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No. 24 Autumn 1986

North East Catholic History Society

NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY

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A yearly programme of talks and visits to places of Catholic interest is arranged and *NORTHERN CATHOLIC HISTORY*, the Society's periodical, is published twice yearly.

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Despite the severe weather at the start of the year, there were good attendances at the last two talks of the Season. On 4 February David Crane held his audience in rapt attention while tracing the traditions of Catholic hymnody from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and on 4 March Dr Rounding showed how by careful research the varying fortunes of a Catholic gentry family, the Hodgsons, can be brought vividly to life.

Thanks again to Miss Molly Davison's meticulous planning and fine weather antennae, the two Summer outings to Raby Castle on 25 May and to Hornby in Lancashire on 28 June were thorougly enjoyed. The Hornby visit was made jointly with members of the North West Catholic History Society, among them Bishop Foley, to honour John Lingard (1771–1851), historian, who wrote his *History of England* during his forty years at Hornby.

By the time this booklet is published, the Society's twelfth AGM and Fr Nicholson's talk on 7 October and probably the Hon. Editor's talk on 11 November will have been held. All meetings are again in the parish hall of St Mary's Cathedral.

Three papers occupy the present specially-enlarged issue. Firstly, Dr Meryl Foster provides a fully documented account of the County Durham Catholic gentry family, the Kennetts of Coxhoe, through penal times. Then, Fr Michael Sharratt in a definitive article records the origins and growth of Ushaw Library, and, finally, Fr Nicholson provides biographical notices of the Belgian and Dutch priests, many trained at the English College at Bruges (1858–1873),who served the diocese in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

On behalf of the Society, the Hon. Editor thanks all three contributors and, as always, solicits further articles for future issues.

THE KENNETTS OF COXHOE: CATHOLIC GENTRY IN COUNTY DURHAM, *c.* 1614–1715

Meryl R. Foster

The Kennetts[1] of Coxhoe, County Durham, appear frequently in records relating to Roman Catholicism in north-eastern England in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but hitherto the family has not been studied as a whole. Although their history cannot now be seen in full, since only a few title deeds and no records of the working of their estates survive,[2] the Kennetts were, nonetheless, sufficiently fully documented by the Catholic Church and English State for them to offer an extended illustration of northern gentry Catholicism. Their immediate origins lay in the south, among the minor gentry of Kent, where Sir William Kennett of Sellindge appears to have lived in conformity with the Elizabethan religious settlement.[3] His two sons, first Samuel and later the elder, William, began the transition from conformity to recusancy and eventually undertook the migration from Kent to County Durham.

Samuel Kennett's career reflects both the successes and the failures achieved in the early decades of the English Mission. After his conversion to Catholicism, *c.* 1582, by one of the imprisoned priests whom he was employed to guard in the Tower of London, Samuel trained for the priesthood in Rome and returned to England as a secular priest in the 1590s.[4] By 1600 he was back in Italy, where he entered the Benedictine Order at Monte Cassino, making his profession in 1603.[5] By 1611, now a Benedictine missioner in northern England, Samuel was notorious as one of the Cassinese troublemakers, uttering mischievous allegations against two local secular priests, indulging in dubious penitential practices with women, and posing insuperable disciplinary problems for Archpriest George Birkhead.[6] He remained in the region, frequenting Newcastle[7] and his brother William's recently-acquired estate at Coxhoe. He celebrated Mass occasionally in the locality, but was generally unpopular, and had been nicknamed 'Foulboots'. He was arrested, outlawed on 1 April 1620, and presumably deported.[8] Nothing further is known of him: his Order did not trouble to record even the date of his death.[9]

Surviving evidence indicates neither how much Samuel's conversion influenced William's religious beliefs, nor how closely their respective arrivals in north-eastern England were connected. By 1614, however, William Kennett was establishing links with various Roman Catholic branches of the extensively inter-related Durham gentry. Early contacts may have been made on the fringes of court circles.[10] Family tradition stated subsequently that William had belonged to the household of Anne of Denmark, James I's Catholic queen,[11] although it may be significant that his settlement in Durham advanced with the assistance of two of the local gentry most closely associated with the Earl of Somerset, at precisely the period of the Earl's short-lived ascendancy at Brancepeth Castle.[12] Nevertheless, while a successful career at court may have provided initial acquaintanceships, from his first appearance in Durham the most striking aspect of Kennett's circle was the predominance of Catholic families.

By 1614 William had married as his second wife Katherine Conyers of Sockburn, one of an ancient and resolutely recusant family.[13] To sustain the family's fortunes, two of Katherine's sisters had been married to men with local landed antecedents, but whose own achievements lay in commerce in Newcastle upon Tyne.[14] Very likely the Kennett match was seen as comparably advantageous. In 1614, William and Katherine were living at Saltwellside in Gateshead, close to Katherine's sister Elizabeth and her husband Sir Thomas Riddell, a prominent Newcastle citizen and Tyneside coal magnate.[15] The two sisters — but not their husbands — were presented for recusancy at Durham Quarter Sessions on 19 April.[16] William, meanwhile, after long negotiations through Sir John Claxton of Nettlesworth, another local Catholic notable,[17] completed the purchase of an estate slightly to the south, at Tanfield.[18]

In 1615, William acquired the manor which became the family's principal seat, Coxhoe in the parish of Kelloe, five miles south-east of Durham City. It had belonged for many generations to the Blakistons of Blakiston (par. Norton), a predominantly recusant family whose head, Sir William Blakiston, combined his Catholicism with the pursuit of courtly ambition, at considerable expense; his son and heir, Thomas, followed a similar course.[19] Early in 1615, Sir William settled Coxhoe on Thomas,[20] who promptly conveyed it to William Kennett.[21] In this transaction, Kennett's agents were Thomas Tempest of Stella (par. Ryton) and his brother Henry, members of another long-established

Durham family, but of a cadet branch whose wealth derived from the exploitation of Tyneside coal.[22] They too were Catholic. Sir William Blakiston was allegedly enraged at his heir's dissipation of the patrimony,[23] but the transaction was not simply a sale, for it formed part of the settlement upon the marriage of Kennett's son and heir, William Kennett junior, to Mary Blakiston, whose late father, Christopher, had resided at Coxhoe as tenant to his brother, Sir William Blakiston.[24] In 1617, William Kennett senior settled the Tanfield estate to provide for Katherine's jointure, with three trustees: Sir Thomas Riddell, Thomas Tempest of Stella, and Sir Bertram Bulmer of Tursdale (par. Kelloe).[25] Bulmer, a connection by marriage of both the Conyers and the Tempests, was known for strong Catholic sympathies; he was also ambitious and chronically short of money.[26] In 1618, he sold to Kennett lands in Over Whitwell (par. Scorton, Yorks NR), not far from Sockburn.[27]

Thus, in the space of a few years, William Kennett senior established himself among the Durham gentry — Sir William Blakiston's wrath at the conveyance of Coxhoe was not symptomatic of any general antipathy to incomers. Kennett, like many contemporaries, was able to take advantage of the readiness of some of the older local families to boost their finances by profitable marriages and sales of land. In 1617, he consolidated his social position by obtaining a knighthood.[28] His main ambition seems to have been to attain a secure place among the minor landed gentry, living on the income from land leased to generation after generation of local tenant families.[29] Despite his links with the Catholic coal community, in the Tempests and Riddells, William's estates were acquired in parts of the county not then associated with large-scale commercial mining operations.[30] Coxhoe, however, lay in an area of County Durham famed for Catholic gentry households in which missionary priests were welcomed, sheltered and assisted.[31] Upon obtaining the estate, William set about building a grand new house there. The project may have been simply an assertion of status, but it aroused suspicion among local Catholics and Protestants alike, largely because of the involvement of Samuel Kennett, who was thought to have appropriated to it funds raised from the Catholic faithful for the Mission. Furthermore, when arrested, Samuel was carrying plans of the new building; this fact, taken with the deliberate seclusion of the house behind encircling walls, occasioned particular comment.[32] William himself is not known to have converted; the preamble to his will does not suggest even a position of church-papistry.[33] Yet, while it must be

borne in mind that no member of the Durham gentry at that date could avoid Catholic connections altogether,[34] the abundance of William's recusant associations suggests a positive inclination towards Catholicism.

William Kennett junior, aged thirty-five at his father's death in 1629,[35] had been established locally since his marriage to Mary Blakiston. He augmented the estates by the acquisition of two rent-charges: the first, an annuity of £100 from the manor of Girsby (par. Sockburn), purchased in 1626 from Sir George Conyers, and settled on Mary;[36] the second, of £150 per annum, from the manor of Askham Bryan near York, bought in 1638 from Gilbert Stapleton.[37] His most substantial purchase was the manor Hunwick (par. Auckland St Andrew), from Richard Hutton in 1637.[38]

He displayed no obvious interest in the Catholic faith, notwithstanding the recusancy of his first wife and the Catholic background of his second. Mary Kennett was presented as a recusant at Durham Assizes in 1629; the following year, William compounded for her fine.[39] She almost certainly brought up her seven sons as Catholics, although they did not all adhere to their mother's faith. The fourth, Cuthbert, applying for admission to the English College in Rome in 1653, stated that he had been a heretic, but had been reconciled to Rome a few years previously; of his four brothers then living, only the eldest (John) and the fourth (Cuthbert) were Catholics.[40] If his use of the term 'heretic' was precise, it implies at least a Catholic childhood. Mary was dead by 1639, when William married Anne Talbot, daughter of a Catholic family of Thornton-le-Street, Yorkshire NR.[41] There is no record of whether or not Anne practised her ancestral faith, but the marriages of three of her daughters, during her lifetime, into families of the traditionally Catholic area near Hexham in Northumberland may suggest something of their upbringing.[42] In general, however, the twelve children of William and Anne are little more than names on the family tree.

In the course of the Civil War, Commonwealth and Restoration, William's first priority was the preservation of home and family. He signed the Protestation at Coxhoe in February 1642;[43] later that year, he and Anne moved to Hunwick, as provided in his eldest son's marriage settlement.[44] In spite of his brief foray as a volunteer with the royalist forces in 1644,[45] he escaped sequestration of his estates, and was able in 1652 to make a successful claim before the Commissioners

for Compounding, for the restitution of the Askham Bryan annuity, suspended since 1649, when the Stapleton estates had been sequestrated for the recusancy of their owners.[46] William remained at Hunwick thereafter. On his death in 1663, followed by that of Anne in 1665, the care of their younger sons, still minors, was entrusted to William's heir, John.[47]

During John Kennett's lifetime, the main branch of the family turned decisively towards Catholicicm. John himself was long an outward conformist, moving cautiously amidst the political and religious difficulties of the 1640s. His early associations, however, were Catholic: in childhood the influence of his mother, in youth that of the Tempests of Stella. In the 1630s, he and the Tempest heir, Richard, pursued together an education standard for sons of the gentry: Queen's College, Oxford, followed by Lincoln's Inn.[48] John was probably residing at Stella in February 1642, when he felt able — unlike Richard Tempest — to sign the Protestation at Ryton.[49] Later that year, he married Richard's sister, Troth, and settled with her at Coxhoe.[50] Family loyalty, reinforced perhaps by instinctive preference for the royal cause, led John Kennett at the onset of the Civil War to join the regiment raised by his brother-in-law.[51] After the defeat at Marston Moor in 1644, in which his brother Samuel was killed and their father wounded, John, in common with many other royalists, felt constrained to come to terms with the victorious Parliamentarians.

