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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 – from the Tweed to the Humber on the east side of the Pennines. A yearly programme of talks and outings is arranged. The present annual subscription to the Society is £7 individual (£11 joint) which includes a copy of its annual journal *Northern Catholic History*. Details of the availability and price of back issues can be obtained from the Editor who welcomes offers of articles for future editions.

THE RISING OF THE EARLS

Ann M C Foster

The *Northern Rebellion* or the *Rising of the Northern Earls* in 1569 has been the subject of detailed attention in recent years and its four hundred and fiftieth anniversary which falls this year can therefore be commemorated in this journal by the reprint of a general treatment originally published in the *Ushaw Magazine* on the occasion of its quatercentenary.

The year 1969 marks the four hundredth anniversary of the last collective attempt on the part of the English people to retain the faith of their ancestors. It was savagely repressed. What today we might term a 'demonstration of opinion' was looked upon as rebellion and treason and treated accordingly. The course of events is well documented and well known. There is no need to dwell upon it in detail. The point of interest here is to discover how far the movement was due to political and how far to religious causes; to what extent religion was involved, and what were the effects, immediate and remote, upon the religious beliefs of the people of the north.

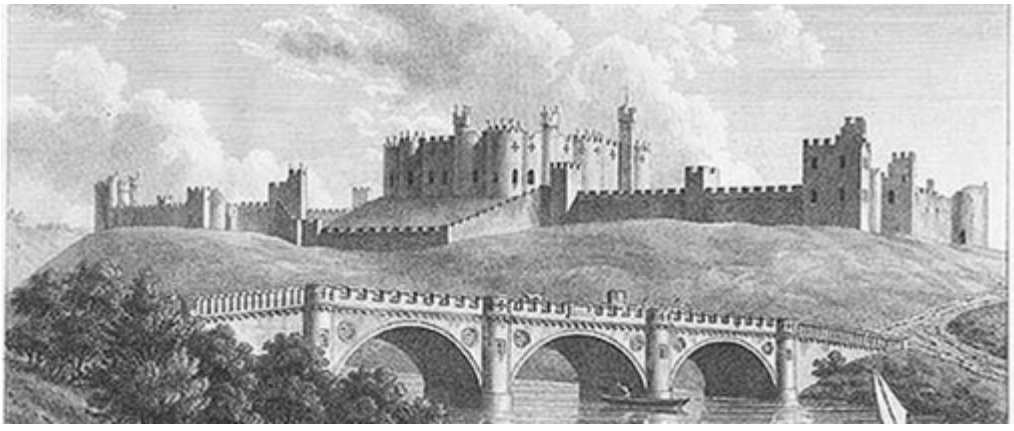
The causes appear to have been two-fold. First, there was on the part of the old nobility, a growing resentment with William Cecil and his all-powerful influence with the Queen, It was, perhaps, the last kick of the old feudal spirit. A faction which included the Duke of Norfolk and the Lords Arundel, Pembroke and Leicester, was seeking an opportunity to displace Cecil and reassert its own order. All three, be it noted, were Protestants. Then, in May 1568, things came to a head with the flight into England of Mary Stuart. She was the rightful Queen of Scotland and the heir presumptive to the English throne, hence a natural object of suspicion to Elizabeth, who gave her no welcome, but kept her in prison till her death nineteen years later. There seems never to have been any idea of supplanting Elizabeth in favour of Mary. The object of those who supported Mary's cause was to regain for her her own kingdom of Scotland, and to uphold her claim to the throne of England in the event of Elizabeth's dying without issue. Part of their policy was a suggested marriage between Mary and the chief of the English nobility, the Duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth's fury, when this scheme came to her ears, may well be imagined. Norfolk, Arundel and Pembroke found it prudent to retire from Court. Norfolk was summoned to return and eventually committed to the Tower.

Concurrently with all this there was, in the northern counties, a condition of smouldering discontent with the state of religion and possibly with other conditions as well. Prominent in this matter were certain families of the gentry, Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, Swinburnes, and their many connections. In sympathy with them were the two northern earls, Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, who owned large estates in Durham and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, with similar attachments in Yorkshire. Both were men in the

Brancepeth Castle

Charles Neville,
VI Earl of Westmorland

Thomas Percy,
VII Earl of Northumberland



Alnwick Castle

prime of life, married, and with young families. Both were Catholics. Percy perhaps, was the more religious of the two being not long reconciled to the Church. With Neville there was a certain political pull as well, his wife being the sister of the Duke of Norfolk.

Early in October 1569, rumours of this state of affairs came to the President of the Council for the North, the Earl of Sussex. He summoned Percy and Neville to appear before the Council at York. They obeyed and displayed their loyalty to the Queen, but only a fortnight later, they received a summons from the Cabinet to repair to London. That frightened them. Norfolk had just been sent to the Tower and they feared a like fate was in store for them and made excuses for non-attendance. Westmoreland fled to his castle at Brancepeth and summoned his friends in the Bishopric to rally round him. Northumberland, on receiving a warning, true or false, that his arrest was imminent, decided to throw in his lot with his brother-earl at Brancepeth. This was the match that sparked off the explosive material all ready to hand.

On Monday the 14th November, 1569, the earls entered the city of Durham. Leading the procession was Richard Norton, an aged, venerable gentleman, bearing the banner of the Five Wounds of Our Lord. With him were his sons, Christopher and Cuthbert Neville, uncles of the Earl, Thomas Markenfield and others. In scenes of wild enthusiasm they entered the Cathedral, overthrew the Communion table and tore up the English Bible. The same evening they left the city, moving southward, their numbers increasing all the time. The following day at Staindrop the Earls issued a proclamation. ‘Do the people understand’, they said

> that we intend no hurt unto the Queen’s Majesty, nor her good subjects; but forasmuch as the order of things in the Church and matters of religion, are presently set forth and used contrary to the ancient and Catholic faith, therefore our purpose and meanings are to reduce all the said causes in religion to the ancient customs and usages before named, wherein we desire all good people to take our parts.

At Darlington the proclamation was slightly different:

> We have taken up arms for the honour and safety of the Queen, of the nobility and of the kingdom. Her Majesty is surrounded by divers new-set-up nobles, who not only go about to overthrow and put down the ancient nobility of the realm, but also have misused the Queen’s Majesty’s own person and have by the space of twelve years now past set up and maintained a new found religion and heresy contrary to God’s word. Wherefore we call on all true Englishmen to join us.

In command of the Queen’s forces was the Earl of Sussex garrisoned at York, and Sir George Bowes who, with some of the local gentry, seized and occupied

the castle at Barnard Castle. The insurgents moved on through Richmond and Ripon, their intention being to liberate the Queen of Scots from her prison at Tutbury; but the vigilance; of the Government had removed her out of reach. Near Tadcaster they halted and began to lose heart. The 24th November had seen them formally declared traitors. They had no plan and their leadership was poor. Sussex, Lord Hunsdon and Sir Ralph Sadler were gathering forces to north and south of them. Men began to melt away and return to their homes. The rebel army turned about and began to retreat towards Durham. Here they met with some success, capturing the port of Hartlepool, and Barnard Castle, where Bowes held out for eleven days but was forced, by shortage of food, to surrender. His men had been deserting by scores, leaping over the walls – many to their hurt – to join the insurgents.

On December 16th the Earls held their final council at Durham, and decided to disband. Their followers were dismissed and told to shift for themselves. In the bitter wintry weather the leaders fled, first to Hexham, then over the Border into Scotland where they found shelter and hospitality among some of the Scottish lairds. Westmorland eventually escaped abroad. Northumberland was betrayed to the Scottish Regent and handed over to the English government. Convicted of treason, he was executed at York, maintaining his faith to the last, and is now honoured as the Blessed Thomas Percy.

A reign of terror followed. On the 28th December Sussex wrote to Cecil:

> I mean to pass to Durham, where I intend to remain some days, to take order for such of the common people as shall be executed by the martial law, amongst whom I mean to execute specially constables and other officers that have seduced the people to rebel, and such others as have been most busy to further those matters, so as there will be no town that hath sent men to the rebels but some of the worst disposed shall be executed for example; the number whereof is yet uncertain, for that I know not the number of the towns; but I guess it will be not under six or seven hundred at the least, of the common sort, besides the prisoners taken in the field.

Only the ‘common sort’ were to be so dealt with. The richer were to be taken and attainted after trial, ‘for otherwise’, wrote Cecil, ‘it is doubtful how the Queen’s Majesty shall have any forfeiture of their lands and goods’. His instructions were carried out. The gentry were tried and convicted of treason. A few were executed. All suffered loss of all their possessions. As for the rest, a specified number was appointed to be executed in each place. The total number assigned to Durham was 300, and there is no reason to suppose that things were any different elsewhere; about one in three of the number who had been actively engaged

At the beginning of February, the remainder were invited, by proclamation, to surrender themselves, and receive pardon on payment of a fine. Lists have been preserved in the Calendar of Patent Rolls of the names of those who submitted and the amounts of the fines paid and they give some indication of the numbers and qualities of those involved. In County Durham nearly two thousand men surrendered themselves. That, in short, is the story of the movement. What are we to make of its religious significance?

While the army of insurgents was moving southward, a band of some half dozen priests was in the rear, interviewing individual clergy, in particular those of the Chapter and City of Durham, and by special faculties absolving them from censure. In the cathedral and many other churches altars were set up. the Mass restored, the Divine Office recited, and people flocked in their hundreds to attend. These priests were: Thomas Plumtree, a Lincolnshire man, afterwards to be indicted for treason and executed at Durham. (He was offered his life if he would conform and is now Blessed Thomas Plumtree); William Holmes, known as 'the Pope's Patriarch', who escaped overseas; John Robson; Robert and John Pearson, both of Durham, and two Marian priests who had been ministering in secret for some years past, George White and Richard Hartburn. When the affair was over a number of priests were indicted for rebellion, but with the exception of Thomas Plumtree they seem to have been left to be dealt with in the Ecclesiastical Court.

From their examinations taken in the Court of High Commission at Durham, we learn something of the 'papist' practices which still survived. It must be remembered that only eleven years previously, England had been a Catholic country and in 1569 at least sixty per cent of the parish clergy, though outwardly conformable were validly ordained priests. Dr. Allen, during his stay in England 1562-65 found and strongly condemned instances of priests exercising a double ministry, trying to reconcile the service prescribed by law with that approved by their own consciences. There is some reason to think that there may have been such in Durham. There was probably a number who would have welcomed a restoration of the old order could it have been accomplished without loss to themselves.

About twenty priest were cited before the Court at this time for various offences some of which today seem very trivial such as the use of the Latin tongue in prayer, devotions in honour of the Blessed Virgin and the method of administering Communion to the laity. Others, during the Rising,had assisted or been present at Mass or knelt to receive absolution. Most of these now alleged compulsion, expressed contrition and submitted to penance. There were at least three exceptions: John Pearson who died in gaol at Durham ten years later; John Baxter, deprived of his benefice, died shortly afterwards; and John Brown who with the courage of his convictions, addressed his congregation in words which, though often quoted, bear repetition:

> I have these eleven years taught you the wrong way, in such learning as is against my own soul's and yours both; and I am sorry and ask God's mercy therefore, and yours, my parishioners; and do here renounce ray living before you all; and wheresoever you meet me, in town or field, take me as a stranger and none of your curate.

Two other Durham priests had surrendered themselves, paid their fines and been pardoned.

Next, what effect, if any, did the rising have upon the faith of the laity? At the outset Sir Ralph Sadler wrote;

> There be not in all this county (Durham) ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of Her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion, and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition and altogether blinded with the old popish doctrine, and therefore do so much favour the cause which the rebels make the colour of their rebellion, that though their persons be here with us, I assure you their hearts, for the most part, be with the rebels.

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we can only assume that the mass of the people, though Catholic at heart, had followed the example of their clergy into outward conformity. After the rebellion, those who had not been executed or suffered attainder were permitted, as stated above, to sue for pardon, and the number of those who did so far exceeds the number of those who had been actively engaged. Now such pardon was granted them only upon condition of their taking the Oath of Supremacy, That was sufficient to confirm that generation at least in conformity; but a careful scrutiny of the lists reveals the names of some thirty Durham families in whom recusancy persisted after the lapse of one or two generations, and a number more who may be termed 'marginal' Catholics (where the head of family would conform, thus preserving the estate, while his wife and family remained Catholic.) When we remember that in less than ten years' hence the first seminary priests would be arriving in England, we realise that, by the grace of God. The explosive material was still there, ready to be fired by the second spark, this time a wholly spiritual one, and perhaps we are justified in concluding that the sufferings of 1569 were not altogether in vain. One thing more: these lists of pardons contain the names of at least eight persons who were fathers or near relatives of seminary priests.

TUDHOE TO TORONTO: THE FORTUNES OF THE GIRLS OF ST MARY'S, 1908-1939

L. Gooch

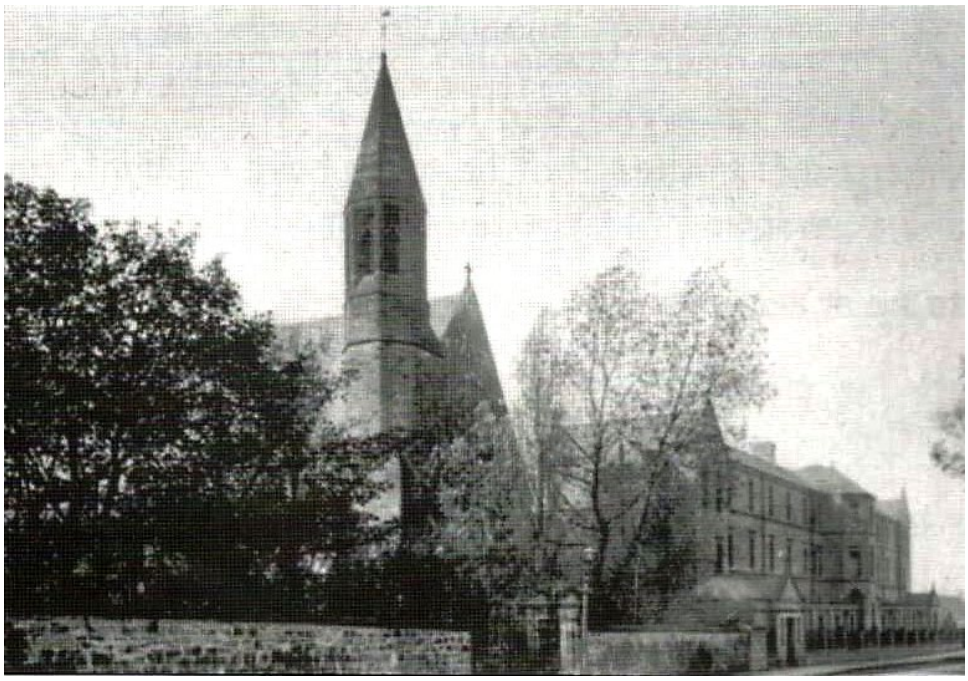
In October 1868 James Chadwick, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, issued a diocesan circular convening a meeting to consider the best way of raising money

> to erect a building which may be entitled to become a *Catholic Certified Poor Law School* to take Catholic children from the different Protestant Workhouses in which they are now placed at imminent risk of losing their faith and to send them to a Poor Law School of our own, where they will not only be well instructed in their holy religion but also be afforded every opportunity of practising it.
>
> All that is required … is a sum of money large enough to rent or purchase a sufficient quantity of land and to erect upon it a building suitable for a *Certified Poor Law School.*
>
> For once a school of this kind is established it becomes self-supporting; inasmuch as by a recent Act of Parliament [25 & 26 Vict. c. 43, sect. 1] the Poor Law Board guarantee so much per head for every child that is placed in a school *certified* under the Poor Law as being a Poor Law School.
>
> There are at present about 300 Catholic poor children distributed throughout the various Protestant Workhouses in this Diocese.

