203; *The Tablet,* 4 March 1885.

[5] B.W. Kelly, *Historical Dictionary of English Catholic Missions* (London, 1907), pp. 417-418; *The Tablet*, 24 July 1924.

[6] *The Tablet,* 26 Sept. 1914; M. Bostridge, *The Fateful Year: England 1914* (London, 2014) passim.

[7] Ibid.

[8] A.J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945* (1970), pp. 19/20; J. K. Walton, *Blackpool Landlady: A Social History* (Manchester University Press, 1978) pp. 168-169.

[9] Tony Kushner, 'Local heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War', *Immigrants and Exiles,* vol. 18 (1), 1999. pp. 1-28; D. Bilton, *The Home Front in the Great War, Aspects of the Conflict 1914-1918* (Barnsley, 2003) p. 217; K. Myers, 'Hidden History of Refugee Schooling in Britain: the Belgians 1914-18', *Higher Education/Journal of Higher Education Society,* vol. 30, issue 2, 2001, pp. 154-162.

[10] 'Belgianitis' had quite abated by the end of 1914', cf. Bostridge, op. cit., p. 237; Taylor, op. cit., passim.

[11] *Parish Magazine, Our Lady Immaculate's, Washington,* 11 October 1924.

[12] M. Brown, 'The Belgian Colony at Elisabethville, Birtley, 1916-1919', *Northern Catholic History,* no. 31, 1990, pp. 38-44.

[13.] D. Lannon, 'Reaction to World War One Belgian Refugees', *Catholic Ancestor,* vol. 15, no. 2, December 2014, pp. 149-155; P Cahalan, *Belgian Refugee Relief in England during the Great War* (Garland, London, 1982)

JOHN KELLY OF FELTON (1886-1968): CATHOLIC CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES

V. Mallon

John Kelly was born on June 29th 1886, the first child of Martin and Ann Georgina Kelly of Felton. He was baptised on July 4th at St Mary's Church in Felton, Northumberland, and his sponsors were Michael Kelly and Margaret Mallon née Kelly, his father's brother and sister. Martin's occupation on the birth certificate is given as 'Draper'. He was listed in the 1881 Census as a 'Travelling Draper' and his widowed mother as a 'Grocer and Lodging House Keeper', having taken over the business from her late husband. By the time of the 1891 Census Martin had assumed the business following the death of his mother and was listed as a 'Grocer, Draper, and Insurance Agent'. A front room within the family home on Front Street, Felton was used as a shop. Between 1886 and 1910, another twelve children were born, four boys and eight girls, the youngest girl who was the last child, only survived for a month. All would attend the Catholic school in the village built in 1872 by a member of the Riddell family of Felton Park to accommodate sixty children. It was under lay management until closure in 1922, re-opened in 1935 under the supervision of the Sisters of Mercy from Alnwick, and closed finally in 1970 due to falling numbers. The Kelly family attended the Chapel of St Mary's which at that time was attached to Felton Park, a nearby manor house[1]. The chapel was

separated from the house in 1951 during renovation and restoration after its use by the military in the Second World War. The Presbytery was at the west end of the nearby New Row, overlooking the river. John was not listed with his parents and siblings in the 1901 Census for Felton, nor does his name appear in the Parish Register on the lists of children confirmed. (His brother Martin was listed in 1901. Kellys and Mallons made up half of the candidates in several of the entries.) Later information indicates that he was by then a pupil at Ushaw College in County Durham where boys were prepared for higher education as well as for the Priesthood. On 30th September 1905, at the age of nineteen, John was accepted as a candidate for the Priesthood. Two original documents record the 'ceremony of tonsure' held in the Ecclesiastical College of St Cuthbert at Ushaw, in the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle. [1]See postcript

Following his ordination by Bishop Collins an article was published in 1912 in the local newspaper, the *Alnwick & County Gazette,* and headed:The Reverend Father Kelly of Felton 'The Reverend John Kelly, a native of Felton, educated at Ushaw, the great ecclesiastical college of the North, and after nearly 14 years of study was finally ordained in the college chapel on Sunday, January 21st

of this year. He said his first Mass, assisted by the Rev. Father Fleming at St Mary's Felton on the Tuesday following, and on Sunday last (28th January), he preached and gave Benediction. Father Kelly, who is held in his native place

with every respect, will go shortly to the church of St. Cuthbert's, North Shields, as curate to Father M. Haggarty.' The next available information appeared in another article from the *Gazette,* dated 10th November 1917 under the heading:

News from Felton 'The Rev. John Kelly, the son of Mr Martin Kelly of Felton has been given an Army Chaplaincy. The reverend gentleman, who was stationed at North Shields is the second curate to leave St. Cuthbert's parish for the Front. Before departing he was the recipient of a presentation from his parishioners. Father J. Kelly left Felton on Sunday to take up military duties, and he carries with him the best wishes of his numerous friends at Felton.'Copies of documentation obtained from the National Archives show that Father John had applied on October 20th for appointment as a Temporary Chaplain to the Forces. It is interesting to note that he gave Felton as his address and not the Presbytery at North Shields. He would need to travel home to Felton to receive communications from the War Office, which would involve a train journey from Newcastle to Acklington on the main east coast line, then horse-drawn transport to Felton. Did he think his parish priest might not want to lose another curate and made the application without his knowledge? If so, did he have a reason for offering his services to his country? If his Bishop had asked him to serve, would he not have made his application from the presbytery where he lived? A member of the Kelly family who knew him believes that he was asked by the Bishop. There is no mention in the above article that Father John's brother Martin (18 months younger), a Private in the Durham Light Infantry, had been killed in France on April 20th of that year. Father John would have met and spoken with another brother Joseph, who had joined the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve in the March, when home on leave in July before being drafted to a home port (a short article about his visit was published in the *Gazette*). Did either of these events influence the application to the Army Chaplaincy? After a medical certified him as fit for General Duty, Father John was sent a letter from the War Department confirming his appointment as a Temporary Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces, 4th Class, with the relative rank of Captain, together with a document for signature in which he agreed to the terms of service laid down by the War Department. He was to serve two years overseas with the British Expeditionary Force in France, or until no longer required. His pay was to be 10s per day and an advance equal to 30 day's pay was to be made. A further advance of 91 days' Field Allowance could be obtained from the Command Paymaster. Free passage to and from the country in which he served was to be provided and free rations in the Field. When considered necessary for the performances of his duties he would have the use of 'a Government horse and forage'. He was required 'at once' to purchase the required 'field kit, service communion set, field service dress, kit, etc. If obliged to buy a communion set a grant not exceeding £10 could be obtained on application to the Paymaster. Arrangements for the supply of 'service books,

batman, etc.' were to be made when overseas. Anti-typhoid inoculation before embarkation was recommended. On completion of 12 months continuous service and provided he had consistently performed his duties satisfactorily he was to receive a gratuity of 60 days full pay. In case of any misconduct or being unfit in any respect for service (other than illness or unavoidable accident), payment would cease with immediate discharge and no entitlement to gratuity or free passage home. Father John signed up on October 27th to 'devote my whole time and energies to my service hereunder, and will obey all orders given to me by my senior Military or Naval Officers'. The witness to his signature was John Fowler of Felton. News arrived on October 31st that Father John was to embark at Folkestone on November 6th taking the boat train which left Victoria Station at 7.35 a.m. A voucher enclosed with the letter entitled him to a first-class ticket at half-fare for the journey. Instructions for the sea passage were to be obtained from the Embarkation Commandant at Folkestone and he was required to report to the Military Landing Officer on arrival – no destination was mentioned but presumed to be Calais. He was formally commissioned on the November 6th and the official document appointing him 'in the rank of Chaplain to the Forces 4th Class, Land Forces' was given at the Court of St James by His Majesty's Command, and dated November 17th 1917.