The authorities in 1644 regarded Major Kennett of Coxhoe as a mere delinquent, as distinct from various 'papists and delinquents' in the Kelloe area.[52] The County Committee fined him £80 in 1645; under more stringent composition procedures in 1649 he was fined £300 (one-sixth the value of his estates), reduced to £250 on petition.[53] In pleading for the reduction, John affirmed to the Commissioners at Goldsmiths' Hall that: 'I was never any popish recusant'.[54] Yet by 1653 his brother Cuthbert could claim that John was a Catholic. This is not implausible. The atmosphere of relative toleration under the Commonwealth, combined with a retreat into inconspicuous domesticity with his Catholic wife, would have favoured the transition from conformity or church-papistry to active profession of the Roman faith.[55]

The years after 1660 were scarcely easier for the Kennetts. The burden of compounding over the years had placed a strain on the family's finances. John was not forced to sell any land, and, indeed,

regained Hunwick after his father's death in 1663,[56] but he did not invest in any new property nor, unlike many of his contemporaries, did he grow rich on the exploitation of land or mineral resources,[57] although he was working both coal and lime at Coxhoe by the 1670s.[58] He did not even revitalise his family by a series of advantageous marriages for his children. Furthermore, the Kennetts' network of associations among the Durham gentry had all but disintegrated by 1660.[59] Connection by marriage to the prosperous mercantile branch of the Hall family, based in Durham City, was useful, but not the key to social advancement which the Kennetts continued to seek.[60] Before 1668, however, John's eldest daughter, Troth, married William Bradshaigh, a member of an old-established and traditionally recusant Lancashire family.[61] This was the first instance of the cultivation of Lancashire Catholic families which was to take the Kennetts into new social and political circles. In spite of this, at John's death in the late 1670s, the family's position was somewhat precarious.

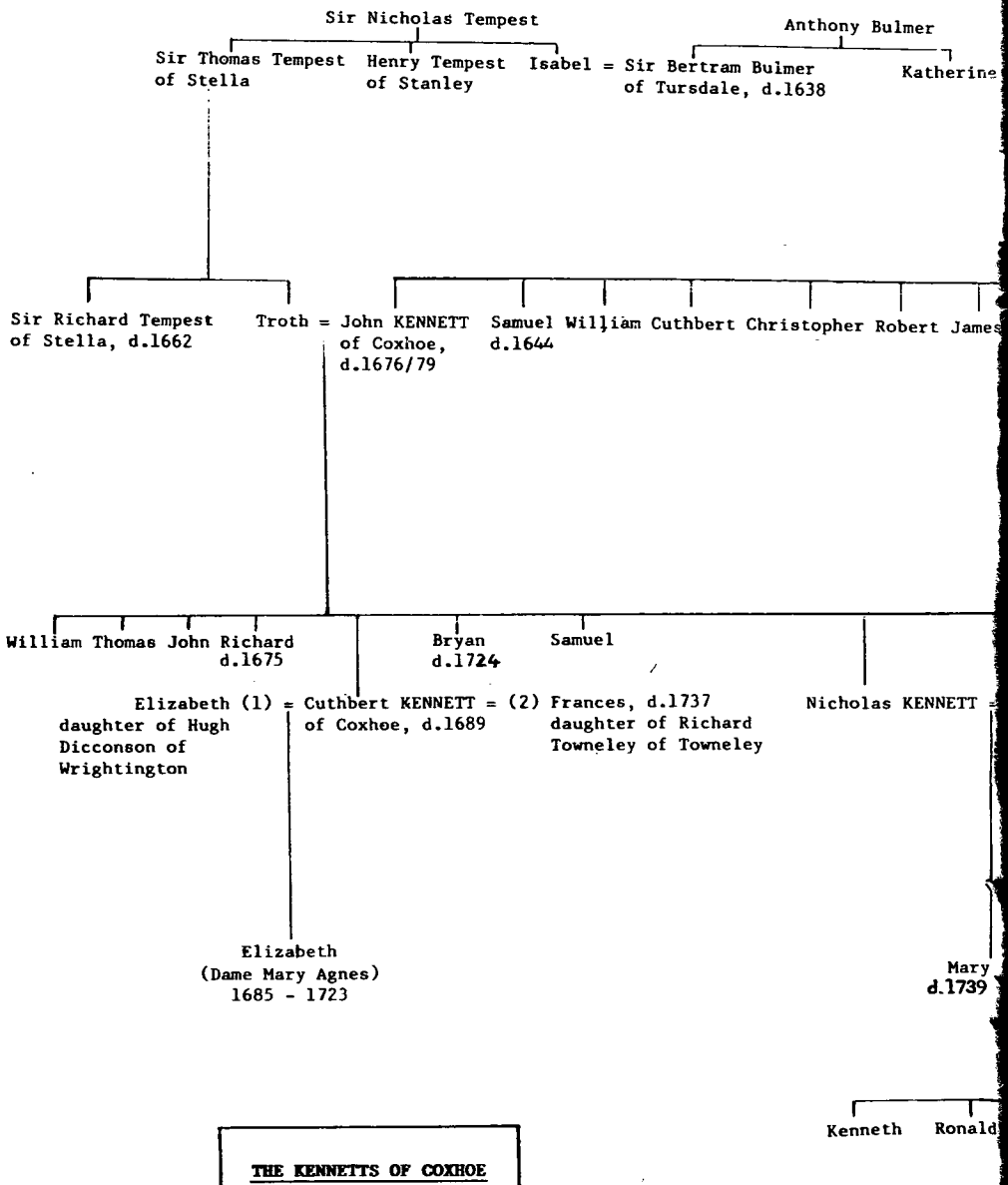
The stringent reimposition of the penal laws in 1673-4 rendered the Kennett household at Coxhoe liable for a total of £180 in £20 fines for recusancy imposed upon John and his wife, his brother Christopher and his wife, their half-brother Thomas, three of John's daughters, the unmarried Mary and Katherine, and Troth, as well as her husband.[62] By 1676—7, John had been threatened with the sequestration of two-thirds of Coxhoe, but had settled and was pronounced quit.[63] His will, dated 1676, provided modestly for his five surviving younger sons and his three surviving unmarried daughters, and allowed for the sale of the estates by his eldest son and heir, Cuthbert, should need arise.[64]

Cuthbert soon encountered serious problems. Renewed pressure on Catholics in the aftermath of the Popish Plot scare resulted in 1680 in recusancy convictions for Cuthbert, his brother Nicholas and their sister Mary, all still at Coxhoe, and for the Bradshaighs, now established at nearby Bishop Middleham[65] with Christopher Kennett and his wife and another of the Kennett half-brothers, William.[66] In December 1680, Cuthbert Kennett and William Bradshaigh were imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.[67] In January 1681, in response to this accumulation of liabilities, Cuthbert conveyed the manors of Coxhoe and Hunwick, the estate at Tanfield and the lands at Over Whitwell to trustees, to hold and if necessary to sell for the settlement of his debts, which were itemised in a lengthy schedule, and included all

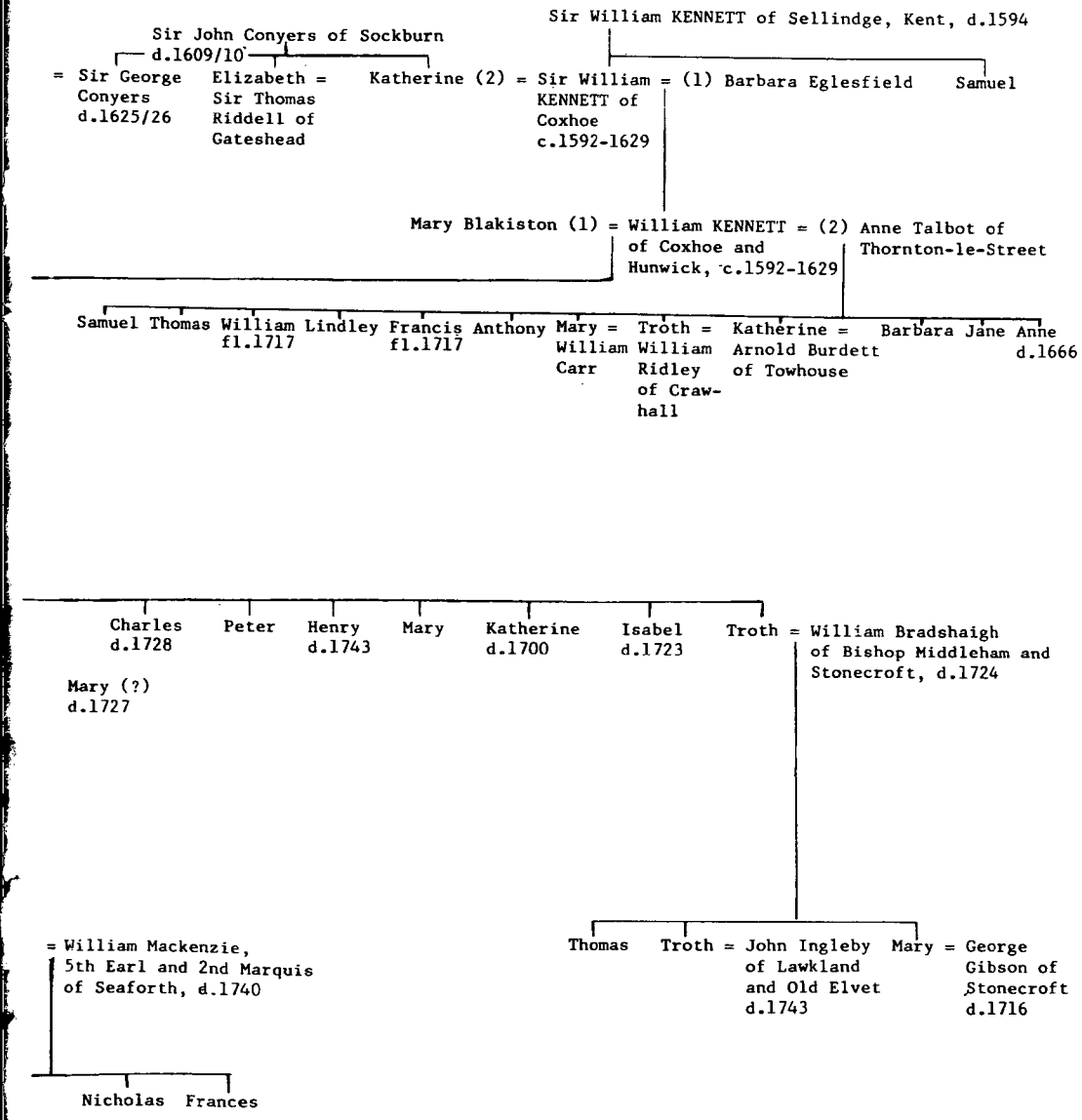
the sums which John Kennett had named in his will for the support of his younger children.[68] Doubtless this arrangement was in part intended to safeguard the estates from the possible consequences of their owner's Catholicism, but the list of debts, and the disappearance of Tanfield from the family's holdings thereafter, testify that the Kennetts were facing and were attempting to overcome genuine financial difficulties.

