Memorial windows in St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle

Elizabeth Dunn (c.1872).

William Dunn

Northern Catholic History

Markenfield Hall

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A RECUSANT EXILE'S LETTER TO THOMAS MARKENFIELD

Alan Robiette and Eleanor Hart

Introduction

As one of the main protagonists in the Rising in the North of 1569-70, Thomas Markenfield (*c*1532-1592) was an important figure in northern Catholic history. While the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were the most senior of the conspirators, studies of the Rising agree that the driving force came less from the earls and more from Markenfield and his uncle, Richard Norton.[1] Another key figure was Anne Percy, Countess of Northumberland, who proved to be a great deal more militant than her vacillating husband. After the failure of the Rising the earls, Thomas and a substantial number of their co-conspirators were indicted for treason and attainted, losing their lands and property. A few, including the Earl of Northumberland, were captured (and most of them executed), but the majority escaped abroad into exile. The largest community of Catholic exiles was in the Low Countries: it included the Earl of Westmorland, the Countess of Northumberland, Richard Norton and three of his sons, and Thomas Markenfield.

As a consequence of the attainder, and confiscation of the family property, few documents with a personal link to Thomas Markenfield now survive. One is a letter written to him during his exile preserved in the Harleian Manuscripts at the British Library in a miscellaneous collection of correspondence bound together as a single volume.[2] The author's name is not given – he writes under an alias, and is at pains to conceal not just his identity but his exact whereabouts – but he is clearly a close friend and possibly a blood relation. Amongst other information he conveys a message from home: 'your wife is poor but prayeth hard for you'. A date of 1593 was assigned to the letter when the Harleian Manuscripts were first systematically catalogued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That date, however, gives rise to the poignant story that the news from home could never have been delivered, as Thomas was found dead in his lodgings in Brussels in 1592.[3]

The existence of the letter has been known to historians for a long time. It is, for instance, mentioned in Sharp's *Memorials* published in 1840.[4] As far as we can tell, however, the dating of the letter has never been questioned; moreover, we are not aware of any detailed examination of its contents to assess its full significance. Recent research has now cast serious doubt on the original cataloguer's dating of the letter. Our analysis of the letter in the light of the new findings suggests that the letter was written in the early 1570s, most probably 1572, meaning that it belongs to the early years of Thomas's exile as opposed to the period around or just following his death twenty years later. This hypothesis

reveals the contents of the letter in a completely different light, and allows much of the detail to be interpreted for the first time. This paper gives the evidence for the new interpretation and offers a plausible conjecture for the author's identity.

The death of Isabel Markenfield

Thomas Markenfield's wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir William Ingilby (1518-1578) of Ripley Castle. On the basis of the earlier assignment of the date of the letter to 1593, it has always been assumed that Isabel outlived Thomas, and thus must have died after that date; but no such record of her death has ever been found. But an entry in the Ripley parish records for 1575 (translated from the original Latin but retaining the literal spelling), reads

September 20 – Isabelle Mrkinfeld wife of Thomas Mrkinfelde was buried.

Ripley was of course the parish of Isabel's birth, and where she was most likely to have been living (under the protection of her father) once Thomas had fled abroad. The coincidence of the location and the names Thomas and Isabel establish beyond reasonable doubt that this is the death of Isabel, wife of Thomas, in 1575.[5] Indirect corroboration for this finding comes from an obscure transaction involving the manor of Romanby. In the aftermath of the Rising, Sir William Ingilby was granted the income from the manor specifically to provide for the welfare of Isabel Markenfield.[6] But in 1576 Sir William sold on the right to this income to Thomas Boynton, Nicholas Broke and Percival Gounson,[7] the obvious implication being that by then the income was no longer needed. With the date of Isabel's death established as 1575, and bearing in mind the fact that the letter carries news of her to Thomas in the Low Countries, it becomes clear that the letter has to be from the first half of the 1570s while she was still alive.

The contents of the letter

Appendices A and B contain, respectively, a summary of the letter's physical characteristics – including our analysis of why the assigned date of 1593 is probably a cataloguing error – and a transcription of the letter's contents. The immediate impression on reading the letter is that it is quite wordy and repetitive. The writer keeps returning to the same few basic themes, which may be summarised as follows:

> He has been in England but has decided to leave the country, having suffered unwelcome attention from the authorities because of his Catholic faith, and has recently arrived in the Low Countries where he has enlisted in the Spanish forces to fight for the Catholic cause.
>
> He has had sight of a message which Thomas had earlier sent to England by a clandestine route, and thus knows that he (Thomas) is still alive.

He is concerned for Thomas's material welfare and hopes to be able to contribute some financial assistance to him.

He is anxious to arrange a meeting between the two of them, at which he will convey in more detail messages to Thomas from various people in England, including his wife Isabel.

He is concerned about secrecy, suggesting that meeting arrangements and correspondence about them should be sent through trusted third parties: he himself is operating under an alias.

Once the proposed meeting has taken place, he hopes that he and Thomas will be able to join forces and fight side by side in the struggle against the enemies of Catholicism.

No doubt because of the author's perceived need for secrecy, numerous details are left vague. Few of the individuals referred to are mentioned by name, and some of the references are decidedly oblique. It is, however, in references of this kind that the best chance of reconstructing the letter's context lies, and we examine some of these in the following section.

The people, places and events

The points of detail are taken in the order in which they occur in the letter, which in fact makes for a reasonably logical presentation.

Right dearly beloved cousin and my good friend… (line 1; see also line 106)

This greeting implies that the writer belonged to Thomas's social circle. The word 'cousin', in the language of the period, could mean either a blood relation as it does today, or alternatively just a particularly close friend. We think the fact that the writer makes a point of juxtaposing the words 'cousin' and 'friend', in both the opening salutation and its repetition at the end of the letter, is significant. We suggest for this reason that the most probable circumstance is that he was indeed a relative.

The notes that you wrote in Portugal upon the back of a target … (lines 2-3)

Here we need to deduce what the 'target' could have been. The answer seems to be that it was a small shield, more commonly termed a buckler, which was part of the personal weaponry of an armed Elizabethan gentleman.[8] Though intriguing, the mechanics of transporting Thomas's message back to England is peripheral to the main issues. More interesting is that this reference appears to place Thomas in Portugal when the handover of the message took place. Although there are records of Thomas travelling to Spain and to Rome in search of political and/or financial support for the English Catholic exiles, we are not aware of any other evidence for his having travelled to Portugal. In fact, we know of only one other reference to any of the Flanders-based exiles visiting Portugal; this was Lord Morley, in 1574.[9]

Your wife is poor but prayeth hard for you … (line 31)

Whether the author has visited Isabel in person, or whether the information is from a third party, is left unclear. What does seem to be the case is that the author must be familiar with Isabel's circle of acquaintance. Also unclear is the implication of the adjective 'poor': it could refer either to her health or to her financial circumstances. Either way, the news that 'she is in great lack of worldly comfort' is hardly what Thomas would have hoped to hear.

Your host is well provided for, but I fear me … likely to suffer harm (lines 32-33)

This enigmatic reference is one of the first clues which, if deciphered, could provide some specific context for the letter. But what could 'your host' mean in practice? In Elizabethan English the word 'host' had much the same connotation as nowadays, a person offering hospitality of either gender. We suggest that the only serious possibility is that 'your host' here means the Countess of Northumberland. She was one of the most senior of the exiles who, by virtue of pensions from both King Philip II of Spain and Mary Queen of Scots, was able to maintain a substantial household, employing four ladies-in-waiting – one of them, for a time, being Anne Markenfield, Thomas's sister – and a considerable retinue of the Percys' family servants.[10] According to one reference 'Anne Percy's house at Mechelen became an important meeting place for the English exiles'.[11] Acting in this way as a focus for the exiles was not without its dangers, and the Countess was forced to move her establishment more than once during her time in exile. This could explain the writer's phrase 'likely to suffer harm', something to which we shall return when considering the dating of the letter.

I delivered your longest note to your mistress … you eternally are beholden unto her … I have a token unto you of some value from her … to your mistress again, she is in health, she is well provided for … her master is dead, if perhaps you knew not so much before (lines 35-37, 42-44)

This is another enigmatic reference with a number of aspects. Firstly, we interpret 'mistress' as someone to whom Thomas would look up: a great Catholic lady, by implication resident in England, and wealthy enough to send a token 'of some value'. We believe that Mary Queen of Scots is the only person who fits these parameters. Thomas may or may not have met or corresponded with Mary in the period leading up to the Rising, but he would certainly have regarded her as a figurehead for the restoration of Catholicism in England.

Her 'master', in the comment 'her master is dead, if perhaps you knew not so much before', is most likely to have been John Beaton, younger brother of James Beaton, Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, one of Mary's most trusted and devoted retainers. He played a key role in her escape from Castle Leven on Loch Leven, and travelled with her into England. His title in her entourage was Master of the Household. He died suddenly from dysentery in the autumn of 1570, returning from a journey to Paris carrying messages on Mary's behalf. At

the time Mary and her household were resident at Chatsworth (in the custodianship of the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury). He is commemorated by an unusual and distinguished memorial brass in St Peter's, Edensor, the parish church for the Chatsworth estate.[12]

… as when we parted at St Trond (line 41)

This reference remains a little mysterious. St Trond appears to be the town in modern-day Belgium more often known by its Flemish name of Sint-Truiden, to the east of Brussels and Louvain. It is known for its abbey of the same name, which in the Middle Ages was an important place of pilgrimage on account of the grave of St Trudo sited there.[13] It is thus somewhere which Thomas and his correspondent may well have visited. The problem is to imagine when such a visit could have taken place; surely not in the period after the Rising, as Thomas fled England early in 1570 and the letter-writer has been without news of him until quite recently. It is not impossible that the letter might refer to an earlier occasion prior to the autumn of 1569, but this conundrum remains unresolved.

You shall understand by Mr President or my good friend your brother John where I am … (lines 56-57)

'Your brother John' can only refer to Thomas's younger brother John Markenfield. John was imprisoned during the aftermath of the Rising, but later released (his youth and presumed impressionability counting in his favour) and later pardoned.[14] Not a great deal is known about his movements after that – although a few relevant records have recently come to light, which we are still investigating – but with no sentence hanging over him he would have been free to travel to the Continent and join other Catholic exiles there.

'Mr President' was a title used by the heads of the English College, founded in Douai in 1568 for the education and training of English Catholics particularly for the priesthood. In 1578 the college was transferred to Reims. As the time-span we envisage for the letter is 1570-75, 'Mr President' at the time would have been the redoubtable William (later Cardinal) Allen and his base would have been in Douai; but Reims was a major religious centre in its own right and we can assume that there would have been good communications between the two places.[15]

I have written unto Mr Hugh Owen … your letters being delivered to Mr Owen I trust will be sent unto me with speed (line 60; see also lines 103 & 109)

Hugh Owen, the only person other than John Markenfield referred to by name in the letter, was a noted spy and later spymaster for the Catholic cause. He had a remarkably long and successful career in his precarious occupation, evading all attempts to capture or assassinate him, remaining active for more than thirty years from the early 1570s to the first decade of the 1600s. Further biographical information on him has been given by Loomie and Williams, among others.[16]

Tournay, this nineteenth of May … (line 106)

The author is writing from Tournai, a town in Belgium fairly close to the border with France and also close to Douai, site of the English College.

Dating the letter

As noted previously, our interpretation necessarily dates the letter between 1570, when Thomas arrived in the Low Countries, and 1575 when Isabel's death is recorded. The author mentions 19th May, so the task is to assign a year to the day and month. Of the various inferences made in the preceding section, three are of particular interest.

The first is the presence of Hugh Owen on the continent. The references previously cited report that Owen did not leave England – or perhaps Wales – until after the exposure of the Ridolfi plot in 1571 (though opinions differ as to whether or not he was personally involved in that plot). There is no precise date for when he crossed the Channel, but it was not before late 1571 or very early 1572. He is recorded as travelling from Flanders to Madrid in January 1572, and there is also a report of a servant of his carrying letters to England in the same month.[17] This establishes that the letter to Thomas could not have been written before early in 1572.

The second is the identification of 'your host' in the letter with the Countess of Northumberland, and the author's feeling that she may be in a vulnerable situation. We believe that this statement is most likely to refer to 1572, in which the Countess survived two traumatic events and was forced to abandon her house in Mechelen for the time being. The initial threat was an English plan, led by Sir Thomas Gresham, to capture some of the most prominent exiles (including, not surprisingly, the Countess and the Earl of Westmorland) and return them to England to face trial. This scheme was unsuccessful; but a little later in the year Mechelen was in the forefront of the burgeoning war between the Dutch Protestants led by William of Orange and the Spanish army under the Duke of Alva. Mechelen opened its gates to William in August and was duly occupied by the Dutch but they were subsequently forced to withdraw; in reprisal Mechelen was brutally sacked by the Spanish and the Countess's position in the town became untenable.[18]

The third consideration is our conjecture that 'your mistress' is to be identified with Mary Queen of Scots, and 'her master' recently deceased with John Beaton, her Master of the Household. If this is correct, the key date is Beaton's death in late 1570, some eighteen months before the probable date of the letter in May 1572. 'Her master is dead, if perhaps you knew not so much before' is the literal wording in the letter: this seems to imply that the author imagined that Thomas could have heard about the event, but equally might not. The death of one of Mary's principal retainers was unlikely to be red-hot news for the exiles, whereas the execution of the Duke of Norfolk in June 1572 or

that of the Earl of Northumberland (in August 1572) certainly would have been. For these reasons we think that an eighteen-month interval between Beaton's death and the composition of the letter is perfectly plausible and that this piece of evidence is also consistent with dating the letter to May 1572. It is, however, unlikely that the letter could have been any later than 1572, as by 1573 the fact of John Beaton's death would have been very old news.

There are thus three different indicators in the letter all of which point to 19 May 1572 as the most likely date for the letter. While no one of these is conclusive, together they add up to a good case for this date to be accepted.

The identity of the author

We have now extracted a significant amount of information from the letter, much of it by careful scrutiny of the smaller and often intriguing details. The final step is to speculate on who the author might have been and putting everything together we can deduce quite a lot about him. He must have been of the right social standing, and in all probability belonging to Thomas's social circle in England. In our view it is very likely that the two men were in fact related; he appears to have clashed with the authorities by virtue of his religious zeal, but he does not have a serious sentence hanging over him or he would have been unable to travel freely. He most probably left England for the Low Countries in the spring of 1572, and in view of his religious fervour and his desire to fight for the Catholic cause, we would expect to find records of his presence in the exile community from then through to the mid-1570s. Not many individuals fit this description and the person we consider to correspond most closely to the facts is Anthony, son and heir of Francis Bulmer of Tursdale, County Durham. In Appendix C we give more background on the family, but a few key points will provide the arguments for our identification.

Francis Bulmer married Catherine Norton, one of the numerous children of Richard Norton ('Old Norton') who was Thomas's uncle. Thomas Markenfield and Catherine Bulmer were thus first cousins, making Anthony and Thomas first cousins once removed in the usual terminology. According to Sharp, when the Rising was gathering momentum the respective forces of the Markenfields and the Nortons mustered at the Bulmer family seat at Tursdale.[19] Francis Bulmer was apparently away at the time. Whether or not this was a diplomatic absence we do not know, but it may well have been one reason why Francis was not indicted in the aftermath of the rebellion. Anthony however was arrested and imprisoned in Durham gaol, where one of his fellow-prisoners was John Markenfield. As with John, Anthony was later released and subsequently pardoned.[20] This, again as with John Markenfield, would have left him free to travel in England and to the Continent, but it would also have meant that he had little love for the authorities.

References to Anthony's activities on the Continent are not numerous, but two are of considerable interest. On 30 June 1573, Pope Gregory XIII wrote to King Philip II of Spain 'in commendation of Antony Bulmer, an exile from his country for the Catholic religion's sake'; and on 7 September 1573, Anne Countess of Northumberland wrote from Brussels to Cardinal John Moroni 'thanking him for his beneficence to herself and Antony Bulmer'. Clearly Anthony had settled into the exile community and was well acquainted with the Countess. His bid to secure a pension from King Philip was also evidently successful as he appears in a list of Spanish pensioners dating from *c.* 1575.[21]

Perhaps the most interesting record is a letter from John Hamilton in Brussels to Mary, Queen of Scots, dated 2 July 1574.[22] Hamilton, together with his brother James, had been responsible for the assassination of the Earl of Moray (then Regent of Scotland) in 1570, following which the brothers had escaped to the Continent and had been there ever since. Hamilton's letter is long and complicated but most of its contents do not concern us: the key passage is where he describes a group of English exiles (with whom he is at odds): 'these … are by name Francis Nortoun, Marcanfeld [and] one called Bowmer — all cousins german.' The term 'cousins german', an old synonym for first cousins, is significant. Hamilton is undoubtedly talking about Francis Norton, Thomas Markenfield and Anthony Bulmer. Francis and Thomas were indeed first cousins, and while Anthony is in fact one generation removed compared to the others, Hamilton would probably not have recognised such a subtle difference. The picture he paints is of Thomas and Anthony forming a tight-knit group with their close relative Francis, entirely consistent with the relationship we might expect from the terms in which the letter to Thomas is couched.