The appeal was successful and the diocese bought an estate at Tudhoe from the Salvin family. It had been Tudhoe Academy, a private Catholic boarding school for boys, which had closed in 1808 when it was superseded by Ushaw College. It had then been leased to non-Catholics until around mid-century when a Catholic chapel was established in it. An *Address* to the bishop from the clergy in 1870 referred to the 'great work happily begun by your lordship, and now near its completion: "The Catholic Home" at Tudhoe'. It was opened in March 1872; the church of St. Charles Borromeo, with a churchyard, immediately adjacent to the home, had opened two years earlier and was followed by a school in 1873.

As a diocesan institution, overall control of the new Home was largely in the hands of the clergy. The parish priest of Tudhoe, Joseph Watson, was the Manager and he was responsible to a committee (chaired by the bishop) comprising five senior priests and several prominent laymen: Councillor Donkin, J. Errington, J.P., Edgar J. Meynell, QC and County Court Judge, M.C. Salvin, J.P., E. Leadbitter Smith Esq., E. Leadbitter, Treasurer, F. Charlton, Hon. Secretary. In 1874 seven more individuals were appointed as a Visiting Committee.

Initially, the Home was under the supervision of Mr & Mrs Bulmer as Master and Matron but by 1875 they had been succeeded by Mr & Mrs Potter. In 1876 it was reported that there were 47 ‘inmates’, ‘who otherwise must be thrown into the Union Workhouses, or become altogether abandoned’.



Tudhoe: St Charles Borromeo and St Mary’s Home, c. 1910

On 1 March 1878 the Home was placed in the charge of the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, otherwise called ‘of Our Lady of the Oak’, from Rennes in France (this was their first house in England). The old buildings were altered and enlarged in 1884 and it is from this date that the Home is first described as a ‘Certified Poor Law School for *Girls*’. In 1894/5 the Home was handed over to the Sisters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul and it was renamed firstly ‘St Mary’s House’ and then ‘St Mary’s Girls Orphanage.’ A new and imposing three-storey building was completed in 1901 (for £10,000) and named St Mary’s Home for Destitute Girls and was licensed to accommodate 127 girls below the age of thirteen. At the outbreak of the Second World War the girls were transferred to St Joseph’s Home in Darlington and Tudhoe became St Mary’s Home, Diocesan Certified Poor Law School for Boys. (The building was demolished in the 1960s and houses were built on the site.)

In terms of social and ecclesiastical history, it is of some importance and interest to establish how successful diocesan residential care homes for children were. One way of doing this is to examine, where possible, what became of residents when they left. Little information about the subsequent lives of *boys* in care is available, but there is a comprehensive record of what happened to the *girls* leaving St Mary’s, Tudhoe, from its reopening in 1901 to its closure as a home for girls in 1940. This is a register of seven hundred and fifty ‘Girls sent

out to situations, January 1908 – November 1939' and allows us to recover the lives of a substantial group of children who began their lives in the worst of circumstances and to examine how they overcame, or not, those disadvantages, and it provides the primary evidence for an assessment of the effects of the Church's social policy.

The register was kept because the extensive legislation on the protection of children required the Sisters, acting in *loco parentis,* to protect girls in their charge under the age of sixteen from any ill-treatment or exploitation (the equivalent age for boys was fourteen). Since that responsibility still applied when under-age girls were placed in work or in training, the Sisters were officially obliged to keep in touch with girls sent out from Tudhoe, and there was a corresponding duty on employers to report any change in circumstance of a girl under the jurisdiction of the home. In that way a continuous record of employment was kept for every girl until she became independent at the age of sixteen. Moreover, many of the girls kept in touch with St Mary's for years afterwards, often writing at Christmas. This immediately suggests that they remembered St Mary's fondly and were confident that their whereabouts and progress would interest their contemporaries and the staff. Certainly, the Sisters Superior seemed pleased to receive such letters and they frequently added a note to the register such as 'doing well' or 'still writes'. On average, twenty-five girls were discharged each year from St Mary's. The register records the place or job to which the girls were sent initially and it gives details of their subsequent employments and, often, of their later status. (In what follows it should be noted that some girls appear in more than one category.)

*

Over the thirty years covered by the register one hundred and thirty girls were returned to their families. Seven girls were adopted, only one match failed and the girl returned to Tudhoe. The names of the adopters are never given; the term 'legally adopted' came into usage in 1937. Ten girls left without explanation. Illness is rarely noted but twenty girls were described as mentally deficient and sent into institutional care; a dozen girls were returned to their Poor Law Union or workhouse. Half a dozen girls stayed on at Tudhoe having reached the age at which they could leave. Two of them 'went out of uniform 31 Mar 1928 and worked in the Home', one as a kitchenmaid, the other in the sewing room, but they both left within the year. The others went into the workrooms but soon left. Thirty girls died over the period although almost all several years after they had left Tudhoe.

Four girls entered religious orders:

1911 a girl who emigrated to the USA became Sr M Mechtilde, St Mary's Hall, Manila, Phillipines.
1913. Sister Monica, Convent of the Nativity, Glenfield Rd Leicester.
1920. Sister Mary Monica, Convent of Mercy, Westbury on Trym, Bristol.
1917. May. Entered the order a lay-sister – received the habit Whit Monday 1918. Left for ill-health.

Twenty-eight more enterprising girls emigrated to the colonies and America in the 1910s and 1920s having had at least one job in domestic service in England first: one went to Chiswick in 1913 as a 'nursemaid and to teach first lessons, £10 a year' before leaving for New Zealand. There is no indication of their being directed or encouraged to go, although they would have had some assistance to get the necessary papers; nor do they appear to have gone under Church auspices. Only eleven had relatives to receive them, usually uncles or aunts and only one was accompanied by a relation – her grandmother. Twelve went to Australia (Melbourne, Victoria, Sydney); seven to Canada (Alberta, Ontario, Ottawa, Quebec, Toronto, Winnipeg); seven to the United States (Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, Ohio) and two to New Zealand. They all settled and most of them married. They kept in touch with Tudhoe: notes in the register for 1939 include: 'still corresponds' and 'USA several years. Doing well'. It does not quite equate to emigration but two girls are recorded as taking temporary work in Paris and another married in Ireland.

As might be expected given their social background, most of St Mary's girls were destined for domestic service and some four hundred are registered as maids of one sort or another. The majority of them spent many years in service although it is clear that it was quite usual for them to change jobs frequently – few are recorded as being in one place for long; they just moved on or married. In the early years of the century, however, at least thirty girls returned, or were

returned, to Tudhoe from their first posts in short order but there was no suggestion of criminality. In some cases, they were found to be ‘unsatisfactory’ or ‘useless’ and others were ‘considered too delicate’, or ‘not strong enough’. One was ‘brought back in disgrace’ from Ushaw Moor – she was returned to the workhouse and was later confined in the mental defective’s home in Carlisle and was last recorded with the Good Shepherd sisters in Manchester. One seemed to be getting on well but she was sent back because she had become hysterical and was ‘making an upset in the house’; she was also placed in the home at Carlisle where she recovered. These difficulties usually seem to have arisen because the girls were not suited to the particular situation (or vice versa). It may be that not enough care was taken in the first place to prepare them appropriately. But this group was small and in many cases, the girls were sent to other convents for further training and almost all of them went on to hold down other jobs. Moreover, the number of these cases declined over the years.

There are 103 recorded marriages, most of which took place between five and eight years after leaving the home (i.e., in a girl’s early twenties). In only one case is the husband described – a postman. Some of the marriages took place much later but were only recorded when the information came in. There were usually between five and ten marriages each year but in 1918 at the end of the Great War there were nineteen. The war is specifically mentioned in only two cases: one girl married ‘an army officer going to the Dardanelles’ and another had to change jobs ‘on account of war’. Three girls worked in Armstrong’s ammunition works at Elswick.

Domestic service in England reached its most complicated and rigidly structured state during the Edwardian period. Most middle class families would have had at least one live-in servant, a maid, who was expected to remain single while in service and could be dismissed for marrying. St Mary’s was a reservoir of domestic servants for Catholic households and institutions across the land from Cornwall to Edinburgh. Clearly, the Home would be well known in Catholic circles (not least through notices in the annual *Catholic Directory*) but presumably applications had to be made. The Sisters were obviously gratified to note that a number of girls were taken on as maids in Catholic gentry households: Lady Lawson at Brough Hall; Mrs Mostyn at Clifton Hall; and Miss Chichester. Miss Berrington took on a kitchenmaid at Little Malvern Court. One girl was employed by the Riddells of Swinburne and another by the Charltons at Hesleyside. An assistant cook at Ampleforth (£22 p.a.) moved to Lady Radcliffe’s but by 1939 she was married in London and ‘doing well’. Tudhoe girls were also taken on as maids by Lady Cadogan, Lady Heathcoat, Lady Hood, and Lady Pryce in Guildford. Some seventy girls became maids or housekeepers in Catholic presbyteries and cathedral houses or maids in convents).

By far the most common placements over the years were in hospitals. Forty-five girls served as wardmaids in St John & St Elizabeth's in north London (Sisters of Mercy) and fourteen in the Ospedale Italiano, Queen Square, London (Sisters of Charity). St Andrew's hospital, Dollis Hill, NW2, opened in 1913, initially under the management of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God but by the Sisters of Mercy from 1915, and took twenty Tudhoe girls as wardmaids. The Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross of Liège opened the Holy Cross Sanatorium in Haslemere in 1917 and twenty-three girls from St Mary's would be employed there in subsequent years. Ten girls worked in the open-air hospital in St Leonard's, run by the Holy Child nuns. A dozen or more girls went into other hospitals around the country. The register notes that some girls became fully trained nurses.

St Mary's girls also served in various institutions run by the religious orders such as orphanages, reformatories (later known as approved schools), homes for the 'feeble-minded', 'weak-minded', 'mentally deficient', and so on. The Sisters of Charity of Jesus and Mary (a Belgian order) ran an orphanage cum school at Holly Mount, near Bury, and twenty-three Tudhoe girls worked there. The Sisters of Charity ran St Vincent's Girls' Home in Rumford Street, Manchester, to which twenty girls went from Tudhoe. Fifteen girls were sent to St Joseph's Girls' Industrial School, Victoria Park, Manchester, run by the Sisters of Charity. (It later became a secondary school.) St Michael's 'Cripples Home' in Clacton took twenty-one, Durran Hill, Carlisle (ten), Bullingham, Herefordshire (nine), and the epileptic school at Hillingdon run by the Daughters of the Cross (five). Thirty girls are recorded as going to St John's Home, Gravelly Hill, Birmingham (also Sisters of Charity). As this was a reformatory it is unlikely that all those girls went there as maids, given that they were of a similar age to the girls being reformed; indeed some were said to have been transferred there 'for further training', which may be a euphemism. Twenty-seven girls were sent to the convents of the Good Shepherd Sisters who managed houses all over the country providing refuge for 'penitents and young girls in moral danger'; the chief occupation was laundry work and needlework.

Girls from St Mary's were placed in a number of Catholic schools across the country: around fifty girls were taken by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur as maids for their private schools at Clapham (23), Southwark (16) Norwich (7), Wigan (3); eight went to St Joseph's in Bradford. Seventeen girls were sent to the private boys' school at Ampleforth and nine to St Francis College, Letchworth, a school for girls recently founded by the Belgian Sisters; nine were at St John's seminary at Wonersh.

Although the purpose of the Home was to safeguard the faith of the girls, it seems unlikely that all of them entering private domestic service went into Catholic homes, but perhaps they did and it was taken for granted in the register. In only one or two cases is another denomination specified: one girl

went to the Vicarage, Spennymoor, and another to ‘a Jew’s place’ in Newcastle. Certainly the wide geographical spread of destinations would suggest that the emergent Catholic middle-class across England took advantage of having a Catholic maid (for which, incidentally, the annual wage was £16-£18). Anyway, since the names of employers are not given, it is not possible to take that point further.

A number of girls took places in non-Catholic institutions, perhaps due to a Catholic contact or sponsor. Furnival House in London, was built between 1916 and 1919 as a hostel for the domestic staff of the Prudential Assurance Company and fourteen Tudhoe girls went there. Several girls went to De Beer’s Commercial College or Messrs Greaves in Sheffield to be trained for office work. Four girls worked for the Post Office: two in Tudhoe, one in West Kensington and one in Sheffield. A number of girls were transferred to the convent in Sheffield to train in costume-making, dress-making and embroidery. Thirteen girls were employed in hotels and public houses, mostly in the north-east, but also in London and Edinburgh, and even Bognor Regis. Two girls were to maintain their ‘schooling till 14 then learn the confectionery business’. There were one or two ‘café girls’ in Victoria St.

*

The overwhelming majority of St Mary’s girls overcame the initial disadvantages of their early lives. At a time of negligible upward social mobility they could not expect to enjoy anything other than a working-class career and so one should not look for a major leap in status. Nonetheless they mostly entered gainful employment and became respectable members of society – many of them doubtless were mothers in their turn. It is clear that their education at Tudhoe was successful in preparing the girls for adult life and that Bishop Chadwick’s aim was fully realised.

Note

The register is presently held in the archives of St Cuthbert’s Care, and the author gratefully acknowledges permission to work on it. *To safeguard privacy, names of individuals cannot be given*. The progress of the Tudhoe Home can be followed in the annual *Northern Catholic Calendar* from 1868. The modern Catholic parish of Tudhoe was established in 1858; a trade register of 1865 recorded that ‘the Catholics have a small place of worship in the village and also a school now attended by seventy children.’ On 7 June 1869 the foundation stone of a new church was laid and on 11 October 1870 the church dedicated to St Charles Borromeo was opened.

Selected biographies.

The following are verbatim entries from the register illustrating the different careers of Tudhoe girls.

1908. Kitchenmaid St John & St Elizabeth hospital, London. Not strong enough. Got place at Clacton. Post Office, Tudhoe. Convent, Carlisle. Presbytery, Folkestone. Left to get married.

1909. Situation in Tantobie, W. Stanley. Got sore head etc. went into Lanchester workhouse 1911. Found destitute in Middlesbrough January 1913. To Good Shepherd, Newcastle, thence to workhouse.

1910. Wardmaid St John & Elizabeth hospital, London. Left within the month to come north. With aunt in W. Hartlepool. St Robert's Presbytery, Harrogate. Returned to W. Hartlepool in six months then with a confectioner in Bradford. In 1915 with sister in W. Hartlepool.

1911. Situation in Liverpool, Crosby, left after a week. Situations in Manchester and Chiswick. Sent back to Tudhoe hysterical and making an upset in the house. To convent in Durran Hill paid for by Guardians. Wolsingham convent 1914. Situation in London – still there in 1924.

1912. Went to her mother. In service at the asylum, Dinsdale Park, Darlington, work too hard, returned [to Tudhoe] by end of year. Then again to her mother's but now in Durham then Newcastle – left. Her mother married – treats her badly – got situation in Gateshead.

1914. St John's Home, Birmingham. Cough bad & too troublesome. Returned [to Tudhoe] December 1914. Hartlepool Hospital February 1916. Died in April.

1915. To Sheffield to learn dress-making and lodge at St Vincent's. Training as a nurse in S.W. Hospital, London. 1923-5 in a London infirmary. 1939 fully trained nurse.

1918. Board at hostel, Sheffield and attending de Beer's Commercial College – served her time as a draper in Sheffield as her sight would not admit of typing. Went to sister in Woodgreen to live and get a place as a salesman. 1923 WC1. Married in London. 1939 Doing well.