To some extent, pressure was relieved by the departure of four of John's sons and two of his daughters to enter the Church. Bryan and Samuel had been set on this course even before their father's death;[69] Bryan was at Douai by 1674 and was ordained priest *c.* 1680,[70] while Samuel had gone to the Dominican house at Bornehem in Flanders by 1679, and was professed in 1681.[71] In 1681 also, Charles, after studying in St Omer's entered the Society of Jesus, in which he pursued a moderately distinguished career, mainly outside England.[72] That same year, Katherine and Isabel departed to the English Benedictine nuns at Cambrai, where they made their professions in 1683, and remained until their deaths in 1700 and 1723 respectively.[73] Within a few years, Henry, the youngest brother, was at Douai.[74] Only Bryan and Henry returned to England on a permanent basis, to posts as household chaplains, the one in Staffordshire,[75] the other in Yorkshire.[76] This cluster of vocations provided a solution to the specific problem of the absence of funds with which suitable marriages could be secured. It should not, however, be viewed solely in terms of a means to reduce a large household. Excluded as they were from public office or the professions, the Kennetts in the late seventeenth century, like many other Catholic families, channelled their energies into the practice of their religion.

Cuthbert Kennett extended his Lancashire contacts, through the Bradshaighs. In 1683, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh Dicconson of Wrightington.[77] She bore him a daughter, also named Elizabeth, and died shortly afterwards.[78] Cuthbert is not known to have benefitted from the short-lived opening of public office to Catholics in James II's reign, but he continued to cultivate his Lancashire friendships, and in 1688 he married Frances, one of the daughters of Richard Towneley of Towneley.[79] It is unlikely that Cuthbert's entry into the Towneley family resulted from any contribution by him in the fields of scientific enquiry for which Richard and his group were notable.[80] Links with the Dicconsons and the Towneleys may well reflect, however, not only the vigorous Catholicism which they shared, but also a common inclination toward 'Jacobite' politics. Richard Towneley himself was arrested



THE KENNETTS OF COXHOE


Sir John Conyers of Sockburn
d.1609/10
Sir William KENNETT of Sellindge, Kent, d.1594
= Sir George Conyers d.1625/26
Elizabeth = Sir Thomas Riddell of Gateshead
Katherine (2) = Sir William KENNETT of Coxhoe c.1592-1629
= (1) Barbara Eglesfield
Samuel
Mary Blakiston (1) = William KENNETT of Coxhoe and Hunwick, c.1592-1629 = (2) Anne Talbot of Thornton-le-Street
Samuel
Thomas
William fl.1717
Lindley
Francis fl.1717
Anthony
Mary = William Carr
Troth = William Ridley of Crawhall
Katherine = Arnold Burdett of Towhouse
Barbara
Jane
Anne d.1666
Charles d.1728
Peter
Henry d.1743
Mary
Katherine d.1700
Isabel d.1723
Troth = William Bradshaigh of Bishop Middleham and Stonecroft, d.1724
Mary (?) d.1727
= William Mackenzie, 5th Earl and 2nd Marquis of Seaforth, d.1740
Nicholas
Frances
Thomas
Troth = John Ingleby of Lawkland and Old Elvet d.1743
Mary = George Gibson of Stonecroft d.1716

in June 1689 and imprisoned until January 1690, on suspicion of involvement in plotting against the new monarchs, but any plans which Cuthbert may have had for such activity were terminated by his sudden death at Towneley Hall in July 1689.[81]

Control of the Kennett estates in County Durham passed, along with the guardianship of Cuthbert's small daughter, to his third surviving brother, Nicholas, to whom Bryan Kennett released any interest in the lands in November 1689.[82] The infant Elizabeth remained heiress at law, for whom Nicholas was in theory managing the estates, but her departure for schooling at Cambrai in 1697, and her subsequent entry to the Benedictine community there, effectively removed her from the scene.[83] Nicholas found management of the estates no easier than had his predecessors. He seems to have been forced to sell the lands at Over Whitwell and the rent-charge on Girsby, which vanish from the deeds after 1689. Further difficulties arose with his former sister-in-law Frances, who in 1691 brought a successful lawsuit to claim £230 per annum due as her jointure, which had never been formally settled, owing to Cuthbert's early death.[84] She was awarded a rent-charge on Coxhoe and Hunwick; this is the final reference to Hunwick among the deeds.

Around 1692, Nicholas sought to improve matters by marriage to a young woman named Mary, whose family name is not recorded.[85] Her substantial portion was invested in the purchase of a new estate at Eldon (par. Auckland St Andrew), principally agricultural, but with workable resources of coal and lime.[86] Surviving records imply that the rest of Nicholas's life was spent in a losing battle against debt. From the mid-1690s until 1715, he raised a myriad of loans from relatives, friends and neighbours, not always by entirely scrupulous methods.[87] Principal sums amounting to more than £2,800 remained unpaid at his death in 1715; in addition, Coxhoe and Eldon were burdened with mortgages totalling £3,200 and £4,000 respectively.[88] This situation may be attributable partly to the contemporary use of mortgages in estate management,[89] but it is clear that both estates were suffering from dilapidation and neglect by the time Nicholas died.[90] Allowance must be made for the effects of double taxation and for the economic problems common to northern Catholic gentry families *c.* 1700, but it is also fair to question whether the extent of Nicholas Kennett's financial difficulties was more a cause or an effect of his interest in the expensive luxury of Jacobitism.[91]

For Nicholas, as for Cuthbert, devotion to the Catholic faith came to have political implications. In 1680, he had been convicted for recusancy, but unlike Cuthbert he had not then jibbed at the oath of allegiance.[92] In 1689, however, his house at Coxhoe was one of those of 'papists or suspected papists' in County Durham searched for concealed arms or horses.[93] In 1690, Nicholas was imprisoned as a recusant 'dangerous to the established government'.[94] His Catholicism was unconcealed: he maintained a household chaplain, perhaps the first of the family to do so, possibly employing Matthew Chambers, certainly John Yaxley.[95] A Protestant neighbour alleged *c.* 1705 not only that were 'many of the neighbourhood . . . perverted' by the popish clergy at Coxhoe, but also that Nicholas had recently visited the Stuart court in exile at Saint Germain en Laye.[96] Although otherwise unrecorded, Nicholas's contacts with Jacobite circles must have been maintained, if not extended, for in March 1714, his only child, Mary, married William Mackenzie, 5th Earl and 2nd Marquis of Seaforth, a leading Scottish adherent of James, the Old Pretender.[97] It in unknown whether Nicholas intended to participate in the rising for which plans were being made in the following year. He died in May 1715, leaving his daughter, with her husband, to inherit the estates.[98]

Seaforth's involvement in arms in 1715, and, after the total collapse of the rising, his attainder in 1716, resulted in the forfeiture of his estates, including those held in right of his wife.[99] Nicholas Kennett's widow, Mary, fought in the years that followed to salvage something of the family's interests on her daughter's behalf. Nicholas had, with uncharacteristic prudence, appointed Mary and four others as trustees for Coxhoe and for lands and a colliery in adjoining Cornforth leased from the Bishop of Durham,[100] with discretion to sell in order to settle his debts, and in trust to set aside £1,000 for the sole and separate use of the Marchioness and finally to pass the residue to the Marquis and Marchioness jointly.[101] Eldon, charged with Mrs Kennett's jointure, descended directly to the heiress at law and her husband; there was, therefore, no hope that this could be retained. Coxhoe was a different matter. Mary Kennett succeeded in convincing the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates that after the sale of Coxhoe to meet Nicholas's obligations, far from there being any residue to hand to the Marquis, Mrs Kennett was herself out of pocket.[102] Her own claim to jointure from either Eldon or Coxhoe was dismissed, 'she being a papist'.[103] Eldon was sold in 1723, for the duration of the joint lives of William

and Mary Mackenzie, late Marquis and Marchioness of Seaforth, due allowance being made for the claims of the mortgages.[104]

Thanks to Mary Kennett's efforts, however, the Mackenzies did not lose their interest in Coxhoe altogether, for until after 1740 the manor was at least partly in the hands of their relations by marriage, the Inglebys. Before 1704, Troth, the eldest daughter of Troth and William Bradshaigh, had married John Ingleby of Lawkland, Yorkshire WR, and Old Elvet, Durham City,[105] from whom, in 1709, Nicholas Kennett had raised a mortgage on Coxhoe.[106] By some designedly obscure transactions, the Ingleby clan extended its hold on Coxhoe, culminating before 1721 in the sale of the manor by Mrs Kennett to John Ingleby's aunt, Mary.[107] In 1726 and 1729, the priest John Yaxley, formerly the Kennett chaplain and still based at Coxhoe, was described as Seaforth's chaplain — a curious designation if the recently-pardoned former marquis had severed all connections with the area.[108] After the deaths of Mary Mackenzie, in 1739, and of Seaforth himself in 1740, the Ingleby executors sold Coxhoe to the Mackenzies' eldest son, Kenneth.[109] His interests, however, lay principally in Scotland, and he disposed of the manor, finally, in 1755.[110]

The Kennett's disappearance from County Durham resulted from that mixture of financial difficulties, involvement in Jacobitism and lack of male heirs characteristic of the problems of the northern Catholic gentry in the early eighteenth century. As their initial enthusiastic social association with the north-eastern recusant gentry and their more cautious response to the faith itself in the expansionist age of the Mission, their subsequent whole-hearted adoption of Catholicism and their contribution to the mid-seventeenth century boom in gentry recruitment to the priesthood and the religious orders, so in their eventual decline, they resembled many other recusant families. The Kennetts of Coxhoe offer an example, less famed than the Trollops, Maires or Salvins, but perhaps no less typical of aspects of the history of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century north-eastern Catholic gentry.

ABBREVIATIONS

CRS	Catholic Record Society
Durham Dept. of Palaeography	University of Durham, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic.
PRO	Public Record Office
SS	Surtees Society
Surtees	R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (4 vols, London, 1816–1840).