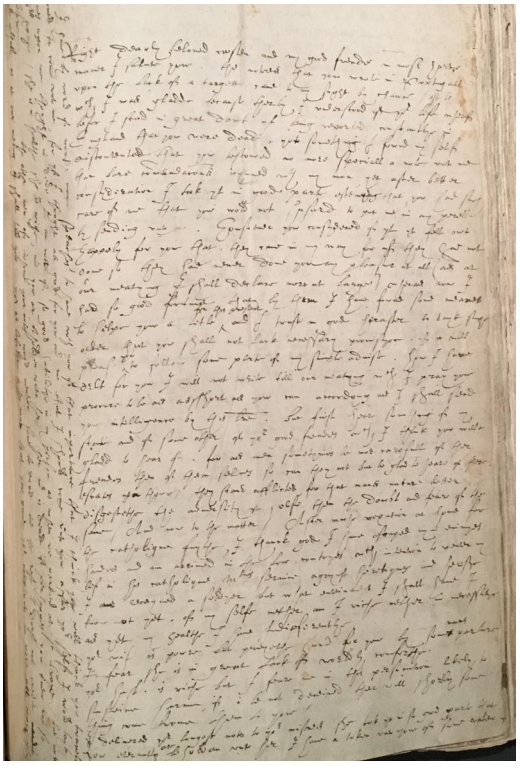
There is a final twist to the story of Anthony Bulmer. Unlike the majority of Catholic exiles, he did not live out his days abroad. He returned to England at some time in the late 1570s, as in 1578 he married Diana (sometimes referred to as Dionisia), daughter of Francis Metham of Wiganthorpe. Francis was a younger brother of Sir Thomas Metham of Metham Hall, in East Yorkshire. Anthony and Diana's first child Bertram (later Sir Bertram Bulmer) was born in 1579. 1578 was also the year his father Francis Bulmer died – at which juncture Anthony would have inherited the family property and estates – and the one event may well have influenced the other. It is quite likely that Anthony's view of his family obligations overcame his passion for the Catholic cause. Katy Gibbons, in her study of the exile communities on the Continent, highlights Anthony as one example of an exile who re-established himself in England, although she quotes evidence that he remained a recusant for the rest of his short life.[23] He died in 1584 in his early thirties.[24]

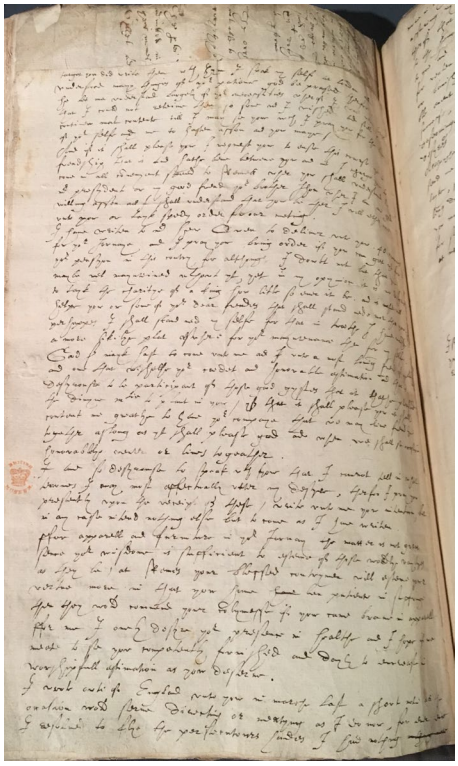
Summary and conclusions

In this paper we have subjected the letter written to Thomas Markenfield in the Low Countries to a more detailed analysis than has been previously attempted. Combined with other evidence, the date of 1593 hitherto assigned to the letter has been shown to be wrong by twenty or more years. The contents of the letter are fully consistent with a date in the early 1570s. From this we conclude that the original cataloguers of the Harleian Manuscripts must simply have assigned the date of 1593 on criteria which it is now impossible to assess. Some of the more cryptic details can, we believe, be convincingly interpreted to give May 1572 as a more precise date for the letter. Although no one of our interpretations is absolutely cut and dried, together they add up to a consistent conclusion.

We have gone on to propose an attribution of Anthony Bulmer of Tursdale, County Durham, as the author of the letter. Similar considerations apply to this deduction: although no one fact can be adduced which is in itself conclusive, the number of possible candidates is quite limited and the weight of evidence for Anthony to be the author is in our view strong. Intriguingly, we suspect he has almost (but not quite) put his name to the letter. He signs the letter with a large capital B; and he gives the alias by which he is known - Anthony Lovell - using his Christian name but changing the surname. While that may seem counter-intuitive, it is a tactic often employed by less experienced under-cover agents: the rationale is that if the real Christian name is called out in conversation, and the person addressed instinctively reacts, he avoids giving himself away.

We end with one other thought. By 1593, the date originally thought to apply to the letter, the group of Catholic exiles (including Thomas) who had left England after the failed Rising was fragmented and disillusioned. Some had died, others were living in isolation: back in England, plot after plot against Queen Elizabeth had been foiled, Mary Queen of Scots had been sent to the scaffold, and the might of the Spanish armed forces had been muted by the defeat of the Armada. The letter does not read at all like that. It is full of energy and optimism, full of a desire to work and if need be fight side-by-side for the Catholic cause and the defeat of the hated Protestant regime in England. With the hindsight of our re-interpretation, it is easy to see it as a product of the early 1570s when the hopes of the exiles were still very much alive.





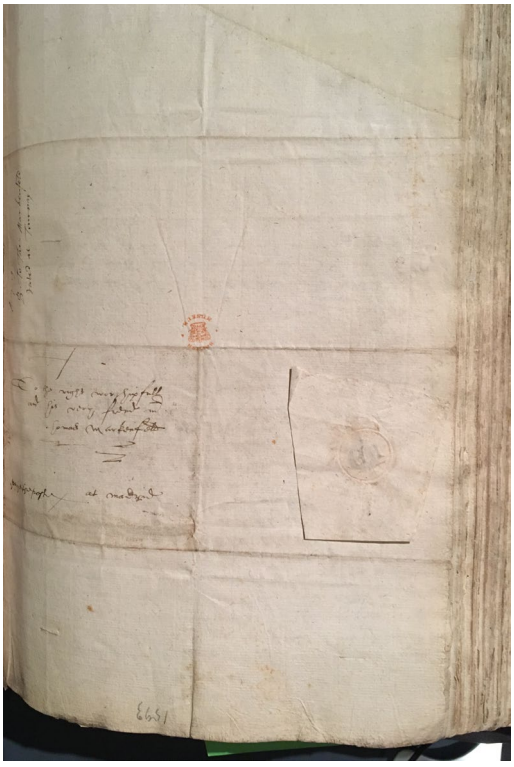


Fig1. The four sides making up the letter Folios 205 &206.

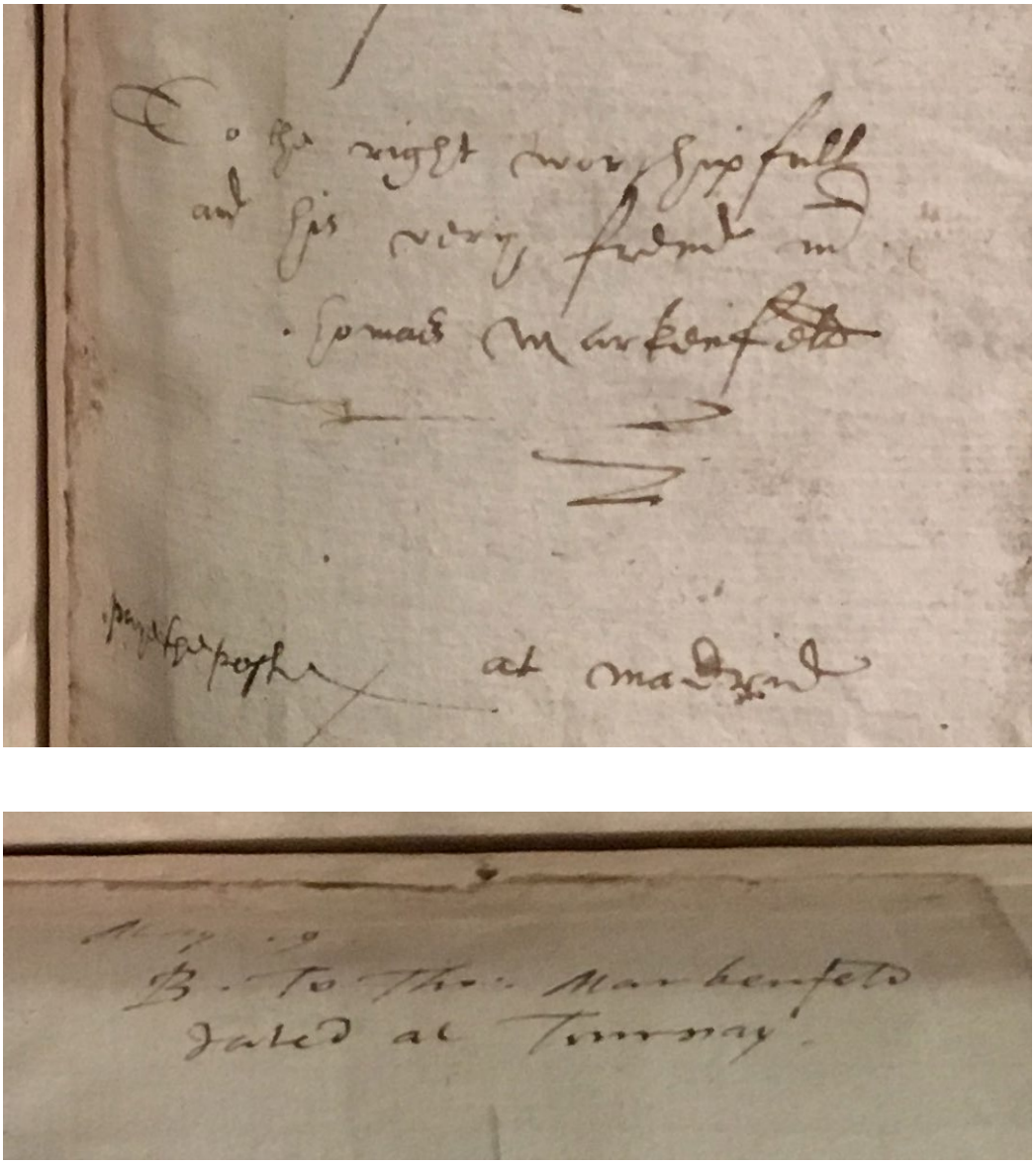


Fig 2. Details of the address page (f. 206v). **Top**: main address block; in the author's hand, apart from the contemporary addition 'payd the poste' (see text). **Middle**: later cataloguer's summary, possibly in an 18th century hand. **Bottom row**: at left the 1593 date, in pencil, probably added at time of binding; cf. the pencilled folio numbers (centre and right) on ff. 205r and 206r.

Appendix A: The general characteristics of the letter

The substance of the letter, examined subsequently, takes up both sides of the first sheet (f. 205r and f. 205v) and one side (f. 206r) of the second sheet. The reverse of the second sheet (f. 206v) carries the original address, along with some later annotations in other hands. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

Ff. 205r, 205v and 206r form the main body of the letter. All the text they contain is written in the same 16th century hand, clearly that of the author. For the most part the quality of the hand is good, so that the great majority of the text is relatively easy to read for anyone familiar with the conventions of the period. (The odd word is difficult to decipher where the original is worn or has suffered other minor damage, but such instances are uncommon.)

As Figure 1 demonstrates the main text is of appreciable length. Ff. 205r and 205v are filled with handwriting – on f. 205r the author has even filled the left margin as well – and there is a further half page or more on f. 206r. We shall get to grips with this content in Appendix B.

The substantial sample of the author's handwriting provided by these three pages of text makes it straightforward to identify the same hand on the address page (f. 206v). This contains relatively little text, but the page is complicated by the presence of a number of different components. These are shown in more detail in Figure 2.

(i) In the same hand as the main body of the letter (see Fig. 2, top) is the 16th century address information, which reads, literally:

> To the right worshipfull
> and his very frend (*sic*) Mr
> Tomas Markenfeld
> at Madrid

(ii) In what appears to be a different hand, but still from the 16th century, there is the further annotation 'payd the poste' (Fig. 2, top; these are the three words at the bottom left of the image)

(iii) Physically well separated from the above is another note (see Fig. 2, middle), written in ink but in quite a different hand – perhaps from the 18th century or thereabouts – which reads:

> May 19
> B. to Thos. Markenfeld
> dated at Tournay

This is a summary of the letter's key parameters, which is likely to have been written on the address page by an early cataloguer.

(iv) Finally, there is, again well separated from all of the other three components, the date of 1593. This is written in pencil, not ink; and it is in a

different hand again. The same pencilled date of 1593, in the same hand, is also written on other adjoining documents in the MS 286 bound volume, and the foliation of the volume is also in that hand (and again in pencil). From all this it is quite clear that these date additions were the work of the cataloguer who put together the volume for binding. The three remaining images in the lower half of Fig. 2 show these pencilled annotations.

As the catalogues for the Harleian manuscripts were printed in the early years of the 19th century (and the British Library still uses those same catalogues), we cannot now know the cataloguer's reasons for grouping the Markenfield letter with the other 1593 correspondence. There is no indication of any such year in the author's hand anywhere in the letter itself: the date appears only in the phrase 'Tornay this xixth May', in other words as simply the day and the month but no more than that.

Appendix B: The text of the letter, transcribed into modern spelling

For the transcription we provide a somewhat free rendering of the text into a more modern version: most spellings are converted to those of the present day (a frequent example being 'you' for 'yow'), and punctuation and paragraphing have been introduced to make the text easier to read. A few words and some syntax have been changed here and there for similar reasons, but we have tried to keep these types of change to a minimum to preserve the flavour of the sixteenth century original. We have also added line numbers for ease of cross-reference to the discussion.

Right dearly beloved cousin and my good friend,
In most hearty manner I salute you. The notes that you wrote in Portugal upon the back of a target came to my sight by chance; of which I was glad because thereby I understood that you were alive, whereof before I stood in great doubt, it being reported constantly in England that you were dead. Something I found myself discontented about was that you bestowed no more special a note unto me that bore commendations shared with any man. Yet after better consideration I took it in good part, esteeming that you had such good care for me that you would not hazard to put me in any peril by sending unto me. Howsoever you considered of it, it fell out happily for you that they came in my way. For if they had not done so, they would never have done you any benefit at all (as at our meeting I shall declare in more detail), whereas now by good fortune I have found some means to help you a little for this present time, and I trust in God hereafter to take such order that you shall not lack necessary provision – if it will please you to follow some part of my simple advice.
How I have dealt for you I will not write until our meeting, which I pray you procure to be as shortly as you can, according as I shall send you

intelligence by this letter. But first hear something of my state, and of some other of your good friends, which I think you will be glad to hear of. (For as men sometimes be more careful of their friends than of themselves, so can they not but be glad to hear of their estates: you thought they stand afflicted, for that man's nature better digesteth the adversity itself than the doubt and fear of the same.)

And now to the matter. After much vexation at home for the Catholic faith, I thank God I have escaped mine enemies' hands and am arrived in the Low Countries, with intention to venture my life in his Catholic Majesty's service against heretics and heresy. I am received a soldier but what intendment I shall have I know not yet. Of myself, neither am I well off neither am I in necessity: as yet my health I have indifferently.

Your wife is poor but prayeth hard for you. By some man's portrayal I fear she is in great lack of worldly comfort. Your host is well provided for, but I fear me in this persecution likely to suffer harm. If I be not deceived there will shortly be something come from them to you.

I delivered your longest note to your mistress; she took it in so good part that you eternally are beholden unto her. I have a token unto you of some value from her. I have many speeches to have with you, word of mouth, of that importance that I think you will consider it worth your while to travel unto me; for if I thought it as good for you and me that I should come unto you, assure yourself that I would take that pain upon me (though indeed I am not of so great hability in my person as when we parted at St Trond). But note: to your mistress again, she is in health, she is well provided for, and you are beholden unto her. Her master is dead, if perhaps you knew not so much before.

As to the other men of whom your notes made mention, some be dead and the rest I durst not credit to deal withal, as at our meeting I shall tell you.

You are beholden to the man that you gave your notes unto in Portugal, upon whose target you did write them. With him I spake myself in London and understood many things of your patience (for which God be praised). He gave me to understand broadly of your necessities, whereof I was very sorry that I could not relieve them as soon as I wished; and I still continue malcontent till I see you, which I pray you for the love of yourself and me to hasten as soon as may be.

And if it shall please you, I request you to use this course in friendship that is and hath been between you and me: I charge you to come with all convenient speed to Reims, where you shall understand by Mr President or my good friend your brother John where I am, and God willing as soon as I shall understand that you are there I shall either come unto you or take speedy order for our meeting.

I have written to Mr Hugh Owen to deliver unto you 40 marks for your journey, and I pray you bring order – if you can get it – for your pension

in this country. For although I doubt not that you may be well maintained without it, yet in my opinion it is no disgrace to take the charity of a king, how little so ever it be – and if it may help you, or some of your dear friends that shall stand need more than you. Perhaps I shall stand need myself, for that in truth I have made a more likely plan also here for your maintenance than for myself.

Good sir make haste to come unto me, as I unto a most loving friend of you and one that wisheth your credit and honourable estimation, and that is desirous to be participant of those good gifts that it pleased the Divine Majesty to plant in you. If that it shall please you it shall content me greatly to have your company, that we may live friendly together as long as it shall please God, and when we shall see occasion honourably venture our lives together.

I am so desirous to speak with you that I cannot tell in what terms I may most effectively utter my desire, therefore I pray you presently upon the receipt of this: write unto me your intention, but in any case intend nothing else but to come as I have written.

For apparel and furniture in your journey the matter is not great since your wisdom is sufficient to esteem of those worldly vanities as they be. At Reims your blessed countrymen will esteem your virtue more in that you have been patient in suffering than they would commend your comeliness if you came brave in apparel. For me I only desire your presence in health, and I hope if we meet to see you competently furnished and daily to increase in worshipful estimation as you deserve.

I wrote out of England unto you in March last a short note, as the occasion would serve, directing our meeting as I do now. For ever since I resolved to flee the persecutors' hands, I had nothing more in my desire than to seek to have your company and fellowship – assuring myself that if it would please you to esteem me worthy thereof, that it could not come to pass but that we should live to the honour of our country, or die together in discharging our duties to God and the world.

For of such true friendship grounded in virtue, and of such direct intentions as I trust we bear in this banishment for so noble a cause, there cannot but follow an honourable outcome. Although for our sins we can deserve no good success, yet I trust in God's mercies that he will not punish us according or deserving in evil, but of his bountiful liberality reward us for our desires to his honour in the service of our Holy Mother the Church.

Although I make full account to see yourself very shortly, yet I pray you to send me present word what health you are in and what your circumstances are, for I am desirous to hear of your welfare. Your letters being delivered to Mr Owen I trust will be sent unto me with speed. You

may direct them, if it please you, to your friend Anthony Lovell for so I am commonly called here yet for a while. Vale carissime et mihi impera! Tournay, this nineteenth of May, your cousin and friend (you know who...)

B.

If it shall please you to use Mr Owen's friendship in dispatching of your business, I trust that for your own cause and mine he will be ready to do what he can – as I have most earnestly requested him.

Appendix C: The Bulmers of Tursdale[25]

At the beginning of the 16th century the principal seat of the Bulmer family was Wilton Castle, close to Redcar and the North Yorkshire coast. Sir William Bulmer (ca. 1465-1531) was successively High Sheriff of Durham and High Sheriff of Yorkshire in the early part of the century. William's son and heir Sir John Bulmer was a leading participant in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. After that rebellion had been put down many of the ringleaders were condemned for treason and subsequently executed, including Sir John and (unusually) his wife Margaret. In addition, all the Bulmer estates were forfeit to the Crown.

The family fortunes were to an extent restored by another William Bulmer, younger brother of the attainted John. William married an heiress, Elizabeth Elmeden, who brought with her substantial estates including Tursdale in County Durham, which this branch of the family adopted as its seat. William's eldest son was Francis Bulmer, who as we have seen married Catherine Norton and to whom Anthony Bulmer was the son and heir.

Sadly, the family's renewed prosperity was not to last. Anthony's son Sir Bertram Bulmer was a notable spendthrift who cut an extravagant figure at Court, and was forced to sell large amounts of land to fund his lavish lifestyle. Now seriously hard up, Sir Bertram went adventuring in the war against the Spanish in the Low Countries, but he proved no more proficient as a soldier: his troops deserted him and he was taken prisoner by the Spaniards. Eventually he returned to Durham and died there, more or less penniless, in 1638.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Judith Smeaton for a copy of her earlier independent transcription of the letter, and for a number of helpful comments on the finer points of the 16th century text. We also wish to thank Stuart Ivinson, Librarian at the Royal Armouries, Leeds, for helpful comments on the history of the buckler and for drawing our attention to H. Schmidt's *The Book of the Buckler*.