1920. To St Vincent's Hostel, Sheffield. Employed in Post Office to 1923. Then Radcliffe College, 12/24 Manchester. Cathedral House, Northampton. 1933 to Tudhoe at her own request to work in the garden. 1938 Oaklands Institution Bishop Auckland.

1922. To Leyland, Lancs. She will continue her schooling till 14 years and then learn the confectionery business. 1923 St Joseph's school, Victoria Park

1925. General maid in Middleton, Lancs. @ £18 to commence, rise in three months. December 1927 to Prudential, Furnival House, Highgate. 1928 Beaulieu Hotel, Bognor. 1930 Knightsbridge.

1928. Went out of uniform 31.3.28 and worked in the Home as kitchenmaid. 1/29 maid in Ealing Priory School then two addresses in London and St Pelagius's Home, Highgate.

1934. Three situations in London, including Lady Cadogan, then hotel in Marble Arch, then one in Kent, then LNER Refreshment Rooms in Luton.

THE CATHOLIC BOOK TRADE IN NORTH-EAST ENGLAND Part 2: BEFORE EMANCIPATION

Nelson Hogan

The penal laws made Catholic writers and publishers liable to charges of treason or sedition, and the Copyright Act of 1709 prohibited the import of foreign Catholic books. These restrictions, however, never prevented the writing, translating and publishing of devotional, liturgical and theological material by the English recusants. Indeed, the Elizabethan government had constantly complained that books sent over by the exiled Catholics were subverting the Anglican Church. In 1564 the Bishop of Durham reported to the Privy Council:

> Great number of scholars borne hereabout now lying at Louvain without license are sending in books and letters which cause many times evil rumours to be spread and disquiet the people. [1]

In July 1572 Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, informed London that he had captured William Carr, an emissary of Lady Northumberland who had escaped to the continent after the debacle of 1569. He was found to have

> a great cloak bag in Tweedmouth, wherein I found a great sort of English books with English litanies, as far from God's word as ours is to it, with a number of hypocritical and abominable idolatrous pictures … [2]

In 1583, Peter Lawson, a forty-five-year-old York layman, came in as a merchant but a search of his luggage brought to light fifteen copies of the recently printed Reims *New Testament,* five hundred copies of Vaux's *Catechism* and other Catholic books. Robert Persons recorded that Ralph Emerson, a Durham-born Jesuit lay-brother associated with Edmund Campion, brought in four priests and 810 books. He was arrested at Scarborough early in 1585. Ever more ingenious methods of concealment were found. In 1585 Henry Sanderson discovered

> a number of popish and traitorous books sent from Reims and other places beyond the seas in barrels and fardels, landed at Sheeles and from thence conveyed by water to Newcastle in baskets covered over with fresh fish by Robert Jackson. [3]

And so it went on. A catalogue of Catholic books in English published between 1641 and 1700 lists some 1,333 titles. A recent catalogue lists 2,960 titles published in the eighteenth century.[4] Nonetheless it was only in the period of Catholic Relief that English Catholics fully gained their literary as well as their religious liberty.

Two priests in the north – Robert Banister in Lancashire and his nephew Henry Rutter at Minsteracres in Northumberland – corresponded for some thirty

years beginning in 1777; their letters contain many references to books which should be bought or at least read, and they were overwhelmingly works of French theology which Banister had used as a professor at Douai College over some seventeen years. He instructed his nephew to stick to the study of morality and divinity and 'Lose no time in news, novels, gazettes, magazines, &c'. Although Rutter was disposed to agree, he diffidently asked if it were permissible to read Shakespeare or Pope occasionally for amusement. Banister believed there was no harm in reading 'a Protestant poet or Ovid or Virgil or such like' although, unsurprisingly, he forbade religious works by heretics. Anyway, their letters also refer to the business of publishing and so they help to illustrate the religious literary life of the northern Catholics of the day.[5]

In the eighteenth century Newcastle and other provincial cities became important in the book trade although it has to be said that much of the output was of local and ephemeral interest only ('vanity publishing' is no new phenomenon). Provincial publishers would do for pamphlets, political speeches and sermons as well as the pastoral letters, regulations for Lent, instructions for the observance of holydays and other leaflets issued by the vicars apostolic. Summaries of the *Theses Theologicae* by the students at Crook Hall were also printed in Newcastle from 1796.[6] In the provinces, therefore, the trade mainly comprised book-binding, -printing and -selling combined with the sale of stationery, and even non-literary merchandise to ensure commercial survival. The most substantial publishers and printers in the north east in the period were Francis Coates, 1783-1803, and Edward Walker, 1796-1831. (Antony Hodgson (1780-1869), a Newcastle bookseller, was a hatter mainly; he published articles on northern Catholic history in Catholic periodicals.[7])

To secure a good imprint for more substantial and ambitious texts, however, and so gain the publicity of reviews and a wider readership, authors would try to publish their work in London which held the dominant position in the trade. Nonetheless, because their readership was small, Catholic authors would normally have to be content with a provincial imprint and a limited edition. Moreover, northern publishers were unenthusiastic about taking the frequently offered translations of theological texts because they did not always sell well, although they were more willing to issue new editions of works that had been published long before but continued to be popular and profitable.

The Revd John Gother was a prolific Catholic controversialist in the late seventeenth century. His collected works were first published in sixteen volumes by the Yorkshire-born priest William Crathorne in 1718 and reprinted three times before 1740. In 1783 Thomas Eyre, missioner at Stella, prepared an edition of Gother's *Instructions upon the Sacrament of Confirmation* which was published in Newcastle by Coates. He also translated *The Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety (1690)* by the French theologian Charles Gobinet, which Coates also brought out in two volumes in 1783; exceptionally, it appears that in

'little more than a twelvemonth over 4,000 copies of this valuable work were sold.'[8] Obviously unaware of this success Banister regretted Eyre's decision not to proceed with a new edition of the bible which he thought would sell better than Gobinet's work. Eyre, with James Johnson, issued an edition of Richard Challoner's *The Garden of the Soul* (Newcastle 1789, printed by Hall & Elliot) the highly popular prayer book of which there are more than thirty known impressions.[9] He went on to issue Gother's *Instructions for Confession, Communion and Confirmation* in 1792; and he re-edited Gother's collected works which Coates printed in 1792. [10]

The manual *Bona Mors or the Art of Dying Happily &c.*, was introduced into England by the Revd George Witham. He had served the missions at York, Newcastle and Cliffe before his appointment in 1703 as Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District; he was translated to the Northern District in 1716 and lived at Cliffe on Tees with his family; he died in 1725. Witham recommended *Bona Mors* to all his clergy and it quickly passed through numerous editions – the first in 1703, the sixteenth in 1796. The tenth edition was issued in York in 1766 perhaps in connection with the creation of a branch of the Bona Mors Confraternity. Incidentally, it seems that this was the earliest Catholic book to be issued by a north eastern publisher.[11]

The Revd Charles Cordell, who took over the secular mission in Newcastle in 1765, seems to have spent much of his time translating, editing and writing, often provocatively: Banister said he had *cacoethes scribende.* For some, his first publication, *The Divine Office for the use of the Laity* (4 vols., Sheffield, 1763) was an unwelcome foray into the liturgical English vernacular. Bishop Hay remarked that if English were allowed at Vespers, 'the next step would be to ask the same for the Mass' (which of course would never do); Bishop Challoner disapproved of such innovations and he told Bishop Walton to discourage the celebration of Benediction in English. Banister later recalled that the work had caused 'the hottest' debate in the region. Undaunted, Cordell brought out a two-volume edition in Newcastle in 1780. Indeed his enthusiasm for lay spirituality led him to produce new editions of the *Catholic Manual* (1770), and the *Catholic Layman's Companion* (Newcastle, 1790?).[12]

Cordell also became involved in acrimonious exchanges arising from the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 by Pope Clement XIV. William Warrilow, the Jesuit missioner in Newcastle (thought by Banister to be pompous, '*omnia magna loquens*', and not to be admired) protested the suppression in a letter to the local press for which he was reprimanded by Cordell and relations between the two, which were not close anyway, never recovered and they rarely met. Four years later Cordell published the pope's biography and some of the pontiff's *Interesting Letters ...* translated from the French. Charles Elliot, publisher and printer in Edinburgh' was enthusiastic about the books but he charged Cordell for advertising them in the Scottish

press and in handbills. In due course Elliot settled the account and paid Cordell a balance of £15.12s.9d. [13]

Cordell also wrote a pamphlet attacking John Thorpe, SJ, compiler of a collection of scurrilous anecdotes about Pope Clement. Cordell's interest in the matter might have been because he disliked the Jesuits or because the pope admired Britain and was liked by the British; in 1748 Clement confided to an English friend that he had 'a passion for your brave poets and philosophers' and was fond of reading Newton and Berkeley. It was Clement who had brought the pretensions of the Stewarts to the English throne to an end by refusing royal honours to Prince Charles in 1772. Gillow attributes ten works to Cordell, mostly translations from the French. Blom adds *Discourse on Fleury's Catechisms* (Newcastle, 1786) which Henry Rutter hoped would sell because 'many of his former works are still on his hands' such as Fleury's *The Manners of Christians* (Newcastle, 1786). Cordell died in January 1791 after a long period of incapacity carrying, as Rutter remarked, 'his oddities to the grave, leaving it in his will to be buried in his garden, which, however, was not complied with'.[14]

In 1745 Alban Butler's *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and Other Principal Saints &c.,* usually abbreviated to *Lives of the Saints,* came out in London in five volumes without notes, in Dublin in twelve volumes with notes in 1779-80, and another twelve-volume edition was published in Edinburgh in 1798-1800. Henry Rutter compiled an *Appendix* and a *Chronological Index* which were published by Coates in Newcastle at the end of the century.[15] At the same time Coates issued the twelve-volume third edition as well as Charles Butler's biography of Alban Butler (1800). Rutter hoped that Butler would make Banister a present of the latter for his 'trouble in supplying him with the best part of it.'[16] Banister thought the *Lives* were

> too copious and too learned for vulgar people. I could wish some select lives were published in a very plain style and such as may be patterns and models for people living in the world.'[17]

The multi-volume editions if not beyond the intellectual capacity, were certainly beyond the financial means of many Catholics and so the Revd John Bell, teaching at Crook Hall, had a more affordable two-volume abridgement printed in Newcastle by Edward Walker in 1799. Rutter said that Bell was 'very sanguine in his expectations of success and means to apply the profits towards a new college', but in 1814 a number of unsold copies were passed to Mr Heaton, presumably a secondhand dealer, as 'mere lumber'.[18]

Rutter, like most of the priests mentioned here, published translations from the French and Italian, but he wrote several original works as well though he was at first hesitant to do so. In 1785 Banister pointed out that as a *family chaplain* rather than a *public missioner* Rutter had the time and the opportunity

to study and, what's more, he had a good library immediately to hand. Rutter had previously mentioned that

> the Squire has a good many books of his own collecting, some very expensive ones, chiefly in relation to English history, but I seldom ask for the key.

Banister immediately urged Rutter to write a history of England because one was badly needed to prevent Catholics being led into Protestant 'errors and prejudices and false notions and sentiments'. Alban Butler had not taken it on because the expense of research alone would have come to between three or four hundred pounds, but Rutter 'need be at no charge' because he could use John Silvertop's library at Minsteracres or Marmaduke Tunstall's at Wycliffe on Tees. Rutter was not persuaded and suggested instead that there was no one better qualified than his uncle to put pen to paper. Banister ignored the hint.[19]

In 1794, however, Rutter did moot writing a life of Christ. He would not get down to it for three years and even then, he said with unconvincing self-deprecation, he was not really qualified for the task; anyway, he added disingenuously, it would not be 'with a view to its publication but to my own amusement'. At any rate, Banister was consulted at every stage, and his cavils and criticisms so prolonged the undertaking that it was not completed for almost ten years. It was published in 1803 in two volumes as *Evangelical Harmony,* largely a concordance of the gospels, by Keating, Brown & Keating. As an unknown author he was fortunate in finding a London publisher for his first book. Rutter sent Banister two free copies and Banister subscribed for twenty more costing six pounds but 'unless my onions and cheese bring in a good sum, I know not how I shall pay you'.[20]

The financial arrangements for the book provide a very good example of the difficulties of Catholic publishing. Rutter estimated that printing one thousand copies would cost around £200; he intended to borrow half and ask his brother Thomas and John Maire of Lartington to contribute but they could not help. In fact, the cost of printing amounted to £332.17s which was presumably borne by Keatings. The book took fifteen years to pay for itself (695 copies were sold at 9s.6d. each); most of the unsold copies were off-loaded onto the author. Details of the financial arrangements of publishing were also given when in 1806 Rutter published a devotional text *The One Thing Necessary,* translated from the Italian: 'Keating has printed 700 copies, 500 of which I give him to defray the expense of paper and printing'. Rutter published at least fifteen books, some anonymously, but only two were published in Newcastle, both by Walker in 1821: *A Help to Parents* in the religious education of their children and *A Summary View of the State of Mankind &c.*, a survey of religion from the beginning of the world – in a mere fifty-nine pages.[21]

In the years after 1805 the Revd John Lingard, teaching at Crook Hall and Ushaw College, was heavily engaged in the pamphlet controversy over Catholic Emancipation and his tracts on the subject were collected on several occasions. His first major original work was the two-volume *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* (with a title vignette and map by Thomas Bewick) printed by Walker in Newcastle for Keating in 1806 and reprinted four years later. The work was notable for his objective approach in which he was heavily influenced by Edward Gibbon who 'introduced a new rigour into British historiography with his careful attention to sources'. In 1788 in the preface to the fourth volume of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Gibbon explained his historical method: 'I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head', that is, to refer to original documents; or in their absence to the best secondary sources. In the preface to his *Antiquities*, Lingard wrote:

> in the pursuit of truth I have made it a religious duty to consult the original historians. Who would draw from the troubled stream when he may drink at the fountainhead?

As his latest biographer remarks, Lingard's literary style also 'owed not a little to the influence of Gibbon' in his use of irony and humour rather than engaging in the more common bitter ideological partisanship.[22]

Lingard left the north-east in 1811 and almost all of his subsequent works were published in London including his *History of England* (8 vols., 1819-30), the project that had been declined by Butler and Rutter. English Catholic historical writing since the Reformation had 'tended to be stridently apologetic in tone' and was dismissed by non-Catholics, whereas Protestant historical writing tended to be 'isolationist, setting England over against the countries of the European mainland'.[23] Lingard intended to write an impartial political history of England which would 'reintegrate England into the pattern of European history' and which would be read and trusted by Protestants. This was a tall order and one that Catholic publishers were unwilling to underwrite. George Keating declined it and Joseph Booker baulked at the cost and offered Lingard a mere £300 for a three-volume work. George Silvertop stepped in and opened negotiations with Joseph Mawman the Protestant publisher. Mawman sought the advice of some Protestant readers on draft sections, and their enthusiastic response quickly led to an agreement. Silvertop secured a contract with Mawman who would pay one thousand guineas in three instalments; he was pleased to describe Lingard as 'JL the thousand pounder'. Mawman also offered options for the last five volumes and for a possible second edition. The first three volumes came out in 1819 and sold five hundred copies in the first week; the remaining five volumes came out at intervals between 1820 and 1830. The complete work soon went into a second edition for which Lingard received £1,333.[24] It would be translated into French, Italian and German.