NOTES

1. The spelling varies in the records between Kennet and Kennett. The latter, being marginally more common, is used here.
2. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, British Records Association Deposit 1297: Kennett Deeds.
3. *Pedigrees recorded at the Visitations of the County Palatine of Durham, 1575, 1615 and 1666,* ed. J. Foster (London, 1887), pp. 196–7. By 1666, when this pedigree was recorded, family tradition had almost certainly enhanced the Kennett's ancient status, but the information on the sixteenth century appears generally reliable.
4. G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests,* I, *Elizabethan* (Ware, 1968), p. 195; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic 1591–1594,* ed. M.A.E. Green (HMSO, 1867), p. 263.
5. Anstruther, loc. cit.; D.Lunn, *The English Benedictines 1540–1688* (London, 1980), p. 234.
6. The evidence for Samuel's activities is scattered, complex and incomplete. His unspecified allegations against the priests William Ogle and Cuthbert Trollope, both from north-eastern gentry families, were on some aspect of the question of the oath of allegiance: C. Dodd, *Church History of England,* ed. M.A. Tierney, IV (London, 1841), clxxvii–viii; V (London, 1843), pp. cxix, clxxiii–iv; Westminster Cathedral Archives, Archives of the Archbishops of Westminster X, no. 161. For Ogle and Trollope, see Anstruther, *Seminary Priests,* I, 260–1, 363–4. Samuel's malpractice with penitents was apparently a distinct, although related, problem: Lunn, *The English Benedictines,* pp. 99, 118 n. 50.
7. PRO, SP 14/88, no. 94.
8. PRO, E 178/3772, mm. 1, 2. This consists of commissions issued after Samuel's outlawry in 1620 for inquiries in Durham and Middlesex into lands allegedly held by him, and the returns of evidence to the Exchequer.
9. *Obit Book of the English Benedictines from 1600 to 1912,* ed. H.N. Birt (repr. Farnborough, 1970), p. 4.
10. D.S. Reid, 'The Durham Church establishment: the gentry and the recusants 1570–1640', *Bulletin of the Durham County Local History Society* 22 (1978), pp. 20, 21.
11. Kennett pedigree, 1666 (above, n. 3); cf. J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe* (London, 1976), p. 124. Of William's earlier career, the only recorded event is his first marriage, in 1586, when he was described as 'of the City of London, gent.': *Allegations for Marriage Licenses issued by the Bishop of London 1520–1610,* ed. J.L. Chester and G.J. Armytage (Harleian Society 15, 1887), I, 152.

12. Sir John Claxton and Sir William Blakiston: see M. James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society* (Oxford, 1974), pp.151–3.

13. For the Conyers of Sockburn, see: Surtees III, 248; [J.C.] H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics* (London, 1966), pp.84, 179, 225; James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society*, pp.30, 151.

14. Reid, 'The gentry and the recusants', p.21.

15. For Riddell, see: *Records of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquent Royalists in Durham and Northumberland . . . 1643–1660*, ed. R. Welford p.139. The link between the Kennetts and the Riddells remained close: William Kennett appointed Thomas Riddell as his executor: Durham Dept. of Palaeography, will of Sir William Kennett of Coxhoe, 1629.

16. *Memoirs of the Life of Mr Ambrose Barnes*, ed. W. H. D. Longstaffe (SS 50, 1866), p.303; see also Durham Cathedral Library, Raine MS 108.

17. For Claxton, see: Surtees III, 298; Reid, 'The gentry and the recusants', pp.25, 30; 'The Northern Book of Compositions 1629–32' in *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, ed. C. Talbot (CRS 53, 1961), pp. 337, 368 n.12; *Durham Entries on the Recusants' Roll 1636–37*, ed. A.M.C. Forster (SS 175, 1965), p.160.

18. Surtees II, 219; PRO, E 178/3772, m. 2.

19. For the Blakistons, see: Surtees I, 66–7, III, 159–60; Reid, op. cit., pp. 25, 30; J. A. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham'. *Recusant History* 14 (1977–8), pp.81–4; James, op. cit., p.69.

20. Surtees I, 67.

21. PRO, DURH 3/96, n.61; DURH 12/3/1; E 178/3772, mm.2, 4.

22. For the Tempests of Stella, see: Surtees II, 270–1, 326–7; Reid, op. cit., pp.20, 29; 'A Book of Recusants' in *Miscellanea: Recusant Records*, pp.52, 60; James, op. cit., p.70.

23. PRO, E 178/3772, m.6.

24. 'A Book of Recusants', p. 51; Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS. 12, p.110; PRO, E 178/3772, m.2.

25. PRO, DURH 3/186, no.41.

26. For Bulmer, see: Surtees I, 77–9; Reid, op. cit., pp.39, 30; Aveling *Northern Catholics*, pp.245–6, 269; 'Northern Book of Compositions', p.355.

27. *Yorkshire Fines for the Stuart Period*, II, *1614–1625* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series 58, 1917), p.113.

28. W. Metcalfe, *A Book of Knights* (London, 1885), p.170. Thomas Blakiston was knighted on the same day.

29. What little is known of the rental value of Coxhoe suggests that it set the Kennetts squarely among the minor gentry: see H. J. Habbakuk, 'English landownership 1680–1740', *Economic History Review* 10 (1939–40), p. 3; cf. PRO, E 178/3772, mm. 2, 4 (a rental value of £180 p. a. for all except the capital mesuage, *c.* 1620); PRO, FEC 1/1441/1, 2 (a rental value of approx £570 p. a., including part of the capital mesuage, 1717).

30. J. U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, I (London, 1932), pp. 39–40; E. Clavering, 'Catholics in early seventeenth century Tyne coal', *Northern Catholic History* 22 (1985), pp.13–17. See also below, pp. 8, 12.

31. The Trollops of Thornley (par. Kelloe) were the leaders in this gentry-household Catholicism: J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (London, 1975), p. 84; J. A. Hilton, 'Catholicism in Elizabethan Durham', *Recusant History* 14 (1977–8), pp. 2–7 *passim; idem,* 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham, pp. 80–1; J. M. Tweedy, *Popish Elvet* (Durham, 1981), pp.29–32.

32. PRO, E 178/3772, mm. 2, 4. At around the same date, a government informer found grounds for suspicion of Catholic activity in the large quantity of windows, suitable for look-out posts, in Thomas Blakiston's new house: Hilton, 'Catholicism in Jacobean Durham', p. 82.

33. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, will of Sir William Kennett of Coxhoe, 1629. Katherine did not win over her husband to her faith, and had little opportunity to play the role of Catholic matriarch, for her stepson was already an adult in 1614. One of her two daughters, Dorothy, married into the recusant family of Ayscough: *Records of the Committee for Compounding . . . Durham and Northumberland,* pp. 106–7; Aveling, *Northern Catholics,* p. 280. Cf. Bossy, *English Catholic Community,* pp. 155–8.

34. Reid, op. cit., p. 22.

35. PRO, DURH 3/186, no. 41.

36. PRO, SP 23/211, pp. 329, 333; Conyers is not named in the calendared version: *Records of the Committee for Compounding . . . Durham and Northumberland,* pp. 259–60.

37. PRO, SP 23/96, fol. 549; cf. *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents,* ed. M. A. E. Green IV (HMSO, 1892), p. 2970.

38. H. Conyers Surtees, *History of the Parishes of Hunwick, Helmington, Witton Park and Etherley* (Durham, 1923), pp. 15–16.

39. Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS 110; 'Northern Book of Compositions', p. 356.

40. *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome, Part Two: 1622–1685,* ed. A. Kenny (CRS 55, 1963). pp. 541–2. His fifth and sixth brothers, Robert and James, may have been dead by this date.

41. 5 September 1639: Parish Registers, St Oswald's Durham.

42. See Bossy op. cit., p. 81. The Burdetts and Ridleys were strongly Catholic: see, for example, 'The Registers of Stonecroft and Hexham', ed. J. R. Baterden, in *Miscellanea XIII* (CRS 26, 1926), pp. 145, 154 and n., 158 and n.

43. *Durham Protestations . . .* 1641/2, ed. H. Wood (SS 135, 1922), p. 138.

44. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 3.

45. P. R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales 1642–1660: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York, 1981), p. 214.

46. PRO, SP 23/96, fols. 549, 553, 557, 551; SP 23/19, no. 1044; cf. *Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding,* IV, 2970.

47. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, will of William Kennett of Hunwick, esq., 1663; will of Anne Kennett of Elvet, widow, 1665.

48. Newman, *Royalist Officers,* p. 214 (Kennett), 368, no. 1407 (Tempest). Cf. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe,* pp. 145–6.

49. *Durham Protestations,* p. 35. Richard Tempest was one of those who avoided either signing or refusing to sign; he is not listed at all: cf. P. R. Newman, 'Roman Catholicism in pre-Civil War England: the problem of definition', *Recusant History* 15 (1979–80), p. 149; Tweedy, *Popish Elvet,* pp. 33, 36.

50. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 3.

51. Newman, *Royalist Officers*, p. 214: Newman's view that the family connection arose from the military association reverses the true order of priority.

52. *Records of the Committee for Compounding . . . Durham and Northumberland*, pp. 17, 18.

53. ibid., pp. 259–60.

54. PRO, SP23/211, p 337. This is not quoted in the calendared version.

55. Tweedy, *Popish Elvet*, p. 42; cf. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 283: the 'drift towards introversion.'

56. Hunwick appears to have been prospering at William's death: Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, inventory of the goods of William Kennett of Hunwick, esq., 1663.

57. cf. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*, p. 190.

58. John devised the rights to the mining operations and the lime-kilns at Coxhoe to his wife in 1676: Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 5.

59. The Conyers estate at Sockburn had passed elsewhere with heiresses in the mid-1630s: Surtees III, 245. The Bulmers had been forced to sell Tursdale in 1638: Surtees I, 77–8. The Blakistons of Blakiston lost their estates in the course of the Civil Wars, as did the Riddells: Surtees III, 298; *Records of the Committee for Compounding . . . Durham and Northumberland*, p. 319. The Tempests did not lose Stella, but suffered in the wars, and during Richard's long exile: Surtees II, 271; *Records of the Committee for Compounding:* p. 356.

60. Anne Kennett's sister, Mary Talbot, married John Hall senior, draper-taylor and alderman of Durham; their son, John Hall junior, did not, as Surtees suggests, marry his cousin, Anne Kennett of Coxhoe, who died unmarried in 1666: Surtees IV, 154; cf. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, will of Anne Kennett of the City of Durham, spinster, 1666. Nonetheless, John Hall junior maintained close links with the Kennetts: in 1661, William Kennett's eldest son by his second marriage, Samuel, was apprenticed to Hall; *c.* 1668–71, Hall was associated with John Kennett in some complex land transactions; in 1681, Hall was a trustee for the settlement of Cuthbert Kennett's debts: Durham University Library, annotations by Cuthbert Sharp to Surtees I, 73: *Northumbrian Documents of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. J. C. Hodgson (SS 131, 1918), pp. 185 and 227–8, 235; see below, n. 68.

61. Surtees III, 4; see also *Victoria County History, Lancashire*, IV (London, 1911), p. 117; J. and J. B. Burke, *The Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (London, 1838), p. 79.