Notes and References

[1] An alternative name for the Rising is the Rebellion of the Northern Earls. C. Sharp, *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (1840); K.J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England*, (2007).

[2] Specifically, it is number 115 of 187 documents: folios 205 and 206 of 326 folios. Cf. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Vol. I, (1808), p. 135, at https://archive.org/details/CatalogueOfTheHarleianManuscripts1/page/n183.

[3] J.C. Senior, *The Markenfields of Markenfield Hall* (2009), pp. 72-73.

[4] Sharp, *Memorials* p. 264.

[5] Senior, Chapter 6; *Ripley Baptism, Marriage and Burial Register*, Ref. PR/RPL 1/1, Burials 1560-1636, North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton.

[6] Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. VI (1572-1575), 423 (29 December 1572).

[7] Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. VII (1575-1578), 2181 (19 November 1576).

[8] A buckler was a small shield with a single hand-grip, typically some 40-50 cm in diameter, hung on the hip with the sword scabbard when not in use; see A. Hutton, *Old Swordplay: the Systems of Fence in Vogue During the XVIth, XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, (1892) and H. Schmidt, *The Book of the Buckler* (2015). Schmidt notes that bucklers made for the gentry were often lined with brocade or other rich material; hence a secret message might easily have been concealed in the lining.

[9] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda 1566-1579, Vol. XXIII, 68 (29 October 1574).

[10] T.F. Knox, *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, (1878), p. 298.

[11] J. Scott, *Percy [née Somerset], Anne, Countess of Northumberland (1536-1591)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2015).

[12] J.D. Leader, *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity* (1880), p. 137; *John Beton, 1570, Edensor, Derbyshire (Brass of the Month, January 2017)*, Monumental Brass Society:*http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/Brass%20of%20the%20month.html*

[13] Sint-Truiden official website, *https://www.sint-truiden.be* (in Dutch); see also *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sint-Truiden* (in English)

[14] Sharp, *Memorials,* pp. 128-129; Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. VI (1572-1575), 2967 (7 March 1575).

[15] H.J. Hillebrand (ed.), *Douai College*, The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation (1996, published online 2005); E. Duffy, *Allen, William (1532-1594)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (2008)

[16] A.H. Dodd, *Owen Family of Plas-Du, Caerns.*, Dictionary of Welsh Biography, https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-PLA-1550; A.J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: the English Exiles at the Court of Philip II*, (New York 1963), Chapter 3; L.W. Williams, *Welsh Catholics on the Continent*, Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1901-2), pp. 46-144; in particular see Appendix H, *The Two Hugh Owens*, pp. 128-144.

[17] Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Vol. X (1572-1574), 10 (5 January 1572); Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda 1566-1579, Vol. XXI, 4 (15 January 1572).

[18] P.J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots: the Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, (NY 2008), pp. 226-229.

[19] Sharp, *Memorials*, pp. 18-19, 128-9, 288.

[20] Calendar of Patent Rolls, Elizabeth I, Vol. VI (1572-1575), 2203 (28 March 1575)

[21] Calendar of State Papers, Vatican, Vol. II (1572-1588), 217 (30 June 1573) and 244 (7 September 1573); Knox, (1878), p. 298.

[22] Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, Vol. V (1574-1581), 11 (2 July 1574).

[23] K. Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series)*, (2011); C.M. Gibbons, PhD thesis, University of York, 2006.

[24] *Bulmer, Antony (York)*, Chancery: Inquisitions Post Mortem, Series II, and Other Inquisitions, Henry VIII to Charles I, The National Archives, Reference C 142/203/67

[25] Hoyle, William D., *Historical Notes of the Baronial House of Bulmer and its Descendants, AD 1042-1750*, (privately printed 1896)

COMPLETING PUGIN'S CATHEDRAL: DUNN & HANSOM'S CONTRIBUTION TO ST MARY'S, NEWCASTLE

Michael Johnson

The mother church of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle was conceived not as a cathedral, but as a parish church, built to serve the rapidly increasing Catholic population of Newcastle. Opened in 1844, the building was designed by A.W.N. Pugin (1812-52), the leading architect and polemicist of the Gothic Revival. Following the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, St Mary's Church became the cathedral of the newly created Diocese of Hexham (later Hexham and Newcastle).[1] In succeeding decades, additions to the fabric by various architectural practices transformed St Mary's into a substantial ecclesiastical precinct. This article examines the alterations and additions carried out by Dunn and Hansom, Newcastle's leading Catholic architects of the nineteenth century. Illuminating the building's architectural evolution, it argues that their work was instrumental in elevating St Mary's to cathedral status. Not only did their splendid tower and spire (1871-2) help to complete Pugin's vision for the building, but their *cathedra*, or bishop's throne, literally defined St Mary's as the 'seat', or principal church, of the diocese. At the same time, Dunn and Hansom's work on this distinguished place of worship helped to consolidate their status as the preeminent Catholic architects in the region.[2]

Pugin's church

The building of St Mary's Cathedral illustrates the forces that were transforming the English Catholic Church during the first half of the nineteenth century. After centuries of persecution, the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 abolished legal restrictions on Catholics. Industrialisation caused Britain's urban population to increase dramatically as people flooded into towns and cities seeking work. Finally, the Irish Famine of the 1840s brought an influx of Irish migrants to Britain's industrial regions. Together, these factors created an urgent demand for Catholic churches, chapels and schools.

A meeting of local Catholics was held on 26 July 1838 in the boys' school room of St Andrew's Church in Worswick Street. Chaired by Fr William Riddell (1807-47), the meeting was attended by several members of the Dunn family who would become important benefactors of the church. George Thomas Dunn (1785-1852) proposed that,[3]

> The Catholic Chapel in this town being quite inadequate to accommodate the present numerous Congregation, it is highly expedient that another Edifice should be erected in addition to the existing building.

The assembly resolved that:

> it behoves the Catholic Body to endeavour to erect a large and handsome Church, that may be at the same time an honour to their religion, an ornament to the Town, and capable to afford sittings for about twelve hundred persons.

A subscription fund was initiated and large sums were pledged by prominent Catholics. The priests James Worswick (1771-1843) and William Riddell gave £50 (£5,350)[4] each. George Thomas Dunn and ten other members of the Dunn family gave over £1,300 (£139,100). Aside from these larger donations, the remaining funds came from public subscription among working-class Catholics and it was said that the church was paid for with 'the pennies of the poor'. When the target of £6,500 (£695,500) was reached, a site was acquired and Pugin was commissioned to submit a design.

Converting to Catholicism at the age of twenty-three, Augustus Pugin devoted his life to reviving the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages, which to him was not merely an architectural style but a substantiation of Christian faith. Pugin was among the first modern architects to understand the structural properties of medieval Gothic architecture. From his studies, he developed principles of rational construction, truth-to-materials and hierarchical ornamentation that became fundamental to modern design. His concern for archaeological fidelity to medieval models and his conviction that art was a moral index of the society that produced it had a profound influence on Catholic and Anglican church-building. Pugin was incredibly prolific, but he worked himself to insanity and death by the age of forty.

Pugin visited Newcastle in February 1842 to examine the site. The building committee was anxious that the project should not exceed its modest budget but Pugin doubted that the church could be built for such a small sum. After drawing up his initial plans, he ventured that the church could be realised for £6,700 (£716,900) if the tower was built only up to a height of fifteen feet, forming a porch. He also identified features that could be omitted until further funds became available, such as the rood screen.[5] The church was designed in the 'Decorated' Gothic style in the period of Edward the Third (1327-77).[6] Pugin adopted a rectangular plan based on that of St Wulfram's Church at Grantham (1180-1550). St Wulfram's has a tower which projects slightly at the west end, forming an entrance porch. In his design, however, Pugin relocated the tower to the end of the south aisle in order to use the full length of the site for the body of the church. Emulating St Wulfram's, Pugin devised a roof consisting of three gables.[7] The committee was concerned that such a roof would be vulnerable to damage caused by melting snow and suggested that a pitched roof over a central clerestory and lean-to roofs over the aisles would be preferable. Pugin, however, stated that clerestories were not used in the fourteenth century except for very large churches, demonstrating that fidelity to medieval practice was a central principle of his work. He also argued that lean-to roofs would make the aisles feel

oppressive. Pugin attempted to reassure the committee by insisting that lead cladding would protect the roof.

Ultimately, the roof was built to his design, but its tripartite structure did indeed cause problems in later years. Construction began in 1840, with Pugin's trusted builders George Myers (1803-75) and Richard Wilson serving as contractors. The church was built of local freestone, Pugin having specified the use of either Elswick or Westgate stone. Within the nave, Pugin had intended the corbels supporting the principal rafters of the roof to be sculpted in the form of angels, prophets and kings, but medieval carvings in the choir of Lincoln Cathedral inspired him to create angels with musical instruments instead.Despite the committee's cost-cutting suggestions, the building was much as Pugin intended, except that his tower and spire remained incomplete. In 1871 T. Cooke Nicholson praised the building's interior and anticipated the completion of the tower and spire:

> The enrichments of its style are lavished on the interior, which exhibits in every part a refinement and elegance, as well as a delicacy of finish in its minutest details; while the exterior is comparatively plain, and generally is ineffective, but be it observed *en passant*, that its appearance will be greatly enhanced by the Tower and Spire, which have not yet been completed.[8]

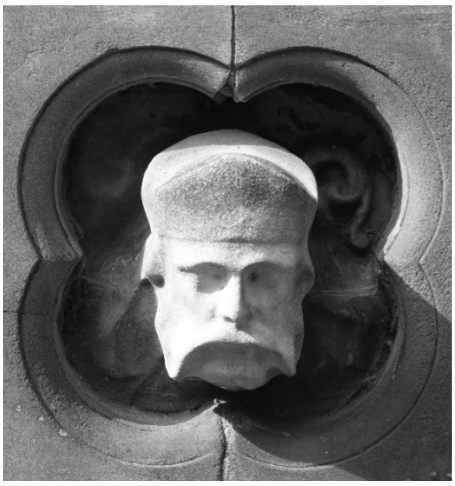
St Mary's was elevated to cathedral status in 1850 and subsequent alterations to the fabric gradually transformed it into a building worthy of the title. Significant additions included a chapter room and library designed by George Goldie (1828-87) in 1851, a rood screen of Caen stone by Goldie in 1853 and a presbytery designed by Pugin's eldest son, Edward (1834-75), in 1858-60.[9] Much of the work undertaken during the next fifty years, however, was carried out by the architectural practice founded by Archibald Matthias Dunn (1832-1917) [left], a member of the Catholic dynasty instrumental in building the church. Born in Wylam, he was related to George T. Dunn, who first proposed building the church. He received architectural training in the office of Charles Francis Hansom (1817-88) of Bristol and returned to Newcastle to set up an independent practice in 1854. He established himself by designing Catholic churches at Blackhill (1856-7), Gateshead (1857-9), Walker (1859-60) and Blyth (1859-61).

St Mary's Schools

Archibald's earliest traceable design in connection with the cathedral was for St Mary's R.C. Schools in Bath Lane Terrace (1856-7, demolished), about a quarter of a mile from the cathedral.[10] Built on land donated by William Dunn (1811-62), the son of George Thomas Dunn, the schools formed a quadrangle, 150 feet across. A master's house with bell turret was flanked by wings containing a boys' and girls' school, each accommodating five hundred pupils. The masonry consisted of block walling in irregular courses. The roofs were covered with

Welsh slate and finished with an ornamental ridge, which Dunn designed especially for the building, rather than using a standardised product. The contractors were Gibson and Howard.[11]

The Riddell Tomb

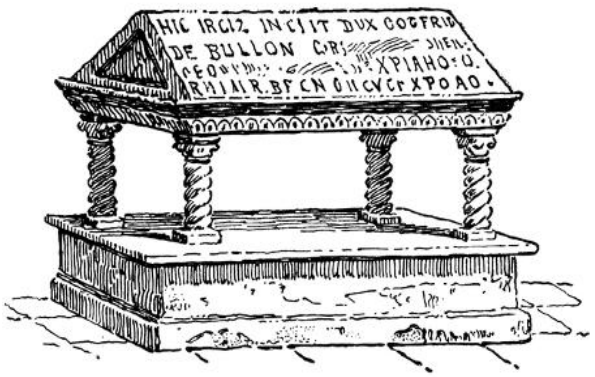


Dunn's first work within the cathedral precinct came in 1862, when he designed an altar tomb to mark the grave of Bishop William Riddell, who had been instrumental in building the church and had served as its first parish priest.[12] This commission undoubtedly had personal significance for Dunn because Riddell was his godfather and was well known to the Dunn family.[13] At Riddell's request, a large catacomb or vault was built under the south wall of the cathedral in 1847 as a burial place for himself and the clergy of the town. Constructed by Richard Cail (1812-93), a prominent local builder, the vault contains shelves for twenty coffins, all arched with masonry.[14]

Riddell earned the respect of Newcastle's populace due to his unstinting efforts in caring for the victims of a typhus epidemic that swept through the town – and others – in 1847. Sadly, Riddell died as a result of visiting the sick in their homes at Sandgate and his body was interred in the vault. The vault also contains the coffin of Fr William Fletcher who died in 1848, another victim of the typhus epidemic.[15] To commemorate Riddell's devotion to the poor, a Gothic altar tomb was built just north of the vault in 1862-3. Various sources have suggested that it may have been the work of Pugin. In fact, it was designed by Dunn and was the first of several elaborate memorials he created for prominent clergymen.

Dunn's design takes the form of a chest tomb, a type of monument shaped like a stone box. Examples survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but the majority of chest tombs are believed to date from the seventeenth century onwards. Dunn's design is typical in that the body of the deceased buried beneath the memorial, not in the chest itself. Chest tombs built inside medieval churches are frequently surmounted by recumbent effigies of the subject, while those located in churchyards are usually covered with plain stone slabs. As an external tomb, the Riddell memorial does not feature an effigy but is covered with a coped stone, its upper face shaped into a cross decorated with black and white mosaic tiles. Around the edge of the cover is the inscription *Sub hoc lapide iacet corpus Gulielmi Riddell Episcopi, qui hanc ecclesiam fieri fecit*. (Under this stone lies the body of Bishop William Riddell, who caused this church to be built). The front of the tomb features sculpted panels between polished red granite columns. The central panel shows the bishop ministering to the sick. This is flanked by the Riddell coat of arms and the monogram W.R., along with a bishop's mitre. A portrait of the bishop projects from a quatrefoil panel at one end of the tomb, while St Bede is represented at the other. Curiously, this does not resemble conventional representations of Bede; it does, however, look remarkably like Dunn, suggesting that it is a portrait of the architect. The carving, in Hartlepool limestone, was executed by Patterson of Newcastle [16]

The Chadwick Tomb



TheRiddell tomb makes an interesting comparison to similar monuments Dunn designed in later years. In 1884, for example, he produced a tomb for James Chadwick (1813-82), the second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, in the cemetery at Ushaw College, this was modelled on the tomb of Godfrey de Bouillon, a knight of the First Crusade, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The well-travelled Dunn had visited the church with Bishop Chadwick, who admired the tomb and said that it was the kind he would like for himself. Dunn reportedly made the initial drawings on the spot.[17] Like the Bouillon tomb, Dunn's design consists of a grave cover, with a coped stone resting on four short columns. Echoing the Riddell tomb, however, the columns are executed in red granite with foliated capitals and the coped stone is shaped into a cross.

Much later, Dunn produced a tomb in memory of Herbert Cox Duke (1845-86) at St Mary's Catholic Cemetery, Kensal Green, London (1890). Duke converted to Catholicism in 1846 and served as parish priest at St Anne's Church in Keighley, Yorkshire.[18] This was another chest tomb, this time standing on a granite base. Like the Riddell monument, there are sculpted panels at either end, one featuring Duke's monogram and the other a chalice emblematic of the Eucharist. Further similarities are the cross covering the top surface of the tomb, although this example is floriated, and the shafts of polished granite that adorn the body, here support blind arcades of interlaced Romanesque arches. Dunn was particularly fond of interlaced arches and used them to enhance the frontages of St Dominic, Newcastle (1869-73) and St Catherine of Siena, Birmingham (1874-5, demolished). The tomb was built by Joseph Ambrose Bladwell (1859-1929) of Bath, a member of a family of builders and contractors who worked on Dunn and Hansom's churches of St Mary, Bath (1879-81) and St Joseph, Hartlepool (1893-5), as well as Downside Abbey (1872-c.95) and Stonyhurst College (1877-89), using Bath stone for most of these projects.[19]

Heating apparatus, presbytery and roof

The Riddell tomb began Dunn's long association with St Mary's Cathedral, but his next contribution was entirely practical in nature. In 1865 he prepared the plans for the installation of a new heating apparatus, giving his services free of charge. This was no doubt a judicious move that was likely to commend him to the church authorities should a more substantial commission arise in the future. The builder, William Foggin (1822-92), cut ducts in the floor at a cost of £81 6s 5d (£9,801).[20] The heating apparatus was provided at a cost of £185 (£22,385) by Walker and Emley of Westgate St. and Orchard St., Newcastle, whose name was visible on the cast iron gratings over the ducts.

This was followed by a more prestigious commission to design additions to E.W. Pugin's presbytery in 1869. A Tudor Gothic design in brick and stone, the presbytery was in part funded with a £200 (£23,600) bequest from Miss A. Dunn

(possibly Ann, daughter of George Thomas). Pugin added a substantial extension in stone, incorporating a passage way and staircase between the presbytery and the sacristy of the church. The extension featured a round tower and spire, which, according to Nicholson, had 'a particularly agreeable effect.'[21] Unfortunately, the spire was subsequently removed for safety reasons. The space under the tower was made into a safe with a steel door. To make the passage into the new building from the cathedral, Dunn removed one of the windows in the cloister and replaced it with the present arch. It is possible that he also designed the lodge at the entrance to the cathedral precinct at this time.