A number of priests had works published in the region adding to the catechetical resources of post-Relief English Catholicism such as the revision 'for use in the Northern District' by Bishop Matthew Gibson and Thomas Eyre of Henry Turberville's *An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* (Douai 1649, Newcastle 1784), and Bishop William Gibson's translation of *The Truth of the Catholic Religion proved from the Holy Scriptures* by M. de Mahis (Walker, Newcastle 1799). The French exile Nicholas Gilbert, missioner in Berwick and then Whitby, should not be forgotten; he published some short works of controversy at the end of the century attacking Presbyterianism and Methodism.[25]

Apologetics and instruction in doctrine was all very well, of course, but perhaps the more popular pastoral need, especially towards the end of the period, was for less scholastic work as shown by the widely published *A Method of Hearing Mass with Devotion* in Newcastle (1722, rep. 1791), Stockton (1779), Yarm (2nd ed. 1783) and York (3rd ed. 1793).[26] Heroic efforts had been made to import aids to devotion in the recusant period; the same demand in the post-Relief period was fulfilled by the emergent Catholic book trade in the provinces of the home country – the foundation of the great expansion in Catholic publishing in the post-Emancipation years.

NOTES & REFERENCES

[1] Bishop of Durham to Privy Council, Nov. 1564. HMC *Salisbury Papers*, I, p. 311.

[2] CSPD Add. 1566-79, p. 416.

[3] *Salisbury Papers X, p.* 204.

[4] A.F. Allison & D.M. Rogers (eds.), *A Catalogue of Catholic books in English printed abroad or secretly in England 1588-1640,* 1956;T. H. Clancy (ed.) *English Catholic Books, 1641-1700: A Bibliography,* revised ed. 1996; F. Blom et al (eds.) *English Catholic Books, 1701-1800: A Bibliography,* 1996.

[5] L. Gooch, *The Revival of English Catholicism: the Banister-Rutter Correspondence 1777-1807* (1995), pp. 115, 195, 200.

[6] Bp W. Gibson's annual instructions 1784-1800 at Blom nos. 1178-1195. *Theses* at Blom nos. 2688-2697.

[7] J. Gillow, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* vol III, 1887, pp. 315 ff.

[8] Gillow II, p. 202.

[9] Not listed by Gillow or COPAC but see Gooch, *Revival,* p. 141 and Blom no. 561.

[10] Blom nos 561, 1205, 1264, 1290, 1334. In Part I (NCH No. 59, 2018, p. 56) I conjectured that Coates was a Catholic. Banister confirms that indeed he was, though one whose 'catholicity consists in putting on their Sunday's apparel and appearing in a Catholic chapel.' Gooch, *Revival,* pp. 99, 271.

[11] Blom No. 309; Gillow, 3, p. 609. The Jesuits promoted the Confraternity; the IBVM Sisters at the Bar Convent in York followed a Jesuit spirituality and had Jesuit chaplains; they ran a

school for young ladies; these circumstances suggest that the manual could have been published for the convent and school.

[12] L. Gooch, *Persecution without Martyrdom,* 2013, p. 196; Blom nos. 750,786, 790

[13] P. Isaac, 'Charles Elliot and the English Provincial Book Trade' in *The Human Face of the Book Trade pp. 101/2.*

[14] Blom nos. 750, 786, 914; Gooch, *Revival,* pp 96, 102,107/8, 109; Gooch, *Persecution,* p. 227. Cordell's imprints: F. Coates, Hall, Vesey & Whitfield, W. Charnley and S. Hodgson in Newcastle, and Tessyman in York. See also Gillow.

[15] Blom nos. 393/394 without attribution, but Rutter claims the authorship in Gooch, *Revival,* pp. 187/189

[16] Gooch, *Revival*, p. 307.

[17] Gooch, *Revival,* p. 49].

[18] Blom nos. 393/4, 398, 404, 413; Edward Walker, printer of Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, fl. 1815-21 (Gooch, *Revival,* p. 281). Bell's *The Wanderings of the Human Intellect,* 1814, was printed by Walker and sold by Bell and Charnley.

[19] Gooch, *Revival,* pp.77, 80, 82, 195, 265. Marmaduke Tunstall FSA, FRS (1743-90), antiquarian and naturalist, became well known for his *Ornithologia Britannica,*1771.

[20] Gooch, *Revival,* pp. 329/339.

[21] Gooch, *Revival,* pp. 324, 344; Gillow, V, p.459

[22] P. Phillips, *John Lingard, Priest and Historian,* 2008, pp. 62-4. Lingard thoroughly revised his text to reflect the advances in Anglo-Saxon scholarship since its first publication, and the new edition was published by Dolman in 1845.

[23] Phillips, *Lingard,* p. 168.

[24] Phillips, *Lingard,* p. 226.

[25] Blom nos. 1348, 2810. There was something of a vogue for scriptural revision at this time: James Worswick: *New Testament* 'newly revised and corrected with annotations', Newcastle 1812. Marlow Sidney, lay patron of the Blyth mission, published the 'Poynter edition' of the *New Testament* in 1815, from Challoner revised by A Horrabin 1818. Gillow, II, pp. 465 ff.

[26] Blom nos. 1435, 1441, 1859-1861.

DOUAI TO USHAW VIA GIBRALTAR: THE JOURNEY OF A CHALICE

Michael Galloway

2018 was the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the English College in Douai. An exhibition of the silver that was at the College was one of several events held at St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, to celebrate the anniversary. The exhibition marked the first time that the Douai silver had been seen together since its rediscovery in 1863. This article describes the journey from Douai to Ushaw of a chalice on loan from the Royal Navy that was part of the exhibition.

The English College in Douai was forced to close in 1795 at the time of the French Revolution and the college was used as a military barracks. Staff and students who had not already fled to England were placed under armed guard in January1793.[1] A group of students decided to save what they could of the college's silver including Richard Thompson, future Grand Vicar in Lancashire, and Thomas Penswick who would become Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District. They buried one box of refectory plate under a flagstone in a ground-floor classroom and a second box of church plate was buried in the grounds of the college. The contents of the second box was subsequently recovered by the students and sold to fund the costs of their travel back to England in February 1794.[2] The box of refectory plate remained undiscovered until 1863.

In 1841 Richard Thompson had been persuaded by Sir John Swale, the Benedictine missioner at Birtley, to visit his old college and he reported that the box of silver was still intact. In 1863 Monsignor Francis Searle obtained permission from Napoleon III to search for the silver. Using notes from Thomas Penswick, the last surviving priest from Douai, the box was located. The contents were divided between Ushaw and its sister college in the south, St Edmund's College.[3] (In addition two pieces of the silver were subsequently given to St Mary's College, Oscott). The Royal Navy chalice was not part of this collection.

In preparation for the Douai silver exhibition, the curator at Ushaw, Claire Marsland, had noted a number of references in the archives at Ushaw to a chalice from Douai in the collection of the Royal Navy Trophy Fund in Portsmouth. In the 1950s Charles C. Oman, Keeper of the Department of Metalwork in the Victoria and Albert Museum and who wrote several books on British silverware, had visited Ushaw, St Edmund's and St. Mary's Oscott to study the Douai silver. He published his results in the *Connoisseur Magazine* in 1958.[4] In 1971 Oman was asked to visit the chaplaincy office at Whale Island in Portsmouth to catalogue the silver collection. Based on his previous experience of cataloguing the Douai silver, he recognised the Douai College coat of arms on the base of a chalice in the collection.[5] Peter Cookson the then president of

Ushaw heard about the discovery and wrote to Oman to ask permission to publish some information on it in the *Ushaw Magazine.* Oman replied that he was happy for the information to be published but he asked that the credit for discovering the chalice should not go to Sir Charles Oman, his father![6] How did the Douai chalice end up in the silver collection of the Royal Navy?

It is clear from the preceding account that the chalice was not in the box of silver that was recovered in 1863. It may have been in the second box of church plate which was sold in February 1794 or it may have been removed from the college prior to 1793. The bottom of the chalice is also engraved 'Kerk Elverdinghe', indicating that it was then kept in the Roman Catholic church of St Peter and St Paul in the town of Elverdinghe, Belgium, lying about one mile north west of Ypres. The church was destroyed early in the first battle of Ypres in October 1914 as German artillery used church steeples as targets in the area around Ypres.[7] Subsequently, Elverdinghe became the centre of several large British military camps and was also a major railway junction for troops and supplies going to and from the front line.[8] It would therefore be extremely difficult to track what happened to the chalice after the church was destroyed and at this point it disappears from history.

The very limited information that came with the chalice included a hand-written note which indicated that the chalice was gifted by an officer of the Rifles Brigade to a new chapel to St Barbara in Little Bay Camp in Gibraltar at its dedication. The *Gibraltar Chronicle* reported that in the absence of the Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar in Europe, Dr Harold Buxton, the dedication service was performed by the Dean of the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Trinity on the 12 October 1944.[9] The newly built chapel was the first to be dedicated for the Royal Navy in Gibraltar. It was in fact the second garrison chapel in Gibraltar to be dedicated to St Barbara, for the Royal Artillery already had another chapel with the same dedication less than half a mile away at Europa Point. St Barbara is best known as the patron saint of armourers, artillerymen, military engineers and others who work with explosives. (Gibraltar was in effect a fortress during the Second World War as the civilian population had been evacuated at the outbreak of hostilities). The camp at Little Bay was a temporary one, comprising Nissen huts of which nothing remains today. It is not clear when the chapel at Little Bay Camp closed as there is no information in the documentation from the Royal Navy as to when they received the chalice. As was the donor's wish when the chapel did close, the chalice was donated to St Barbara's chapel on Whale Island in Portsmouth.

Whale Island was home to the Naval School of Gunnery which was established in 1830.[9] The school was initially based in the ship H.M.S. Excellent. Reclamation in Portsmouth harbour led to the development of Whale Island as the subsequent site of the naval gunnery school in 1895. On the 21 June 1934 the Right Reverend Neville Lovett, Anglican Bishop of Portsmouth

dedicated a new church of St Barbara on Whale Island which had been converted from an existing drill hall and ammunition room.

Charles Oman had recorded that the chalice was made in Lille in c. 1720 with a maker's mark of IC with a crown. Along with the Douai coat of arms there was a second family coat of arms that he was not able to identify. After the destruction of the church in Elverdinghe the chalice was presumably picked up by a member of the British armed forces. How the chalice arrived in Gibraltar is unclear. Perhaps the Rifle's officer who donated it to St Barbara's chapel was a military chaplain. Why a Rifle's officer would donate a chalice to a chapel dedicated to the Royal Navy is also unclear.

After 228 years the chalice finally arrived in its spiritual home of Ushaw. On 3 November 2018 Cardinal Vincent Nichols, Archbishop of Westminster used the chalice to celebrate mass on Douai Martyrs Day in St Cuthbert's chapel. Perhaps this was repeating a celebration that it had been used for two centuries ago at Douai. Is that the end of the story? Perhaps not. In 1983 the editor of this journal while undertaking research at Ushaw wrote to the Principal Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Royal Navy to ask if the chalice could be restored to Ushaw in the event of the closure of Whale Island. No progress was made at that point. More recently Claire Marland at Ushaw has again written to the Royal Navy to ask if the chalice can be placed on extended loan at Ushaw. So the chalice has a remarkable journey from Douai to Ushaw having survived the French Revolution, and the First and Second World Wars. It has also been an ecumenical journey with the chalice having been used in services in a Catholic seminary, a Catholic church, two Anglican chapels and finally Ushaw. The chalice remains on display with the Ushaw part of the Douai silver.

Notes and References

[1] D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (1964) p. 20.

[2] Ibid, p. 25.

[3] T. Murdoch, 'The Douai Silver', in James Kelly (ed.) *Treasures of Ushaw College* (2015) p. 117.

[4] C. Oman, 'The Douay Treasure', *Connoisseur Magazine* CXLII (1958) No. 571, pp. 13-17.

[5] P. Preston letter dated 30 November 1971; part of the documentation from the Royal Navy Trophy Fund that accompanied the chalice.

[6] C. Oman letter to Peter Cookson 7 July 1978. UC AL4/5

[7] J. Sheldon & N. Cave, *Ypres 1914, Langemarck* (2014).

[8] http://digitalarchive.mcmaster.ca/islandora/object/macrepo%3A66680/-/collection

[9] 'Chapel dedicated', *Gibraltar Chronicle*, Friday 13 October, 1944.

[10] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Excellent_(shore_establishment)

IS THE *OPUS ANGLICANUM* CHASUBLE AT USHAW FROM WELD BANK ?

Revd A. Unsworth

In *Treasures of Ushaw College: Durham's Hidden Gem* (2015), a collection of short articles describing some of the historical artefacts kept at the former seminary, Frances Pritchard, formerly of the Whitworth Gallery, University of Manchester, refers to a recusant vestment simply as an '*Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble' and suggests that 'nothing is known' of its history.[1] My hypothesis is that it probably came from the parish of St Gregory, Weld Bank near Chorley in Lancashire and was donated to Ushaw College in 2000. However, as there is no longer any obvious provenance to suggest the vestment's origin, this study is an act of historical retrieval and offers the evidence required for its identification and to establish its provenance. (I will refer to it as the Ushaw Chasuble.)

Pritchard's article is invaluable in that it provides the first detailed description of the vestment by a medieval textiles expert. She notes that it is made from 'imported red silk velvet with plain cut pile' and describes its major physical features and aspects of its design. The date given for it is *circa* 1500.We can agree with her assessment that the vestment is 'a beautiful survivor and is in remarkable condition for its age.' Its various elements show it to be fine quality embroidery work produced in England in the late medieval period. Her comparison of the chasuble with other survivors such as the Cope of Cardinal Morton and the Butler-Boden Cope held at the Victoria and Albert Museum appear to confirm this judgement. Although she does not explicitly say so, the main body of the chasuble appears to have begun life as a cope and to have been cut down. This would explain its similarity with the Morton Cope. A cope of such beauty and quality might have been cut down due to wear or damage at its extremities. In any case, during the recusant period in England, a chasuble was a much more useful item for worship than a cope. These medieval vestments were valued because they were blessed objects and they represented the continuity of traditional worship and Catholic community life under the conditions of religious persecution.

Pritchard makes the fair assumption that the chasuble was a gift to Ushaw during the nineteenth century, perhaps given by a Catholic family having 'concealed pre-reformation vestments … throughout the penal era and were eager for them to be openly used again in a Catholic setting.' She is correct in thinking that the vestment was hidden throughout penal times by the Catholic community but incorrect in her assumption that it has been at Ushaw since the nineteenth century. She also suggests that 'there is little in its iconography to provide a clue to its original ownership.' I hope to show that the iconography and physical characteristics of the vestment do actually provide a clue to its original ownership from descriptions of it made when it was kept at Weld Bank.

Specific features of the vestment tell a complex story of its origins. Pritchard notices unusual features such as the fact that the 'shape of the vestment has been cut down' and that the orphreys 'superimposed on the powdered ground do not match one another and are probably later additions'. Significantly, she notes the 'seventeenth century bobbin-lace worked in metal thread that trims the outer edge' of the vestment; and finally that the 'cross orphrey and pillar orphrey are similar in their general style but differences can be detected'. This appears to indicate that the *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble is in fact made up of elements taken from at least three separate and distinct vestments which at some point were brought together in order to salvage what was still in good condition from the original vestments which may have become worn or perished altogether. In its present form, the chasuble was probably constructed in the late seventeenth century and kept within the vicinity of Chorley in Lancashire. Latterly it was at the presbytery at St. Gregory's Church, Weld Bank.