Details of his service in the field are not available. It is known that his communion set was damaged by military activity and that the farriers made him a new chalice from a spent shell case. Battle at Cambrai took place shortly after his arrival in France. In March 1918 the German Spring Offensive commenced with massive artillery bombardment. Heavy fighting took place on the Aisne and the Marne and in the second Battle of the Somme at Amiens and Albert, St Quentin and Bapaume. Father John is likely to have been with regiments involved in any or all of these engagements. Father John's nephew Jim Kelly, who later spent holidays with Father John, said he had been deeply affected by his war experiences.

Although the armistice was declared on November 11th 1918, Father John continued to serve for almost another year. The next official document was a letter dated November 28th 1919 to the Chaplains' Department at the War Office in London from the Principal Chaplain's Office in Boulogne advising that 'the Reverend J.W. Kelly C.F. (R.C.) embarked for the United Kingdom on demobilisation on the November 4th 1919'. With effect from September 5th, Father John was 'Gazetted out of the Service' and entitled to wear the uniform for one week from that date. However, on January 14th, 1920, he received a letter from the Chaplain's Department informing him that 'in recognition of the services rendered by you in the Royal Army Chaplains Department, approval has been given for your appointment as an Honorary Chaplain to the Forces, 4th Class'.

In March 1919, in recognition of the services rendered during the war, King George V had directed that the Chaplains Department be known as ‘Royal’ and that the Honorary Rank of C.F. (Chaplain to the Forces) be bestowed on the thousands of temporary Chaplains who had served. This distinction allowed Father John to wear his uniform when attending ceremonials and entertainments of a military matter or occasions when the wearing of uniform would appear appropriate (but not at meetings of a political nature). If called upon to conduct religious services for troops, his Chaplain’s scarf or stole could also be worn. He was entitled to the Victory Medal and the British War Medal and these could be worn on his clerical robes or on his stole. The final demobilization document from the War Office recorded his character as ‘excellent’, his physical fitness ‘good’ and confirmed him as ‘suitable’ for duty as an army chaplain. (The following information about his ministry in the diocese is taken from the Northern Catholic Calendar, 1967) In 1920, Father John was appointed curate at St. Patrick's Church in Sunderland. His next curacy was in St. Cuthbert's, Stockton between 1924 and 1927. On August 12th 1927 Father John was given his first parish at the Church of the Sacred Heart and St. Cuthbert in Amble, a small fishing port only a few miles from the family home in Felton. In October of 1933, Father John had to take sick leave, and when well enough to return to duty in May 1934, served at St. Ninian's Church in the small market town of Wooler in the foothills of the Cheviots. In April 1937 he was appointed Parish Priest at Cheeseburn Grange, near Ponteland and remained there until his next appointment in 1947 as Parish Priest at St. Elizabeth of Hungary's Church at Minsteracres, near Hexham. The Minsteracres estate had been owned by a Catholic family named Silvertop who endowed the church at Wooler. In 1949 the mansion and 60 acres of land were sold to the Order of Passionists for use as a monastery, and in 1951 Father John handed over ‘charge of the district’ to the Passionists. Father John retired to the Chaplain’s House on the Minsteracres estate and was joined there by his sisters Peg and Nan. He had celebrated his Silver Jubilee in Wooler in 1936, and in the same year attended the Holy Mass at St Mary’s Church in Alnwick to commemorate its centenary. He is seen in a photograph with the Bishop and his brother priests who attended the occasion. In January 1962 two telegrams were received from Cardinal Cicognani in Rome, one congratulating him ‘ad multos annos’ and the other stating ‘occasion Golden Jubilee Priestly Ordination Father John Kelly Holy Father cordially imparts Jubilarian and all present Jubilee Mass Apostolic Blessing Implored’. Father John celebrated Mass daily in the chapel of the main house up to the week before his death on October 9th 1968. He is buried in the cemetery at Minsteracres. What would Father John and all the Kellys and Mallons who had worshipped at St Mary’s Church in Felton have felt about its closure due to the shortage of priests in the diocese, a dwindling congregation and the large sum of money required to carry out essential repairs? The building was still in the ownership of the Riddell family and leased to the Diocese as a chapel. On 13th

July 2003, the church was full for the last Mass celebrated by Bishop Griffiths of Hexham and Newcastle assisted by Father Rand of Rothbury. However, it was discovered that insurance regulations required the use of the building for a further year so Mass continued to be offered there by Father Rand on a monthly basis. The very last Mass took place on 2nd July 2004 and fortuitously at a time when Father James Mallon, a Kelly descendant and current owner of the chalice made by the farriers in the Great War was visiting from Canada. He was given permission to officiate at the Mass, and was assisted by Father Rand. The church was full once again and included members of the Riddell family, some from Swinburne Castle, and Father John Campbell who was Parish Priest of St Mary's Church at Swinburne. (A chapel existed within the castle as early as 1690. In 1841 the present and separate chapel was built by the Riddells.) At the end of the Mass, Lady Patricia Talbot née Riddell, the then owner of St Mary's, spoke of her great sadness that the church was no longer required by the diocese and exhorted the congregation to pray for priestly vocations. Father James, whose ancestors had worshipped in Felton since 1841 echoed her sentiment and spoke of his understanding of the loss being felt by the parishioners. He reminded those present that they constituted the Church, and that the Holy Spirit would guide them in re-building their parish community. In 2008, the last of the Riddells to live in Felton Park moved away to live near her children in the south of England and the house was sold. The former church is currently being converted into a residential dwelling. [1]Felton Park was built by Edward Horsley Widdrington in 1732 on his estate at Felton. It was passed down in 1799 to his son-in-law Ralph Riddell of Swinburne Castle. The Widdringtons and Riddells were noted Northumbrian Catholic families. Three of the Widdringtons, Thomas Riddell of Swinburne and a younger brother took part in the failed Jacobite Rising of 1715 in an attempt to restore the exiled Catholic James Francis Stuart (the Old Pretender) to the throne of England. The Duke of Cumberland, Commander of the Royal Army, camped at Felton on the way to repel the1845 rebellion to restore Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender) to the throne, and Edward Widdrington of Felton Park 'regaled the royalist troops with bread, beef and beer from his wellfilled cellar'. Despite being a staunch Catholic, he disapproved of the rising and told the Duke he 'detested these internal commotions, for, without peace, neither pleasure nor plenty could be enjoyed'. The Riddells provided priests in the area, bringing Benedictines for Felton, Swinburn, Longhorsley and Morpeth. In 1792, Thomas Riddell of Swinburne Castle built a chapel and priest's house in Oldgate, Morpeth, (opposite the present church of St Robert of Newminster), creating an endowment to provide for the mission. In 1839, the marriage took place in that same chapel of St Bede, of John Kelly of Morpeth (born Ireland) and Jane Stuart of Morpeth (born Scotland). Three of their seven children were Martin, Michael and Margaret, who were Father John's father, and the uncle and aunt who were his baptismal sponsors. The Widdringtons and Riddells also owned

Cheeseburn Grange, an estate near Ponteland where Father Kelly served. The chapel, used by the diocese, is situated within the house which is still owned by a Riddell family.

[2]The following is taken from the *Gazette* dated July 7th 1917: News from Felton A most unusual occurrence was the presence of a sailor in our midst in the person of Joseph Kelly AB who joined the RNVR four months ago and went to Crystal Palace for training. AB Kelly is the only sailor belonging to Felton and district. At nineteen years, he has successfully undergone the 1st Course in Gunnery, and will shortly be drafted to a home port. Friends had the opportunity to wish him good health and good luck while in the service of his country.