The cathedral garden in 1860, showing the base of the tower, the presbytery and the lodge on the left. The priest is Canon Charles Eyre.
T.C. Nicholson, *The Catholic Churches and Chapels of Newcastle upon Tyne*. (1871)

The first building committee had been concerned about Pugin's decision to erect a three-gabled roof, fearing that it would be vulnerable to damage caused by melting snow. It seems that these fears were well founded because, in 1871 Dunn was asked to examine the roof which was beginning to show signs of decay. His findings were outlined in a report that he read at a meeting of the Northern Architectural Association in February of that year, entitled 'Reparation of the Roof of St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle, which was affected by dry rot.'[22] After praising the church as one of Pugin's best works, Dunn observed that a 140-foot-long gutter ran along the roof, but that no 'snow-boards' had been put into it and the lead at both ends of the church had been removed. As a result, damp had come through and dry rot had set in. The whole of the roof was found to be 'one mass of rottenness', with 'the whole foot of the spar [rafter] and the principal next to the gable end resting only on a space of 2½ inches.' Dunn had no hesitation in saying that 'if this state of the roof had not been discovered at the time it was, it would have fallen into the cathedral during the present winter.'[23] Dunn repaired the defects with ironwork, with minimal impact on the outward appearance. The result was that 'few people could tell that it had undergone renovation.'[24]

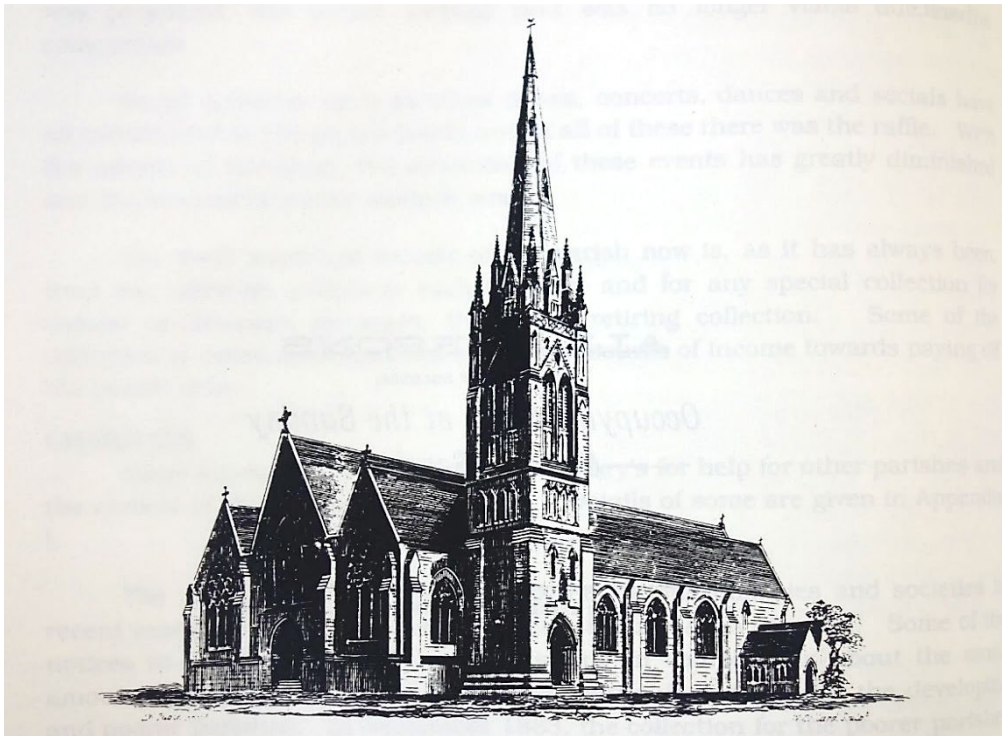
Tower and spire

St Mary's Cathedral stood without its intended tower for thirty years. The possibility of completing the structure arose when Dunn's relative, Elizabeth Dunn (b. 1786), died on 3 September 1870, bequeathing £2,000 (£228,000) for the purpose. Her will stipulated that a new window should be introduced to commemorate her donation and that it should feature the Crucifixion with St John and Mary Magdalene. A fine window was duly built in the north side of the west wall (c.1872). The donor is shown praying in front of an accurate representation of Dunn's tower and the inscription reads, 'Pray for the soul of Elizabeth Dunn. Munificent benefactress to this church.' [back cover]

Pugin's tower was built to a height of five courses above the door and rested on a 30-foot deep bed of concrete. As Pugin intended, the base of the tower formed a southern porch and contained the first few steps leading to the proposed ringing loft and belfry [Fig. 14]. There was little possibility of building the tower to Pugin's design because he had asked for his detailed drawings to be returned when it became apparent that the tower could not be built during the first phase of construction, although a perspective drawing survives in the cathedral archives. The prestigious commission to produce a new design was awarded to Dunn, which is unsurprising given his relationship to the benefactor and his previous work on the building.

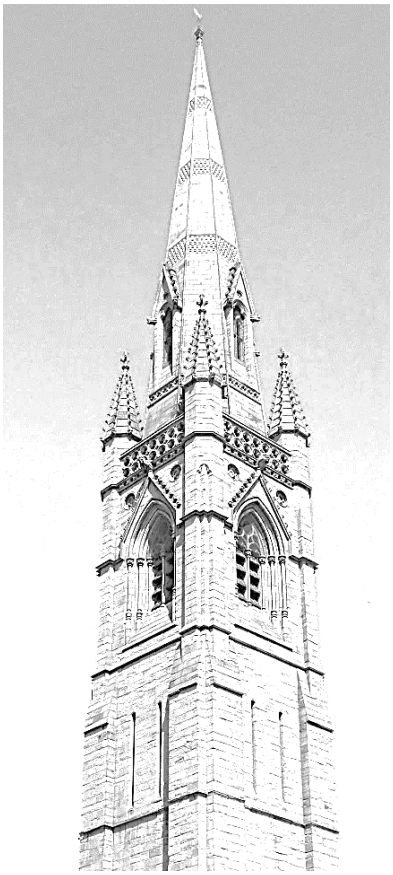
In February 1871, Dunn showed his design at the same meeting of the Northern Architectural Association at which he presented his findings about the cathedral's roof.[25] This was two months before he wrote to Edward Joseph Hansom (1842-1900) with an offer of partnership, indicating that the design was entirely his own. A poster depicting the cathedral with its majestic spire was issued to raise additional funds to ensure that the tower could be completed with all its elaborate detail. Dunn devised a tower that would not only complete the church, but also proclaim its status as a cathedral. Designed in the same Decorated Gothic style as the cathedral, it complements Pugin's work. The tower has three stages. The first stage rises to a ringing chamber in the second stage, access to which is via a turret staircase. The third stage contains the belfry chamber and above this rises the spire. The proportions differ somewhat from those of Pugin's design. The first stage is much taller, braced with corner buttresses, while the belfry has similar details to Pugin's design, but appears shorter. Dunn's spire is simpler than Pugin's, with fewer pinnacles clustered around the base.

The cost was estimated at £2,230 (£254,220), but several alterations and additions to the design were carried out at an extra expense of around £300 (£33,600), bringing the total cost of the new work to about £2,550 (£285,600).[26] Construction was carried out under Dunn and Hansom's supervision by Walter Scott (1826-1910), a prominent Newcastle builder. The tower is 105 feet tall,



Pugin's intended tower, from an engraving made in 1848. Image from V. Bartley *Cathedral Church of St Mary, Newcastle upon Tyne: A History and Guide*.(1988)

Dunn's design for the tower and spire



The completed tower and spire (1871-2).

tapering from 24 feet wide at the base to 22 feet at the pinnacles. The spire is 19 feet in diameter at the base, soaring to a height of 107 feet. From base to summit,the height of the entire structure is 212 feet. The pinnacle is capped with a 10-foot tall weathervane.

To secure the finest craftsmanship for their buildings, Dunn and Hansom formed good working relations with skilled practitioners. The tower's elaborate detail was carved by John Roddis (1839-87) of Birmingham, who was also engaged on carving the stonework for Dunn's church of St Dominic, Newcastle, and would later do the same for St Catherine of Siena, Birmingham. The tower culminates with sturdy crocketted pinnacles at the four corners. The pinnacles are linked by parapets perforated with quatrefoils. Above them rises the immense octagonal spire, its four principal faces pierced by slender lucarnes or garret windows. Above these are three bands of recessed ornamentation. Despite Elizabeth Dunn's bequest, the tower and spire were not built entirely as Dunn intended. The tower was designed for a peal of eight or more bells, and it was intended to erect a clock on the second stage, but these were never installed.

Reports in the building press indicate how the spire was received by contemporary critics. *Building News* praised it as a 'handsome steeple' when it reviewed the design in 1872, adding that 'Each angle of the spire is finished off with a beading, which adds greatly to the richness and originality of the design.' Writing in 1898, however, *The Builder* commented that the tower and spire

> are ill-proportioned and badly detailed, which is a pity. Pugin's work, though far beyond anything else of his time, is not so good but that little care might have produced a steeple at least worthy of it. [27]

More recent commentators have been kinder, with Sir Nikolaus Pevsner describing the cathedral as a graceful structure 'crowned by a noble needle spire.'[28] The tower is often criticised for being out of proportion with the church, which is small for a cathedral. Seen from afar, however, the spire pierces Newcastle's skyline, signalling the building's presence in the townscape and defining it as a cathedral of the resurgent Catholic faith.

In April 1871 Dunn formed an architectural partnership with Edward Joseph Hansom (1842-1900), the son of his mentor Charles Francis Hansom and the nephew of Joseph Aloysius Hansom (1803-82), an architect, inventor of the Hansom Cab and founder of *The Builder*, a leading architectural journal. Opening an additional office at 2 Westminster Chambers, Victoria Street, London in 1880, Dunn and Hansom were able to undertake commissions for Catholic churches, chapels and colleges throughout England, making them one of the few north-east architectural practices to have a reputation outside the region. Undoubtedly, the successful completion of the tower and spire raised their profile, helping them make the transition from provincial to national practitioners.

Redecoration

There is evidence to suggest that Dunn designed a tabernacle over the high altar at some point before 1871. Described as 'a sumptuous piece of ecclesiastical work', this was twelve feet high, executed in Caen stone and terminated with a figure of the Pelican feeding her young.[29] The tabernacle was removed from the High Altar during the post-Vatican II re-ordering. What is certain is that Dunn and Hansom made significant contributions to the design of the interior and furnishings of the cathedral. In 1881, they orchestrated a programme of restoration and redecoration, which was carried out over a period of three months. This included new flooring, newly varnished seats, and renovation of the stonework, executed by the builder John Foggin.[30] The decoration included painting in the style of the fifteenth century by Lavers, Barraud and Westlake of Endell Street, London. It is difficult to assess this work due to the scarcity of visual evidence, but detailed descriptions were published in the building press.

The aisle-roofs were painted buff and the timber a neutral green. The nave roof was painted red and buff, with decoration on the main timbers. A border in light red on buff ran over the arches and terminated at the top of each column, with a crowned M, for Mary, under a small canopy. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin was written upon scrolls in the nave, and upon a ribbon under the wall-plate in the aisles. The chancel walls were given green borders over the arches and were diapered with rose and lily motifs, each with the words 'Ave Maria' below. The chancel roof timbers were of light red, with buff ornament, and the front members of the rafters were decorated with fleurs-de-lis in gold. The panels were diapered with quatrefoils in grey, the centre of which contained a gold star and fleur-de-lis alternately. Nathaniel Hubert John Westlake (1833-1921), a prolific religious artist, painted figures of the Blessed Virgin and St Gabriel under canopies representing the Annunciation, as well as four angels holding scrolls with inscriptions from the first part of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin.[31]

The cathedral's original Stations of the Cross were pictures in wooden frames, each with a cross fixed to the top. These were replaced by new Stations of the Cross by Westlake, all painted on canvasses fixed to the walls. Each had an elaborate frame in the shape of a castellated building painted around it. Sadly, these too were removed during the time of Canon Thomas Murray – 1965-78. The surrounds to the pictures of Our Lady and the Angel Gabriel were painted out at the same time as the Stations of the Cross were removed. To celebrate the cathedral's golden jubilee in 1894, a major redecoration was carried out, obscuring much of this work. At this point, there was a vast amount of stencilling done around the arches and walls. The tiled frieze running around the nave, decorated with the names of local saints, was introduced in 1902. As this was contemporary with the baptistry, it may have been designed by Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke.

Bishop's throne

A cathedral should have a bishop's throne, or *cathedra*, from which the term 'cathedral' is derived. A throne was installed when the church became a cathedral in 1850, but this was regarded as 'too small and poor for such a Church, and looks paltry and insignificant, when compared with the magnificent Sedilia on the opposite side.'[32] In 1892 Dunn, Hansom and Dunn designed a large oak throne, for which they received a commission of £8 (£530). Contemporary reports suggested that Dunn, Hansom and Dunn designed an entirely new throne, but it may be that the original throne was retained and placed under a new canopy the design of which matches published descriptions of Dunn, Hansom and Dunn's work. The majestic canopy of carved oak was made by Ralph Hedley (1848-1913), a gifted painter and wood carver, at a cost of £154 (£10,000). The rear panel is emblazoned with the bishop's coat of arms and culminates with brilliantly carved tracery. The side pieces feature linenfold panelling at the base and traceried heads. Hedley's talents are exemplified by superb figures of Our Lady and St Cuthbert. A gable-like canopy crowns the structure, arrayed with finials and exquisite angelic figures. The throne was originally installed near the Blessed Sacrament chapel, standing on a platform with two steps. The left-hand side of the lower step was removable, as it blocked the end of the communion step and was only brought out when the Bishop was officiating. The cost of the throne was estimated at £137 10s 0d, but the Chapter who commissioned it were surprised when Hedley charged an additional £27 10s 0d for the oak figures, having assumed that these were included in the original estimate. Another appeal for donations was made to make up the difference.[33]

Baptistry

After Dunn retired in 1893 and Hansom died in 1900, the firm was continued by Dunn's son, Archibald Manuel, and W. Ellison Fenwicke as Dunn, Hansom and Fenwicke. The firm's last major contribution to St Mary's cathedral was the octagonal baptistry at the south-west corner (1901-2). Built at a cost of £1,400 (£162,400), the baptistry complemented the design of the cathedral, with Decorated-style tracery in the windows. Gargoyles project from the corners in the manner of those on the octagonal lantern tower of St Michael's, Elswick (1889-91). The baptistry was entered through iron gates and access to the cathedral was

provided by breaking through the wall into the south aisle. This necessitated the removal of windows commemorating the Dunn family, but these were re-installed in the baptistry. Additional illumination was provided by electric lighting. The interior had a floor of mosaic sets with a tablet inset. The font was moved into the baptistry and a war memorial designed by the architects was installed in front of the font. The font has since been moved to a position in the north aisle near the sanctuary and the baptistry has been remodelled as an entrance porch.

Dedicated to Catholic soldiers who died in the Boer War, the memorial was rectangular in shape, executed in white marble and clustered with figures representing the sorrows of war. At either end were figures in full uniform representing privates in the Northumberland Fusiliers and the Durham Light Infantry, together with reliefs of the arms of each regiment.[34] This poignant memorial was sculpted by Robert Beal of Newcastle, who had made the pulpit at St Dominic's (1879), the font at Our Lady and St Cuthbert's, Prudhoe (1889-91), and the alabaster reredos at St Michael's, Elswick. The full cost of the memorial (£1,000) (£116,000) was paid by Robert Ormston Lamb (1837-1912) of Hayton House, Carlisle, a J.P. for Cumberland and County Durham.[35] Unfortunately, the monument was removed in the course of reordering in the 1980s, but it is likely that it resembled another monument the firm designed for St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh (1889). This was a Gothic memorial in alabaster and granite, dedicated to the memory of Catholic soldiers who had died in the service of their country. It featured a wealth of foliated carving, again executed by Beal at a cost of £700 (£86,800).[36]

Conclusion

The church realised by Pugin fell somewhat short of that originally envisioned, but successive additions by various practitioners transformed the building into a dignified cathedral, which for over 175 years has been the spiritual heart of the diocese. Dunn and Hansom were instrumental in this transformation, contributing a spectacular tower and spire, the bishop's throne and a dignified baptistry where future generations of Catholics could be christened. This series of important commissions helped to establish their reputation as one of the leading Catholic architectural practices in England.

Notes and References

[1] Articles relating to St Mary's and the Dunn family in earlier editions of *Northern Catholic History* include: P. McGuiness, 'St Mary's Cathedral: the early years', Nos. 5 & 6; P. McGuiness, 'Some notes on the Dunn family of Newcastle upon Tyne', No. 14; G. Mulvey, A.M. Dunn (1832-1917), a Newcastle architect', No. 15; P. McGuiness, 'Pugin and St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne', No 28; M.A. Johnson, 'Architects to a diocese: Dunn and Hansom of Newcastle', No. 49.

[2] The firm was founded in 1854 by Archibald Matthias Dunn, who worked independently until 1871, when he formed a partnership with Edward Joseph Hansom. Dunn's son Archibald Manuel (1863-1925) joined the partnership in 1887. When the elder Dunn retired in 1893, the practice was continued by his son as Dunn, Hansom and William Ellison Fenwicke (1863-1952).

[3] V. Bartley, *Cathedral Church of St Mary, Newcastle upon Tyne: A History and Guide*, (1988) p. 17.

[4] Financial sums are given with their 2018 equivalents.

[5] Bartley, p. 21.

[6] The antiquarian Thomas Rickman divided medieval Gothic architecture into three phases in his book *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture* (1819). These were: 'Early English' (c.1189-1307), which featured simple lancet windows, without tracery; 'Decorated' (c.1250-1350), with geometrical or curvilinear tracery; and 'Perpendicular' (c.1350-1550), characterised by vertical linearity. Like Pugin, Dunn favoured the Decorated style when the budget allowed.

[7] Pugin occasionally favoured this plan-type for churches with large congregations, as at St Mary's.

[8] T.C. Nicholson, *The Catholic Churches and Chapels of Newcastle upon Tyne,* Newcastle: Henry Savage, (1871) pp. 37-38.

[9] The rood screen was mostly paid for by Miss Riddell of Felton Park, possibly a sister of Bishop William Riddell. It was removed during the time of Canon Murray.

[10] *Newcastle Courant*, 14 March 1856, p. 1.

[11] *The Builder*, 13 June 1857, p. 340.

[12] Riddell, born at Felton Park, near Morpeth, Northumberland, was consecrated Bishop of Longo *in partibus infidelium* and Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District in 1844.

[13] Dunn was baptised by Fr James Worswick on 16 November 1832 at St Andrew, Newcastle. See parish records: Tyne and Wear Archives, C.NC77/1/1.

[14] Cail was born in Gateshead on 11 May 1812 and educated at Dr Bruce's School in Newcastle; he served a 7-year apprenticeship to the Newcastle builder Joseph Grey. Establishing his own firm in 1832, he undertook substantial contracts, including important railway projects, and made large profits by importing timber, slates and Aberdeen flags. He was a major supporter of the Redheugh Bridge project and formed a company to promote it in 1865.

[15] Bishops Hugh Lindsay (d. 1992) and Kevin Dunn (d. 2008) are also interred in the vault.

[16] This is feasible since it is known that Dunn and Hansom included portraits of themselves in the corbels at their church of Our Lady and the English Martyrs, Cambridge (1885-90). *The Builder*, 12 September 1863, p. 659.

[17] The drawing is based on that in T.A. Archer & C.L. Kingsford, *The Crusades: the story of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*. London 1894. Dunn travelled widely throughout his life and much of his inspiration came from buildings he had encountered on his excursions. He published a book documenting his travels entitled *Notes and Sketches of an Architect* (1886).

[18] *Architect*, 1 August 1890, p. 69 and plate. W.G. Gorman, *Converts to Rome, a biographical list of the more notable converts to the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom during the last sixty years*. London: Sands & Co. (1910)

[19] The elder Joseph Bladwell (1828-91) worked with Dunn and Hansom on several occasions. He announced his retirement on 30 May 1883 and the firm was continued by his son Henry William (1861-1913). His eldest son Joseph Ambrose was also a builder and contractor. Both sons worked on Dunn and Hansom churches.