I believe that what I will call the Wrightington Burse, a *bursa* made from green taffeta, kept at St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Wrightington, gives us a clue as to the identity of Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble. St. Gregory's, Weld Bank is 5.9 miles from Wrightington. I will argue that the two artefacts are related by place, by time and by virtue of a common form of construction and state of condition. A fellow priest, Fr. Philip Gregory, and I 'discovered' the burse in the safe in late January 2018 contained in an old envelope with the intriguing question '15th Century Burse?' written on it. We found a reference to it in *St. Joseph's Wrightington: A History*, (1969) by the then parish priest Revd Dr Vincent Marsh for the seventieth anniversary of the opening of the parish church. We read a further reference to a medieval vestment at Weld Bank in Chorley. Marsh noted its apparent likeness to our burse and implied a connection between the two items although no further details were given. This reference is not very detailed and needs some interpretation and explanation.

In his *History*, Marsh wrote, 'here at Wrightington we have a green burse ornamented with three embroidered figures of saints.' He went on to observe that 'it is quite obvious that our burse has been made up from some other vestment' and of it being 'full of traces of gold thread.' It is likely that it has been in the possession of the local Catholic community since the time of the opening of a Catholic chapel at Wrightington Hall used by Catholics in the area during penal times. The Dicconson family owned the chapel and the Hall, and had a resident chaplain, Fr. Christopher Tootell, from 1686. Marsh alluded to another artefact:

> At Weld Bank [St. Gregory's Chorley] there is a cope the orphrey of which is composed of nine figures in identical styles and background pattern [to the burse]. The Weld Bank embroidery has been renovated so that only the heads of the figures compare with those on our burse.[2]

Before his appointment to Wrightington, Vincent Marsh had spent time as parish priest at St. Anselm's in Chorley and had lived at the presbytery at Weld Bank in the early 1950's while he waited for the new church and presbytery of St. Anselm's to be built and completed.[3] He was familiar with the treasures held by St Gregory's parish and indicated that the vestment was still kept at Weld Bank in 1969. The vestment had orphreys of the same age and style as the orphreys on the Wrightington Burse. He refers to the vestment as a 'cope'. This presents a difficulty for my hypothesis but his remarks are very brief and in places lack detail. He meant that the body of the vestment had once been a cope. Indeed, it is immediately obvious that the red silk velvet chasuble was once a cope and this is confirmed by Claire Marsland the present curator of Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble.[4]

How might we compare the burse to the chasuble? One side of the burse depicts a single figure with a halo. The figure has a distinctive forked beard with his right arm covered by his outer cloak and his left hand slightly raised. The right hand is holding three bags. The iconography indicates that this is St Nicholas of Bari, a popular saint in England during the late medieval period. On the reverse side, two figures are juxtaposed, one with a halo and one without. The figure with the halo is St Paul the Apostle, bald and in one hand he holds the book of scriptures and in the other he appears to be holding a sword, although this part of the image has been obscured. The other figure does not immediately appear to be a saint as he is without a halo but Elizabeth Murray of the Victoria and Albert Museum has speculated that he is St Joseph of Arimathea, a popular saint in England in the late medieval period and sometimes depicted without a halo.[5] The figure may represent a prophet or he may depict a patron, perhaps the person who originally commissioned or financed the piece. The figure wears a hat in what appears to be the style of those worn in late fourteenth or fifteenth century England.

According to Marsh in 1969, the Victoria & Albert Museum made a judgement on the embroidery. He said that 'their verdict was that the work was certainly English and certainly of the Fifteenth Century if not earlier, and originally formed the orphrey of a cope'.[6] At our request, in May 2018 Elizabeth Murray, assistant curator of medieval textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, offered the following opinion:

> The object in question is a burse, for the making of which five pieces of older embroidery were re-used. Three fragments (with one saint) are seen on one side, and two fragments (with two saints) on the other. These sections are remnants of a bigger composition, most probably "scraps" of an orphrey that has previously decorated the front opening of a cope or the front / back of a Chasuble. After the embroidery sections have been re-used for the front and the back of the burse, it was hemmed with a narrow strip of green silk taffeta. The appearance of the taffeta (probably *Gros de Tours*) could suggest that the making of the burse could have taken place during the 17th or 18th century … All three figures are seen standing on a ground embroidered in yellow and green, with star-shaped details that may represent flowers. Each saint is flanked by a pair of unusually robust, wide pillars that lead to a vaulted ceiling embroidered in blue silk threads. All parts executed in silk were done in simple stitches (satin stitch and laid stitch). The background is embroidered in silver-gilt (metal) threads also laid in simple, geometrical pattern (underside couched?). The ground is linen tabby.[7]

The *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble is indeed similar. It too has figures of saints standing on ground embroidered in yellow and green with star shaped details that seem to represent flowers. Each saint is flanked by a pair of wide pillars that lead to a vaulted ceiling in blue silk thread. The original stitching, that is to say the stitching done in the medieval period, conforms to the same construction techniques and the ground which is exposed in several places is linen tabby. The pillar orphrey is much more similar to the burse although the pillar and cross orphreys both conform to it in general. At this stage, it is important to note that neither Marsh or myself claim that the orphreys from the burse and those from the chasuble come from the same original vestment. I only wish to argue that they conform to a similar style of construction and aesthetic and were made in a similar period, i.e. they are both examples of *opus anglicanum* – high quality English medieval embroidery. If any part of the embroidery is identified as continental, from Flanders for example, it is of a similar date.

Marsh said that the orphrey of the Weld Bank vestment 'is composed of nine figures'. The *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble at Ushaw has nine figures: on the cross orphrey are a dove representing the Holy Spirit, the crucified Christ, an angel on each side of the cross of Christ and two saints; on the pillar orphrey are

three more figures of saints. Pritchard speculates on their identity: on the pillar orphrey reading from the bottom upwards are St Paul, St Jerome and St Matthias; on the cross orphrey from the bottom upwards ‘a Church Father or prophet’ and St Peter. The identity of Peter and Paul are beyond dispute, but she readily acknowledges the others are uncertain. It is likely that the figure at the bottom of the cross orphrey is a prophet, corresponding to the mystery figure on the Wrightington Burse. I am inclined to think that the other two saints on the pillar orphrey might be St Roche (centre) and St Jude Thaddeus (top). The central figure on the pillar orphrey is very distinctive; he wears a hat, which could be that of a pilgrim; his leg exposed and his outer garment folded back. St Roche was a pilgrim and usually depicted with his leg exposed to show a plague spot. He is a patron of pilgrims and those afflicted with plague and pestilence. St Judas Thaddeus holds an axe or halberd, traditionally the weapon with which he was martyred. Both were popular saints in medieval England.

Marsh observed that ‘the Weld Bank embroidery has been renovated so that only the heads of the figures compare with those on our burse.’ This is the most compelling part of the evidence. In parts, the orphreys on the Chasuble are clearly the work of skilled medieval artisans; other parts, however, have become worn and a later renovation attempted. Whereas the medieval work is in satin stitch, split stitch and couching stitch using silver gilt thread, the renovation is much simpler and has the appearance of a darning technique using wool or some similar sort of thread’. This work is clearly inferior both in its execution and in the choice of materials. The faces of the figures have not been renovated and the majority of the area of the face in each figure is merely exposed backing, showing the linen tabby that acted as the foundational fabric for the embroiderer, which is now literally threadbare. This can be seen on the Wrightington Burse, but as Marsh indicated, no renovation has been attempted on it whereas on the chasuble, save for the faces of the figures, the renovation work is extensive and clearly was not done in recent times and must be of an earlier period. The two judgements on the burse identify the original embroidery as the expert work of medieval artisans but Elizabeth Murray has noted the poor quality of the construction of the burse, saying that, ‘the design and the work is not of expert quality’ and the renovation of the Ushaw Chasuble is similarly poor compared with the original.

Eager to view the chasuble referred to in Marsh’s *History* I contacted Fr Graeme Dunne, the current parish priest at St Gregory’s Weld Bank. He told me that there was no such item at Weld Bank but he was aware that the contents of an upstairs library in the Georgian presbytery had been donated to Ushaw College and perhaps some vestments had been sent there as well. He was unsure of the dates but would consult his predecessor Mgr Michael McKenna. Fr Dunne gave me a *History* of the Church at Weld Bank and allowed me to view the archival materials kept at the presbytery. In the meantime, I contacted the

curator at Ushaw College sending a photograph of the Wrightington Burse and enquiring whether a vestment resembling the embroidery on the burse had been bequeathed from Weld Bank. There was no paper record of such a bequest, but interestingly the curator said that the only vestment that appeared to resemble the burse was a red and gold velvet chasuble, which had no accompanying provenance; and she sent photographs of it.

In 1774 John Chadwick was appointed the first pastor of a new mission, St Gregory's Church Weld Bank, seventeen years before the 1791 Catholic Relief Act which gave legal status to Catholic churches and chapels for the first time since the Reformation. Catholics in the area had attended Mass throughout the penal era in a small chapel hidden behind Burgh Hall, a manor house owned by Chadwick's father. In the folk memory of Weld Bank there are apocryphal stories of Catholics moving vestments from house to house and of women concealing Mass vestments underneath their flowing garments to avoid their detection by pursuivants but there are no references to any specific vestments or physical descriptions of them. When the chapel became too small to hold the growing numbers of the faithful a new church became necessary.[8] In the presbytery at Weld Bank a library of over three thousand books was collected in an upper room designed for the purpose. Some books have been donated to the archives of Lancashire County Council in Preston, notably the diaries of the eighteenth century Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District, Edward Dicconson of the family which owned Wrightington Hall and built St Joseph's Church where the Wrightington Burse is kept. The library seems also to have been a kind of informal museum containing some recusant artefacts. There were vestment presses containing some of the better quality or historically significant vestments belonging to the parish; these may not have been used very often, if at all. The sacristy presses appear to have contained the Mass vestments used on a regular basis.

John Chadwick died in 1802 and was succeeded by Richard Thomson who remained parish priest of St Gregory's Weld Bank until 1841. The Chadwick family left Burgh Hall in 1823. Thomas Chadwick, in his will of 1816, had already made arrangements for the contents of the library:

> When the Chadwicks left Burgh Hall they had accumulated a large library of old books and valuable manuscripts, with some pre-Reformation vestments and sacred vessels, probably left there by the many priests who had visited there during the Penal Days for safe keeping. These were handed to Fr Thompson for his own library at Weld Bank, where some of them still remain.[9]

This was written in 1974 and although, sadly, it does not give particulars, it does confirm that some pre-Reformation vestments kept at Weld Bank were still

in the parish. Therefore, it is likely that the *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble was there in the library at this time.

An inventory from the parish archive dated and signed by the parish priest Canon E. Banks on 10 April 1924, and produced for a visitation by the Dean on 21 May 1924, describes a number of 'vestments' in the presses upstairs in the library. One entry read: '1 Old Red and Gold'. The context suggests that 'old' is used in the sense of 'venerable' rather than 'no longer of any use'. I suggest that this is a reference to the vestment mentioned by Marsh. There is another reference to '1 Red Velvet' vestment in the library press, however, the only vestment with the appellation 'old' is to the one that is red and gold which better describes the chasuble in question. If the old red and gold vestment described in the inventory is Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble then the fact that this vestment was kept in a press and was not used regularly for Mass would perhaps explain why it has remained in such a good state of preservation. If the old red and gold vestment referred to in 1924 is the same artefact as the one described in 1969 and if the same vestment was among those alluded to in 1974 then the fact that such a precious vestment containing medieval orphreys can no longer be found at the presbytery is puzzling.

During my time in training for the priesthood at Ushaw College between 1997 and 2002, I became Head Sacristan. I was familiar with the Westminster Vestment held by the college and made famous when worn by Cardinal Vincent Nichols during a Requiem Mass for King Richard III in March 2015. I was also familiar with the seventeenth century reversible rose and black Recusant Vestment featured in *Treasures of Ushaw College*.[10] These two vestments were worn at Mass for special occasions, such as St Cuthbert's Day and the Feast of the Douai Martyrs, but I never saw the *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble. Early in 2000 I ceased to be Sacristan and went on a long pastoral placement in preparation for diaconal ordination. I was spending less time at the college and so if the vestment was acquired late in 2000, I may well have missed its arrival. Knowing of his interest in recusant history and religious artefacts, I contacted the former President of Ushaw College Mgr Peter Cookson, now resident at the Metropolitan Cathedral in Liverpool, to ask if he had seen the vestment during his time at the college between 1977 and 1984. He confirmed that 'the splendid vestment you illustrate was not at Ushaw in my time'; he went on to suggest that: 'It must have been acquired after my departure in 1984.'[11]

Eventually, Fr Graeme Dunne was able to tell me that the contents of the library of St Gregory's Weld Bank were donated when Canon Richard Firth was parish priest. A letter from Canon Firth, dated April 2000 states that, 'the matter of the library at St. Gregory's was discussed by the Archdiocesan Chapter of Canons and I was given the ok for it to go to Ushaw Library.'[12] Ushaw College confirmed that the books were received in 2000 by the then librarian Dr Alistair MacGregor who had kept the relevant correspondence. No explicit mention of

vestments was made in the letter but there may have been other pieces of correspondence to members of staff that were not kept. If the chasuble was not at Ushaw before 1984 and the contents of the upstairs library from Weld Bank were deposited there in 2000, then the hypothesis that Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble was originally from Weld Bank seems a possibility.

It is not uncommon for religious artefacts such as these to lack written provenance and at the time of the bequest, a curator had not yet been appointed to the college. The systematic organisation and cataloguing of historical artefacts and their description and classification is now of a much better standard than in the past. It is obvious that the joint project involving thirty experts described in *Treasures of Ushaw* was intended to improve the way in which the college classifies such items, this being the result of a collaboration between the Centre for Catholic Studies, Durham University, and Ushaw College itself.

The Standish Vestment (Photos: L. Priestley)

At the time of the first and second judgement by the Victoria and Albert Museum on the Wrightington Burse little information was given to the experts regarding its wider context. To establish the provenance of the Wrightington Burse, and by extension the Ushaw Chasuble, it is necessary to compare them

with another recusant artefact found in the vicinity of Wrightington and Weld Bank – the Standish Vestment, sometimes called the Manchester Vestment or the Vaux Chasuble. These names are often used interchangeably but my preference is for Standish Vestment. This was kept successively at Standish Hall, seat of the Standish family until its demolition early in the twentieth century; St. Marie's Church, Standish; St. Joseph's College, Upholland; and presently, the Metropolitan Cathedral of Christ the King, Liverpool. The present home of the burse, St. Joseph's, Wrightington, and the previous home of the Standish Vestment, Standish Hall, lie approximately two miles apart in the Lancashire countryside on the outskirts of Wigan. The two artefacts are related by place, age, design and method of construction. Furthermore they were made from embroidered medieval orphreys applied to new textiles in the seventeenth century. Therefore, by extension, the Wrightington Burse, the Standish Vestment and the Ushaw Chasuble are related in most respects.

In 1987 Revd Dr Robert Livesey in an article describing the Standish Vestment speculated that the orphreys were most likely brought to Standish Hall on their original medieval vestments by Laurence Vaux, a priest, the last Warden of the Manchester Collegiate Church to be in full communion with Rome.[13] Vaux is famous for his *Catechism*, for the way in which he consolidated English Catholic resistance under Elizabeth, and for his involvement in the establishment of a school for English Catholic boys in the Low Countries. When Elizabeth I acceded the English throne in 1559 he fled Manchester before the Royal Commissioners dispatched by Elizabeth's Council had time to get his submission to the Oath of Supremacy. Famously, Vaux took with him some of the vestments, plate and muniments of the Collegiate Church.