62. PRO, E 377/68, m. 9 face and dorse.

63. PRO, E 377/71, m. 10 face.

64. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 5.

65. PRO, E 377/71, m. 10 face.

66. The appearance of Thomas in 1673–4 and William in 1680 suggests that John and Troth had taken seriously the obligations to their half-brothers imposed by William and Anne in their wills: see above, p. 5. Christopher and his wife were still with the Bradshaighs in 1689: Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS 110, p. 29. When the Bradshaighs moved to Stonecroft *c.* 1704–7 (see below, n. 111), it is likely that at least some of the Kennetts moved with them, to flourish into the eighteenth century: 'Registers of Stonecroft and Hexham', pp. 136, 137, 143, 144, 150, 154, 155; *Obit Book of the English Benedictines*

(above, n.9), p.71; Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, wills of Jane Kennett of Haltwhistle, spinster, 1712, and William Kennett of Newcastle upon Tyne, clockmaker, 1730.

67. Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS79, fols. 6v–7r.

68. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 6, 7a/b, 9, 10. John Hall junior was one of the two trustees.

69. John Kennett, outlining the legacies to his sons, stated: 'In case my . . . son Bryan Kennett shall not live in the world or marry, then half [his legacy] shall go to Samuel, and if neither Bryan nor Samuel shall live in the world or marry, [half their legacies] shall go to Nicholas': Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 5.

70. G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests,* III, *1660–1715* (London, 1976), pp. 120–1: Bryan was not, however, the son of William and Anne Kennett.

71. 'English Dominican books and papers', ed. B. Jarret, in *Dominicana* (CRS 25, 1912), p.141.

72. *The English Jesuits 1650–1829: A Biographical Dictionary,* ed. G. Holt (CRS 70, 1984), pp.136–7. In 1717, as Charles Kennett, gent., of St Giles in the Fields, Middx., he put in a claim before the Forfeited Estates Commissioners against his late brother's estate, for the legacy still due under the will of their father: PRO, FEC 2/19, claim 983; FEC 1/1442/18.

73. 'Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai (now Stanbrook) 1620–1793', ed. J. Gillow, in *Miscellanea VIII* (CRS 13, 1913), p.54.

74. Anstruther, *Seminary Priests* III, 121.

75. Surtees I, 72.

76. Henry was chaplain to the Cholmleys of Brandsby for fifty years: J. Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1909), pp. 144–5; 'English Dominican papers', ed. R. Bracey, in *Dominicana,* p.112. In 1717, he entered a claim for the legacy still due under his father's will: PRO, FEC 2/23, claim 1361 (cf. above, n.72), which must have been settled, for in the same year he registered, as Henry Kennett of Brandsby, Yorks. gent., a papist, an annuity of £10 from Coxhoe: *Durham Recusants' Estates 1717–1778,* ed. C.R. Hudleston, I (SS 173, 1962), pp.128–9.

77. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 12. The parties included William Bradshaigh of Bishop Middleham and his (conformist) cousin, the head of the family, Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh.

78. Elizabeth Kennett has been described as the daughter of Cuthbert's second marriage: e.g. 'Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai', p.58. This is not so, since she was apparently aged twelve in 1697, and was, moreover, said in 1717 to be the niece of William Dicconson: PRO, FEC 1/717/4.

79. *Quarter Sessions Records 1677–1716,* ed. J.C. Atkinson (North Riding Record Society 7, 1889), p.273.

80. C. Webster, 'Richard Towneley, 1626–1707, and the Towneley Group' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 118 (1966), pp.65–75.

81. The Manuscripts of Lord Kenyon: *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV* (HMSO, 1894), p.358.

82. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 14.

83. 'Records of the English Benedictine Nuns at Cambrai', pp. 58, 72; Kennett Deeds, 16; PRO, FEC 1/717/4. After Nicholas Kennett's death, his daughter, Mary, was accepted without question as the heiress at law: see pp. 13–14 and below, n. 102.

84. Kennett Deeds, 15, 16; cf. PRO, FEC 2/19, claim 984. Frances devoted her long widowhood to piety: J. C. H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York 1558–1791*, pp. 153, 386, 389; C. R. Hudleston, 'Cumberland recusants of 1723/24', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 59 (1959), pp. 121–4.

85. All attempts to identify her family have so far failed.

86. PRO, FEC 2/6A, p. 327. The mineral workings were modest. Nicholas Kennett kept the coal mine in hand; it was almost worked out at his death, and the lime workings were in decay also: FEC 1/1439/6.

87. PRO, FEC 2/16, claim 832; FEC 2/19, claims 982–984; FEC 2/23, claims 1361–1381; FEC 2/18, claim 1623.

88. Eldon: PRO, FEC 2/16, claims 768, 842; cf. FEC 1/1442/14, 10. Coxhoe: FEC 2/17, claim 936; FEC 2/19, claim 1022; FEC 2/21, claim 1160; cf. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 17–22.

89. See Habbakuk, 'English landownership' (above, n. 34), pp. 7–8, 11.

90. Coxhoe: PRO, FEC 1/1439/8, FEC 1/1441/6, 8. Eldon: FEC 1/1439/6, FEC 1/1441/5, 7.

91. In the absence of detailed figures, it is impossible to know how heavy the family found the burden of double taxation: see Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, pp. 337–8; but cf. Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 287. For the response of the English Catholic gentry to Jacobitism, see J. McLynn, *The Jacobites* (London, 1985), pp. 80, 82–3; E. Hughes, *North-Country Life in the Eighteenth Century: the North-East 1700–1750* (Oxford, 1952), p. xvii.

92. PRO, E 377/68, m. 13 dorse; Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS 79, fol. 7r.

93. Durham Cathedral Library, Sharp MS 110, p. 30.

94. Tweedy, *Popish Elvet*, p. 65.

95. 'Particulars of priests in England and Wales, 1692', in *Miscellanea VII* (CRS 9, 1911), p. 114.

96. Tweedy, op. cit., p. 100.

97. Kelloe Roman Catholic Register, 1 March 1714: I owe this reference from the late Fr W. V. Smith to the kindness of Dr A. I. Doyle.

98. PRO, FEC 1/1442/7.

99. Seaforth's career is outlined in *Dictionary of National Biography* XXXV (1893), pp. 163–4.

100. It has proved impossible to trace the Cornforth leases among the records of the Bishopric estates, Durham, Dept. of Palaeography. Nor is it clear, from statements made to the Commissioners, whether there were two separate mines at Coxhoe and Cornforth, or only one, variously described. Either way, the coal was worked out by 1715, and the lime workings and kilns at Coxhoe let for a mere £15 p. a.: PRO, FEC 1/1439/5/2; FEC 1/1441/1, 2, 6.

101. PRO, FEC 1/1439/1.

102. PRO, FEC 1/1439/4, 5/2, 8. The Marchioness petitioned the House of Lords, 8 March 1717, for relief from the forfeiture of her paternal estates resulting from Seaforth's attainder, but this was rejected: *Journals of the House of Lords* XX, 644b. Nicholas's legatees and creditors then put in their claims, during 1717; in early 1719, his widow, Mary, petitioned successfully for a postponement of the hearings: FEC 1/717/3. She had settled all the outstanding debts on Coxhoe by 1721, when the claims came up for hearing. Most were then dropped by the claimants except for a dew dismissed for non-appearance: FEC 2/6A, pp. 329–32; FEC 2/8, pp. 85, 90.

103. PRO, FEC 2/6A, p. 327; FEC 1/1442/17.

104. Sale of Eldon: PRO, FEC 1/1440/3; FEC 1/1441/3; FEC 2/98, pp. 142–51. Claims of mortgagees: FEC 1/1436/1, 2; FEC 1/1438/1, 2.

105. See above, pp. 8, 9, 12 and n. 66. The Bradshaighs moved in strongly Catholic circles. Not only were the Inglebys of Lawkland long-standing recusants; in 1707, Williams' second daughter, Mary, married George Gibson of Stonecroft, Northumberland, whither William and Troth moved, having sold the Bishop Middleham estate. Gibson, active in arms in 1715, was captured and died at Newgate, awaiting trial, in 1716: Surtees III, 4; PRO, FEC 1/629, claim 938; J. Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland* II, iii (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1840), pp. 393–4. Bradshaigh himself returned to Durham, perhaps to the Ingleby household at Elvet, for he was buried in St Oswald's churchyard when he died aged eighty in 1724.

106. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 17.

107. PRO, FEC 1/1439/8; cf. Kennett Deeds, 17–19, 23, 24, 27.

108. 'English Dominican records', p. 115 and n.; *Dictionary of National Biography* XXXV, 163; PRO, C 66/356, n. 14.

109. Durham, Dept. of Palaeography, Kennett Deeds, 28.

110. Kennett Deeds, 30–32. The fate of Eldon is not entirely clear; it is likely that Kenneth Mackenzie claimed it after his father's death, for it was finally sold after Kenneth's son's death in 1781: H. Conyers Surtees, *History of the Parish and Township of Evenwood and the Parish of Eldon* (Durham, 1923), p. 19.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE USHAW LIBRARY

Michael Sharratt

The Big Library at Ushaw is an impressive building, 30 ft wide by 120 ft long. It houses about 35,000 volumes. In recent years it has overflowed to the former classrooms and study hall below: they already hold about 15,000 volumes and could take as many again. There is a completely separate working library for the college's students, which has about 10,000 books and a couple of thousand volumes of periodicals.

The Library Wing was designed by the brothers Charles and Joseph Hansom and completed in 1851. It was part of the astonishing expansion of Ushaw between 1844 and 1859 under the presidency of Charles Newsham. The Library was designed to balance Pugin's newly-built chapel on the other side of the Georgian south front of the college. Since the demolition of that chapel in 1882 and the building of the replacement St Cuthbert's the balance is not so satisfying, but the library looks well enough in its own right. It is interesting to note that Pugin had himself sent in a desigh for the library, 'a design after the style of a University Library. Old Father Wilkinson examined it carefully & found that it was too small to hold the books that were even then at the college. On the strength of this, Pugin's plan was rejected & Hansom's accepted.'[1] 'Old Father Wilkinson', Thomas Wilkinson of Kendal, was in a position to reject or accept designs since, as Robert Tate, the Vice-President put it, he had undertaken to 'bring out the bulk of the needful'.[2] Paying for most of the building was only part of Wilkinson's contribution to Ushaw's library, so he will be the principal subject of this article. As for Pugin, it appears that by January of 1850 he had 'got over his distress about Ushaw's library.'[3]

Visitors to the Big Library are not surprised to find that it contains a fine collection of books and pamphlets on theology and associated subjects, but they naturally wonder how the college came to acquire extensive holdings in secular subjects such as the Greek and Latin classics, natural history, art and architecture, mathematics and science, English and European history or voyages of exploration, not to dwell on the small but fine collection of medieval manuscripts or the many

fine bindings of printed books. The short answer is that the college acquired them mainly by gifts and bequests. The long answer, detailing who gave what when, will never be given in full, because it is only in recent times that a proper record of acquisitions has been kept. But what is already known about the origin and growth of the library, although patchy, is enough for one article.