[20] His obituary stated that he carried out much of the Roman Catholic building work in Newcastle and district, including St Andrew's and the presbytery at St Mary's, as well as Dunn and Hansom's church of Our Lady and St Oswin at Tynemouth (1889). Cf. *Building News*, 20 January 1892, p. 190.

[21] Nicholson, p. 61.

[22] *Building News*, 24 February 1871, p. 155.

[23] Dry rot is caused by fungi that digests the wood and, despite its name, the process requires moisture. *The Builder*, 25 February 1871, p. 153.

[24] *The Builder*, *loc. cit*. Evidently these problems persisted, as further work was necessary in 1984. It was not known at that time whether the wall posts actually supported the principal rafters or whether they were mostly cosmetic. When the masonry was removed from the walls, it was discovered that the principals of the roof rested on wooden blocks set into the wall. To solve the problem, it was necessary to cut away all the faulty timber. The wood blocks for the principal rafters were replaced by box steel bases, while those for the secondary rafters were replaced by steel plates on a concrete foundation. Cf. Bartley, pp. 44-45.

[25] *The Builder*, *loc. cit.*; *Building News*, 20 September 1872, pp. 222, 225. The plans are in Tyne and Wear Archives (T186/4256, T186/10738).

[26] *Building News, loc. cit.* The base of the tower had already cost £650 (£64,155) hence the cost of the tower and spire was about £3,150 (£352,800).

[27] *Ibid; The Builder*, 8 October 1889, p. 307.

[28] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 424.

[29] Nicholson, p. 54. Bartley, p. 9.

[30] *The Builder*, 3 December 1881, p. 713. The firm also contributed to Dunn and Hansom's fine churches at Cambridge and Elswick.

[31] *Building News*, 25 November 1881, p. 706; *The Builder*, *loc. cit.*

[32] Nicholson, p. 51.

[33] Bartley, p. 37.

[34] *The Builder*, 16 August 1902, p. 154.

[35] Lamb's son, Everard Joseph (1886-1914), joined the 3rd Bn Northumberland Fusiliers as a 2nd Lieutenant in October 1905, although this was after Lamb had funded the building of the memorial.

[36] *Building News*, 3 August 1889, p. 164.

THE CATHOLIC LIFE OF CHARLES WATERTON

L. Gooch

Charles Waterton was an example of that particular sort of English Catholic gentleman of the late recusant and emancipation period, many of whom came from the north of England, who, excluded from the political life of the country, turned to cultural and scientific pursuits and became nationally renowned for their discoveries and their collections. Waterton made his mark as an explorer, naturalist, pioneer conservationist, ornithologist, taxidermist and essayist. Thackeray and Darwin admired him and Dickens was 'very partial' to his writings – they corresponded on the raven Grip for *Barnaby Rudge* (1841). Sir David Attenborough recently described him as 'one of the first people anywhere to recognise, not only that the natural world was of great importance, but that it needed protection as humanity made more and more demands on it'.[1] Waterton's achievements were undeniable but he has often been treated with condescension for two reasons.

Firstly, there was his religion. He remained staunchly Catholic unlike some of his co-religionists who apostatized so as to follow a political career. His piety and often professed ultramontanism puzzled some of his contemporaries (and biographers) who regarded them as inconsistent with the enlightened and objective outlook of his scientific studies. Richard Hobson, his doctor and closest friend, for one, accused him of being over-credulous in religious matters, especially in respect of miracles. Secondly, his unconventional habits disturbed some and they questioned whether such a character could ever be taken as a level-headed and methodical scientist. He was deeply hurt and insulted when a Professor Rennie of King's College referred to 'the eccentric Waterton' saying

> it is a vulgar calumny. I am the most ordinary, the most commonplace of men. It would be impossible for me to do an eccentric thing, so ordinary am I.

If pressed he would admit only to being an individualist in some ways. At any rate, his idiosyncrasies have dominated his legacy and his highly disciplined religious practice is either mocked or viewed with distaste. Yet none of his detractors have thought to use Catholic historical sources to discover how important his recusant heritage was to him. The purpose of this essay, then, is to reconsider Squire Waterton, a great traveller-naturalist and pioneering conservationist, in the light of his Catholic life.[2]

*

Charles Waterton was born on 3 June 1782 at Walton Hall, the family seat in the parish of Sandal Magna, five miles from Wakefield and eight miles from Pontefract. It stood on a small natural island, accessible by a bridge, in a lake of some thirty acres, encircled within a park of almost three hundred acres. He

described himself as ‘a Catholic nobleman’ for he could trace twenty-seven generations of his family including English barons and knights before the reformation:

> In remote times, some of my ancestors were sufficiently notorious to have had their names handed down to posterity. They fought at Crecy, and at Agincourt, and at Marston Moor. Sir Robert Waterton was Governor of Pontefract Castle, and had charge of King Richard II.[3]

There are said to be nine martyred saints in the pedigree, seven of them of royal blood, including St Margaret of Scotland. He was gratified to be invested as a knight in the Order of Christ. a Catholic Order founded by Pope John XII in 1319AD, which predated the Order of the Garter by fourteen years (his son would be admitted in 1858) but he was proudest of being descended

> in a direct line from Sir Thomas More, through my grandmother on the father’s side; whilst by the mother’s side I am kin to the Bedingfelds of Oxburgh, to the Charltons of Hazelside [Hesleyside], and to the Swinburnes of Capheaton.

Since the family adhered to the old faith they were excluded from public life. He lamented that ‘the last public commission held by our family’ was in 1553 when ‘good Queen Mary’ made Thomas Waterton High Sheriff of Yorkshire. Ruefully, perhaps, he also said that had it not been for his religion ‘my early days would probably have been spent in the service of my country’.[4]

Waterton’s grandfather (1704-67) ‘had the honour of being sent a prisoner to York’ in 1745 because of his attachment to the House of Stewart. As he meant to join the Jacobite Rising, imprisonment probably saved his life and prevented the family’s ruin. Walton Hall was searched for arms and he was outraged that his horses were confiscated and taken to Wakefield, at his own expense, and at being left only with an old nag. Charles’s father Thomas was born in 1738 and was educated by the Jesuits at Liège where he gained a love of the classics and of nature. He inherited Walton Hall in 1767, aged twenty-nine and replaced the Elizabethan house with a Georgian mansion.[5] His mother Anne was the daughter of Edward Bedingfield of Oxburgh, Norfolk, a lady ‘of more than ordinary dignity’ who taught her six children ‘high principles and scrupulous conduct.’ Charles spoke of her with affectionate reverence. Some of his relatives moved abroad in the eighteenth century because of the recusancy laws. There were uncles in Spain, cousins in Belgium, and others settled in the Americas and New Zealand. In 1753 his aunt, Mary Augustine More, was professed a nun in the English Augustinian Priory of Nazareth in Bruges, Belgium, and in 1766 she became its seventh prioress.[6]

Charles spent his childhood at home in the secluded rural surroundings of Walton Hall where his love of nature and wildlife was formed. Aged nine he was sent to Tudhoe Academy, some five miles south of Durham. This was a

boarding preparatory school for Catholic boys founded after the passage of the first Catholic Relief Act in 1778 by the Northumbrian priest Arthur Storey, chaplain to the Salvins of Croxdale, and missioner in Sunderland Bridge and Tudhoe. He had leased the house from Sir John Lawson of Brough, a substantial Catholic landowner in the region. Storey offered a wide classical education with particular attention being paid to 'morals, behaviour and mental improvement'; fees were £22 a year, dancing two guineas extra. Storey engaged

> a holy and benevolent priest, by name of Robert Blacoe, to help him in the school. He was in ill health, having severely injured himself in his escape over the walls of Douai at the commencement of the French Revolution.[7]

Joseph Shepherd, newly ordained at Valladolid, succeeded Blacoe and, like Storey, he was an academic and 'a very correct disciplinarian'. Other members of the staff included Sergeant Newton, the 'magnificent soldier' who gave instruction in military exercises, the drawing master 'Pether, a fair artist enough in his own way', and Forsett the 'smart and handsome dancing master'. Then there were Mrs Atkinson, the housekeeper, William Wilkinson, 'Mr. Storey's farming man', and Joe Bowren, the general handyman. (Bowren would migrate to Stonyhurst.)

Charles later recalled that in his time Tudhoe was a peaceful, healthy farming village. It had no river, 'a misfortune', but in other respects the vicinity was delightful and afforded sufficient wild-life 'for the benefit of natural history and my own instruction and amusement'. Storey, however, did not appreciate the lad's passion for rambling, bird's-nesting and so on in preference to academic studies and believed it could be productive of no good and had to be eradicated by stern measures. Hence Charles suffered many a birching for his various 'frolics independent of school erudition'.

Early in 1794, five students in their early twenties arrived at Tudhoe following their expulsion from Douai. Charles said that Mrs Atkinson disliked and neglected them and they persuaded him to 'cater for them surreptitiously' by raiding the pantry at night to feed their 'giant appetites'. He later wrote that he was very pleased to have 'contributed to the bodily support of those who laboured for Ushaw at its birth'. For Bishop William Gibson had hoped that the Academy would serve as the replacement for the seminary at Douai but it was too small and Crook Hall was leased temporarily instead. The students (and Blacoe) left Tudhoe in September and in 1808 they moved into the new permanent seminary and school at Ushaw. Tudhoe Academy, now redundant, closed at the same time.

Charles was at Tudhoe for four years without a break and he hated it. Indeed, his reminiscences of his time there are mostly about the beatings he endured. He would, however, find a much more congenial regime at his next school.

Stonyhurst College, near Clitheroe, was established in 1794 in a Jacobean mansion made over to the English Jesuits by Mr Thomas Weld of Lulworth. It was the lineal descendant of the Jesuit colleges successively at St Omer (1592-1762), Bruges (until 1773) and Liège (until 1794). Charles arrived at Stonyhurst in 1796, aged fourteen and was there for five years, and he loved it. The proximity of woods, moorlands, hills and streams entirely suited his love of nature and his adventurous temperament. Wisely, the Jesuit Fathers allowed him the freedom to pursue his ruling passion. As a result, he became more amenable to academic study and he read a good deal of Latin and English literature, and he even acquired a taste for writing Latin verse. Teetotalism was urged on him by Walter Clifford his housemaster:

> about two years before I left the college for good and all, he called me up to his room. 'Charles,' said he to me, in a tone of voice perfectly irresistible, 'I have long been studying your disposition, and I clearly foresee that nothing will keep you at home. You will journey into far-distant countries, where you will be exposed to many dangers. There is only one way for you to escape them. Promise me that, from this day forward, you will never put your lips to wine, or to spirituous liquors.' 'The sacrifice is nothing,' added he; 'but, in the end, it will prove of incalculable advantage to you.' I agreed to his enlightened proposal; and from that hour to this, which is now about nine-and-thirty years, I have never swallowed one glass of any kind of wine or of ardent spirits.[8]

He always looked back on his time at Stonyurst with satisfaction and he would visit the college frequently and often spend Christmas there; he habitually wore the school uniform into old age: a dark blue tail coat with yellow buttons. When sending his son Edmund there, however, he felt it necessary to caution him against forbidden books and 'particular friendships', which suggests that it was not free from the infamous public-school ethos.

*

Dr Hobson remarked that Waterton 'was warmly and immutably attached to the priesthood of his church and especially so to the Jesuits' whom he found to be 'a body of very agreeable and learned men'. He would refer to 'our dear Jesuits at Stonyhurst' and he was well acquainted with several at home and in his extended family. Younger sons of the preceding four generations of the family became Jesuits. In his papers there is one stating that he would himself have liked to become a Jesuit priest but he married to continue his illustrious lineage. His brother William, however, twelve years younger, went to Stonyhurst, entered the order in 1815 and was ordained priest in 1823 in Ireland. William never served at the Hall but he was at Pontefract, which had been a Jesuit mission-station in the reign of James II. He died at Stonyhurst in 1852.[9]

The first named priests at Walton Hall were the Elizabethan Yorkshireman Richard Collins SJ; John Mannering, who is otherwise unknown, then came Robert Petre, born in Essex in 1663. He was educated at St Omer and entered the Society of Jesus in 1679. He was imprisoned in York Castle 1688-9 but was then chaplain to the Watertons for many years. As a great botanist he 'had full scope for cultivating his favourite science in the gardens of Walton Hall'.[10] He died there in 1729 and it seems that the chaplaincy was then shared with the Anne family, first at Frickley and, from mid-century, at Burghwallis Hall about fifteen miles away. The chapel was served by Jesuits for much of the eighteenth century.[11] The 1767 *Papist Return* from Sandal Magna records 13 Catholics:

> M[r]. C.W. aged 60 and M. his wife, T. their son, A. and B. their daughters, 5 five servants in Mr W's family', [two others] and 'M[r]. S. supposed priest residing here occasionally. N.B. he is the same priest that is mentioned before as residing in the parish of Frickley with Clayton in the Deanery of Doncaster'.

At Frickley there were 38 Catholics and 'Mr S. Aged 50, reputed priest, resident 16 years.' He was the 52-year-old Jesuit Robert Sanderson. Sixteen Catholics were listed at Burghwallis.[12]

The Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 almost ten years before Charles was born and so the first Jesuit he would have known was his kinsman and the last male heir of Sir Thomas More, Thomas More (1722-1795). He was educated at St Omer and entered the Society in 1752.[13] He served in London and Bath, where he died in 1795, the last Provincial of the old Society. He spent much of his time at Burghwallis Hall, or at Walton Hall with his first cousin Thomas Waterton, Charles's father. Repeated attempts to arrest him were made by Sir Roland Winn (VI) seated at Nostell Priory, close by to the east, but he was always tipped off by friends or officials and would make his escape on horseback to Walton Hall or Burghwallis Hall or vice versa. Edmund Waterton relates that Sir Rowland once had positive information that Father More was at Walton Hall and sent his officers to arrest him but More was warned and got away just in time. In a great rage, the sheriff closely questioned his men whether they had searched every part of the Hall: 'Every part and corner, Sir Rowland, except the oven', said the leader, taking a rise out of the sheriff whose family fortune had been made in baking.[14] French exiled secular priests served at Walton and Burghwallis following the suppression[15] but from 1846 the mission was served mostly by the Jesuit at Pontefract. It seems, however, that up to a late period in his life and when no priest was in residence, Waterton would walk to the Jesuit church in Wakefield for Sunday Mass, although he might be persuaded to return in his carriage.[16]

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Waterton completed his education in 1801 and, after a year at home (spent mostly riding to hounds with Lord Darlington), his parents thought foreign travel would suit his adventurous spirit and sent him to Malaga where two maternal uncles, Catholic exiles, were in business and had become naturalized Spaniards. He and his younger brother Christopher stayed for more than a year travelling extensively in the region by land and sea and Charles became fluent in Spanish (he would read a part of *Don Quixote* and a chapter of a biography of St Francis Xavier each day for the rest of his life). An epidemic of yellow fever carried off his eldest uncle and he himself suffered an attack, but he broke the quarantine placed on the city and got back to Yorkshire.[17] Having recuperated at home Waterton was eager to get abroad again.

Waterton spent much of the next twenty years abroad in Demerara, seized from the Dutch in 1796 and renamed British Guiana. His father Thomas and uncle Christopher owned sugar plantations; his aunt Anne had married Michael Daly, also a planter. It was decided that the twenty-two-year-old Charles should go out and manage the plantations belonging to his father and uncle, and he did so for seven years with intervals in England. He could not but acknowledge that the family were slave-owners though he conceded that slavery was indefensible and he applauded the Abolitionists.[18] His father died in 1805, leaving him the Walton Hall estate which brought £700 a year. His mother was left a small yearly allowance and she moved away; she died in Liverpool in 1819. His brothers inherited the plantation and Charles agreed to stay on as manager and he returned to Guiana in 1808 but in 1812 he gave it up. Occasional forays into the hinterland of Guiana had whetted his appetite for more serious travel and now thirty years old and financially independent, though not rich, he decided to devote himself wholly to exploration and the study of natural history.

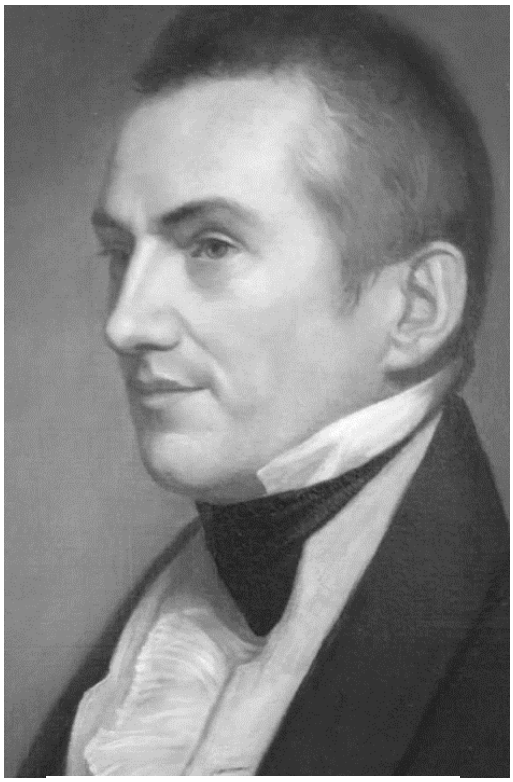
The main purpose of Waterton's first expedition into the Guyanian uplands was to obtain supplies of *curare,* a poison used in hunting by Indians to induce the relaxation of their prey's muscles; its anaesthetic properties would clearly be of use in surgery and he is credited with introducing it into Europe. He also wanted to find the site of the fabled city of El Dorado and, after a search lasting four months and involving over a thousand miles of travel by land and river, he satisfied himself that there was nothing to the old story but his search did yield much new and valuable topographical information about the unexplored interior. He also collected numerous animal skins and birds with which to begin a museum in Walton Hall, work on which he began on his return in 1813. Paradoxically, he started to convert the park into a bird sanctuary at the same time. His second expedition in 1816 was to gather more information about the natural history of the area and over six months in the wilds he shot 'above two hundred specimens of the finest birds' for his museum.

The native Arawak Indians of Guiana were Christianised in the eighteenth century. Individual Jesuit priests, most notably James Chamberlain and Leonard

Neale, attempted missionary work in that ‘desolate country’ but their endeavours did not lead to the establishment of a Jesuit mission. It is uncertain who Waterton had in mind when he remarked that in Georgetown he ‘often had to wait while the priest finished his game of backgammon before celebrating Mass’. Anyway, he made a study of religion among the natives, noting the effects of the expulsion of the Jesuits in particular, and it was arranged for him to present a report to Pope Pius VII. In Autumn 1817 he went to Rome with Captain Alexander, RN, where he fell in with his old school-fellow and friend Captain Edmund Jones of the Lancashire Militia.

> Many a tree had we climbed together in the last century and as our nerves were in excellent trim, we mounted to the top of St Peter’s, ascended the Cross, and then climbed thirteen feet higher where we reached the point of the conductor and left our gloves upon it. After this we visited the Castle of St Angelo and contrived to get on to the head of the Guardian Angel, where we stood on one leg.[19]

The pope was not amused and insisted that they themselves recover the gloves. They forfeited the papal audience.