THE EYRE MONUMENT IN ST OSWALD'S PARISH CHURCH, DURHAM

E. Rainey & N. Abbot

The monuments in St Oswald's Parish Church, Durham, include several with connections to prominent Catholic families. Among them, in the north aisle, is a handsome memorial to Elizabeth Eyre, a rectangular inscribed stone beneath a triangular blue marble pediment bearing an oval coat of arms, Farquharson impaling Eyre, with lion rampant crest. The inscription reads

> Near this place lie the remains of / Elizabeth Eyre / daughter of Thomas Eyre of Hassop / in Derbyshire, Esq. and wife of / Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie / in Aberdeenshire, Esq. who died / the 3d day of March 1786, aged 66 years / to whose memory this stone is erected by her affectionate husband.

Elizabeth Eyre (c. 1720-86) came from a wealthy Derbyshire recusant family, which also had property in Northamptonshire. The Eyres generally avoided active participation in politics, but Elizabeth's maternal great-grandfather was William, Earl of Strafford, executed for his alleged involvement in the Popish Plot, and in the eighteenth century the Eyre family became closely connected by marriage with several prominent Northumbrian recusant families who suffered in the Jacobite cause, notably the Thorntons, Widdringtons and Radcliffes.

Elizabeth Eyre married Francis Farquharson (1709-90) of Monaltrie, near Balmoral, Aberdeenshire in 1764. Her parents were dead, and her portion under her father's will (£7,500) became hers on her marriage. Farquharson's background was Presbyterian, although later in life he expressed a wish to be buried by an Episcopalian clergyman. He was an ardent Jacobite, who had attempted to raise his clan for the Young Pretender in 1745, against the wishes of his uncle and clan chief, John Farquharson of Invercauld. He was captured commanding a troop on the battlefield of Culloden in 1746, shipped off to London, and sentenced to death. However, friends and acquaintances in Scotland got up petitions on his behalf, some of them from ministers of the kirk, testifying to his good nature and work with the church and charitable schools. One petition came from a group of government soldiers taken prisoner by the rebel army, who stressed that he had protected them against insults and aggression from the ordinary rebel soldiers. On the morning he was due to be hanged he was reprieved, and his sentence was eventually commuted to one of internal exile in England. Offered a choice of place for his exile he asked to be sent to Hertfordshire

> where I may have an opportunity of applying to agriculture, and of learning the practicall part of farming from good masters.

His complete freedom of movement was not restored until spring 1765.

Francis and Elizabeth were married at St Martin's in the Fields, London, on 7 June 1764, as his long period of enforced exile was nearing its end. Not long after the marriage they moved to Durham. Why they chose Durham can only be surmised. As a young man, working as factor for his uncle, Francis had been full of enthusiasm for schemes of agricultural improvement and public works such as building roads and bridges to benefit the locality. His years of exile in Hertfordshire had provided an opportunity to study farming methods there, and there can be little doubt that his own preference would have been to return to Deeside to put his ideas into practice. In 1775 he was able to lease parts of what had been his property on Deeside, and he was allowed to resume full ownership of his estate in 1784.

For Elizabeth, however, life in remote Aberdeenshire probably had less appeal, considering its prevailing ethos of Presbyterianism and its distance from her family. In north-east England, by contrast, she had many family connections who could provide contacts to the Catholic social networks of the area. In 1775, for example, Francis acted as attorney for Elizabeth's nephew Thomas Eyre of

Hassop, to register as papist's estates the Widdrington property he had inherited in County Durham. A deed of 1777 in the Farquharson family archives at Invercauld shows Francis in possession of a house on the north side of Old Elvet, probably from about 1765 onwards. The Return of Papists in St Oswald's parish which the vicar, Thomas Hayes, made to the bishop in 1767, records that for about a year Mrs Elizabeth Farquharson had been living in Old Elvet, an area where a number of Catholic families had property, and that her household also included Lady Harriet Gordon and three servants. Lady Harriet has been tentatively identified as Lady Henrietta (Harriet) Gordon (c.1708-89), daughter of the fifth Marquess of Huntly and second Duke of Gordon, and sister of Lord Lewis Gordon, under whom Francis Farquharson served in the '45, and Lord Adam Gordon, with whom he was also acquainted. Lady Henrietta may have been brought up as a Catholic, although after her father's death her mother decided to bring up her younger siblings in the Protestant faith. Why she should have been staying with Elizabeth Eyre in Durham has not been discovered.

Evidence in the Farquharson archives shows that after Francis and Elizabeth's move to Durham he made regular annual visits to Scotland which took up much of his year, setting out in the spring as soon as the weather was favourable and returning to spend the autumn and winter in Durham. Elizabeth, who comes across from her few surviving letters as a gentle person who kept bees and disliked travelling, generally remained in Durham.

Francis survived his wife by four years. After her death he was finally free to go back to live on Deeside, where he is remembered as a local benefactor, developer of the mineral springs at Pannanich and builder of the first bridge over the Dee where Ballater now stands. He died aged eighty-one, greatly loved and revered by all who knew him, and is buried in the graveyard beside the old church at Crathie.

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THE MAN WHO BOMBED THE ENGLISH COLLEGE, DOUAI

Fr Dominique Minskip

During the years of the First World War the pages of the Ushaw Magazine (published in three editions during the year - March, July and December) carried the names and sometimes accounts of the experiences of its "alumni" or "graduates", involved in the conflict. Initially these names and accounts appeared in the "College Notes" section of the Magazine but from the July 1916 edition, as numbers increased, a separate section headed "Our War List" was introduced. Some of the Ushaw alumni in the forces were ordained priests acting as military chaplains; others were those who had attended the college as lay students for their general education; but a third group consisted of young men intended for the priesthood who delayed or suspended their studies in order to volunteer as fighting men. Since many of these latter returned after the War to resume their priestly studies we must conclude that their volunteering was, at the least, accepted by the Ushaw authorities. In fact, to judge by the tone of much that appears in the Ushaw Magazine, there seems to have been a tacit approval of their actions, whether as answering the call to patriotic duty or as taking up a just cause. Nonetheless, the experiences of these men on the front line, sometimes being wounded themselves, sometimes attacking and killing the enemy, must have made a strange preparation for the priesthood. In the course of tracing the histories of a number of these men connected with the Diocese of Middlesbrough I came across one story in particular which may be of wider interest as a tale, on the one hand, of undoubted bravery but also, on the other, of unforseen and unhappy consequences.

The name of Thomas Cuthbert Clifford - known simply as Cuthbert Clifford - first appears in the "College Notes" section of the March 1916 edition of the Ushaw Magazine as one of those who had joined the 30th Northumberland Fusiliers. This seems to have been a favourite regiment for Ushawmen to join and the 30th was commonly known as the "Tyneside Irish". Cuthbert himself was from Hull, born on 23 January 1897, and had received part of his general education at Ushaw from the age of fourteen or thereabouts. Though he joined up in early 1916 he and his intake do not appear to have entered quickly into the theatre of war. Instead, their training brought them into more than one location with which Cuthbert will have been familiar, as described in the "College Notes" section of the March 1917 Magazine:-

"The set of Big Lads and Syntaxians who joined the Northumberland Fusiliers in the February of last year and who managed to keep together has recently been disintegrating. Their mutual company helped to brighten life on Catterick Moor, especially at that dreary time when they were being introduced to the realities of Army life. Again they were together at Hornsea, which came as a welcome

change from the hut life of Catterick; they were living at a pleasant seaside resort and in their free time it was quite like a vacation. There was just one serious disadvantage to life at Hornsea, and that was the remoteness of the Catholic church from their camp. Thanks to the sacrificing efforts of Fr Flanagan, the priest at Marton, they were able to have Mass at Hornsea every Sunday, but our boys are not used to merely Sunday religion. As the winter set in they were withdrawn from Hornsea, and are now stationed near Hull, where they seem well satisfied with circumstances, They are most grateful to the clergy and Catholic friends in Hull who have given them the freedom of St Charles[1] club and have shown them much warm hospitality. Here, however, some of them have had to separate. [Some have left for France and Egypt], C.Clifford has been accepted for a place in the Royal Flying Corps."