We know from his will written in exile, prior to entering religious life as an Augustinian Canon in Leuven, that Vaux was responsible for depositing some vestments, i.e. chasubles, copes, a dalmatic and a tunicle at Standish Hall with his trusted friend the squire Edward Standish. No doubt, Vaux remained with the family for a time before fleeing to the continent and exile. The condition of the bequest was that when at such time Manchester Collegiate Church was returned to full communion with Rome, they were to be returned. Given the toing and froing of the allegiance of the English Church in the lifetime of Vaux, it was fair to assume that the Catholic faith and worship, and allegiance to Rome might be restored again in the near future. Little did he know that such a restoration was not to be realised. (Incidentally, 2019 marks the five hundredth anniversary of Vaux's birth in Blackrod not far from Wrightington, Standish and Weld Bank in central Lancashire.) Vaux was called by the pope from the Augustinian life after ten years to embark on a mission to England but he was betrayed, captured and put under house arrest, then later imprisoned in the Clink in London where he died in 1585 as a confessor of the faith. The reason for his harsh treatment was the recognition by his assailants that he was the infamous

arch recusant and author of the *Catechism* used by so many English Catholics at the time, despite the best efforts of the regime to suppress it.[14]

Had not the vestments been deposited in secret at Standish by Vaux, they would have been confiscated and destroyed or most likely sold and dismantled in order to make other textiles for ecclesiastical purposes unrelated to Catholic liturgies, or commandeered for 'secular' uses within a domestic setting. This act, with the great risks it entailed for Vaux and those who harboured both him and the vestments and other artefacts, ensured their survival so that they could fulfill the purpose for which they were created. Clearly, Vaux would have used them and later Marian and Seminary priests could celebrate the outlawed Mass with the required dignity. Therefore the use of these original vestments and the subsequent 'recycling' of these materials at a later date, suggests not only economy, but also an assertion of the continuity of post- and pre-Reformation English Catholicism, its sacramental practice, Church discipline and community life. These vestments and embroidered artefacts are symbols of that continuity within the material culture of the period.

By the late seventeenth century, presumably the original vestments had become worn beyond a reasonable prospect of repair and had to be modified and thus be given a new lease of life. At this point, it appears that the salvageable orphreys were removed from the various surviving copes, chasubles and other High Mass vestments brought by Vaux. Those that were of better quality or in a better state of repair were clearly used to help create new vestments and ecclesiastical artefacts such as the Wrightington Burse and the Standish Vestment. The orphreys were stitched on to new textiles. These later vestments and objects manufactured in the seventeenth century have been kept in the same area of Lancashire ever since.

In a detailed and comprehensive study of the Standish Vestment, Joanna Booth, former Education Officer at Manchester Anglican Cathedral, concluded:

> The chasuble …was probably made around 1700. The evidence for this is the design and provenance of the new silk used for the background fabric, but more importantly the addition of a significant amount of later embroidery which dates from between 1690 to 1720.[15]

I agree with the approximate dating though preferring a precise dating of 1687. Elsewhere I have argued that the Standish Vestment and the Wrightington Burse were probably made for the Episcopal Visitation of Bishop John Leyburn between June and October 1687 when he visited both the North West and North East.[16] He conducted confirmations in Wrightington, home of the burse, Wigan, Lostock, Bryn and Euxton near Chorley – places all close to Weld Bank.[17] Indeed, Dom F. O. Blundell, quoting the 1903 Liverpool Catholic Directory, reminds us that, 'during the penal times the Catholics of Chorley were under

necessity of going to Euxton, Wrightington … and other places where Mass was said occasionally.'[18]

What evidence do we have to assume that the Wrightington Burse and the Standish Vestment are related to the Ushaw Chasuble? An inventory contained in Laurence Vaux's will of 1573 mentions the vestments deposited by him at Standish: a High Mass set in violet coloured silk; a cope, chasuble, dalmatic and tunicle; another cope of violet; a green cope and two more copes in red. If it is beyond reasonable doubt that the orphreys on the Standish Vestment and those applied to the Wrightington Burse were from salvaged material from Vaux's original deposit, the question is why there is not more surviving material given that there were eight original vestments? I think it is likely that the *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble at Ushaw contains some or all of the remaining orphreys from the Vaux vestments and that the body of the chasuble is a substantial remnant of one of the red copes mentioned in Vaux's will of 1573. If we accept that the vestment at Ushaw was from Weld Bank, then the three artefacts, the Wrightington Burse, the Ushaw Chasuble and the Standish Vestment, could well contain all of the surviving remnants of Vaux's deposit. The available evidence is compelling.

The three artefacts are related by place, age, design and method of construction. Two further physical features of the Ushaw Chasuble suggest that like the Wrightington Burse and Standish Vestment it was made in the seventeenth century. I have already noted that Frances Pritchard mentions the seventeenth century bobbin lace that fringes the Ushaw Chasuble. It was most likely added when the vestment was constructed from three earlier separate vestments. The vestment also has wide silver galloons that form a border around the edges of the orphreys. Presumably, this was to create a better finish to the work and prevent the edges fraying. This material is intriguing because it is very similar to galloon used for the same purpose in the Standish Vestment, some or all of which is from the seventeenth century, in or around 1687. Therefore, the likely maker of the Standish Vestment was Cecelia, wife William Standish, Squire of Standish Hall. She is famous for her ability to make galloons such as these and examples of her work including descriptions of how to make them still exist in notebooks.[19] This common feature is curiously idiosyncratic and suggests a historical connection. Claire Marsland at Ushaw has confirmed that 'the braid looks the same so there is a fair chance that both vestments were altered by the same person'; she goes on to note that, 'my colleague at Durham [unnamed] who works with textiles did think that the braid was 17th Century when she saw our vestment'.[20] As in the case of the Ushaw Chasuble and the Wrightington Burse, Joanna Booth is at pains to point out that although the original medieval work on the Standish Vestment is of the best quality, the manner in which the *opus anglicanum* embroidery has been cut and reapplied to

the seventeenth-century Chinese imported silk of the new vestment is not well executed:

> It was natural that someone would wish to preserve this embroidery and reuse it on another vestment, but unfortunately the skills of the needlewomen responsible left a lot to be desired and what we have is actually a very amateurish and clumsy piece of work.[21]

As for the reference in Vaux's will to the two red copes, the body of the Ushaw Chasuble could easily correspond to his descriptions. The Latin text of the will states: 'Item, adhuc duas cappas ex rubro bisso seu sattino'.[22] The interpretation of the Latin is difficult without understanding the deeper context of the words and their use. From his place of exile in Louvain Vaux remembers the vestments he left at Standish fourteen years before and he is not dictating a detailed but a cursory description of what he recalls. I have found two English translations of this text in print. Allan Mitchinson renders it thus: 'Similarly, two more copes of red bisso or satin'.[23] Joanna Booth suggests: 'Also, in addition, two copes of cotton or satin'.[24] Vaux's use of 'bisso' and 'sattino' can be translated and interpreted in various ways. Bisso is actually a very fine quality linen, made from flax or hemp. Linen was used widely in medieval and sixteenth-century England, the use of cotton only became prevalent later. Linen was often used to line the inside of vestments. The word 'sattino' is translated by both Mitchinson and Booth as 'satin'. Firstly it is important to understand that the word refers primarily to a satin weave rather than a raw material *per se*; this weave produces a lustrous finish on the fabric. The fibres used in the production of the Ushaw Chasuble are silk. Purists would argue that true satin ought to be made from silk. When observing the Ushaw Chasuble one notices the particularly lustrous sheen on the fabric. The material is velvet but the pile is quite short. The velvet used to make the chasuble is of red silk. At first sight the velvet could be mistaken for satin, especially because it is made of silk and because of its glossy sheen. Therefore, the use of the word satin could be accounted for on the basis that Vaux remembers a look rather than a texture.

In addition, the former cope contains many rich applied motifs such as figures of 'seraphim, fleurs de lils and lilies [and] pomegranates'.[25] These are integral to the original cope unlike the later applied orphreys. The motifs on the original cope were made using satin stitch with silk thread. Satin stitch is a 'long straight embroidery stitch giving the appearance of satin'[26]. Again this appearance might be the reason why Vaux uses the term satin in his will. Amy George, a textile expert from Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester, confirmed that such an interpretation of the terms was certainly arguable, although it remains my own, not hers, and I am grateful for her help in this regard.[27]

Finally, why might the Ushaw Chasuble have ended up in the custody of the Chadwick family at Burgh Hall and bequeathed subsequently to Weld Bank? One answer is that the vestment was in the custody of the Chadwicks because it came to them from the Vicar Apostolic Edward Dicconson who sometimes resided at Weld Bank.[28] We know that some of his possessions were kept at Weld Bank; perhaps the chasuble was part of this collection. As bishop with jurisdiction over the north of England, Edward Dicconson may well have had rights over the various artefacts kept at both Standish Hall and Wrightington Hall; it is not difficult to believe that he may have worn the Ushaw Chasuble and the Standish Vestment and used the Wrightington Burse. All these articles had deep connections with the history of his family. His father had hosted Bishop John Leyburn during his Visitation in 1687 and the Standishes and Dicconsons had a long-standing association. Indeed Marsh says of the Wrightington Burse:

> It is not impossible for this to be a bit of Vaux's deposit at Standish. Once Wrightington came into Catholic hands, the relationship between Standish Hall and Wrightington [Hall] was very close.[29]

Alternatively, Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble may have come into the possession of the Chadwicks at Burgh Hall via the Brockholes family. Charles Brockholes had been a domestic chaplain to the Chadwicks at Burgh Hall, a pastor to the people of Weld Bank and a mentor and spiritual father to Fr John Chadwick. Brockholes's uncle had been domestic chaplain at Standish Hall in 1717 and Charles' brother Roger was domestic chaplain to the Dicconson family at Wrightington from 1728 until 1737. At any time these vestments could have been donated, given on long term loan, or shared periodically between the various communities of Wrightington, Standish and Weld Bank during the eighteenth century. By 1755 when an inventory was taken of the vestments kept in the chapel at Standish Hall, there does not seem to be a reference to a vestment resembling the Ushaw Chasuble.[30] By then it may already have been held at Burgh Hall or Wrightington Hall or the residence of Bishop Dicconson at Finch Mill in nearby Shevington. Bishop Dicconson died in 1752. It must certainly have been at Burgh Hall in 1823 when it was passed on to Weld Bank along with the Chadwick library.

It is appropriate that Ushaw College should keep the chasuble. It is one of the few Catholic establishments in the north of England with the facilities to ensure that the necessary care is taken to conserve the textile, which no doubt led to the decision to donate it to the college. Several pre-Reformation vestments survived because of the care taken to preserve them by Catholic gentry families and parishes and it is now essential that these items receive expert curation: humidity and light controlled environments are essential and restorative cleaning by conservators is possible. Advanced technologies and conservation regimes will ensure the best possible conditions for their survival.

It is probable that the vestment known as the *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble now kept at Ushaw College from St Gregory's Parish, Weld Bank, and made from material salvaged from several original medieval vestments. The original vestments may have been part of the deposit left at Standish Hall by the priest and Warden of Manchester Collegiate Church, Laurence Vaux in 1559 after they were taken by him from Manchester Collegiate Church to avoid their confiscation and destruction. Ushaw's *Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble is linked to two other recusant artefacts, the Wrightington Burse and the Standish Vestment. It was natural that someone would wish to preserve the *opus anglicanum* embroidery and the silk velvet textile and reuse them to construct the Ushaw Chasuble. These artefacts were most probably constructed under the supervision of Cecelia Standish at Standish Hall, near Wigan in Lancashire and probably for the Visitation of England by Bishop John Leyburn, Vicar Apostolic, in 1687. In and of themselves these artefacts are precious; if my hypothesis is correct, which I hope the evidence has shown, then they are among some of the most significant for the recusant history of northern England.

Notes and References

[1]Frances Pritchard, '*Opus Anglicanum* Chasuble', in J. E. Kelly, ed., *Treasures of Ushaw College: Durham's Hidden Gem*, 2015, pp.70-71. My thanks are due to Frances Pritchard for her help.

[2] Vincent Marsh, *St. Joseph's, Wrightington: A History*, 1969, p.12.

[3] Tom C. Gillett, *The Story of Weld Bank*, 1974, p. 103.

[4] Conversations with Claire Marsland, Curator, Ushaw College, July and December, 2018.

[5] Elizabeth Murray, Assistant Curator of Textiles, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, emails 3 May, 2018.

[6] Marsh, p. 12.

[7] Murray, *op cit*. The photographs of the burse reproduced here are by A. Unsworth.

[8] Gillett, p. 43.

[9] Gillett, p.66.

[10] *Treasures,* p. 90

[11] Mgr. Peter Cookson's correspondence 5 September 2018.

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[15] Joanna Booth, 'The Manchester Vestment: The Vaux Chasuble',(unpublished article, Manchester, c.2003)

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[18] F. O. Blundell, OSB, *Old Catholic Lancashire*: vol 2, 1938, p.103.

[19] Unsworth, pp.12-14.

[20] Claire Marsland's correspondence, 24 July 2018.

[21] Booth, 'Vestment', no pagination.

[22] Booth, Appendix Three – 'Laurence Vaux: The Man, the Myth and the Manchester Church – The Story of Manchester's Pre-Reformation Treasures'.

[23] A. J. Mitchinson, *Catholicism in Standish: From Persecution to Parish 1559-1884*, (North West Catholic History, 2005), p.69.

[24] Booth, 'Appendix Three'.

[25] Pritchard p. 70

[26] *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 1976, p.1004.

[27] Conversation with Amy George, Curator, Whitworth Gallery, University of Manchester, 9 February 2018.

[28] According to some biographical notes kept with Bishop Dicconson's Diaries at the Lancashire County Archives in Preston, he resided in Weld Bank prior to becoming Vicar Apostolic in 1740. His papers seem to have been transferred from Weld Bank to Preston on 19 May 1942.

[29] Marsh, p.12.

[30] Mitchinson*, Standish*, p.71.

SOCIETY OF THE SISTERS FAITHFUL COMPANIONS OF JESUS IN NORTH EAST ENGLAND, 1872-2017

Margaret Hodgson

The Society of The Sisters Faithful Companions of Jesus [FCJ] was founded in France in 1820 by a young widow, Marie Madeleine, Vicomtesse de Bonnault d'Houët nee de Bengy. She was inspired by the spirituality of St Ignatius Loyola and, despite opposition from the Jesuits, based her Rule on their Constitutions[1]. She began her work in Amiens with two companions, one schoolteacher and seven poor children who would be instructed in the faith, taught to read, write, sew and be trained in domestic service. This apostolate, though initially opposed by the Church authorities and others, quickly expanded; other women joined her, and more foundations were established in France. Even after the Napoleonic Wars, (1803-15) France was not safe, and Marie Madeleine was advised to develop her mission in other countries. In 1830, she arrived in London with a companion and was asked to take over a well-established boarding school. She accepted with characteristic vitality and undertook work among the poor and destitute, with working women and young girls. Her pattern (later followed in Redcar, Middlesbrough and Hartlepool) was to establish a day and boarding school, the fees of which would help supply some of the needs of the Elementary school. Foundations in Liverpool, Birkenhead, Ireland and Salford followed in quick succession. Her reverence for the individuality of each person was her hallmark at a time of incredible poverty and deprivation.