Charles Waterton by C W Peale, 1824, National Portrait Gallery

In February 1820 Waterton went again to Guiana and over eleven months he collected rare insects, two hundred and thirty birds, ‘several eggs of curious birds’, two land-tortoises, five armadillos, two large serpents, an ant-bear, a sloth and a cayman. His last expedition began in the spring of 1824, and took him first to America. As a High Tory aristocrat, and at a time of strong anti-Americanism in England after the war of 1812-15, he was unusual in his liking and admiration for America: ‘I prefer the United States much to England’, and he always toasted Independence Day – but only in water. He travelled widely in the eastern states and in Canada both as a tourist and a naturalist. In the autumn he left for Antigua and called at other West Indian islands before going on to Demerara where he went straight into the forests to collect more specimens. He returned home late that year and wrote an account of his four expeditions. *Wanderings in South America, the North-west of the United States and the Antilles, in the years 1812, 1816, 1820 and 1824* came out in 1825.[20] The book went into six editions in the nineteenth century, four in the twentieth, and continues to be in print, regarded as a minor classic of the genre. He

would also publish three volumes of *Essays on Natural History* (1838, 1844, 1857) which were issued in a collected edition in 1871.

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Waterton always intended to marry so as to carry on his venerable lineage but he did not turn his mind to it until he was in his mid-forties and had completed his explorations. In 1827 he wrote: 'I find I cannot live with any comfort at home unless I were married and I have not courage enough to look out for a wife'. He was smitten by some young women when in the US but he did not pursue their acquaintance. He also declined an offer from a widow in Guiana who offered him 20,000 head of cattle along with her hand. As a young man he could easily have found a wife within the great English Catholic cousinage but now much older, hardly known socially because of his long years abroad, and with a reputation as an eccentric scientist, he was not especially eligible in that quarter. He would have to look elsewhere and, as it happened, he did not have to look far. Charles Edmonstone, ('the most valued friend I ever had in the world') a Scot and fellow-planter in Demerara, with two Scottish princesses in his ancestry, had married the daughter of a Scot, William Reid and his Arawak wife, Princess Minda. In 1812 their second daughter Anne Mary was baptised a Protestant with Waterton standing as her godfather. The Edmonstones later returned to Cardross Park in Dunbartonshire and on a visit to them in 1827 Waterton became engaged to marry Anne Mary – she was fifteen he was forty-five. This was unusual not so much because of her part-Indian descent and the difference in age but of religion, he being a devoutly observant Catholic. Moreover, under Roman canon law theirs was a 'spiritual relationship' and an impediment to marriage. But no dispensation was sought, perhaps because no spiritual relationship was deemed to exist as she was baptised a Protestant, notwithstanding her becoming a Catholic later so as to marry.

On 1 July 1828 Anne and her eldest sister Eliza arrived at the English Convent at Bruges to be instructed and received into the Church. On 13 November the convent chaplain received their abjuration, baptised them and heard their confessions. Two days later they made their first Communion during High Mass which was followed by the *Te Deum*. They were seated at the Revd Mother's table for supper at which, the convent annalist noted, 'somewhat better fare was given'. They then took their leave, 'much gratified with the attention shown them'. Their younger sister Helen would be treated in exactly the same way when she was received on 1 January 1830. The consideration paid to the girls illustrates the respect in which Waterton was held at the convent over which, of course, it could hardly have been forgotten that his great-aunt Mother Mary Augustine had presided some twenty years earlier.

The way was now open for the marriage and it too took place at the convent. On 18 May 1829 at around five in the morning:

> Mr Charles Waterton of Walton Hall Yorkshire was married in our Church to Miss Anne Edmonstone to whom he was engaged previously to her entering our School. The ceremony was performed by the Revd John Gordon, guardian to the young lady.[21]

The honeymoon was spent travelling in Belgium, France and Italy ending in Yorkshire in August. Notwithstanding their marriage in Bruges (and the enactment of Catholic Emancipation that year), it was necessary under the Hardwicke Act (1753) that their union be solemnised under Anglican auspices and so there was a second ceremony in St Helen's Church in Sandal Magna on 20 December, as recorded in the parish register:

> Charles WATERTON Married Anne Mary EDMUNDSON Esquire
> By Licence. (Being previously married 18th May at Bruges).
> Witnesses: Edwd Jones & J Wood.

Given Waterton's intense dislike of the Anglican Church, it must have been galling for him to have had to accept this requirement. Furthermore, when his wife died of puerperal fever the following year, three weeks after giving birth to Edmund Waterton, he would not have liked the formally terse record in the parish register of her interment in the family vault of Sandal Magna church:

> 19 April 1830 Anne Waterton of Walton Hall, a Roman Catholic, was Buried without a service by T. Westmoreland, Vicar.

The notice (deliberately or unknowingly) took no account of the fact that a Requiem Mass would have been offered beforehand in Walton Hall. Waterton was devastated at Anne's death and he would not marry again but her sisters Eliza and Helen moved into Walton Hall to become his companions, his house-keepers and to help raise Edmund. They were with him thirty-three years.[22]

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In politics Waterton was unapologetically reactionary. He deplored the national debt and taxation of every kind. One of the reasons he liked America was that there everything was on 'a grand scale, except taxation.' He looked to earlier times as a golden age, conflating the religious, the social and the political: [23]

> there were no poor-rates before the Reformation, when all gentlemen kept a sparrow-hawk, and the priest a hobby [i.e., a horse], then the charitable doles given at religious houses and churches in every parish did the business.

Waterton had no confidence in the political parties of his day. Before Catholic Emancipation (1829) he said 'had I a vote, I would never give it either to Whig, Tory or Radical'. After Emancipation he wrote:

> I shall not vote. You know my sentiments. If driven to extremities I had rather be slain by the sword of a Tory at noon-day than be

> stabbed at midnight by the muckfork of a sinuous, tortuous, treacherous Whig. As for Radicals – poor needy devils! – they would take the last remaining farthing from my breeches pocket, and then leave me to shift for myself. What a patriotic trio. Poor Britain!

He was critical of the country's colonial policy, he had a horror of paper money, of being in debt and he distrusted banks.

For all that Waterton complained about being excluded from public life, he was commissioned lieutenant in the second regiment of the Demerara Militia in 1807, which was, he pointed out, 'the first commission that anyone of the name of Waterton had received from Queen Mary's days', stressing, however, that he accepted only because he had not been required to take any oath offensive to his Catholic faith. The following year he was proud to be given an official commission to carry despatches from Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood to the Spanish government in what is now Venezuela.[24] Similarly, in 1813 he was delighted to be entrusted with despatches for Lord Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, who then offered him an opportunity to explore the island of Madagascar and the Seychelles. Waterton was unwell and turned it down but he later regretted doing so:

> I never acted so much against my interest as when I declined to go to Madagascar ... My commission was a star of the first magnitude. It appeared after a long night of political darkness which had prevented my family from journeying onwards for the space of nearly three centuries...

Yet, although he said that the 'new dynasty may always make sure of my loyalty', he refused to take the 'abominable oath' required by the Catholic Emancipation Act which, he held, was only 'to secure to the Church by law established the full possession of the loaves and fishes', whereas he wanted them distributed among the poor. By refusing to take the oath, which most Catholics accepted, he deliberately disbarred himself from holding any office under the crown, a consequence of the penal laws which he had always held repugnant.[25]

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Waterton was an uncompromising supporter of Catholicism and often mocked Protestantism as no more than a collection of sectarian dogmas which had 'no unity of principle', and he always designated Anglicanism as 'Mother Thirty-Nine'. Once, when a national fast was declared, he said 'we are not in the habit of paying attention to any spiritual authority that comes not from the sacred inclosure of the eternal city...' Gleefully, he represented the Reformation leaders in his collection of stuffed animals: Martin Luther as a monkey, John Knox as a black frog, Elizabeth I as a lizard; he added Titus Oates as a toad and John Bull as a tortoise. At a personal level, however, he was more accommodating. His

closest friends included J.G. Wood an Anglican parson, Norman Moore a Quaker and his doctor Richard Hobson for whose conversion Waterton prayed daily and with whom he discussed theology:

> Bishop [Cornthwaite] – the Catholic prelate at [Beverley] – is here now and will say mass tomorrow. Now would be your time to gain orthodox information as to extreme unction about which we had conversation the other day.

He once asked Hobson if he would not prefer to take spiritual guidance from a Jesuit rather than 'one of those pharisaical parsons who think it damnation to whistle on a Sunday'. As for himself, he would

> rather run the risk of going to hell with St Edward the Confessor, Venerable Bede and St Thomas of Canterbury, than make a dash at heaven in company with Henry VIII, Queen Bess and Dutch William.

On Guy Fawkes and 'his holy squad':

> Tomorrow being our great detonating festival, I shall have a leisure hour to ruminate on the dreadful consequence of old Guy's atrocity, had he succeeded in blowing to atoms a few dozens of miscreants who ought all to have been hanged for their crimes against heaven and earth. The Vicar of this place is expected to be ferociously eloquent in the pulpit in denouncing the horrors of Popery to a holy congregation of terrified old women.

The annual Gunpowder Plot Sermons given around the country warned people to have nothing to do with the Devil, the Pope or the Pretender. [26]

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Although he gave up exploration (his 'wanderings') after his marriage, Waterton did not abandon travel altogether but he now kept to England and Europe (his 'saunterings'). Wherever he went he called on naturalists and visited the museums they kept but he often came away disappointed with the exhibits. Although he was becoming well-known through his writings, he refused to join the academic world or associate with those he dismissed as armchair naturalists. In December 1831 he wrote:

> There is to be an immense meeting of Naturalists and Philosophers from all parts of England and many parts of the continent at York. I got an invitation from the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, but declined accepting it, under the plea that I had other engagements. The fact is I do not like the bother.

Nor would he send any of his stuffed animals to the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Most of his continental journeys were made for devotional reasons – he loved being in Catholic countries – and significantly they always included visits to the

English convent in Bruges ('I would retire to Bruges and there end my days') and he would often take Eliza and Helen with him, and Edmund later. Of his frequent, almost routine, journeys abroad, it is enough to describe two. The first, in the autumn following his wife's death, bore unusual fruit. While at Würzburg in Bavaria he heard of an elderly gentleman who wished to sell his collection of 148 pictures bought during the revolutionary war 'when specimens were choice and buyers few', many of them were attributed to old masters, though they were probably 'school of …' or copies. Waterton bought the collection because in it was Carlo Maratti's picture of St Catherine of Alexandria in which, it seems, the face bore a strong resemblance to his late wife Anne's. It would hang prominently at Walton Hall and he was often seen to gaze at it for long periods.[27]

In the ('cold and dreary') Summer of 1839 he took the family with two servants on a two-year tour: embarking at Hull for Holland, on to Bruges, Aix-la-Chapelle ('the wonderful springs … best of all places for stomach complaints'), Strasbourg, Freiburg, over to Bologna, Florence and Rome. (He walked across the Alps and went barefoot on the last sixteen miles to Rome, badly lacerating his feet.) They were in Rome for Easter and stayed until the end of May. Other than attending to his devotions (attending daily Mass at four in the morning at the Gesù), he found time to collect and preserve eighty birds, and various animals, which were sent back to England from Leghorn. After visits to Naples and Sicily they returned to Rome where they stayed for nine months during which time he fancied he was getting 'fat and pot-bellied on the Italian diet'. He made the acquaintance of a number of ecclesiastical dignitaries including Nicholas Wiseman and Charles Baggs at the *Venerabile* and the Father General of the Jesuits. Cardinal Fransoni at Propaganda was said to be 'very attentive'.[28] He was very pleased to renew friendships with Bartholomew Esmonde and Thomas Glover, old school-fellows, now Jesuits. The latter was a kindred spirit who had taught botany, chemistry, mineralogy and natural philosophy at Stonyhurst for five years. While the Watertons were in Rome he acted as their chaplain and Edmund's tutor. Glover would return to England in 1849 to live at Walton Hall, 'whither he had been invited by his attached friend'; he died there shortly afterwards aged 68.[29]

Dr Hobson observed that Waterton had an 'excess of credulity' just like that 'extensively indulged' in by his church and that even many of his fellow Catholics 'were greatly surprised with this in so highly educated a man'. He was certainly attracted to the more unusual manifestations of the faith and he liked to visit Catholic places for their shrines, festivals and hoped-for miracles (though he readily admitted that belief in miracles was not mandatory):

> We shall return by Grenoble. In the vicinity of that ancient town is the famous Salette, forever memorable on account of the miraculous apparition of the blessed Virgin to the two shepherd children. [30]

He could not understand why Hobson could be so 'obtuse and bigoted' as not to believe in it. He himself had no atom of doubt or disbelief in his mind. W.M. Thackeray described the occasion when 'A friend who belongs to the old religion' took him to the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte in Rome where a Jew became a Catholic having experienced an apparition of Our Lady. Thackeray was not impressed or convinced but as they knelt together he 'could not but feel a kindness and admiration for the good man'; he depicted Waterton as a saintly man in *The Newcombes* (1854). Waterton wrote lyrically about the occasion when all the paintings of the Blessed Virgin in Rimini fluttered their eyelids. Similarly, he was delighted to have witnessed the liquefaction of St Januarius's blood at Naples, remarking that it was 'miraculous beyond the shadow of a doubt'. He reported seeing an interesting letter giving an account of the miraculous and instantaneous cure of Lord – 's son in Rome, by the prayer of 'the martyr-nun of Minx'. He believed implicitly in the legend of the 'Santa Casa' which he saw at Loreto. He went to see the incorrupt body of St Catherine at Bologna, and he came away from Innsbruck highly impressed by the stigmatic Maria von Mörl, known as the Ecstatic Virgin of Tyrol. In Bavaria he met a friend, Alexander Fletcher, secretary to a Jesuit priest and famous miracle-worker Prince Hohenlohe-Waldenburg-Shillingsfurst who had cured by his prayer Princess Mathilda von Schwarzenberg who had been a paralytic for eight years. He went to Bruges in the Jubilee year 1850 expressly to see the procession of the relic of the Holy Blood of Our Redeemer paraded through the streets. In fact, of course, most Catholics were fascinated by such things but their devotional life was unlikely to have been as intense as Waterton's.

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Following his wife's death Waterton 'lived the life of a genial and beneficent ascetic.'[31] His attic-room was a monk's cell, and a workroom ('Here I play and here I work … my best recreation is my work') sparsely furnished with a few books and prints without carpet or bed – he slept on the floor under an increasingly threadbare Italian cloak with his head resting on a wooden block. He rose at three-thirty in the morning and from four he spent an hour on his knees in the oratory next door and then an hour of spiritual reading. Mass would be celebrated at six if a priest was in residence. After breakfast at 8 am to dinner at 1 pm, and then to six in the evening he dealt with estate business and worked in the park or on his collections. As a rule, he was in bed by nine unless there were visitors, but he got up at midnight to pray for a short while in the oratory. He ate abstemiously but he kept a good table for guests except that alcoholic drink was never served. He always strictly observed the fast and abstinence rules which the church imposed only on the middle-aged and healthy adult. He kept Lent strictly and cheerfully as well as the four annual Ember weeks when 'three whole days of orthodox black fast' are set apart by the church 'in order that the body may give its soul an additional shove to the realms above … the

Pope will allow us a chop on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays' only. Corpus Christi was 'one of the greatest festivals in Christendom' and he much enjoyed Christmas. Most appropriately for a naturalist, his patron was 'St Francis of Assissium, this glorious saint' of whom he had three pictures in his collection.[32]

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Waterton's travels tailed off in the 1850s but he had plenty to occupy him at home. The conversion of the park was a continuing project He had a great wall built around the estate to protect the wild life, always excepting the brown rat, the only animal he did not like and which he was ruthless in his attempts to destroy. He termed it the 'Hanoverian rat' as an expression of his Jacobitism. The wall was eight-foot-high, three miles in circumference and enclosed some 260 acres. It cost £10,000 and took ten years to complete. The culmination of his life-work in conservation was the closure in 1850 (after a protracted legal action) of a neighbouring bleaching and soap-boiling factory which discharged poisonous fumes across the park and waste products into the river and lake and was destroying trees, wildlife and fish.

He was on good terms with his neighbours, he kept open house for his friends and he was always glad to welcome naturalist or clerical visitors including Cardinal Nicholas Wiseman, Robert Cornthwaite, Bishop of Beverley (who was often to be seen in his purple cassock at ease in an armchair on the lawn), the Stonyhurst Jesuits and John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester (later Archbishop of Canterbury) one of the few Anglican prelates who had supported Catholic Emancipation. The Park was often opened to parties of children, workers in cotton mills and touring associations; the residents of the local mental hospital were treated to an annual picnic. When in 1847 a cholera epidemic spread in Leeds, he became concerned for the health of the priests:

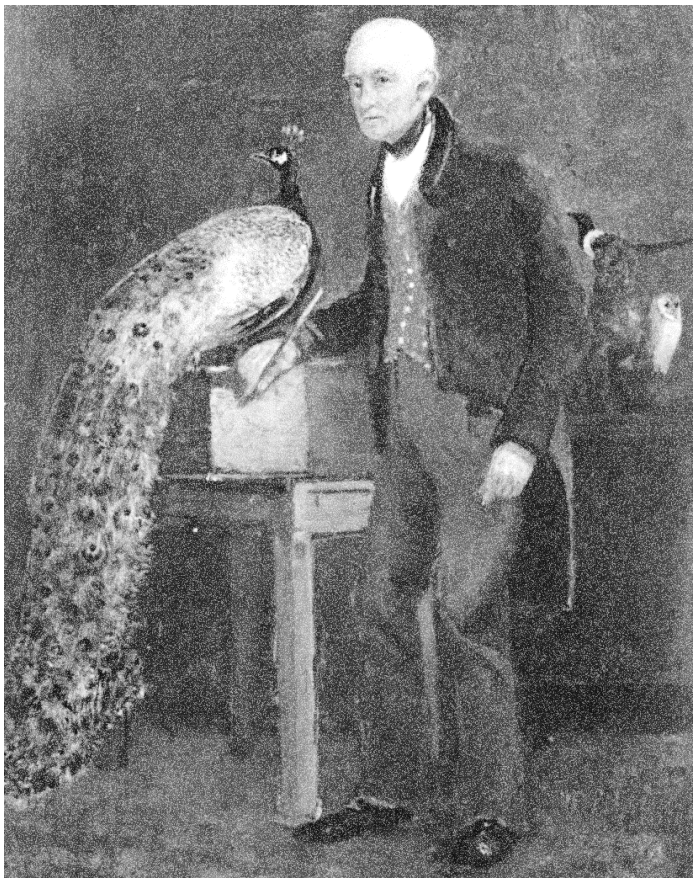
> It was but the other day that I saw Mr Walmsley in full health and requested him to let Mr Wilson come to Walton Hall for a change of air. His reply was that he could not spare him on account of the numbers of the poor sick Irish.[33]

Walmsley died shortly after. Waterton's charitable giving was normally discreet and anonymous, though it was known that he would buy new boots for poor labourers and pay his doctor to attend sick cottagers. In 1828 he received £100 in royalties and distributed it among the poor, among whom was a Protestant with eight children who habitually abused him as a Catholic. It is also worth noting that he had a keen sense of humour and an aptitude for practical jokes.