The July 1917 Magazine lists Cuthbert Clifford as "RFC (Cadet)" but by December of the same year he is "2nd Lieut RFC". A sentence in the "College Notes" of that same December edition reads: "When C.Clifford called here about the middle of October he held a commission in the RFC, and expected to be sent to the Front in a fortnight's time."

Ushaw received a further visit from Clifford prior to the July 1918 edition of the Magazine. This time he was able to relate his exploits. The "College Notes" reporting his visit, states "Elsewhere in the Magazine we print a letter of his, telling the story of a bombing expedition which was of particular interest to Ushawmen. He might have told us of other adventures -of how, for instance, he found a number of German 'planes above him, and thought that his last hour had come; but suddenly a superior force of British machines appeared still higher in the heavens, and all the Germans were sent crashing to the earth. Or he might have told of his last flight, in which two companion machines were shot down and he was chased home by 8 or 9 of the enemy. On this occasion, he brought his machine down in safety, but it was riddled with bullets, some of which he had kept as souvenirs. His visit to England was the sequel to an operation for appendicitis."

Boys Own stuff indeed - apart perhaps from the appendicitis! The letter alluded to in the "College Notes" is pretty much in the same mould, though its finale offers greater food for thought. The letter identifies the town Clifford was sent to bomb only by the initial letter "D"; but the reason for his expedition being "of particular interest to Ushawmen" comes from the fact, made clear by the letter's contents, that the town in question is Douai, the location, in northern France, of Ushaw's predecessor, the English College, from 1568 to 1793. Here, in all its colour, is Clifford's account:

"About an hour after dining, both "wisely and well", I decided to turn in for the night, when I was summoned to the orderly room and informed that my services were required as a night bomber.

A hazy knowledge of the country, added to the unexpectedness of the order, caused my courage thermometer a considerable drop towards zero. Surely it was the irony of Fate that sent an Ushaw man to bomb a town so closely connected with Alma Mater. However, no misgivings as to the justification of my errand occurred to me as I sat alone in my machine with four huge bombs hung beneath the fuselage,

To wave the mechanics away, push forward the throttle of the motor were the work of a moment. The roar of the engine smote pleasantly on the ear as the machine rushed across the aerodrome, left the ground and began to climb steadily into the skies. Landmarks were few and faint in the young moon's struggling rays. At last the river Scarpe became visible, and was as a silvery thread to lead me through the darkness to the goal. The occassional flash of guns was all that disturbed the seemingly peaceful earth.

Thus I neared D___, stealthily, as a felt-slippered dormitory master bears down upon an unknowing culprit. Soon, however, my presence was perceived by watchful Huns, and a searchlight quickly showed its resentment by enveloping the machine in its light. As I shut off the engine and indulged in various movements to evade the searchlight, the whistling of anti-aircraft shells seemed to me a hymn of hate, so I wrathfully heaped maledictions on the whole Teutonic race. These seemed to take effect, for some imperfection in the light's mechanism caused it to splutter and fade away. He who laughs last laughs best. The objective was directly underneath, and my hand on the bomb release handle. A long street of German billets appealed to me as an estimable target. Down went the first "egg" and showed my aim to be sadly devoid of accuracy, for it found its billet in an open space not far distant from the barracks, which, as I afterwards learned, was the old college. I firmly believe that every D___ martyr - no matter where his grave may be - must have shuddered and turned.

The remainder of the bombs were released, and after a seemingly interminable period, three ghastly tongues of fire leaped into the air - a truly healthy opposition to the moon's sickly light. Two of the three bombs had found their mark, and some half dozen houses crumbled away. No pilot in so acting gives a thought to the havoc for which he is responsible. No heed is given to limbless creatures or rushing ambulances; why this is so I cannot say, but it is so. Not until the machine has turned homewards are the three dull explosions heard. The work was done, so it is of no consequence that before reaching home I was chased, lost, crashed on a strange aerodrome, then ruthlessly bombed. These and many other duties are all merely minute details of the vast circus of Armageddon."

This last paragraph comes, in a way, almost as a relief. It shows that the man destined for the priesthood, for all his "daring do", is not oblivious to the indescriminate carnage of war, even if he blots it out from his mind in the

moment of fighting. The experience of modern day conflicts suggests, however, that it is impossible to suppress completely thoughts and memories of hurt and harm and the devastation of armed conflict. How often did Clifford's thoughts return to his bombing run over Douai and to other missions? Was he correct in believing that one of his bombs had struck the buildings previously occupied by the English College and did that add a further frisson of guilt? It is clear from much of what is written in the Ushaw Magazine that the alumni of the college were keen to keep in touch, both those who still had links and those who had left some time previously. Whenever a former student found his regiment served by a chaplain who received his priestly training at Ushaw that fact never failed to receive mention in communication with the college, nor that a special bond was felt in serving that priest's Mass and in talking about Alma Mater. It is only natural, too, that those in conflict and peril would desire and perhaps felt bolstered by the prayers of the Ushaw professors and students. There was undoubtedly an "Ushaw spirit" to which the alumni clung and upon which they drew. Those whose faith had been fostered on tales and celebrations of martyr priests to whom they were encouraged to feel the closest ties sensed those ties most strongly in the midst of brutish war.

Cuthbert Clifford was one of four brothers who eventually became priests after training at Ushaw. His elder brothers Charles (born 1893; ordained 1923) and William (born 1895; ordained 1924) were both ordained for the Middlesbrough diocese and both served on the staff at Ushaw for significant periods of time. His younger brother, Gerald, was a student for the Hexham and Newcastle diocese and, I believe but have not fully established, reached ordination. There may have been another brother, Henry, who did not become a priest but had his general education at Ushaw. There is no evidence in the Ushaw Magazine of Charles, the eldest brother, having had any involment in the war. It occasionally happened that promising students were delayed on their way to ordination by being employed in the teaching of younger age groups. It is my belief that this is what Charles was doing during the war and, indeed, he remained at Ushaw for fifteen more years as a staff member immediately following his ordination. Gerald, the youngest brother, did join up but probably did not see action, being listed as "RAF (Cadet)" in the last of the war lists published in the Magazine. The other two brothers, William and Henry, whilst not listed in the forces, may have been prisoners or internees abroad.

This surmise arises, once again, from the pages of the Ushaw Magazine of March 1917. There are described the experiences of Bernard Ellison and his younger brother Edward, both alumni of the college, who were cut off in Belgium by the invading German armies. Neither Ellison appears to have been in the military at the time (although Edward may possibly be the E.Ellison later listed as serving with the Punjabis) but were in Belgium holidaying with their mother and sisters near to Dinant. In November of 1914 Bernard Ellison was

arrested after helping to care for the wounded of local fighting and sent, after spells in other camps, to Ruhleben in Germany. "Here he found two former Ushaw students, Henry and William Clifford, who bombarded him with questions about their old college, and were never weary of talking about it. The Cliffords took charge of the chapel which the Catholics had set up, and Mr Ellison tells us that they were most exact in the management of everything, the Ushaw way of doing things being to them a law which admitted no exceptions." Although William Clifford's entry in the Ushaw students' index shows no break in his career at the college, it seems difficult to believe that this is anyone other than Cuthbert's brother. Had he and Henry been caught like the Ellisons holidaying or studying abroad when war began? Certainly William's was a "late" ordination at 29 and this must be accounted for either by a spell teaching, like Charles, in the junior seminary or else some hiatus of the kind we are suggesting. Supposing that this William and Henry were Cuthbert's brothers, was this a further incentive to his joining up - a "family" reason to add to patriotic or other considerations?