Middlesbrough 1872

Knowledge of the Sisters' work spread and the Bishop of Beverley, Dr Robert Cornthwaite, asked for help in Middlesbrough where he described the situation as 'desperate'. The Sisters promised to do their best while at the same time reminding him that they would need some financial support. In May 1872, five

Sisters arrived in Middlesbrough[2] and took up residence in three small cottages in Temperance Place or 'The Court'. For those who lived in this maze of small and wretched houses, 'situated in the poorest quarter of the town', life was grim. Poverty and illness were rife. The young superior, Mother Lucy Fletcher, was dead within two years, having contracted tuberculosis. This was a 'a low neighbourhood where scenes of drunkenness and fighting were of nightly occurrence'[3]. The memoirs of Mother Philomena Kirby[4] recount the murder of a man outside their home. In 1874, the FCJ Annals describe 'our humble abode' as being 'in a state of real degradation' and in 1875 recount a visit from a Jesuit who was 'deeply touched at our humble habitation and the laborious life we are called to lead in this town'. Inspired by the exhortation of Madame d'Houët to 'work not like great ladies who seek to while away time but like poor people who have to earn their living', the Sisters were 'fully occupied from morning till night: visiting the sick and poor, instructing and teaching in both day and night schools'. Their readiness to identify with the workers and their families evoked a warm and immediate response from the people. To welcome them the local teacher lit fires and made a hot meal for the Sisters and it appears that the priest had organised an appeal for furniture. Small kindnesses, (like the woman who gave each of the Sisters 'a nice warm egg for your tea') no doubt helped compensate the Sisters for the 'grime and grimness of their surroundings'.

At first, the only school was housed in a disused windmill where about thirty girls were taught by some women of the parish. The Sisters immediately took charge of the education of infants and girls and, by 1873, had gathered nearly four hundred children for the newly opened schools of St. Mary's (on the site of the old mill) and St. Patrick's (Lawson Street). The grinding poverty of the area was worsened in 1874 and persisted for decades as thousands of men were thrown out of work when rolling mills and iron works closed. The schools' log books paint a harrowing picture of the misery that ensued, 'the little ones having no food at home, go from house to house begging'; 'many of our dear children fainted from hunger and cold on reaching school'; 'the children are so weak from want of food'[5]. The Sisters responded to the need by organising soup kitchens which provided 'good soup, bread, cheese and tea' for over seven hundred children. The commitment of the Sisters impressed the local community who responded in kind; 'many were in the greatest poverty, but if they had only one loaf of bread they would never refuse to share it with others poorer than themselves'. Following the original pattern, the Sisters immediately opened a private day school to help finance their work in the mission. It began in 'the one large and presentable room in one of the cottages … The community had to remove their mattresses for the desks and tables every morning before the arrival of the pupils'. It was a far cry from the Newlands school which later grew from these very impoverished beginnings.

A great privilege was granted to the community when Pope Pius X gave permission for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament in 1874. The Bishop commented, 'You are highly favoured; I think that the Holy Father must know you well'.

> The chapel was the tiniest of attics, so damp that the walls had to be hung with sheets (all that our extreme poverty could afford) to keep the wet and the whitewash from staining our poor habits. The ceiling was so low that it almost touched the head of the priest who was celebrating mass.

The visit of the Superior General, Reverend Mother Josephine Petit and Mere Marie de Bussy brought both joy and grief'[6]. The joy was shown in the way the local community and clergy turned out to welcome the French visitors and give them a 'good lusty English cheer'. The local women were surprised that the visitors were not grand ladies and one 'voiced the general surprise': 'Law, Sister, but she's dressed like one of ye'! The grief was the sight 'of the utter poverty and almost destitute condition in which her daughters were living; she could not restrain her tears: 'O my children,' she cried, 'if I had only known, you should never have suffered like this'. For the next few days, they shared the poverty; the room used by Mere Josephine, although 'clean, tidy and arranged as suitably as our means allowed, the ceiling was held up by newspapers pasted there by a young agile nun on the morning of their arrival' and Mere Marie had to climb a narrow steep ladder to reach her room.

The Sisters continued to live in The Court until 1876 but changes in their accommodation were imminent. Since his arrival at the Mission, Fr. Richard Lacy, had gradually bought up the buildings of the court, not only to provide a site for a proposed new church, but also to improve the living conditions of the Sisters. The buildings were demolished, the site cleared, and, in October, Cardinal Manning laid the foundation stone of the new cathedral. Shortly afterwards, the Sisters left The Court for the last time and 'flitted' to their new home in William Street[7]. The accommodation was something of an improvement (at least here there is no mention of any Sisters sleeping on the floor) but the area was still a rough and violent one, 'the back entrance to a large public house faced our home and we could hear the rows at closing time.'

The community (now numbering twelve) was fully involved in preparations for the opening of the new church in 1878. With the help of other FCJ convents, they made sure that the vestments, altar-linen, etc. were worthy of the occasion. When it was announced that the diocese of Beverley was to be divided to form two new dioceses – Leeds and Middlesbrough – and that a new bishop was to be consecrated for the latter, the Sisters were concerned that they would not enjoy the positive relationship with him as they had with Dr Cornthwaite who would become Bishop of Leeds. He had initially invited them and often visited

'his dear missioners.' They were delighted when the new appointment was their close ally Fr Lacy who had shared in the challenges and privations of their mission. He and the Sisters had arrived in the town within weeks of each other:

> had we not, as it were, grown up together, shared in the toils and hardships of those first years? Our interests had ever run on parallel lines with his, and no jarring element had ever disturbed relations between us…no Bishop has ever associated himself so intimately with the lives and work of the Faithful Companions of Jesus.[8]

On the day of Bishop Lacy's consecration, the Reverend Mother General of the Society presented his mitre. History repeated itself on 25 January 2008 when Sister Moira Cashmore presented Bishop Terence Drainey with his mitre at his installation as seventh Bishop of Middlesbrough.

By 1879, the community had grown again. More hands would certainly have been needed in the face of an ever-growing apostolate – sixteen sisters had sole charge of 1,577 children at St. Mary's and St Patrick's. They saw to the upkeep and supplies of the sacristies, decorated altars, visited the sick of the parish, and organised frequent entertainments by the school children to raise money for the Bishop's Building Fund[9]. There was still the ongoing Mission work and adult instruction. Added to this almost superhuman workload, it was essential that the private day school grow to help support the community. Two rooms in the convent in William Street were used for the private day school, known as the 'Guinea School' under the headship of Mother Teresa Lawless. In 1872, there had been twenty-one girls and boys; eight years later the number had only increased to twenty-four. Perhaps this is not surprising, considering the location of the school.

MOTHER TERESA LAWLESS

When the Workhouse opened in 1878, the Sisters were deeply committed to alleviating the suffering of the occupants. The Annals tell sad tales of their lives and the efforts needed in 'soothing difficulties and removing unkindly prejudices'. In 1880, one of the residents wistfully commented, 'the only pleasant things we have here are the roses in the garden and the Sisters'.

St. Hilda's Convent, Redcar 1880

The privations of the Sisters' daily life, the dampness, disease, dirt and sickness among which they lived placed a great strain on the whole community so a holiday in Redcar was welcomed by everyone as something 'of which we really felt the want'. In 1880, Mother Teresa Lawless had an accident after which the parish priest took rooms at Redcar for her and a companion so that she might convalesce. The Society then rented a house on Coatham Road 'whither the community hard worked and too few in number to cope with the work might go when occasion offered to recuperate their strength and health'.[10] This became known as St. Hilda's Convent. As there was no Catholic school or church in Redcar, the Society recognised and responded to the need of the local community by starting a parish school. Perhaps they also saw the opportunity to establish a small Boarding and Day School which might grow more quickly than the Guinea School in Middlesbrough. By the end of 1881, there were already five boarders and the parish school proved attractive to Protestant as well as Catholic children. However, the Mission at Redcar did not flourish, indeed it suffered 'a want of success with all circumstances'.

Middlesbrough and Hartlepool, 1885

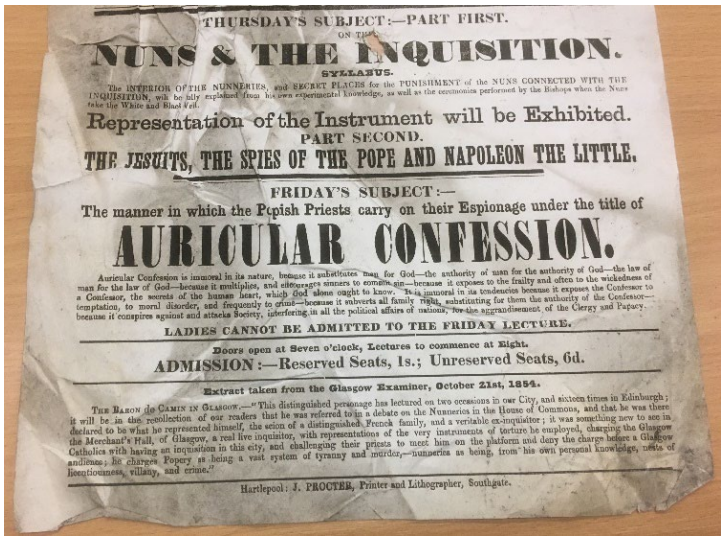
Back in Middlesbrough, the community was once again on the move. There was some increase in demand for places in the private school and the convent was now home to pupil teachers who worked in schools across Middlesbrough. Three houses in Gunnergate Terrace were therefore leased in 1881. Although this was a better area, the drains were faulty and in 1885, the Middlesbrough community moved to Borough Road, an area of 'green fields and level meadows'.

That was a significant year for the growth of the Society in the north east. Fr Michael Greene of Hartlepool had inherited a mission 'encumbered with debt', 'the very Sacred Vessels in danger of being seized to meet the demands of creditors;' parishioners 'were discontented and upset'. Fr Greene had been selected by Bishop Bewick of the Hexham and Newcastle Diocese to 'pour the oil of sympathy and understanding into the aching wounds of the disorganised Catholics of West Hartlepool'. For the Sisters the choice lay between the 'little foundation' at Redcar, 'with its many limitations and difficulties and the larger

mission at West Hartlepool, which seemed to cry out: ‘Come over and help us! The result was a foregone conclusion’.

Hartlepool 1885

The small community from Redcar transferred to Hartlepool in January 1885 and rented a roomy house on the then outskirts of the town, previously owned by Edward Withy, a shipbuilder. ‘Avon Villas’ in Victoria Road was nothing like the first foundation in Middlesbrough. One source described it as ‘fairly large with conservatory, flower garden and large kitchen garden’. A boarding and day school was quickly established and St. Joseph’s Parish School for girls as opened in March 1885. The Annals report that ‘Mother Clare Carroll opened the school, she began with fifty girls and infants in a room rented over a shop’. St. Joseph’s FCJ Convent Grammar School was rarely referred to by its full name; it was always known as ‘The Convent’.



THURSDAY'S SUBJECT:—PART FIRST.

ON THE

NUNS & THE INQUISITION.

SYLLABUS.

The INTERIOR OF THE NUNNERIES, and SECRET PLACES for the PUNISHMENT of the NUNS CONNECTED WITH THE INQUISITION, will be fully explained from his own experimental knowledge, as well as the ceremonies performed by the Bishops when the Nuns take the White and Black Veil.

Representation of the Instrument will be Exhibited.

PART SECOND.

THE JESUITS, THE SPIES OF THE POPE AND NAPOLEON THE LITTLE.

FRIDAY'S SUBJECT:—

The manner in which the Popish Priests carry on their Espionage under the title of

AURICULAR CONFESSION.

Auricular Confession is immoral in its nature, because it substitutes man for God—the authority of man for the authority of God—the law of man for the law of God—because it multiplies, and encourages sinners to commit sin—because it exposes to the frailty and often to the wickedness of a Confessor, the secrets of the human heart, which God alone ought to know. It is immoral in its tendencies because it exposes the Confessor to temptation, to moral disorder, and frequently to crime—because it subverts all family rights, substituting for them the authority of the Confessor—because it conspires against and attacks Society, interfering in all the political affairs of nations, for the aggrandisement of the Clergy and Papacy.

LADIES CANNOT BE ADMITTED TO THE FRIDAY LECTURE.

Doors open at Seven o'clock, Lectures to commence at Eight.

ADMISSION:—Reserved Seats, 1s.; Unreserved Seats, 6d.

Extract taken from the Glasgow Examiner, October 21st, 1854.

THE BARON DE CAMIN IN GLASGOW.—"This distinguished personage has lectured on two occasions in our City, and sixteen times in Edinburgh; it will be in the recollection of our readers that he was referred to in a debate on the Nunneries in the House of Commons, and that he was there declared to be what he represented himself, the scion of a distinguished French family, and a veritable ex-inquisitor; it was something new to see in the Merchant's Hall, of Glasgow, a real live inquisitor, with representations of the very instruments of torture he employed, charging the Glasgow Catholics with having an inquisition in this city, and challenging their priests to meet him on the platform and deny the charge before a Glasgow audience; he charges Popery as being a vast system of tyranny and murder,—nunneries as being, from his own personal knowledge, nests of licentiousness, villainy, and crime."

Hartlepool: J. PROCTER, Printer and Lithographer, Southgate.

Courtesy of the Hartlepool Museum Service.

In the 1850s, Hartlepool had been a hot-bed of religious dissension and prejudice against Catholics, in general, and nuns in particular, was rife[11]. Although, the situation had improved by the time the FCJs arrived, the community was sensitive to the undercurrents in the town. In 1892, Canon William Wickwar, thought it advisable ‘in this Protestant town’ that the Sisters ‘enlarge the enclosure’ to encompass a piece of nearby waste ground. (The Superior General initially refused Mother Madeleine Adnett’s request to buy the land but when she visited at a later date and was on the receiving end of a stone lobbed through a window, she changed her mind. After the Relief of Ladysmith (1900), the community was keen to display its patriotism by hoisting the flag in the garden and allowing the boarders to go for a walk ‘wearing bows of red, white and blue ribbon’. Upon hearing news of the Relief of Mafeking, ‘immediately from one of our top windows the Union Jack was floating. The

first to be seen in a town which soon followed our example, every house being decorated with flags'.

In 1903, the Hartlepool community feared, the 'bigotry of the Local Education Committee' would put paid to their plans to develop a Pupil Teachers' Centre. Their application was refused. Though Middlesbrough's application went through, it was 'in the face of direct and bitter opposition' with 'announcements in the paper voicing disapproval'. However, the pastoral support and care the Sisters showed won over some opponents. The Middlesbrough community reported that 'in our visits to the workhouse … bigotry had given place to better and more cordial feelings'.

Expansion and consolidation

In both Middlesbrough and Hartlepool, the early years of the FCJ Mission coincided with radical changes to the national education system through a series of Education Acts. From 1879, there was a legal duty on parents to ensure that their children were educated and, from 1880, attendance between the ages of five and ten years could be enforced by the authorities. An Act of 1891 provided for the state payment of school fees up to ten shillings per head, effectively making primary education free. 1893 saw the school leaving age raised to eleven and, most significantly for Catholic schools, 'The Voluntary Schools' Act of 1897 provided grants to Elementary schools not funded by school boards (typically Church Schools). In 1902, the Balfour act enabled local authorities to 'recognise' and contribute to fees of Secondary schools. In the thirty years since those first five Sisters arrived in The Court, the educational landscape had changed beyond recognition and some, like Mother Teresa Lawless, had lived to see the day.

Widened access to education and the ever-increasing population amongst Catholics meant that the need for schools was great. The extra financial support to institutions helped the Sisters to meet that need. In the period up to the First World War, many building projects were completed. In Hartlepool, St. Joseph's Girls and Infants School was built in 1890 at a cost of £2,000; there were extensions to the Convent school with new classrooms, a chapel and dormitories. In Middlesbrough, the Newlands had grown to include a kindergarten, preparatory and preliminary classes for boys and girls under ten, four classes for older girls and a Pupil Teachers' centre.