Waterton's appearance accounts for much of his reputation as an eccentric. Fashion never troubled him – dandies and coxcombs were among his special hates. Hobson wrote that his personal apparel was of so peculiar a character – of such a primitive style and, occasionally, so far worn, and his hat, generally, in so dilapidated a condition, that he was now and then addressed by strangers as a

person very much below his grade in society. He usually rejoiced in a blunder of this kind ... His coat was of an old-fashioned swallow-tail cut, like the Stonyhurst uniform of his schooldays. He wore it for all formal occasions, adamantly refusing to adopt the conventional dress required in polite society. He never wore a wig and was clean-shaven which was out of the ordinary when luxuriant hair and whiskers were the fashion (especially among naturalists – Charles Darwin, for one); and he usually went about barefoot or in overlarge footwear. He described himself in old age:

> On looking at myself in the glass, I can see that my face is anything but comely; continual exposure to the sun, and to the rains of the tropics, has furrowed it in places ... My hair, which I wear very short, was once a shade betwixt brown and black: it has now the appearance as though it had passed a night exposed to a November hoar-frost.



Charles Waterton by Samuel Lucas Snr (1805-70) nd.
[North Herts Museum]

He was fearless all through life – confronting dangerous animals, climbing trees, leaping fences, and so on, as well as walking long distances –but his more daring exploits often led to serious injury. He was, moreover, peculiarly accident-prone and was dogged by bizarre misadventures – he was ship-wrecked twice. He was much given to blood-letting.

On 25 May 1865 he caught his foot in a bramble and fell heavily. It was clear that he had suffered a major internal injury and was in such distress that doctor and priest were sent for immediately. His son, in Rome attending on the pope, was informed by telegram; a telegraphed papal blessing arrived later in the day. Waterton joked that his was ‘a bad case’ but his condition worsened the following day. Towards midnight he gave a final blessing to his grandchildren and his sisters in law and left a message for his son then hurrying home. Canon W.F. Browne administered the last rites and Waterton died at half past two in the morning of 27 May holding a bronze and malachite crucifix that had belonged to Henry Benedict Stewart, Cardinal-Duke of York. Mass was offered

in the chapel which was, however, too small to accommodate the congregation at the funeral a week later. It was held in the entrance hall converted into a chapel and draped in black. After the Office of the Dead, Requiem High Mass was sung by Bishop Cornthwaite with fourteen priests in attendance. The body was conveyed by boat for burial on the edge of the lake between two oak trees as he had stipulated. It was 3 June, the eighty-third anniversary of his birth.

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Beginning an essay on Eric Gill, Graham Greene wrote that

> Roman Catholicism in this country has been a great breeder of eccentrics – one cannot picture a man like Charles Waterton belonging to any other faith …[34]

It is now time that Waterton and his contemporaries were delivered from that patronising but supposedly endearing charge of eccentricity. The Revd Sydney Smith got it about right when he wrote in his usual humorous manner

> Mr Waterton is a Roman Catholic gentleman of Yorkshire, of good fortune, who, instead of passing his life at balls and assemblies, has preferred living with Indians and monkeys in the forests of Guiana. He appears in early life to have been seized with an unconquerable aversion to Piccadilly, and to that train of meteorological questions and answers, which forms the great staple of polite English conversation.[35]

Waterton was only one of many Catholic gentlemen of the time to gain a reputation for eccentricity because of his absence from political and fashionable life to follow some scholarly pursuit, usually scientific and undertaken out of the public eye: his rural truancy arose from a dedication to the protection of the natural habitats and wild life of Yorkshire which he judged to be more important than attending the Season in York. His creation of a conservation area in the heart of industrial England was unique. As for his unconventional personal habits, today they would be accepted as a lifestyle choice and hardly raise an eyebrow. Waterton was animated by his honourable lineage, Jesuit upbringing and a fascination with the natural world. That he was profoundly religious is crucial to an understanding of the man: his Catholic faith was deeply held and devoutly practised. For him it was essential to recognise the hand of God in all things: his absorption in natural history strengthened his reverence for God's work. He was a pioneer in ecological theology though he would not have known the term, but it is what drives the modern Christian environmental movement and is the foundation of *Laudato Si,* Pope Francis' 2015 encyclical on the 'care for our common home'.[36]

Afterword

To his father's regret, his only child Edmund had no interest in natural history, though he did enjoy archaeology. And then, while Charles was content to live quietly on the Walton Hall estate except when he went on his continental travels, which had religious and scientific rather than recreational or social purposes, Edmund had a more outgoing disposition and was taken up with money, status and fashion. Having almost nothing in common they spent little time together as adults: they annoyed and embarrassed each other. Yet the early indications suggested it could have all been different.[37]

On leaving Stonyhurst in 1850 Edmund went to Rome and was taken into the entourage of Pope Pius XI on the basis of his distinguished lineage. The following year he took part in a papal enquiry into English attitudes to belief in the Immaculate Conception. He was appointed a *Cameriere Segreto* (Privy Chamberlain) in 1857. In 1858 he joined the pope at Loreto for a five-month tour of the Papal States. He was installed as a Knight of Malta, invested with 'the most distinguished Order in Rome … the Order of Christ, which is a splendid decoration', and the Order of St John of Jerusalem, which entitled him to be presented in the royal courts of Europe. Moreover, both in England and Italy, he was an avid collector of antique rings, and he accumulated a library of over a thousand valuable antiquarian volumes. His interest centred on books of Marian devotion and *The Imitation of Christ,* 'of which he possessed the largest collection of editions ever brought together'.[38]

So far, so good, but the expenses of his duties in Rome, which he carried out for around fifteen years, his antique-collecting and the costs of maintaining his social status all had to be met from his own pocket, and with only £750 a year he was forever in debt notwithstanding having frequent loans from his father and aunts. Even though he married well in 1862 (his wife brought a dowry of £13,300) he went bankrupt and he had to live abroad for some time. His father became increasingly dismayed, the rift between them widened and, knowing that his treasured nature sanctuary at Walton was in danger, he disinherited his son in 1865 leaving the estate to Eliza and Helen.[39] Edmund later contested his father's will and recovered the estate but it was inevitable that it would have to go. In 1877 it was snapped up for £114,000 by, of all people, the son of his father's old adversary – the soap manufacturer whose neighbouring factory had so polluted the park and lake. Anyway, Edmund now settled his debts and returned to England, but not to Yorkshire, of which, incidentally, he had earlier been made a Deputy Lord Lieutenant. He left the county to live in Lincolnshire.

The park was neglected after Charles Waterton's death because of Edmund's indifference and it soon fell into dereliction. Large numbers of trees were felled, the woods were neglected and became overgrown. The surrounding wall began to crumble, no longer affording security for the wildlife – many species of bird and mammal simply disappeared. If Edmund had intended to expunge his father's achievement he certainly succeeded. The park ceased to be a nature reserve and Charles Waterton's lifework was ruined.

Notes & References

[1] Three biographies are quoted freely not always with page references: R. Hobson, *Charles Waterton: his home, habits, and handiwork,* 1867; G. Phelps, *Squire Waterton,* 1976; J. Blackburn, *Charles Waterton, traveller and conservationist,*1989. See also *ODNB.*

[2] His ephemera included four pamphlets of controversy on the Catholic questions of the day.

[3] Phelps, p. 7. Shakespeare mentions the latter in *Richard II,* 2.i.277-88. A First Folio was handed down in the family.

[4] Phelps pp. 7/8; Blackburn, pp. 6/7. One of his proudest possessions was a small single-hand chiming clock reputed to have been More's which occupied a place of honour in Walton Hall, cf., N Moore (ed.) [*Charles Waterton's*] *Natural History Essays*, 1870, p 192. Waterton's art collection included a copy of the portrait of Sir Thomas More by Hans Holbein (No. 175), cf. n. 25 below.

[5] There was a domestic chapel in the attic in recusant times but in 1791 the building of Catholic chapels and churches became permissible and a 'family chapel which abutted onto the house' was built. The attic chapel, next to Waterton's room, then became his private oratory which he dedicated to St Catherine of Alexandria. Phelps, p. 159.

[6] Mary More (1732–1807) was born to Thomas More and Catherine Gifford in Barnborough, Yorkshire, the last lineal descendant of Sir Thomas More. The convent was also a boarding school. F. Young, *Mother Mary More and the Exile of the Augustinian Canonesses of Bruges in England: 1794–1802*. *Recusant History*, 27 (2005), pp 86-102; Phelps pp. 10-13; Blackburn pp. 8-10.

[7] P. Gosse, *The Squire of Walton Hall,* 1940, p. 5; G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests,* vol 4.

[8] H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus:* vii, *Collectanea,* 1882, p. 138. Clifford, first cousin to Lord Clifford, was 11 years older than Waterton. He was ordained in 1801. Waterton recalled: 'After educating those entrusted to his charge with a care and affection truly paternal, he burst a blood-vessel, and retired to Palermo for the benefit of a warmer climate. There he died the death of the just, in the habit of St. Ignatius' in 1806 aged 33.

[9] Foley, v, pp. 736-8, with abbreviated pedigree.

[10] Foley, iv, p. 595; v, p. 677; vi, pp. 151, 729.

[11] Priests at Burghwallis: J. Messenger, 1725-52, J. Lewis, J. Shaw, and then R. Sanderson who died in 1781. J. Foxe came from Bolsterstone c.1739. There was a priest-hide close to an attic chapel. A larger chapel was created when the new hall was built c.1797. Hodgetts p. 128. Pevsner notes that the house was 'rudely medievalized' in 1820. See also Foley ii, series iv p. 585.

[12] E. Worrall, ed., *Returns of Papists, 1767*, vol. 2, CRS 1989, pp. 47/48, 51. The number of recusants in these localities in the 18th century is given by H. Aveling, 'The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790', *Proceedings of the Philosophical & Literary Society of Leeds,* vol 10 (1963) pp. 294, 297, 301.

[13] He was brother to Mother Mary Augustine in Bruges.

[14] Foley, pp. 520/1. Sir Roland became High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1799. Ironically, Lockey's copy of Holbein's painting of Thomas More and his family in their Chelsea home had come to Nostell Priory in 1729 as part of Susannah Henshaw's dowry at her marriage to Sir Rowland; she was descended from More's devoted daughter, Margaret Roper.

[15] J.B. Raquedal was at Walton Hall when Waterton left Tudhoe. J.A. Beurrey, 1798, who died at Pontefract in 1800 had 'served the mission from about 1794 till his death', serving Burghwallis at the same time; J. Poisnel, c.1800; P. Dubuisson resident at Robin Hood's Well, Burghwallis, in 1803; L. le Roux, 1828-43. Around 1888 Burghwallis Hall was leased to Protestants and the chapel was closed. Much of the altar furnishings were sent to Blenkinsop Castle, Northumberland. In the absence of direct male heirs, the estate, and the surname Anne, later devolved on the Charlton family of Hesleyside, Northumberland.

[16] F.H. Salvin to R. Hobson in a letter dated Oct 1866, Hobson pp. 123/147. The Jesuits opened the chapel of St Austin in Wakefield in March 1828 for 'twenty-nine communicants'. The first missioners were J. Morris to 1844 (who sometimes signed himself as the 'Catholic Vicar of Wakefield'), J. Baron, d. 1878, and F. Jarrett, d. 1885.

[17] Blackburn, pp. 22, 26.

[18] The trade was prohibited by Britain in 1807 but existing slaves worked the plantations until 1833 when slavery was abolished in the British Empire. Before leaving England in November 1804 he dined with Sir Joseph Banks, the celebrated naturalist and explorer. It was Friday; Waterton said that he could not eat meat; Banks quipped that he too was a Catholic in that he was a vegetarian. Banks urged him to undertake scientific research, but to return home every 3 years to recover his health. Waterton did so, even so he contracted malaria, dysentery and other diseases. Blackburn, pp. 27ff.

[19] He was 35 years old. Hobson, p. 305; Blackburn p. 78 referring to *Essays*, vol 1, p xxi.

[20] Strangely, he travelled in the *North-east* of the US.

[21] WY/6, Extracts from the Annals of the English Convent in Bruges: *Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu,* Farm St.

[22] In 1846 Darwin dined with Waterton, 'that amusing strange fellow', with two Catholic priests and 'two mulatresses'.

[23] Hobson, pp. 156ff., 300.

[24] The Duke of Wellington told the House of Lords that nearly half his officers in the Peninsular War were Catholics. Phelps, pp. 39/41; Blackburn, p. 33.

[25] Phelps pp. 11, 12, 56.

[26] Hobson, p. 282. He also disliked the ringing of church bells on 5 November.

[27] *Catalogue of the Pictures at Walton Hall near Wakefield,* 1855, No. 184. He was also given eight paintings by George Ord, an American friend, cf. the latter's letter dated 22 March 1841. The collection was sold at his death: 'we have taken a room in Wakefield for the paintings', Eliza to Norman Moore 9 Dec 1868; Blackburn, p. 216; Hobson, p. 361ff. The natural history collection went to Ushaw College and thence to Stonyhurst.

[28] Fransoni would consecrate Baggs bishop on 28 Jan 1844 and ordain John Henry Newman priest on 30 May 1847.

[29] Glover's ordination was brought forward to 1807 so that he could serve the RN in Palermo. Foley, *Collectanea,* pp. 126, 305. Waterton wrote a memoir of him for *The Tablet* 12 June 1849. Esmonde was an Irishman 'of many gifts': Foley, *Chronological Catalogue of the Irish Province*, p. 87.

[30] Hobson, p. 211.The apparitions occurred in 1846; those at Lourdes in 1858 are not mentioned.

[31] J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics* V (1902) p. 574.

[32] *St Francis in Contemplation* by Francis Franck; *The Bust of St Francis* by Bernardo Strozzi; *St Francis*, the Spanish School. (Nos. 15, 19, 36, see n. 25 above)

[33] Henry Walmesley, priest at St Mary's, Leeds, d. 1847; William Arthur Wilson, 1818-95.

[34] G. Greene, *Collected Essays* (1969) p. 260. (Greene cannot have come across many Anglican clergymen.)

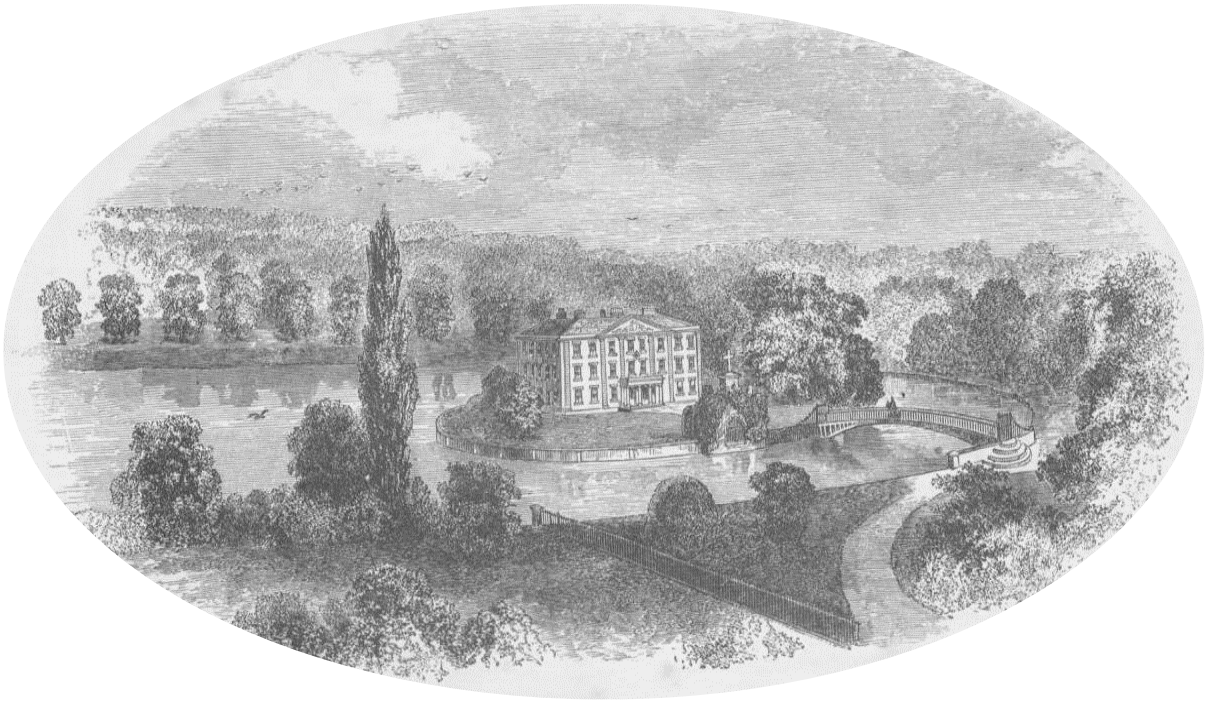
[35] *Edinburgh Review* xliii (1826), p. 299.

[36] Laudato Si, mi' Signore (Praise be to you, my Lord), the opening of the Canticle of the Creatures by St Francis of Assisi.

[37] He became a Knight of Grace in the Order of Malta in 1857 and a Knight of Justice (ie, one who had taken inter alia a vow of celibacy) in 1858. On his marriage to Josephine Ennis in 1862 he became a Knight of Devotion and remained as such until his death in 1887. [Ex inf. Michael Hodges, Chancellor, BASMOM]

[38] Cf. *Catalogue of the very extensive and valuable collection of antique and mediaeval rings, formed by that well-known collector, E. Waterton, etc.* London, nd; E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica: A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God, with a Catalogue of Shrines, Sanctuaries, Offerings, Bequests, and Other Memorials of the Piety of Our Forefathers*. London 1879. His collection of rings is now partly in the Victoria and Albert Museum; his collection of *The Imitation of Christ* forms the core of the Edmund Waterton Collection in the British Library.

[39] Charles Waterton's will of 1865 is at Hobson, pp. 372-4.



Walton Hall

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN COUNTY DURHAM

W. V. Smith

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When the Revolution broke out in 1688 there were two Jesuit schools in the north-east, one in Durham city the other in Newcastle. Both were closed, the one in Durham being burnt by the mob. There is evidence that these closures were not long-lasting but that others took their place. An account of 'Popish Chappels within 7 miles of ye Bpp of Durhams Palace at Durham' which can be dated to 1705, included:

> Mr Rowells in Durham & a School taught there
> Mr Jo Hildridge at B. Midlam – & a publick School or Seminary there in ye Bps Manor House. 26 boys taught openly. Several children lately baptized there publickly.
> And Mr Archdeacon of Durham ws pubickly Slighted & affronted for takeing notice of them & endeavouring to Suppress ye Schools & Chappels, & Discouraging their perverting of protestants.
> There is now a Building at Durham a noble Structure said to be for Madam Radcliffe but really designed for a Nunnery as that at York for entertainment of young Ladys of that perswasion. [1]

There is no information at all about a man named Rowells, either as a priest or layman. There were two secular priests and a Jesuit working in Durham city at the time but apparently none of them was living at Mr Rowells'. If the informant was mistaken, the teacher may have been the Mrs Rowells in a list of Catholics in St Oswald's around 1728: 'Elvet. Mrs Rowells, an aged widow and grandchild.' An entry in the parish burial register refers to another person who might have been considered for inclusion in the list: 'Feb 22 1713/14, Mr James Metcalf of Old Elvet, writing-master, a papist'.