Cuthbert Clifford returned to Ushaw to continue his priestly studies in 1919. He would be ordained on 22 December 1924. The Ushaw Magazine war lists usually indicated whether someone had been wounded in action by attaching an asterisk to their name. The war certainly took its toll on college alumni as a paragraph at the head of the war list in March 1918 makes clear : "The present list contains 554 names, including chaplains. Of these, 46 have been killed, three have died of disease, one is "wounded and missing", two are "missing" two are prisoners, and 72 others are known to have been wounded or gassed." Cuthbert Clifford's name never received an asterisk but it appears there were wounds, perhaps of more than one kind. His first seven years as a priest saw him in five different curacies. Only in the first - at St Peter's, South Bank, to the east of Middlesbrough - did he stay longer than a year. Thereafter he had two years on sick leave before serving one further year as curate at Pickering and then returning to sick leave for a further twelve years, residing at Brighton. For fourteen years, from 1946 to 1960, he resided with his brother, Charles at St Patrick's in Hull and was thenbeen prisoners or internees abroad.

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Little memory remains of Cuthbert Clifford in Hull. One priest of the diocese, now retired, remembers being told as a young curate that Clifford had a metal plate in his head as a result of wounds from the war. This is also the memory of Sr Imelda Dent, a Sister of Mercy, who remembers Fr Clifford both from her early childhood in South Bank and later on in Hull. She recollects him as a cheerful curate at St Peter's, prone to playing practical jokes with staff and pupils. It was clear even to the young child, however, that there was something not quite usual about the man and parents were heard to speak of his having to go away for treatment. By the time Sr Imelda found herself a novice at the Endsleigh teacher training college in Hull, Fr Cuthbert was living with his brother, their mother also sharing the presbytery as housekeeper. The two Fr Cliffords celebrated Mass for Sisters and students simultaneously, Fr Charles

seeming to take the "lead" and Fr Cuthbert to follow him. This and friendly visits into the St Mary's Grammar School classes, housed post-war in prefabs on the Endsleigh site, seem to have been the extent of Cuthbert's priestly ministry.

So can we attribute this stuttering and truncated priesthood to whatever wounds lay behind the plate in Cuthbert's head - shrapnel, perhaps, unnoticed for a time and then shifting within the skull? Or was there a psychological element, too, to his struggles and sickness? I am inclined to think in terms of the latter, if only because his letter about the Douai raid does make its reference to "the vast circus of Armaggedon" and to the "limbless creatures" and "rushing ambulances" on the ground. Granted he writes that no pilot thinks of these latter in the moment of acting, but what about later on? Do those thoughts come rushing back or relentlessly chip away at the psyche?

Of the three other Middlesbrough alumni I discovered in my researches, one served in the Machine Gun Corps, saw lengthy action at the Front and was gassed but returned to the line. In later years he was proud of his war record and marched in Remembrance Day parades with his medals displayed on top of cassock and cotta. A second served with the Kings Own Yorkshire Light Infantry and was twice wounded before being returned home to train other soldiers. He seems never to have mentioned his war service and many retired priests who knew him have been very surprised to learn of it. The third proved a very bright and popular student, "of marked ability and sterling character". Sadly, these fact are learned from his obituary in the March edition of the Ushaw Magazine of 1920, after his having been taken with a sudden attack of bleeding of the lungs "due to the exposure to which he had been subject in France".

For some Ushawmen the toll of war was swift and merciless; for some it seemed to pass and they were able to move on, some into priestly ministry; for others, including Cuthbert Clifford, the man who bombed the English College, Douai, the wounds left by war were long and lingering and changed their lives irretrievably. May he, and may they all, rest in peace.

EXPENSES OF A JOURNEY BY FRANCIS PETRE, VICAR APOSTOLIC OF THE NORTH, 1764

Contributed by A. I. Doyle with additional material by Leo Gooch.

The old parish library of St Cuthbert's Catholic Church, Durham, contained some items from the former Jesuit mission in Old Elvet but most of the material came from the secular mission, where some of the Vicars Apostolic lived and left pamphlets of their own and other authors. In the nineteen-seventies the Revd Dr Michael Sharatt took a large selection of works not previously in its collections to Ushaw College. Amongst the few books retained for St Cuthbert's because of its close connections with its history, is an edition of the *Condones depraecipuis sanctorum festis, a festo beatissimae Mariae Magdalanae, usque ad finem ami* (Antwerp, 1580), in a contemporary decorated binding (possibly by its printer Plantin), with a note on the title-page that it is only the second volume (for the second half of the liturgical year).

On the title-page there are also a number of inscriptions of ownership, largely obliterated, except the lowest, readable as of William Blount 1661. The book appears to have later belonged to William Maire, junior, who followed his uncle (of the same name) as priest at Gilesgate in 1741 though he soon moved to Old Elvet. In 1768, he was appointed coadjutor to Francis Petre, Vicar Apostolic, but he was in ill-health and he moved to the family home at Lartington where he died the following year. The end-leaves at the front and back are covered with cramped notes in Latin and English apparently written by Maire, relating to the contents; there were more notes on the back of the folded end of a long loose half sheet of paper, the front of which has an expense account in different writing and is transcribed below.

The account refers to a tour of the north eastern part of the Northern District by the Vicar Apostolic, Francis Petre, of the well-known Essex family. He was educated at Douai and was ordained priest in 1720. Thirty years later he was made Bishop of Amoria (*in partibus infidelium*) and appointed coadjutor to Bishop Edward Dicconson, Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, whom he succeeded in 1752. Petre lived chiefly at Showley Hall, Clayton le Dale, near Blackburn, from where he sets out on this tour. It was most probably a confirmation tour, or visitation, though there is nothing in the account to indicate it except that the itinerary included most of the mission stations in the region. It is remarkable that Petre undertakes the journey at all given that he is seventy-two years old but he would not have a coadjutor (Maire) who could have done it for him for another four years.

It is obvious from the uniformity of the writing, the pen and ink, that this account of the expenses incurred was drawn up after the journey was over, presumably from memoranda made during its course. Harry, presumably the bishop's manservant and travelling companion, was entrusted with a good deal

of money and discretion in using it. Unfortunately, the account omits the dates after the first four days and so it is impossible to tell how long the outward and return journeys took. Other than that, it can be left to speak for itself as a record of the details of what a lengthy journey in the mid-eighteenth century involved. The spelling is not so idiosyncratic as to be unintelligible.

Harry's Accot pd June 22[d] 1764

May 3[d] 1764	£	S	D
to the turnpikes from Showley to Lancaster:		0	3
to A Boy from garsting to Schorton		0	6
to the male Sadle mending		0	6
to the turnpikes from Lancaster to Hornby		0	4
D[itt]o 7th			
to wiggs Dressing at Hornby		0	6
to the turnpikes from Hornby to Kerbysteven		0	9
to a Sadle mending		0	4½
to the turnpikes from kerbysteven to wycliff		1	0
to the poor		0	1½
to the turnpikes from Cliff to Durham		2	4
to the ale & Vituals to Servants		1	10
to the turnpikes from Durham to Sunderland		1	0
to a new panels to a Sadle		2	0
to the turnpikes from Sunderland to Newcastle		0	7(?)
to Linning washing at Newcastle		1	7(?)
to the Servants at the Inn at Newcastle		6	0
to wiggs Dressing at Newcastle		0	6
to Mr Silvertop's maid		2	6
to the turnpikes from newcastle to netherwitton		2	3½
to the Servants at netherwitton		10	0
to Mr Potts Servants at Thropton		3	0
to post Chaise from wooler to hagasson		12	6
to the Ostler at wooler		0	6
to the turnpikes from haggasson to Elingeam		1	4½
to Sir Thomas Haggasson's Poststillions		5	0
to the turnpikes from Elingeam to Witton	2	3	0
to the Servamts at Elingeam		17	0
to the Ostler at anwick		0	6
to the horses Shotting at netherwitton		1	4
to Mr Riddles groom & poststilions		12	6