The story starts from scratch, for the simple reason that the library of the English College at Douai was lost to English Catholics in the aftermath of the French Revolution. An anonymous eye-witness recalled the disaster nearly forty years after the event:

> Our valuable library had met with a cruel fate. For some months after our arrest, it had been plundered at discretion, by those who had been appointed to take care of it. By order of the magistrates, waggon loads of books were conveyed from the library to the arsenal, to make military cartridges. Folio volumes of firm paper, regardless of their contents, or costliness, or rarity, were preferred for this barbarous purpose. A selection of several thousand volumes was made from the remainder, to be incorporated with the library of the Douai university. There they are to be seen at present. But many rare and curious volumes, and the whole treasure of our inestimable manuscripts, consisting of original letters, and correspondence with Rome, and England, authentic memoirs, and other precious documents, which had been deposited here, as in a place of safety, out of the reach of that persecution, which had raged so long in our own country, were dissipated and destroyed by men ignorant of their value. It was from this abundant source, that Dodd derived his best materials for the History of English Catholics, since the Reformation; and Bishop Challoner, for his curious and authentic Memoirs of the Missionary Priests, and others, who, during the same period, suffered death for their inflexible adherence to the Catholic faith. [4]

So the little band of northerners who came to Crook Hall in 1794 to continue Douai College on English soil were, like their southern colleagues at Ware, bereft of library and archives.

A chance remark of Lingard's fifty years later tells us that in 1798, when George Leo Haydock began work on his edition of the Bible, there were not a hundred volumes in the library at Crook Hall. [5] But hindsight can discern two gleams of promise. First, the President, Thomas Eyre, had a useful library, containing his own books and books formerly belonging to the clergy of the northern district. More than that, he collected materials for a continuation of Dodd's *Church History*, so that the strength of the Ushaw archives in eighteenth-century

material dates from the impoverished days at Crook Hall.[6] It was probably Eyre who acquired for the college Bishop Dicconson's library of about 700 books and it is mainly thanks to Eyre that Ushaw has more than three dozen books formerly belonging to monks of Durham. So the mean room or closet opposite Eyre's room at Crook Hall must have eventually housed quite a little collection. It was still a far cry from Douai's splendid library, but about 4,000 books, the nucleus of the later library, were to come to the newly-built Ushaw in 1808.[7]

The other gleam of hope, detectable only by hindsight, is that Thomas Wilkinson had already begun to look for books for the new Douai in the north. He was the last priest to be ordained at Douai and, as we have seen, he lived to pay for the splendid new library of the 1850s. So when we read a letter of his, written on New Year's day 1803, offering a few books to Crook Hall, hindsight takes over and we know it's going to be all right.[8]

But when Ushaw was first occupied in 1808 nobody, not even Wilkinson, knew it was going to be all right. We have to remind ourselves that though the new college was a great improvement on Crook Hall, it was not the vast, sprawling Ushaw left us by Newsham. It was merely the present central building, or rather three sides of it, without the uppermost stories added much later. All the more surprising then that generous and prominent space was given to the library. On the first floor the six left-hand windows belonged to the library, making a handsome room 60 ft by 20 ft. Clearly the intention already was to have a library worthy of Douai's daughter and it was natural to call it the Big Library.

In the summer of 1810 it was ready for plastering[9] and is said to have been completed by 1813: I take this to mean that the books were by then in the room and on shelves. Lingard, as Vice-President, will have been in charge of the Library, because his room was next door. According to a much later report, Lingard undertook to arrange the library, with the assistance of Gradwell, soon to be Rector of the restored Venerabile and later a bishop. At that time the books were temporarily housed in a room further along the corridor.[10] But Lingard left Ushaw in 1811 and on a couple of visits in 1819 he found the library a mess — *rudis indigestaque molis* — so we can take it that it was not decently arranged at this time.[11] There is, of course, a great difference between a heap of books, however impressive, and a library with a

serviceable catalogue. Ushaw's cataloguing was not to keep pace with its acquisitions for a long time to come.

Still, catalogued or not, the library grew steadily and had doubled in size by 1832. Already it was one of the few sights to see in the plain, utilitarian Ushaw of the 1820s. A brief account in the *Catholic Miscellany* for 1827 says it contained 'upwards of 7,000 volumes, consisting principally of the theological writers of every age down to the present, the most valued editions of the classics, the works of all the approved English poets, with some rare documents of ancient date, and several illuminated manuscripts.'[12] It included a section known as 'Hell', a name used in other colleges as well: this was the reserved section for books on the index of prohibited books or otherwise unsuitable for unrestricted access. There is still a relic of this in Ushaw's present library.[13]

1832 is an important year because it was then that Wilkinson transformed the library and heightened the college's ambitions by giving it his first collection of 6,000 books. Lingard had seen this collection a few years earlier at Wilkinson's mission at Kendal. He exclaimed: 'I am astonished. It cannot be worth less than £3,000.'[14] To the end of his life Lingard was mystified by Wilkinson's wealth, for he gave Ushaw more than books. I share Lingard's puzzlement. We know Wilkinson received various benefactions and we can recognise, as Lingard did, that a knowledgeable man can make a little money go a long way in the second-hand book market, especially if he collects intelligently for sixty years. Frugal living also enabled a steady amount to be saved each year for books and other benefactions. But people were naturally puzzled. We even find Wilkinson in 1842 politely telling William Hogarth that he had not misappropriated charitable funds.[15] I am sure he had not but, like Lingard, I would like to know how he managed to assemble such a collection. Still, even though we may never know where he got the money from, we shall see samples of how he spent it.

That the 1832 donation marked an epoch in the library's development was realised at the time. John Walker has left an incomplete draft of a letter, presumably to the *Catholic Magazine:*

> Mr Ed:
>
> The following instance of splendid generosity, well deserves to be recorded in your Magazine.

> Those among you readers who are acquainted with the R[everend T[homas] W[ilkinson] C[atholic] P[riest] of K[endal] and D[odding] G[reen] are probably acquainted also with his extraordinary exertions in the formation of a Library. Those who are not can form no idea of what the pains the industry & vigilance of the gentleman has done. The collection of a library, a useful valuable and splendid library has been an object of his ambition thro a life wh may already be considered long. Mr W has not been content to purchase whatever chance threw in his way that was valuable, tho' such a practice continued for the space of 40 years would have provided no contemptible a result: he has corresponded with some of the most celebrated Bibliomaniacs of the day, the sale of private collections has long been duly notified to him. he is known as a customer at most of the bookmarts of England & has gallantly ordered home some of the noblest prizes of the continental catalogues. Bibliomania is an expensive & dangerous passion. Some thousands might be spent in the purchase of books & the collection after all do little credit to the collector. If he has admitted bad editions imperfect or even inferior copies if he has selected his authors without judgement the long shelves & lofty volumes of his library may serve to amaze the uninitiated but . . .

Walker unfortunately breaks off at this point — he was never very good at getting things ready for print — but we can be sure his list of the faults of the indiscriminate and wealthy collector was to set off the contrasting virtues of the poor but discerning Wilkinson. [16]

Another benefactor of this period is Robert Leadbitter. He gave the college an important collection of legal books in 1840. This was the library of Robert Hopper Williamson, the late Recorder for Newcastle. We need to remember that Ushaw was a school as well as a theological college and that its lay students were being prepared for their future professions. As yet there was no question of Catholics being able to go to Oxford or Cambridge or the newly-founded University of Durham. But President Newsham was quick to realise that the new and godless University of London offered an acceptable opportunity for Catholics to take degrees. Ushaw obtained affiliation for this purpose on 18 February 1840, so it was natural for Leadbitter to say he was offering the collection 'to forward this Object': his aim was 'that every student at Ushaw who may be destined for the legal Profession shall have the means of acquiring a competent knowledge of the laws of England'. News travelled fast: it was February 28 when Leadbitter wrote to Newsham. On March 3 Wilkinson wrote from Kendal rejoicing at the news of the affiliation and the gift of the new law library, which he

too saw as helping future graduates of London.[17] A good number of Ushawmen did in fact do very well in the legal profession, but I have not come across any evidence that they made use of Leadbitter's collection.

The next large donation came from Wilkinson again: 3,000 books on science, literature and art in 1843. Later Wilkinson was to give, or provide money for, about another 3,000 books, and he also contributed generously to other parts of Newsham's great building projects. Most people had nothing but admiration for Newsham's empire-building, an admiration neatly expressed by Robert Cornthwaite, one of Wilkinson's book-buying agents in Rome and soon to be Bishop of Beverley: 'what wonders you are doing at Ushaw: it was a large village when I saw it last: it will be a post-town soon, & in [the] end may claim to send a member to Parliament.' When Pius IX was shown a bird's-eye view of the buildings he too thought it looked more like a town than a college.[18] The library was, of course, one of the show-pieces of the expanded college.

It is a handsome hall and the furniture is made of the best materials: oak cases 12 ft high and 9½ ft wide, with all the shelves of cedarwood. The weight of the books is carried by great beams which spread the weight on to buttressed walls. Mining underneath has caused a fair bit of movement since the library was built and one or two cases lean rather alarmingly, but there has been no noticeable movement in the past fifty years and the building is taken to be safe. One does not know which to admire more, the architects or the few trees which carry out this continuous *tour de force*. Lingard again had been astonished: 'What Wilkinson is going to give hundreds to build the library? Wilkinson of Kendal? Where can he get the money?' And again: 'I see that old Mr Wilkinson has made several donations to Ushaw. He must have been on an expedition to the banks of the Sacramento, or have at his disposal money left him by Miss Shute, the worsted manufacturer. It is, however, a mystery.'[19]

Cardinal Wiseman came to his old college as official visitor in 1851. In his report to Rome he gave prominence to the library with its thousands of books — and not run of the mill books: they are '*numerosi e scelti e di gran pregio e svariati*', 'the gift in great part of the excellent priest Wilkinson', who must have been well satisfied with the description of his books as 'numerous, select, precious and varied'.[20] Wiseman,

incidentally, had made several suggestions in 1848 about the projected library, one sensible suggestion being that there should be no open fires.[21] But in 1852 the stove of the heating system actually burnt a hole in the floor, though the defect was soon remedied.[22] A nearer brush with disaster came in 1878 when lightning struck the gas-pipe under the study hall below the library and actually set the gas alight. By pure chance the librarian noticed the smoke from his room and put the fire out.[23]