Ministry beyond schools was an important part of the Sisters' apostolate in both towns. Evening classes had been running since 1879. Blott outlines the wide range of subjects offered – physiology, botany, drawing, mathematics, geology, physiography, hygiene and drill. There were exams in music, science and art and, in 1893, the only first-class certificate in agriculture in the area was obtained by a convent pupil, no mean feat for a girl in the 1890s. The novelist

Naomi Jacob wrote, ‘after a day spent in the world where everything was ugly, the convent was more than a place in which to learn, it was a relief and a sort of ‘other side of the coin.’[12] ‘Here were women who taught because they loved teaching, who were proud to be able to teach, and who felt they were fulfilling a great and noble vocation’[13]. For many, life was indeed ‘ugly’. Hartlepool Infants’ School Log Book describe 1908 as ‘marked by of the terrible poverty of the little ones who have been unable to come to school for want of proper clothing’. The more affluent pupils in both towns supported the Parish School children by providing free breakfasts and clothing. They in their turn provided treats for the young inmates of the Workhouse.

The Sisters in Middlesbrough continued to visit the workhouse. In 1905, these visits were described as ‘more and more consoling’:

> The matron touched by the devotedness of the priest and Sisters is quite a changed person. She is now as kind and gentle as she was before harsh and bitter and gives all her confidence to the Sisters acknowledging that they have done a great deal of good to her as well as the poor Catholics.

For a time, the noviciate for coadjutrix sisters was based in Hartlepool.

First World War

‘There is no sound of carol singing or other music in the street for the shades of suffering and death lay over the Hartlepools’. ‘There is scarcely a child without someone in the firing line’. The Sisters and their pupils were committed to the

war effort. They entertained visiting soldiers, consoled the bereaved, raised funds, knitted, sewed and prayed. Whilst upper class women responded to the Queen's call to 'sew shirts for soldiers', the children at St. Joseph's in Hartlepool were undertaking a more gruesome and unpleasant task, unpicking and resewing dirty sacks for bayonet practice. The Annals comment, 'children were delighted and never attended so well and so early'. The war must have had a searing effect on the Sisters who, whilst surrounded by grieving families, had to contain their fears for their own relatives and for the communities of FCJs trapped in France and Belgium. They regularly received news of past pupils killed or maimed and, with the bombardment in 1914 and Zeppelin raids in 1916 and 1918, found themselves on the Front Line.

The repercussions of these raids ripple down the generations. At the final Mass to mark the life and work of the FCJs in the North East of England, Sr. Claire Sykes, Superior General of the Society, shared her family's story. On the morning of the raid, Sr Claire's mother, then a small child, fled to West Hartlepool with two of her siblings. She was dressed only in her nightie and a coat and had lost a shoe along the way. When they reached Victoria Road, the children were 'approached by a lady all dressed in black ... my mother was always small, ... and though now 8, she was lifted up and taken into a big house. Here, her cut foot was tended and she was given broth and put into a little bed'. Sr Claire reminded the congregation that, although the mission of the FCJs in the North East may have ended, there were many children across the world in need of the care her mother received in 1916.

The 1916 Annals of Middlesbrough recorded a Zeppelin raid:

> On the night of November 27th, we witnessed from a safe distance, a sight we had never hoped to have the good fortune to see. After a two hours' vigil, the sudden appearance of a powerful searchlight warned us that the enemy had been sighted. Instantly joined by a dozen others, these marvellous productions of science swept the heavens and revealed to the gaze of thousands of fascinated spectators the beautiful "silvery fish" so often described. Held in their blinding rays, it seemed to stagger and to make a fruitless attempt to escape.

The Sisters in Hartlepool, who were experiencing the raid 'up close and personal' didn't share the sentiment that this was something that they 'hoped to have the good fortune to see'.

> How shall we describe the terrors of the night? Some stayed up after the warning, and when the first crash sounded, Sisters and children were roused and hurried down, praying to the accompaniment of exploding bombs and terrific gun-firing. The crash of falling glass warned us that danger was very nigh – and indeed it was, for the bombs were dropped in streets four minutes' walk from our gate, and

> in the Park. Then a lurid light crept in through the windows and flooded the hall, and we beheld a magnificent, though awful sight. Far up in a crimson haze hung a blazing Zeppelin. It split into two parts, then slowly descended. It appeared close to us, but, in reality, fell into the sea a little distance from the coast of Hartlepool about a mile away. A second Zeppelin was seen by one of the mistresses and some of the children: the search – lights were full on it, and it gleamed brightly in their midst. When the Zeppelin fell here, the cheering of the crowds was deafening. After an act of thanksgiving in chapel and a prayer for the repose of the souls of our would-be-murderers, we went back to bed …

During the war, a colony of Belgian refugees had settled at Seaton Snooks (near Seaton Carew) as many of the men were employed at the Zinc Works … 'a more dreary spot cannot be imagined'. The Sisters supported the community there throughout the war ensuring that their spiritual needs were met, and that the children went to school. They provided a 'real English tea party' at Christmas. Very little is known about this 'Belgian Colony' and most of what we do know comes from the FCJ Annals.

Between the Wars

In the inter-war years, schools were bursting at the seams and there was a time of further expansion, once more set against a backdrop of great poverty and mass unemployment. In Middlesbrough, St. Richard's was opened in 1927 but the numbers were still so great that army huts needed to be used. The Boarding School and the Teachers' Centre at Newlands were closed, and efforts focussed on the newly extended day school. The opening of Sacred Heart School in Hartlepool in 1934 relieved some of the pressure on St. Joseph's. The year 1935 was a Jubilee year in Hartlepool when the Sisters celebrated fifty years of service to the people of the town.

World War II

The declaration of war was quickly followed by evacuation orders. Many of the Newland pupils were billeted at Malton and films of their activities can be found in the Yorkshire Film Archives or accessed through the FCJ website[14]. Some pupils from Hartlepool were sent to Whitby and Scarborough but as parents could not see that their children would be any safer in another coastal town, many soon returned. Others remained in Rosedale and surrounding areas for the duration. In December 1940, St. Joseph's school was bombed during the night and the building destroyed. Sacred Heart and St. Joseph's Senior Girls' schools combined to accommodate the older girls and the Headship passed to

Mother Imelda, FCJ. Boys and younger pupils were scattered to schools and spare rooms across the town. Pupils recall trying to use the snooker tables at the Athaneum Club as desks. St. Joseph's was eventually allocated the use of The Exchange Building, a former Board school which had been condemned as unfit in 1934, used as an army barracks and then abandoned. There was no playground, no running water and no electricity[15]. On dark winter afternoons the staff needed to be very creative as often the children could not see to read or write.

Post World War II

Once more there was a post-war baby boom and the school population increased. There was little money for building schools, so the children remained at The Exchange Building in Hartlepool until a new school on Musgrave Street was opened in 1957. Sr Agnes Morgan recalled that the children were so excited at having a playground and field, they ran 'round and round with the teachers and caretaker joining in this mini-marathon'. The Butler Education Act of 1944 and the introduction of 'assisted' and then 'voluntary aided' places helped finance the growth of the Secondary schools and expanded opportunities for girls in both towns. The Newlands preparatory school closed temporarily as there was such a demand for space. It became obvious that the needs of the school could only be met with the building of a new school. A site in Saltersgill was chosen in 1962 and the project completed by 1965. 'The Convent' grammar school was expanded when a new hall and classrooms were built in 1965. These had a very short life as the whole site was cleared shortly after the introduction of the Comprehensive system and pupils moved to the English Martyrs site in 1973.

In Middlesbrough, the Sisters who taught in St. Mary's had faced many challenges in their dilapidated building. Built in 1874, the school had definitely seen better days and in 1965 suffered 'the overnight disintegration of a classroom and the falling out of a wall'. The building was condemned. As nearby South End Council School was standing empty, 'the children with no school' were transferred to 'a school with no children'. Great reserves of patience and good humour were needed. This particular 'South End', as the Annals recount bore 'no resemblance to the seaside resort. Rather one might call it an exact facsimile of the E. Wing of Durham Jail.' There were still leaking classrooms and corridors. One of the teachers grumbled that, 'at least in St. Mary's we did know where to put the buckets'.

In 1967, reorganisation in Middlesbrough led to the closure of St. Richard's as a Secondary school. The building was remodelled and, by 1969, was ready to be used by the 'South Enders' as the 'new' St. Richard's Primary School. St. Mary's Primary continued in a new building on the original site and was often

still referred to as ‘The Old Mill’. By 1970, the Middlesbrough FCJs had moved into the new convent on the Saltersgill site and the old Newlands became a teacher-training college. Some of the students were Newlands’ Old Girls who were very shocked to discover that they were expected to do Physical Education in what had once been the hallowed space of the chapel.

The introduction of comprehensive education in 1973 led to the closure of ‘The Convent’ in Hartlepool and pupils transferred to English Martyrs’ School. Sisters Patricia Coyle and Gertrude Walsh continued to teach there until their retirement. The community moved to Hutton Avenue. Sr. Beatrice Molyneux continued as head of St. Joseph’s Primary until 1981. Sr. Victoire Finlay undertook the headship of a proposed new school in Coulby Newham. She was told she would need to ‘go out and find the pupils’. She must have been successful in this task as, despite beginning with only eleven children in 1980, the school thrived. Sr. Moira Cashmore was Head from 1987 to 1999.

A new era

During the 1990s, though numbers in the Society were declining and new apostolates opened up across the globe, FCJs continued to serve in the north east; small communities were established in Crook (1992-2013) and Brus Corner, Hartlepool (1994-2000). Sisters were involved in a range of ministries: parish work, community outreach, health visiting and spirituality. In 1999, the Middlesbrough Community left the Convent on the Saltersgill site and moved to Thornfield Road but continued their ministries of teaching and parish work. Sr. Maria McDermott ceased teaching Business Studies at Newlands in 2004. She was the last FCJ to teach in the town, bringing to an end a tradition spanning over one hundred and thirty years. The Sisters who remained in Middlesbrough and Hartlepool, moved on to different apostolates in 2017. Sr. Brid Liston FCJ, the British Provincial, spoke at one of the Masses which celebrated the contribution of the Society to the north east of England:

> Our sadness in leaving finds consolation in the belief that the seeds planted by the FCJ sisters are bearing rich fruit in the lives of many people. The witness and commitment shared by our sisters over the years is now being carried on by all those who have been touched by the values and attitudes of Christ and the FCJ charism of companionship and fidelity.

Acknowledgements:

Thanks are due to the Sisters FCJ for access to the Annals of the Society and to Sr Mary Campion McCarren, fcJ, and Mrs. Margaret Harcourt-Williams for their support and advice.

FCJ Sisters with Bishop T. Drainey, Bishop of Middlesborough, after the Mass of Thanksgiving in the Cathedral, Coulby Newham. *Photograph: Courtesy of Les Clark*

Notes and References

[1] www.fcjsisters.org All unacknowledged quotations are taken from FCJ archives.

[2] For more detailed information see Margaret Turnham's excellent articles: 'The Founding of a Convent. Middlesbrough 1837-1876' and 'Roman Catholic Revivalism: A study of the area that became the Diocese of Middlesbrough 1779-1992'

[3] Annals of the Sisters of Mercy, 1888, quoted by K. Blott: *A Hundred Years. A History of the FCJs in Middlesbrough. 1872-1972* p.16

[4] Blott ibid p.17

[5] Log Books of St. Mary's and St. Patrick's. Quoted by Blott p. 18

[6] Margaret Turnham: The Founding of a Convent

[7] Blott: p. 20

[8] 'History of the Convent at Middlesbrough 1872-1928' (FCJ archives)

[9] Blott: p. 23

[10] History written in 1920 for the Centenary of the Society. (FCJ archives).

[11] Jonathan Bush, *Papists and Prejudice: Popular Anti-Catholicism and Anglo-Irish Conflict in the North East of England, 1845-70*

[12] Naomi Jacob: Thinking things over

[13] Naomi Jacob: Me

[14] www.fcjsisters.org

[15] Memoir: Sr. Agnes Morgan, FCJ and *Northern Daily Mail*, 25.4.1953

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NOTES

St Oswald's Parish History Group, Bellingham

The group was inaugurated on 20 November 2017. It aims to study the history of the parish and other aspects of the past in talks and activities. It meets at 7 pm on the second Tuesday of the month in St Oswald's church hall, Bellingham. Visitors are most welcome. The officers are:

Revd Peter Stoddart (President)
Steve Hunnysett (Chairman)
Barbara Sunley (Secretary)
Linda Young (Treasurer)

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Rt Revd Robert Byrne, Cong. Orat.

On reaching the mandatory age for retirement in July 2017 Bishop Séamus Cunningham, thirteenth Bishop of Hexham & Newcastle, submitted his letter of resignation to the Holy See.

In February 2019 it was announced in Rome and Newcastle that the Rt Revd Robert Byrne, C.O., had been appointed fourteenth bishop of the diocese. On his ordination as a priest in 1985 Fr Byrne entered the Congregation of the Oratory at Birmingham (founded in 1848 by Cardinal John Henry Newman*) and he became a founder member of the Oxford Oratory in 1990, of which he became Provost in 1993. He was appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Birmingham in 2014 the first Oratorian priest to be raised to the episcopate in England for one hundred and forty years. Bishop Byrne took up residence in Newcastle on 20 March prior to his installation on 25 March 2019.

(*In 1991, Cardinal Newman was proclaimed Venerable by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints and he was beatified on 19 September 2010; Pope Francis has announced his intention to canonise him on 13 October 2019. Newman is the first English person who has lived since the 17th century to be recognised as a saint by the Church. The last canonisation from the UK was of John Ogilvie, SJ, the Scottish martyr, and the only post-Reformation Scottish saint. He was canonised by Pope Paul VI in 1976 who also declared the forty martyrs of England and Wales saints in 1970.)

*

Anthony Ian Doyle, 1925-2018, *R.I.P.*

Ian was born in Liverpool in 1925 and was educated by the Christian Brothers. He suffered from asthma and so was judged unfit for war service. He went up to Downing College, Cambridge University, on an open scholarship at the age of 17. He was taught by the famous F R Leavis, and took a double First and a PhD.

In 1950, he was appointed Assistant Librarian in Durham University Library and spent the whole of his career, and the rest of his life, in Durham. From 1959 to 1982, he served as Keeper of Rare Books and from 1972 to 1985 as Reader in Bibliography. He gained a unique knowledge of the manuscript and early books collections of the university and cathedral libraries, and of Ushaw College. He

was a pioneer in the development of special collections librarianship in this country. He published more than two hundred chapters, articles, reviews, notes and obituaries. The contents are eclectic and impressive.

In 1985 he retired and devoted himself to his own research. Alongside his own scholarly work, he was generous in his support of the work of others, across a wide range of subjects and he wrote on the history of the north-east, contributing to this journal. On the first page of the book *Popish Elvet,* a history of Catholic life in his part of Durham, Fr John Tweedie acknowledged the contribution of Dr Doyle as chair of the Parish History Committee. He contributed to the life of the city as a member of the Catholic community and as a trustee of the City of Durham Trust.

He was an active member of several learned societies: a Vice President of the Surtees Society, Fellow of the British Academy, a Corresponding Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, a Council Member Early English Text Society, a Fellow Leverhulme Trust Fund, Henry E. Huntington Library, a Committee member of International Paleographie Latine.

Ian was honoured many times by his fellow scholars: he was an Honorary Fellow of University College and, in 2010, he received the Chancellor's Medal of Durham University. In 2014, Ian was awarded the Bibliographical Society's Gold Medal for his services to bibliography. An annual *Ian Doyle Memorial Lecture* has been instituted in his honour.

Ian was a distinguished scholar and a generous and highly respected member of the community of learning. His career reminds us of the value of a vision of university life that, perhaps, could be in danger of being lost; a vision in which scholarship is valued for its own sake, and the pursuit of knowledge is seen as a service to society that needs no other justification; a vision in which a phrase like 'the community of scholarship' is not an empty one.

(Adapted from the homily given at his Requiem Mass, 28 February 2018, at St Cuthbert's, Durham.)

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