to the horses hay & Corn & Servants ale At the Inn			
Betwixt hexham & Newcastle		3	0
to the turnpikes from hexham to Newcastle		2	7½
to Mr Shaftous Servants at hexham		5	0
to the Ostler at hexham		1	0
to A pair of Gloves at hexham		1	0
to A Bridle mending at hexham		0	4
to the turnpikes from newcastle to Durham		0	4
to A pair of Slive Buttons at Durham		2	3
to the Linning washing at Durham		3	2
to the Ostler at Durham		2	0
to paid Back to you at Durham		0	6
to the turnpikes Durham to Darlington		1	6
to the Black Smith at Darlington		0	6
to the Ostlers & Boot Catcher at Darlington		1	6
to the turnpikes from Brough to Otley		4	3
to the Ostler at Rippon		0	3
to Corn and hay at harrowgate		2	3
to the poor		0	3
to the Post Chaise from harrowgate to Otley		10	6
to the turnpikes from Otley to Gizbourn		2	9
	6	12	4½
to Bills	3	0	5
Laid out	9	12	9½
Received	7	9	0
Remains	2	3	9½

pd June the 22d 1764

THE EARLY ENGLISH JESUITS IN THE NORTH-EASTERN DISTRICT

J. O'Higgins, S.J.

In the year 1540 the Society of Jesus was first approved as a religious Order by Pope Paul III. Forty years later, when Persons and Campion were on their way to England, it numbered five thousand members and it possessed a fully established and smoothly-running system of government. Its welcome in the England of Elizabeth Tudor was likely to be no friendly one and the erection of a Jesuit province, on traditional lines, no easy task. Yet by the year 1623, when the English Province was recognised as such, not only had its members increased from the three of 1581 and the eighteen who were working in England in 1598 to the more formidable total of 218, of whom 112 were working in this country itself, but it possessed, with one notable exception, all the characteristics of a typical Jesuit Province. It had its administrative hierarchy, its Provincial visitations and its triennial Provincial Congregations. Annual Letters were sent to Rome and as regularly were communications received from the Continent. Not only missionaries but upward of two hundred boys were yearly conveyed to and from the Jesuit schools abroad. The Province, in fact, was a going concern.

But it is not with the similarities that this article is concerned, but with the main point of difference. This lay, briefly, in the nature of the three Colleges and nine Residences established by Richard Blount, the first Provincial, in 1623. These earned their titles only by analogy. They were not single Houses or Colleges, but territorial divisions, covering between them the whole kingdom and each composed of a group of residences or chaplaincies, governed by a local superior. In the history and organisation of one of these—that of the residence of St John the Evangelist in the north-eastern corner of England—the nature of the rest and the manner of life of the average missionary are at the same time exemplified.

A letter of Persons, written shortly after his leaving England, marks the first stirrings of Jesuit interest in the north. 'On my first entry into England,' he writes,

> I cast my eyes round to see which portion of the kingdom was in greatest need of our help, and which, as time went on, would be best able to further our cause. It was apparent that there were three regions into which priests had not penetrated. The first was Wales … the second Cambridgeshire ... the third, the largest of them all, situated on the boundaries of England and Scotland and comprising four or five counties. These counties, as I say, had hardly any priests. Yet this region is of supreme importance to our cause, both on account of its being close to

> Scotland and of the generous and openhanded dispositions of its inhabitants. So thither I despatched various labourers.

This action of Persons, though his instruments were seminarists and not Jesuits, might be regarded as the beginning of Jesuit dealings with the north-east.

In his account he makes no mention of one very remarkable man who, more than any other, was to be responsible for the success of the Society's work in the north: Richard Holtby. He had been one of Edmund Campion's hosts in 1581, had then been working in the district for two years, and was already firmly established there. It is a tribute to his skill that the period that Campion spent under his protection has remained a complete blank in government records, in spite of William Cecil's success in ferreting out the details of other parts of Campion's itinerary. Holtby was not at that time himself a Jesuit. Campion's influence may have won him, for in 1581 he re-crossed to the continent and there joined the Society, returning to England in 1589. He was the first Jesuit to be stationed permanently in the north, and his history was to be for some considerable time the history of the north eastern District of the Jesuit mission.

That he was a useful representative of the Society there can be no doubt. An able theologian, he was also a skilled mason, carpenter, turner and even gardener. For a long time there was preserved in the Gesu church in Rome a vestment which he had made for Father General Vitelleschi. This versatility he turned to a most practical use. He was an expert fashioner of hiding-places. Many of the priest holes still existing in Durham are specimens of his work. None of them, it is said, was ever discovered by the pursuivants. Certainly, during the time that he was in England —till his death in 1640—he was never captured nor, to quote his perhaps over-enthusiastic biographer, did he suffer a day's illness.

It was this extremely competent individual who returned to Durham in 1589. For at least five years he seems to have taken as his headquarters the house of a certain Mr John Trollope of Thornley. This was disclosed in the statement made by Thomas Clarke, a lapsed priest, to the Bishop of Durham in the year 1593. Clarke, says the official record of the episcopal enquiry,

> came over with two other priests, John Bennet, a Welshman and a Jesuit, and Francis Clayton, of Derbyshire, in a French bottom. Landed at Newcastle and with Clayton went to Mr. Trollope of Thornley, Durham, where they met Richard Holtby, a Jesuit, to whom they were especially directed. Stayed there a week and had a fresh jerkin made by Holtby's procurement. Said he brought no letters, *superaltare* or the like, as the Jesuits have authority to make and consecrate such stuff as is needful. Said Mass there to Mr Trollop and his family.

Holtby's position and his methods are together illustrated in this quotation. In Durham and the eastern border lands he was one of the heads of the Catholic organisation, a position of particular responsibility because of the importance of the Tyne and the north-eastern coast as a landing place for priests.

When Holtby left Thornley is uncertain. Possibly shortly after 1594, as a result of Clarke's confession, for in that year he had a very narrow escape when the house was surrounded and searched by the men of the Earl of Huntingdon, President of the Council of the North. Certainly by 1603 he had moved to Hebburn. In that year a spy's 'List of Jesuits that lurk in England' gives him the place of honour after Henry Garnet the Superior, and records that he is 'with Mr. Hodgson, at Hebburn, three miles from Newcastle.' Hebburn was a noted Catholic house and the Hodgsons well known recusants. Two years later he is again mentioned, in the confession of John Healy, a servant of Launcelot Carnaby, of Halton, Northumberland, as having said Mass in Carnaby's house. But for the moment there was to be a break in his northern career. After the arrest of Garnet, in 1606, Holtby was chosen to be his successor. Till 1609 he remained in this position and then, after a short visit to the continent, he returned once more to the north of England.

Before 1606 he had had very few Jesuit helpers. John Percy, a priest of Durham, who was later to distinguish himself by disputing with the theologically-minded James I, was his companion from 1596 to 1598. But on the whole his colleagues and his assistants had been seminarists. Now, with the expansion of the English mission, the number of Jesuits in the north steadily increased. When the Province was formally established the North-Eastern District received its final status. In 1619, with Yorkshire, it was formed into a single Mission. Three years later it began its independent existence as the Residence of St John the Evangelist. The Annual Letter of 1623 reported

> This year the mission extended itself over … Durham … this mission included a large tract of country including Northumberland and the borders of Scotland. The richest harvest was gathered in excursions taken for the instruction of the poorer class.

As was only fitting, Holtby, still active in spite of his seventy years, was appointed Superior of the new Residence. He had under him six Jesuits, a number shortly to be increased. He had nursed the Durham mission through its infancy. More than any other he was familiar with local conditions, able to deal with the expansion of the Residence and to find secure and useful stations for the Jesuit newcomers to the District.

Already the north-eastern Mission had begun to take on its permanent shape. Thornley and Hebburn soon ceased to function as Jesuit houses. Instead there came a more lasting series of residences. Of these the first and least enduring was that provided by Mrs Dorothy Lawson who, in 1614, after asking Holtby's

advice, built a house at St. Anthony's, east of Newcastle and on the north bank of the Tyne. Holtby himself laid the foundation stone. Here, till Mrs Lawson's death in 1632, there was a succession of Jesuit chaplains. The last of these, Fr William Palmer, wrote her biography. He relates,

> Her chapel was neat and the altar furnished according to the fashion in Catholic countries.... Half a dozen of the Society made each year the Spiritual Exercises in her house, with collegiate form.