Wilkinson was at Ushaw for the opening of the new library and ceremoniously laid his hands on the enormous 'vinegar Bible' when it was put in its place. Clearly he was celebrating the completion of a life-work. He had loved Douai College and its library and seen it all lost. He had seen the new Douai go from days of insecurity and improvisation to the confident, even daring days of Newsham. For some time Ushaw had surpassed Douai in its number of students: in the 1850s it was to double in size. Wilkinson had set himself the task of providing a worthy replacement for the Douai Library. What he lived to see must have exceeded his first ambitions. It is pleasing to think of him in his last years of retirement at Ushaw, enjoying his patriarchal status and fussing about in his splendid library. Tate give us a few glimpses of Wilkinson's enthusiasm. The first was at Hull in September 1851: 'I was amused to see how convinced the good old man was that his presence at Ushaw was a *sine qua non* to finish the library, & that they cannot arrange the books without his presiding presence.' Again in April 1852: 'I hear that old Father Wilkinson is in a perfect fever of excitement, while they are engaged in removing the books to the new library. I am glad that he has lived to see it completed.' In September it was the same story: 'Old Father Wilkinson dined with me one day when he was in Holderness, but he made a short stay amongst us, as being most fidgetty to get back among the books in the new library.'[24]

Wilkinson's contribution was so great both in quality and quantity that it seems right to pick from the 1840s and 1850s a few samples of how he went about acquiring books for his new *alma mater*. A succession of priests in Rome, either at the Venerabile or at the Collegio Pio in the same building, took on the work of hunting out bargains for Wilkinson. By and large they were enthusiastic and fairly knowledgeable, but they were often frustrated. There was an insuperable obstacle to any systematic programme of book-buying on their part: they did not know

what Ushaw already possessed. George Errington, the future archbishop, tried to sort this out early in 1840: eighty or so students could be put to work and they would soon produce an alphabetical catalogue. This sounds businesslike but any librarian will know that it would not work. Sure enough, a year later we find him saying the catalogue was unserviceable and had had to be re-ordered.[25] In fact, since there was no proper catalogue at Ushaw, there was no hope of solving this problem. What the agents could and did do was to look out for works specified by Wilkinson and also make suggestions of their own about what was worth buying.

One reason for buying in Rome was that, usually at least, prices were reckoned to be about half English prices. There was, of course, carriage to be paid and, at this period, duty which might amount to one third of the cost, but it was still often cheaper to buy in Rome than in England. In any case, many of the works sought were easier to find in Rome, because they had been printed in Italy -- which also accounts for the fact that they cost more in England. But Wilkinson's agents were not the only ones who realised this. In 1842 someone in Athens gave a Roman bookseller an unlimited commission to buy ecclesiastical books and books on antiquities, spoiling the market for Errington and for everyone else.[26] Later on the English in Rome became such keen buyers that, as William Eyre (later Rector of Stonyhurst) reported in 1852, 'we . . . all fight for the same books.'[27] One of the fighters was that militant churchman, Manning.

Still, despite all the difficulties, some choice books were bought in Rome, and the various agents did their best to fulfil the commissions of the tenacious Wilkinson. They were also allowed some discretion: Eyre explains that a splendid set of *Italia sacra* could have been got for three guineas, but he has paid five for the large paper version specified by Wilkinson; he had, moreover, to outbid Prince Buoncompagni 'and Mr Wilkinson knows that he who wants salmon must pay salmon's price for it'.[28] Eyre's own preference was to strengthen Ushaw's theological holdings: in his eyes good Father Wilkinson was 'much more fond of storing the library with *litterature* rather than theology'. He continued: 'I wish from all my heart that you had the finest library of any Catholic College in England, and this in *every* department, not in one only'.[29]

Other snippets are revealing. One eye-catching Church history in the Big Library was snapped up because Eyre knew it was rare, since in

Napoleon's time many copies had gone for waste paper.[30] Another priest would report on how far on the printer was with a reprint, and even hurry the printer up.[31] Such letters allow us to share the gossipy excitement of the chase and there is no doubt that some important sets came to Ushaw as a result; and even though they tell us only about a small proportion of Wilkinson's gifts to the college, they do show us his method of combing catalogues and looking out for bargains — this must be how he built up his collection in earlier days, even though we have very few letters which show him at work. Even at the end he did not leave everything to agents. When he was about ninety he helped Bishop Hogarth to sort out a collection of books which must have been left to Ushaw. Anyone who has done such sorting will warm to his account of the proceedings: 'first my Lord brought a vol. saying is this a duplicate? is this to go? then, all in a hurry, starts up Mr Cavenaugh, must this go? I think, you have it, it must be a duplicate &c thus the business went on till I hardly knew what I was about . . . and the books were all left in a confus'd heap . . .'[32]

Another notable benefactor of the college and library was John Lingard. Well before his death he promised his books to Ushaw:

> You have many volumes regarding English history of the more early times: I have many others mostly regarding later times. To the College I give them, but borrow them for the present: but that they may be known, and not duty paid for them at my death, I have got Ushaw College printed on slips of paper and am continually pasting them into them.[33]

Soon after Lingard's death Newsham acknowledged that the college had received his books, though his papers were still to come.[34]

Another who collected books, on a smaller scale, but more methodically, was the Vice-President, Michael Gibson, who was also in charge of the library. His private notebook lists the best editions of the Fathers of the Church, notes their prices in various English catalogues, and enters any purchase with its price and date of purchase. The books can all be traced in the Big Library, since he left them to the college on his premature death in 1856. By the time of Wilkinson's death on 30 December 1857 the library was recognisably the one we know, but a few later collections must be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

A major collection, said to be about 8,000 volumes, was given by Henry Logan, one-time President of Oscott. These were principally

philosophical, mathematical and scientific works and would cost a small fortune to collect today. Presumably he gave his books to Ushaw rather than to Oscott because he was still unhappy at the way he had been removed from Oscott's presidency after only a very short period in office.[35] Although tradition has it that he gave these books in 1860, it would seem that he left them to the college since they arrived after the making of the first catalogue in 1884, which was the year of Logan's death.[36] Smaller bequests are scattered throughout the library, but extra shelving had to be installed to house the 5,000 works on medieval history left by the historian of the Popes, Mgr Horace Mann, in 1928. Until Mann's books arrived the library did not grow much from about 1890. This was because it was full, and though there was a steady accretion of books, space was made for them by weeding out thousands of duplicates and inferior editions.[37]

In recent years, Ushaw has taken into its custody books and manuscripts from various sources, for instance, Dodding Green and Claughton and other old missions in Lancaster diocese; in Hexham diocese the main collection is from St Cuthbert's, Old Elvet (part of the library of the Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District), while small but interesting collections are on loan from Darlington Carmel and from the Poor Clares at Darlington. The most important accession in recent times is the Lisbon Collection -- the complete archives and about 2,000 books from the English College, Lisbon (1628—1973); I have described this collection in this journal (Autumn 1978, pp. 30—36). In 1984 Canon Joseph Bamber left his books to Ushaw: Dr Jan Rhodes catalogued 2,000 of these for the Lower Library, thereby greatly strengthening our modern holdings in Church history; the library's collection of learned periodicals was also increased by about 700 volumes dealing with local history of north-west England. Most recently the late Fr W. V. Smith left his important archival transcripts and his books to the college, including several first editions of the novels of Charles Dickens. Dr Derek Holmes has significantly improved the library's holdings in nineteenth-century Church history by a succession of donations during the past decade and a half. Finally, it should perhaps be mentioned that the library does also actually buy books and periodicals, but it has always relied mainly on the generosity of its benefactors.

Now a word about the care of the library. As far as is known, the

library was in the care of the Vice-President in Ushaw's first five decades. We know that Gibson intended to make a proper catalogue, but died before he could start it. The first catalogue to survive has already been mentioned; it is a massive three-volume affair started by Josef Felton, a German driven out by the *Kulturkampf* in 1877, though there are references to earlier cataloguing work done by Wilfrid Wrennall. But when Felton took a chair in Bonn in 1886 his work was not continued. The present card-catalogue was started by Arthur Hinsley, later Cardinal, in 1896, though again the work lapsed when he left Ushaw in 1898.[38] Between 1901 and 1903 the catalogue was completed by Edwin Bonney, with the help of students.[39] 'Completed' needs inverted round it: in theory there was a card for every book or set, though of course there were plenty of oversights, and it has to be said that the entries were often very inadequate. But is is a great thing to have even an unsatisfactory catalogue, for it can always be improved.

Most of the much-needed revision of Bonney's catalogue that has been achieved so far was done by the late Bernard Payne who succeeded Dr Godfrey, later Cardinal, as librarian in 1930: he was asked to take over temporarily and retired in 1977. In the course of his librarianship he compiled (or replaced) what is virtually a duplicate catalogue, namely, the shelf-slips where each book or set again has its own entry. Fr Payne's work in the library was recognised by an honorary degree from the University of Durham in 1971 and by an honorary prelacy in 1977, the year of his golden jubilee.[40] It is mainly thanks to him that the library has become increasingly useful to scholars, though grateful mention should also be made of the generous help given to the library over decades by the staff of the University Library, especially the successive Keepers of Rare Books. There is a copy of Ushaw's catalogue in the University Library, which is up-dated each term with the most recent acquisitions.

The library and archives are open, free of charge, to all who wish to use them: the only condition is that application be made *in writing* so that a time can be arranged when the librarian is free to be in the library.

NOTES

All the unpublished sources referred to here are in Ushaw's archives.

1. W. Wrennall's *Recollections,* as written down by R. Bilsborrow, *U[shaw] C[ollege] H[istory],* 408, folio 18v. The passage does not appear in the printed recollections, *U[shaw] M]agazine],* 1910 and 1911. Two of Pugin's drawings for the library are at Ushaw.

2. Tate to Slater, T*[ate] L[etters],* October 21st 1848.

3. James Chadwick to Francis Wilkinson, January 9th 1850: see D. Milburn, 'Ushaw Papers XVI. Some Correspondence of Bishop Chadwick', *Ushaw Magazine* 1960, p.63.

4. *The Catholic Magazine and Review,* vol. I, no.8 (September 1831), p.459, or pp.95–96 of the reprint in *UM* 1932.

5. John Lingard to John Walker, December 23rd 1845, (no. 1082 – Lingard's letters are cited by their transcript numbers).

6. I have described the most important collection, the *Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts,* in *Catholic Archives,* no.4 (1984), pp.4–8.

7. In this paragraph and elsewhere I have used a brief account, *Ushaw College History* 191, which was written after 1860.

8. Wilkinson to Eyre, January 1st 1803, *Eyre Correspondence,* 365. On Wilkinson, see David Milburn, 'The Rev. Thomas Wilkinson of Kendal', *Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society,* vol. LXVI (1966), pp.432–448.

9. R. Platt to J. Briggs, August 14th 1810, *UCH* 38.

10. Henry Gillow, *The Chapels at Ushaw,* 1883, p.37.

11. Lingard to K[irk], November 11th 1819, (191).

12. *The Catholic Miscellany,* vol. VII, no.61, p.20.

13. *UCH* 191 mentions Mr Constable of Wycliffe and Mr Fairfax of Gilling Castle as benefactors of the library. 'Hell' is mentioned by W. Wilkinson in a letter to Lingard, September 9th 1826 (87).

14. Lingard to G[radwell?], November 15th, no year given (126): I have used a transcript from *Venerable English College, Correspondence and Rescripts,* 1824–26.