In March 1704-5 Parliament demanded of the clergy an account of the Papists. The Returns are deposited in the House of Lords, and among those of County Durham, there are two which concern these schools.[2] The Return for Bishop Middleham, dated 28 September 1705, says: 'Smith a School Mr now dwelling with the said John Hildreth but as to schollars I (cannot?) learn their names'. The Christian name of the schoolmaster is not given. If a priest, one naturally thinks of a Jesuit. Foley gives the names of the Jesuit 'Smiths' in the Durham district about these years, but none of these seems to fit.[3] The only years that the Manor of Bishop Middleham was in Catholic hands was from 1668, when it was bought by William Bradshaigh or Bradshaw of Haig in Lanes, who lived there himself in the seventeenth century.[4] In the same year in which he made the purchase, William married Troath Kennet of Coxhoe,

County Durham. He and his wife were convicted for not going to Church, at the General Sessions held in Durham City on the 4 Aug. 32 Chas II and 12 Jan. 32 Chas II, and on each occasion were fined the statutory £20. In 1687, during Bishop Leyburn's Confirmation tour, two Troth Bradshaws were confirmed in Durham; presumably they were his wife and daughter. In 1689 he was imprisoned for refusing the Oath of Allegiance. St Oswald's, Durham, gives his burial in 1724: 'June 14 Mr William Bradshaw, formerly of Bishop Middleham, a Papist, aged 80.' In 1704 William sold the Manor to Nicholas Hall of Furniss Inn, but presumably the Catholic tenant stayed on for some time. It is unknown when the school opened or closed.

The Return for Cockfield gives details of three Catholic women of whom:

> ye 3d is a young Gentlewoman who lives at present with one of the Protestant Relations, in the nature of a visitor or a boarder, and was not long ago seduced to that Religion, in a kind of Popish Seminary or School at Durham, as I understand …

Nothing is known of this school.

This anti-Catholic report is exaggerated in places, and one of the errors is about the Radcliffe house in Durham. Lady Mary Radcliffe, the youngest and unmarried daughter of the first earl of Derwentwater, left home at Dilston in 1703 to live independently and she built a new house in Old Elvet which was ready for occupation in 1706. The assertion about a convent was not altogether far-fetched, however, because great-aunts, aunts and sisters had entered the religious life, but in fact she lived in it by herself it until her death in 1725. The Radcliffe chaplaincy ceased but she left her large fortune for the support of the secular clergy in Northumberland and Durham.

Mrs Anne Haggerston, in an undated letter to her brother, Sir Marmaduke Constable, wrote: 'All well at Croxdale. Master goes to Scoule at Cliffe'.[5] From internal evidence it can be dated April 1726, and was probably written at Croxdale. The 'Master' was her grandson Gerard, eldest son of Bryan Salvin and Mrs Haggerston's daughter Anne. Their marriage settlement was dated 22 May 1716, so that the boy was almost ten years old. Cliffe Hall on the south bank of the Tees, was the home of the Witham family, and had been the residence of the Vicar Apostolic George Witham who died the previous year. The congregation 'resided chiefly in Bishopric'. [6] There were several young people there at the time including the children of William Witham (ob. 1723) and Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Lawson of Brough.

A petition from the Vicar of Gainford to the Bishop of Durham, dated 25 August 1736, cited a case in Piercebridge (a predominantly Catholic village under the patronage of the Withams) of the difficulties of mixed marriages:

> Francis Jakes, a poor man of the said town, was lately seduced to the Roman Catholic Religion, probably by some of the family at Cliffe, the seat of a Roman Catholic gentleman near Piercebridge in Yorkshire. That the said Jakes sends two of his children to be brought up Papists, on consideration (as the report is) of their being taught to read and write gratis.[7]

Furthermore,

> When a Papist [of Piercebridge] chances to marry a Protestant, the Papist for the most part causes the children to be baptized by a Popish Priest and to be brought up in his own religion. The vicar of Gainford, to prevent the mischief last mentioned, has several times required the parties to observe this Rule, viz: That the boys should follow the Religion of the father and the girls that of the mother. But the Papists will not keep to the Rule,

In the same year, 1736, Bryan Salvin of Croxdale Hall accounts for small funds left by two of the family retainers.[8] Laurence Liddell had with some Mass Stipends given '£5 to put poor Catholic Children of Sunderland to the School'. This was not Sunderland by the sea, but Sunderland Bridge near the Hall, taking its name from the old bridge crossing the Wear. Every Christmas Salvin gave his steward ten or twelve shillings to pay for the schooling of some child. These included:

1737-40 one of William Clifton's children;
1741 a child of Ralph Craggs;
1742, Thomas Hull's second child;
1743-47, a boy of Christopher Hixon;
1748-50, a boy of William Wilkinson

Among the same papers is a receipt to the same purpose:

> Nov. ult. 1740 Received of Brian Salvin Esq. of Croxdale the sum of five pounds promised to Thomas Maire Esq. of Lartington towards the education of John Bells child by me W. Maire.

William Maire was the secular priest in Gilesgate. (He moved to Old Elvet in 1741 and remained there until he was consecrated Bishop of Cinna in 1768.) Unless this sum was to be spread over several years, the school attended by Bell's child must have been a much more expensive one than that attended by the poor children of Sunderland Bridge. Both types of school would have been found in the City of Durham, some three miles away from Croxdale.

In the Returns of Papists of 1767 for the House of Lords there are many details of the occupations of the Catholic families.[9] For teachers we find:

> St Oswald's Durham. New Elvet. Dorothy Joplin widow aged 35. teaches School, always lived in parish, 1 son aged 7.
> Gillygate. Durham. Margery Laidler aged 60 Schoolmistress resident 60 years.
> Esh Mrs. Gr . . . (erased) 52 Schoolmistress 26 years in par[ish].
> Bishop Wearmouth. John Thompson aged 68 Schoolmaster Resident 6 years.
> Esther Thompson aged 58 Resident 6 years.
> St Andrew, Auckland. Mary Emmerson aged 60 Schoolmistress Resident 10 years.

Were these teachers in Catholic dame schools? It seems likely that the two Durham ones were, since they were natives of the city, and probably well known as Catholics. The teacher at Esh could well have been, because she would have been under the Smythe family and their tenants, and the priest lived at Newhouse some twenty minutes' walk over the fields.

The two at Bishop Wearmouth and Bishop Auckland are more problematic, since there was no priest at either place in 1767. John Bamber supplied at Sunderland for many years from Gilesgate and went to live there in 1769. The Jesuits from Old Elvet rented a house in Bishop Auckland during the whole of the second half of the eighteenth century and no doubt paid regular visits. If the teachers were running Catholic schools it would have been of great benefit to the children and the priests. Returns of Catholics were ordered by Parliament in 1780 and 1801, and the Visitation Returns of the Bishop of Durham between 1774 and 1814 show the same picture.[10]

The more expensive kind of education paid for John Bell's child may have been given by the Jesuit priest in Durham, who in 1740 kept a small boarding school. Sir Marmaduke Constable wrote to Sir Carnaby Haggerston about the latter's younger sons:

> Why do you not send your two sons to Durham under the care of Mr Waterton. Mr Jennison who is now here, came from thence very forward and does very well. They will bee nigh to you and from thence a greater satisfaction to you and my Lady.[11]

Thomas Waterton S.J. went to Durham about 1730 and remained there until his death in 1766; nothing more is known of his educational activities. The letter was written at St Omer where Mr Jennison was at school and Sir Carnaby's eldest son was about to leave. At the same time his three daughters were with the English Poor Clares at Gravelines for their education. Eventually the second son William went to Twyford and later to St Omer.

Towards the end of the century two well known schools for boys were started. The Northumbrian Arthur Storey became chaplain to the Salvins at Croxdale Hall in August 1771, and about ten years later he moved to Tudhoe,

close by, to open an ‘Academy’ in a property owned by Sir John Lawson of Brough. This was a preparatory school from which pupils would go on to the colleges on the continent to complete their education. Noting the presence of the school, the Anglican curate was relieved that he did ‘not find any Protestant children are admitted’. In 1787, some time after its foundation, Henry Rutter, chaplain to the Silvertops at Minsteracres, doubted that it would succeed, and in 1788 he wrote to his uncle the Revd Robert Banister:

> Mr Storey gets forward with his school, and the two Eyres, who are soon to be his scholars, will doubtless establish its reputation. But, in my humble opinion, no master could be found less qualified to finish what you have begun in their regard than Mr Storey for I am fully acquainted with his easy and good natured disposition.[12]

(Banister conducted a similar school in Mowbreck Hall, Kirkham, to which Vincent Eyre had evidently sent his sons.) Rutter little knew that Storey was not so easygoing as to eschew the birch, or that Joseph Shepherd, the other priest-teacher at Tudhoe, certainly was not. Charles Waterton, the traveller and naturalist, described Shepherd as ‘a very correct disciplinarian’; he once birched Waterton who retaliated by biting him on the leg. Waterton recalled

> My father put me under mr Storey’s care about the year 1792. Mr Storey engaged a holy and benevolent priest, by name of Robert Blacoe, to help him in the school. He was in ill health, having severely injured himself in his escape over the walls of Douai at the commencement of the french revolution …

Waterton went on to Stonyhurst College in 1796 which had been opened two years earlier by the Jesuits and which Waterton found much more congenial because he was allowed to pursue natural history – his ruling passion.[13]

Despite Rutter’s misgivings, Henry and Charles, the youngest of the Silvertop boys were sent to Tudhoe as indeed were children from all over the country. The twenty-seven-year-old Blacoe succeeded Shepherd in 1794 though he said that he did not want to serve on the mission as well as teach. Rutter was asked by the bishop to instruct Blacoe on ‘the great art of teaching young boys’. Rutter replied:

> I believe he must fortify himself with what I want, viz., an invincible calmness of mind and patience to suffer and endure the inattention, indolence, obstinacy of rude, impertinent, fearless and undaunted patrician boys. [14]

He spoke from experience, having earlier failed in the tutorship of John Clifton, a young Lancastrian gentleman who had proved unamenable to Rutter’s will.[15]Banister was of much the same mind, wishing the replacement for Douai to be confined to church-students who would be, more or less, easily managed:

> let Gentlemen, Merchants' sons & suchlike found a college for themselves & according to their own ever-varying ideas and whimsical notions'.[16]

At any rate, Tudhoe Academy evidently flourished. Rutter noted in June 1789:

> Sir John Lawson is now enlarging the house so as to contain about 30 boys, for several applications have been made which could not be attended to for want of room.[17]

Storey's advertisement in the *Catholic Directory* 1794, gives a good picture of his ambitions.

> Terms, board, washing, reading, writing, arithmetic, English, French, Latin and Greek languages are taught and lessons are given on geography and history for twenty-two pounds per annum to be paid half-yearly. The first quarter is to be advanced at admission. Two guineas entrance, six hand-towels, knife, fork and silver spoon. Dancing half a guinea entrance and half a guinea a quarter. Recreation is allowed on Tuesday and Thursday afternoon. On these days the students walk out, attended by instructors and proper care is taken that no injury is received from rain and intense cold. Parents who wish to place their children under the care of the president of this school, may depend upon due attention being paid to their morals, behaviour and mental improvement. Age for education: from eight to fourteen.

At the same time, however, the search for a replacement for Douai College was occupying everyone's thoughts. When the students returned to England, a few from the north went to Tudhoe and others to Pontop Hall, where the priest was Thomas Eyre, a former Douai professor. Tudhoe Academy was generally thought best but the Vicar Apostolic, William Gibson, demurred unless 'the premises were first made over to him by Sir John Lawson.'[18] In May 1794 Rutter told his uncle that together with Gibson, Eyre and Storey he had dined at Tudhoe and

> After dinner, Sir John, in a very handsome manner, informed his Lordship that he was now willing to make over the place to him in conjunction with Mr Thomas Eyre and Arthur Storey, and that he might from that day look upon the school as his own. You may easily imagine how rejoiced the Bishop was at this unexpected presentation, which he had long wished for … I believe Tudhoe School to be superior to that at Old Hall Green, and that with additions made to it both in land and building since you were there, it may become a complete little college if put under proper regulations.[19]

But it was two years before Sir John actually handed the property over, that is not until 'he had made the place a little more complete', by which was meant

> A good, new, well-furnished house with all conveniences; between 11 and 12 acres of land; pensions for 3 masters at 20 guineas p.a., besides a little fund for taxes, cesses and repairs.[20]

The vicars apostolic at first agreed that the new national seminary would be located at Tudhoe but after further consideration it was thought inadequate to accommodate all the seminarians as well as the schoolchildren so the plan was dropped and the bishops went their own ways. Sir John was not pleased. Bishop Gibson renewed the search and looked at Flass Hall, Hylton Castle, St Helen Auckland Hall, (temporarily occupied by repatriated Carmelite nuns under the patronage of Sir John), and properties at Bishop Middleham and Gainford. In the event, only Crook Hall, an imposing late seventeenth-century house near Iveston in north west Durham, was deemed suitable until a permanent seminary could be built. Sir John not only negotiated its purchase from George Baker but donated £100 towards its upkeep and it opened on 15 October 1794 under Thomas Eyre as President. Tudhoe continued as before. The search for a new seminary was long drawn out. Shincliffe Hall was mooted and land at Gainford, available for £6,000, was another possibility. But it was not until 1799 that Bishop Gibson agreed to buy Ushaw Farm from Sir Edward Smythe of Esh and building could begin.[21] The new college, though unfinished, was opened in 1808.

Storey presided over Tudhoe Academy for twenty-seven years but in May 1807, aged fifty-five, he was ready to leave:

> For many years I have been employed in the arduous important task of educating our catholic youth. I rather wish now to retire to more easy employment.[22]

Following his departure in 1808, the school at Tudhoe closed having, in any case, become redundant owing to the opening of Ushaw College. Storey moved to the mission in Lancashire; he lived in great poverty and died in July 1825 on a visit to his brother in Thirsk. His nephew, Thomas, opened a preparatory school in Stockton after the turn of the century for 5 or 6 gentlemen aged from 7 to 10 years at 50 guineas a year. The school was regularly advertised in the *Catholic Directory.*

In 1787 £50 of a Charity Fund which had been lent to a Catholic bookseller in Durham was repaid, and Henry Maire, the trustee, agreed to 'The interest of the said £50 be appropriated in future to the Durham Sunday Schools.[23] Like parochial schools of the Church of England, they may have developed into a day school, and in 1793 the Vicar of St Oswald's mentioned in his Visitation Report of Catholics in his parish 'A small school kept by a reputed Papist but no children of Protestants admitted.' This is the earliest mention of a day school in the north after the Catholic Relief Act of 1791.

Close behind the school at Durham was one at Esh Laude. We have seen that there was a Catholic schoolmistress in the village in 1767. John Yates was priest in Newhouse from 1795 and he moved the mission to Esh Laude. About 1870 there was a dispute about the Smythe endowments and the parish quoted the memorandum of Mrs F. B. Taylor, wife of the estate steward from about 1790:

> The school at Esh was begun in 1795 or 1796. Mr Holford endowed the school at Esh—his daughter Lady Smythe was the patroness—he managed the £20—he had always plenty of money for charitable purposes—he spent some time at Esh every year—he was most active about the School.[24]

It was Peter Holford who laid the foundation stone of Esh Chapel in 1798. A new school was opened in 1814. A difficulty arising later is worth noting for what it says about prevailing attitudes to Catholic schools. In 1835 the new Anglican incumbent of Esh – 'quite an Ultra-Zealot' – opened

> a school in opposition to Sir Edward [Smyth]'s and solicited scholars and subscriptions all over the neighbourhood in which he has been so successful as to take away all the Protestants from the Mistress and threatens to take off by his Master some of the more advanced children. Mr Fletcher [the missioner] thought he might not submit without some attempt to oppose his career and instead of the Mistress has engaged a superior Catholic Master from Sedgefield. How this Master's £50 a year is to be made up (as Sir Edward's to the Mistress is only £20) is not yet known.[25]

Doubtless the Smythes came to the rescue.

It may be noted that at the close of the century several French exiled priests earned a living, teaching privately in Durham and other places, but their efforts were small and often they only took individuals who were mostly non-Catholics. Louis Tardy and Pierre Tasson were teaching French in Stockton at the end of the century; the latter gained the approbation of the Mayor for the publication of a French-English dictionary.[26]

Notes & References

[1] Durham University Library: Mickleton & Spearman Mss, 91 f. 135, item 41

[2] House of Lords mss, Return of Papists, 1705. Only some of the parishes are represented and even those are in many cases incomplete. Miss A. M. C. Forster is to be thanked for the transcription of this Return for the Diocese of Durham and for that of 1767, referred to below.

[3] H. Foley, *Records of the English Province SJ*. (1877-83) VIII, pp. 716 et seq.

[4] R. Surtees, *History of Durham* (4 vols 1816-40) III, p. 4.

[5] ERRO Everingham Park Mss.

[6] Ushaw College Manuscripts: DIO 11, 5 Nov. 1775.

[7] Diocese of Hexham & Newcastle Archives.

[8] Croxdale Hall, Salvin MSS. Select MSS, Bundle 10. (Bryan Salvin died during 1751)

[9] House of Lords Mss., Report of Papists 1767 (published as Occasional Publication No. 2, 1989, by the Catholic Record Society.

[10] Cf. L. Gooch, *Persecution without Martyrdom: The Catholics of North-East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic* 1688-1850, 2013, p. 24 ff.

[11] EYCRO, Beverley, Everingham Park Mss: Constable to Haggerston 9 July 1740.

[12] L. Gooch, *The Revival of English Catholicism: The Banister-Rutter Correspondence 1777-1807* (1995), Nos. 51, 55.

[13] C. Waterton, *Essays on Natural History* (1870), Introduction. See also J. Blackburn, *Charles Waterton 1782 – 1865* (1989) Ch II, and article on Waterton in this journal.

[14] Gooch, *Revival,* No 101.

[15] L. Gooch, 'What shall we do with the wanton student? Tutoring the Catholic gentry in the eighteenth century', *Recusant History* 21/4, 1994.

[16] Gooch, *Persecution,* p. 243, 1793/4.

[17] Gooch, *Revival,* No. 61

[18] Ibid*,* No. 97

[19] Ibid, No 99

[20] Ibid, No 111

[21] Ibid Nos. 100, 111, 118-120.

[22] G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests* (4 vols., 1968-1977) vol. 4. At the same time Storey resigned as First Superior of the Northern Brethren's Fund, a post he had held since 1795. He was succeeded by Henry Rutter, Second Superior from 1793.

[23] Account Book of the Clergy Agent: Archives of the Diocese of Hexham & Newcastle.

[24] Archives of Diocese of Hexham *&* Newcastle, Esh Bundle.

[25] Gooch, *Persecution,* pp. 295/6

[26] Ibid, p. 310.