The chaplaincy was particularly valuable to the Jesuit Mission, the more so because of the remarkable tolerance extended towards Mrs Lawson by the Newcastle magistrates. These not only refused to search her house, but even allowed her to be buried, with Catholic rites and by her own chaplain, in All Saints, Newcastle. An account of her funeral, says

> The magistrates and all the glory of the town attended at the landing place, and carried the coffin to the Church door where, with a ceremony which astonished all, they delivered it to the Catholics only, who, with a priest … laid it with Catholic ceremonies in the grave.

An action that is, I think, unique in the religious history of early seventeenth century England.

The residence of St Anthony's, useful though it was, was short-lived. Across the river at Gateshead and in Durham were two more permanent establishments. Both were owned by the Society itself, both date back, according to a reliable tradition, to the earliest days of the Residence, and there were Jesuit-owned houses both in Durham and Gateshead till the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The property at Gateshead seems again to have been provided by the generosity of the Lawsons. It stood on the site of the mediaeval hospital of St Edmund and the Holy Trinity, land obtained by the family at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The Durham house, the headquarters of the Mission, almost certainly founded by Holtby himself, is not so easily traced. Ralph Corby [left], who came to the north in 1632 was stationed there for some time. Thomas Whitfield, who in 1639 left England to join the Society, mentions the fact that Corby heard his confession in Durham, and adds that 'he was in his paradise when he was with the poor Catholics of Durham and in the villages.' Corby was arrested by parliamentary troops when going to say Mass at Hamsterley on 18 July 1644 and he was executed at Tyburn on 7 September (in company with John Duckett, a secular priest who had been taken near Wolsingham). Later, during the reign of James II there were to be Jesuit schools

in both Durham and Gateshead, two of the ten then established by the Society, and public chapels in both towns. The headquarters at Durham, therefore, can be traced back with some certainty to at least the year 1639 and in all probability to Holtby's first activities in the north. In spite of temporary dangers and difficulties, Durham was to remain the centre of the Residence till the Suppression of the Society in 1773.

Durham, Gateshead and St Anthony's were three of the Jesuit houses of the earliest years of the Residence. There were also Harbour House, on the Wear near Plawsworth, Stella Hall, two miles up the Tyne from Newcastle, and possibly Hardwick Hall. Corby was at Harbour House with another Jesuit, Francis Forcer, shortly after he reached the north-east. Of Stella and Hardwick there remain no very early records, but tradition places Stella at least among the earliest Jesuit chaplaincies. It was then owned by the Tempests, close friends of the Hodgsons of Hebburn; while Hardwick belonged to the Maires, a family that was later to be linked by marriage to the Lawsons. The Lawsons were themselves related to the owners of Hebburn. Six of the Maires, two of the Tempests and two of the Lawsons were to join the Society of Jesus during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1773 Hardwick and Stella were still to be counted in the list of Jesuit chaplaincies.

The first Jesuit houses were all confined within a rather narrow area, to the Bishopric of Durham or its borders. Soon they began to spread more widely. Callaly Castle in Northumberland and Haggerston Castle near Berwick were the next centres to be gained. Towards the end of the century there was added Biddlestone Hall in the Border uplands, and, a few years later, Pontop Hall near Durham and Berrington, again near Berwick. Swinburne Castle, Longhorsley Tower and Ellingham were also to house Jesuit chaplains. With the exception of Pontop Hall, all these new residences were situated in Northumberland. The balance had changed. Durham remained the headquarters of the mission and in 1773 there were still Jesuits at Stella Hall, Hardwick and Pontop, but in that year the majority of the members of the District lived not in the true Bishopric but in the houses of the Northumberland Catholic gentry.

This expansion to the North does not represent an extension in the boundaries of the Residence. By the terms of its foundation it included Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham and from the beginning its members, who in 1632 represented over a quarter of the Catholic clergy in the District, covered parts of all three counties. Their activities, therefore, were not restricted to the immediate neighbourhood of the houses in which they lived. These activities, and the manner of life of the individual missionary, themselves deserve a closer examination.

In an interesting document, dated 1616, entitled *Modus Vivendi Hominum Societatis*, Henry More, an early historian of the Province and later Provincial,

outlines the style of life of the members of the Mission. He divides them into three groups. Some, he says, because of the fear or caution, or because of the dangerous circumstances of their hosts, lived almost entirely shut up in their houses; others 'travelled about either on horse or on foot ... and generally had one house of their own where they could remain for some days'; while the third and most fortunate section

> were more free to converse, either at home or abroad, since the head of the house in which they lived was made, either by his own virtue or by the good esteem of his neighbours, superior, as it were, to the action of the laws.

Now in 1616, however, in More's opinion, things had already changed for the worse.

> The face of affairs is entirely changed, scarcely one in the whole kingdom is found who can furnish the means of living after the third manner. Those who go forth to assist others are forced to spend their nights travelling and their days at home. Many are reduced to the first manner of living.

This account is valuable. It applied to the north as to the rest of England; but, with regard to the northern districts, More's opinion on the altered conditions of the early seventeenth century would seem to need a little modification.

From the start a distinction should be drawn between the county of Durham and the rest of the Residence. Holtby's letters and writings witness to the severity of the persecution in the bishopric but north of the Tyne the position was very different. Here, if one can rely on the evidence provided by a series of puritans' protests to the government in 1616 and 1617, the Catholic gentry were more than able to hold their own. Lord William Howard, 'Belted Will' of Naworth Castle, a convert and a strong Catholic, is said, in an unsigned letter addressed to Secretary Winwood, to have

> gotten the greatest footing in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Richmondshire that any subject ever had, in the opinions of the people.

In the Bishopric his influence is declared to be 'least though very great'.

Another prominent Catholic, Roger Widdrington, a member of a family that later came into possession of Stella Hall, is accused of 'poisoning with Popery all Hexhamshire.' Winwood was warned that if a governor of a 'mild disposition' were sent into Northumberland the local gentry would compel him 'to work by their means' or would 'make him weary of his being there.' These are exaggerations, aimed at persuading the government to seize the recusants' property, but they rest on a foundation of fact. In Northumberland the movements of the Jesuits would be less hampered than in almost any other part of England. In their houses at Durham and Gateshead they would follow More's

second *modus vivendi*. Even in their other chaplaincies, as far as can be judged from the general records of the district, they were not too closely confined.

It was this comparative freedom which allowed them to cover the wide areas under their charge. Using their permanent residences as bases, they made regular expeditions into the surrounding country. 'The nature of the land and the habits of the people to be visited necessitated very long journeys on foot and very plain diet', relate the District Letters for 1629. In 1636 they repeat that 'the work of the missionaries mainly consists in taking very long journeys to instruct the poor.' The lives of two members of the Residence, Thomas Gascoigne and Ralph Corby, provide a useful illustration of this side of Jesuit activity. Gascoigne, who was in the north from 1639 to 1669,

> every month used to make excursions extending some two hundred miles, over mountains and precipices, through snows, floods and byepaths almost impassable in winter time.

He may have had a residence—if it deserves the name—in the more remote parts of Northumberland or Cumberland. His biography continues:

> when not obliged to make these excursions he remained at home and arranged his chamber (which might be called a cave rather than a room) and strewed the uncovered roof with bark.

Corby's methods are described in an account of his life and martyrdom written by his brother shortly after his execution:

> That he might freely and without suspicion frequent the houses of the poor, he would go without a cloak, in a very humble dress, so that he might have been taken for a servant or farm bailiff or letter carrier. He did not visit by appointment but casually.

Corby and Gascoigne were outstanding in their activities, but their methods, with some variation of technique, were typical of those of their fellow missionaries. Disguise and manner of travelling differed from individual to individual, but each covered his own section of the District.

This was the system by which the ten or twelve members of the north-eastern Residence dealt with the wide areas under their control. Allowing for local differences, it was the system by which members of the twelve Jesuit Districts helped to secure the survival of the Church in England. There were differences of circumstances and accidental changes, but these methods and the organisation of the sixteen-twenties were to endure. 'The fathers are all of them widely scattered,' say the North-Eastern District letters of 1693, 'each serving two or three hundred of the poorest Catholics.' Holtby and his fellows of the heroic age of the Province built well. The permanence of their work bore the best witness to its value. They themselves would certainly not have wished for a more fitting or a more lasting monument.

REVIEWS

Archaeology County Durham No. 9 (ISBN 9781907445903, Durham County Council, 2014)

Pieces occasionally appear in this annual magazine which have a particular interest for Catholic readers. In this case it is the article 'Excavations at St Botolph's Chapel, Frosterley' which describes work carried out in 2013 by *Altogether Archaeology,* the North Pennines AONB Partnership's community archaeology project (largely funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund).

The earliest reference to the Weardale village of Frosterley occurs in the Close Rolls of 1239AD, where it appears as Frosterlegh meaning the clearing in the forest. It is well known for the so-called 'Frosterley Marble', a black limestone rich in fossils which, when cut and polished, results in a beautiful ornate stone much used in the Middle Ages for church decoration, as in Durham Cathedral. The Frosterley excavation is important because only a handful of sites or finds have been identified in the North Pennines dating from the six and a half centuries between the end of Roman Rule (410AD) and the Norman Conquest (1066AD), generally known as the 'Early Mediaeval' period.

St Botoloph lived at the same time as St Cuthbert and was among those who introduced the Benedictine Rule into England. A *Life of St Ceolfrith*, written around the time of Bede by an unknown author, refers to Botolphus, an abbot of Iken in Essex, 'a man of remarkable life and learning'. He died around 680AD. Such was his popularity (he was a patron of travellers) that over seventy English churches were dedicated to him, that at Frosterley being the northern-most. The first written reference to the chapel occurs in 1346AD but it was abandoned in the post-mediaeval period; the building was in ruins by the late eighteenth century and its stones were 'recycled' for other local buildings.

The chapel lies under a mound measuring about 30m east-west by 22m north-south and 1.5m high. The site was examined in 1995 and it was clear that further work would be justified. In the event, four trenches were dug and substantial remains of the chapel walls were discovered. Architectural features similar to the Anglo-Saxon church at Escomb suggested a pre-Conquest date for the structure. Further evidence came with the highly important find outside the chapel's south wall of part of an Anglo-Saxon cross head of late seventh or eighth century date; it is thought to be of Roker dolomite. A piece of a twelfth or thirteenth century Frosterley marble font and several other pieces of marble were also recovered as well as pottery, painted wall plaster and stained glass.

These discoveries are described in this well-illustrated provisional report. The excavation seems to show that the chapel could have existed in the eighth or ninth century – though no earlier than the late seventh century, if the original dedication to St Botolph is correct – but further work will be required before

any firm conclusions can be reached. It is hoped that a second season of excavation will reveal further details of the chapel's structure and perhaps recover more of the Anglo Saxon cross and other bits and pieces.

Leo Gooch

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Treasures of Ushaw College: Durham's Hidden Gem, Various Contributors (Scala Arts & Heritage Ltd., for the University of Durham, 2015) ISBN 9781857599343.

Over the years, institutions accumulate, collect and are given artefacts of one sort or another, and their holdings acquire increasing significance not just for the institutions themselves but more generally as a treasure trove of historical and cultural importance. In his wide-ranging introduction to this book, Eamon Duffy observes: 'Material culture matters and is often close to the heart of religion.' So, the collections of Ushaw College, a major English Catholic institution for some two centuries, are bound to have a considerable value and interest for the wider community as well as the ecclesiastical.

Following extended historical and architectural introductions, thirty specialist contributors describe in short illustrated essays some fifty objects. With the greatest respect to those writers it must be said immediately that the best feature of this book is the photography. Such is the attraction of each object that there was no need to strive for artificial or contrived effects to convey their beauty, and Katy Weightman has successfully pictured them all so naturistically in their simple splendour that it is almost unnecessary to see them in the flesh, so to speak. Having enthused over the photographer, however, the contributing essayists too deserve praise.

As an institution of learning, it is to be expected that a number of books would be counted among the treasures of the college and indeed fifteen of the contributions deal with important works dating from pre-Reformation times to the beginning of the twentieth century, the earliest of which is a fragment of an eighth-century Christmas liturgical text written in Northumbria. Then there are the collections of artefacts used in the performance of the liturgy – church plate, vestments, and so on. Many of those objects are also of pre-Reformation origin and some remarkable work of conservation has ensured that the fabrics have retained much of their original qualities. The college was an educational establishment and there are various pieces illustrating the theological, historical, geographical and scientific work undertaken by the staff and students over the centuries. Half a dozen contributions deal with the paintings and sculpture collections of the college.

The veneration of relics has always been a feature of Roman Catholicism and that tradition is particularly well exemplified in the Ushaw collections. Of

course some objects, such as the Derwentwater Relics, should really be described as memorabilia, but others have a specifically sacred character, especially if they are attributed with healing properties. At any rate, the college possesses one of the largest collections of religious relics in the country enshrined in reliquaries of great value and beauty among which are body parts of the English martyrs. In the nineteenth century the college bought, for £1,000, a group of some eight hundred relics which had been amassed in the previous century by a Neapolitan collector. Most of the relics are of early Christian saints and martyrs, but there is also 'hair of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and relics of bone from Ss. Joseph, Mary Magdalen and John the Baptist.' It is remarked that some of the relics are of 'questionable authenticity'. You can say that again.

I noted one or two misprints, and there is one particularly unfortunate interpolation which can only have been introduced into the original text in the editorial process and which must have caused considerable anguish to the author – the amendment to the opening paragraph of 'Natural Science at Ushaw'. I hope not, but there may be others in those pieces on topics lying outside my own field of knowledge. (May St Francis de Sales protect all writers from over-enthusiastic editors.)

Nonetheless, this is a superb book of great importance for the study of historic Catholic literary and artistic culture. The alumni and other donors who regarded the college as a suitable repository for their personal treasures have had their generosity well rewarded in a volume of accessible essays which does justice to the objects themselves and to the college which preserved them. One obvious question remains, however, – where are we to place our stuff in the future?

Leo Gooch

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NOTE Kenneth Tickell, designer and builder of the new pipe-organ in St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, died suddenly in July 2014, aged 57. He was among the leading British organ-builders and his instruments can be found in many churches and institutions around the country. Technically the Newcastle organ is, of course, as magnificent as any, but the particularly distinctive iconography of the organ-case was the result of detailed research into the history of the cathedral and of Pugin's style. It is painted in Marian colours and has carvings based on flowers associated with Our Lady surmounted by Cuthbert crosses. Paul Hales, who contributed an article on the cathedral organs to the last edition of this journal, is in no doubt that the diocese now possesses an instrument that ranks alongside the finest in the land. *R.I.P.*

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A campaign has been initiated for the canonisation of two Elizabethan martyrs who stood trial alongside John Boste at Durham and were executed on 26 July 1594: **John Ingram**, a seminary priest, who was put to death at Gateshead, and **George Swallowell**, a convert layman, who suffered at Darlington; they were beatified in 1929. John Boste had been hung, drawn and quartered two days earlier at Durham; he was canonised in 1970. Lay Anglicans and Catholics in the south of Scotland and north-east England are circulating a petition for presentation in Rome to raise the two *beati* to the altars. Details can be obtained from Miss F. Dixon, 31 Auburn Gardens, Newcastle, NE4 9XP, Tel. 0191 2748438, 07925831399.