15. Wilkinson to Hogarth, January 18th 1842, *UCH* 54.

16. This undated document is in *Walker Correspondence,* 13.

17. Leadbitter to Newsham, February 28th 1840, *N[ewsham] C[orrespondence];* Wilkinson to Newsham, March 3rd 1840, *P[resident's] A[rchives]* 0, 92.

18. Cornthwaite to Newsham, December 3rd 1856, *NC;* Henry Gillow, *The Chapels at Ushaw,* p.44.

19. Lingard to Walker, January 22nd and 26th 1849 (1298 and 1299).

20. Wiseman's draft report, December 24th 1851, in *UCH* 339.

21. Wiseman to Newsham, November 24th 1848, *PA* H, 19.

22. Wilkinson to [W. Wrennall], December 30th 1853, *UCH* 90.

23. *Ushaw College: A Centenary Memorial,* pp.162–165.

24. Tate to Slater: September 5th 1851; April 24th 1852; September 6th 1852; all in *TL.*

25. Errington to Newsham, March 1840 and March 4th 1841. *NC.*

26. Errington to Newsham, June 18th, 1842, *NC.*

27. Eyre to Newsham, December 14th 1852, *NC.*

28. Eyre to Newsham, April 14th, 1853, *NC.*

29. Eyre to Newsham December 14th 1852, *NC.*

30. Eyre to Newsham, June 6th 1852, *NC.*

31. R. Teebay to T. Tatlock, April 1st 1857, *UCH,* 100 (b).

32. Wilkinson to Wrennall, December 12th 1853, *UCH* 89.

33. Lingard to Newsham, August 31st [18399?] (539); see also February 2nd 1840 (538) and Lingard's instructions to his executors, April 4th 1845 (191).

34. Newsham to Walker, September 28th 1851, *Walker Correspondence,* 23.

35. See Logan to Henry Bagshawe, September 30th 1848, *Old Series,* M, 7.

36. The catalogue carries a note, written in 1886, which says that Logan's books came after the catalogue was made and were still uncatalogued. Logan had lived at Ushaw as a paying guest from 1862 until 1871. He died on 1 December 1884. His collection of books would deserve an article to itself.

37. See *UM* 1896, p.86 and 1903, pp.209–10.

38. *UM* 1898, pp.290–91.

39. *UM* 1903, pp.209–210.

40. See Bernard Payne, 'The Ushaw Library', *UM* 1934, pp. 199–214 and A. I. Doyle, 'The Significance of the Big Library Today', *UM* December 1972, pp.3–6.

BELGIAN AND DUTCH PRIESTS IN NORTH-EAST ENGLAND

W. J. Nicholson

One of the striking features of our Catholic life in the mid-Victorian period was the initiative and generosity displayed by our old Catholic families and especially by converts. The outstanding example was John, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury (1791—1852). He was the patron of Pugin and was calculated to have spent £20,000 a year on church-building and his expenditure on charitable purposes was said to have considerably exceeded half a million pounds. In Durham county, Lady Beckwith, a convert and correspondent of Cardinal Newman, founded the parish of New Silksworth. Shortly after her husband's death in 1872, she paid for the building of the church and school, besides creating a substantial endowment for the upkeep of the priest.

Sir John Sutton was another example of these generous converts who helped to finance the Second Spring. He founded and paid the expenses of an English Seminary in the Belgian town of Bruges where he lived for many years. It was responsible for the training (either fully or in part) of more than 150 priests in the fourteen years of its existence. It opened its doors to the first students in February 1859 and officially closed, owing to financial difficulties, after the death of Sir John Sutton, on 1 August 1873. Not every English diocese made equal use of the Bruges seminary, but among the heaviest were Westminster, Salford and Hexham.

Bishop William Hogarth was quick to make use of the Bruges Seminary and continued to send some of his students there until it closed. Bishop Robert Cornthwaite was made Bishop of Beverley in 1861 when he was the priest with Hogarth at Darlington. About a dozen of his priests were trained at Bruges. Archbishop Eyre was made the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District in Scotland in 1869 when he was the priest at St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle. He also had half a dozen Bruges-trained priests in the Glasgow archdiocese.

The following priests were sent to Bruges by Bishop Hogarth:

Boland, Laurence J.

Born in Sligo1846; educated at Ushaw 1857—59; one of the first students at Bruges; ordained from Ushaw at Darlington 1863. He served at Thornley, Minsteracres and Easington from 1875—1895 when he retired, and died at Southhampton 1907.

Bourke, Michael Thomas Daly

Born at Westport 1838; educated at All Hallows, Dublin; Petit Seminaire, Roulers, Belgium; English College, Bruges; ordained at Ushaw 1863. He served many parishes including Port Clarence where he built the school-chapel and died at Penrith 1905.

Farwell, Joseph C.

Born in Esh 1840; educated at Douay school and Bruges; ordained 1863. He served many parishes including St Patrick's, Sunderland 1866—80, and at Windermere from 1890, where he died 1913.

Rigby, Edward Robert

Born in London 1844; educated in France, Valladolid, Bruges and Ushaw; ordained 1867. He retired from Lowick and Wooler in 1899 and died at Darlington 1901.

Horgan, Michael Peter

Educated at Oscott and Bruges; ordained 1870. He served first in Glasgow; then worked in America 1875—85; he came to this diocese in 1891. He retired from Minsteracres in 1907 to go to Antwerp, where he died 1911.

Carroll, Thomas

Born in Aherney, Kilkenny; educated at Carlow and Bruges; ordained at Ushaw. He served at Felling first as curate, then as Parish Priest and died there 1892.

Perrin, Peter

Born in Liverpool 1846; educated with Oblate Fathers, Stillorgan; Bruges 1870; Ushaw 1873; ordained 1875, died at Haydon Bridge 1903.

The important step taken by Sutton was to open the doors of the English College at Bruges for young men from the Low Countries who felt called to be priests in England. The bridge thus created remained after 1873 when the college was closed. The future Cardinal Vaughan about the same time, when he founded his centre for missionary priests at Mill Hill, also looked for recruits in Holland.

Reverend Bruno Vanderstichele

In 1864, Bishop Hogarth sent the future Bishop Chadwick over to Bruges where he was fortunate enough to bring to the diocese this young priest who had been ordained 17 December 1859. Having received permission from his bishop, he remained in England about twenty years. His elder brother, Fr Leo Vanderstichele, had preceded him and, after being ordained as a Redemptorist at Clapham in 1851, spent the rest of his life working in England, Scotland and Ireland, dying at Dundalk in 1887. Fr Bruno began as assistant to Mgr Charles Eyre at St Mary's and soon overcame the difficulties he encountered in learning the language and customs of a foreign country. After four years, he was instructed to begin a new parish at Elswick and in a few years built the school chapel dedicated to St Michael and said the first Mass there 6 October 1873. He was made a canon of the diocese in 1879, but was never to return to his native Belgium, dying at Elswick 6 December 1885, aged fifty.

Reverend Jules du Floer

He was born at Poperinghe, West Flanders, Belgium 16 October 1840. He was ordained 8 December 1865 and taught for five years at the College of Thieit, Flanders. In 1870, with four other priests, he obtained permission from his Bishop to come over to England. He spent three years at Jarrow before going to Sunderland, firstly to St Mary's, then in charge of St Benet's in 1873. He enlarged the schools and on 14 July 1889 opened the present church. He remained at Monkwearmouth until 1897 when he had to retire; three years later the parish was handed over to the Redemptorists on 25 September 1900. He died at Poperinghe 6 May 1904, aged fifty-four.

Reverend Aloysius Hosten

He was born at Avecappelle in the diocese of Bruges 5 May 1841.

After studying at Dixmunde and Roulers, he responded to an appeal for priests for the English mission and went to the English College, Bruges, for his theology. He was ordained 25 July 1869 at Ushaw. He was assistant at St Patrick's Sunderland 1869, St Augustine's Darlington 1871, South Shields 1872, chaplain at Callally Castle 1873, and Ellingham 1874. In July 1877, he became the first resident priest at Willington, Co. Durham, where he was to remain forty-six years. He built the church 5 July 1906, celebrated his golden jubilee there and died there 7 December 1924.

Reverend Henry Dobbelaere

He was born in Belgium and educated at the English College, Bruges. He was ordained at Bruges for the diocese of Plymouth. He served several places before coming to the diocese. He was at Sclerder Abbey 1865, Liskeard 1866, St John, Portugal Street, Glasgow 1870, Poole 1871, St Anne, Junction Street, Manchester 1872, Todmorton 1873—79. He came to St Patrick's, Sunderland in 1880 and died there 12 March 1882.

Reverend Joseph Wilhelm D. D.

He was ordained 11 June 1870 for the diocese of Liege. He came to England and received charge of Lowick in 1881, then went to Dunstan for three years 1883—86. Then he went to the diocese of Southwark and for many years was at Battle, Sussex. He published several learned books. He retired to Germany where he died at the beginning of the first World War.

Reverend Edward Robert

He was also of the diocese of Liege, being ordained 14 April 1879. He came to England with Dr Wilhelm and remained with him at Lowick for a while to study the English language. He was assistant priest at Houghton-le-Spring 1881, then was in charge at Amble 1884, at St Bede's, Carlisle 1887, then was at Alnwick for nearly seventeen years 1890—1907. As soon as he took up his duties in Alnwick, he applied to the convent at Guernsey for the Sisters of Mercy to set up a house in the town and teach in the schools. His health giving great concern, he moved to Minsteracres for four years 1907—10. Finally, he moved to Sacriston for a year and a half but his health failed again and he died there 16 December 1911.

Reverend Michael Birgen

He was born in Luxembourg 1837, and ordained from the English College, Bruges, for the diocese of Newport and Menevia 12 December 1867. However, his first appointments were in the north-east: first to St Mary's Sunderland, then as curate for a few months at Lowick 1869—71. He then moved to Wales where he served at Treforest 1871, and Maesteg, Bridgend 1874. In 1875 he came back north and was appointed to St Charles, Coxlodge 1875, and then to Minsteracres where he remained for ten years. In 1890 he moved to Gainford, but he had long suffered from heart trouble and died at Gainford 28 February 1894, aged 57.

Reverend Frederick Poupaert

He was born of Bernard and Teresa Dreck at St Gellis, Bruges 25 April 1843. He was educated first at All Hallows, Dublin, for Mauritius, but left. He continued his studies at the English College, Bruges, and Ushaw where he was ordained 7 June 1868. He was assistant priest at St Augustine's, Darlington 1863, at Stockton 1869, chaplain at Cheeseburn Grange 1870, assistant at St Mary's Cathedral 1873, in charge at Wigton 1876, and Washington 1879, where he remained twenty years. He purchased the altar for the church from Bruges. It was dedicated to the Sacred Thirst; this is the altar which was remodelled in 1976. He retired through ill-health in 1893 and settled in Anerley, Surrey, for the last twenty-six years of his life. He translated the 'Sermons from the Flemish' and wrote several spiritual books. He died 17 July 1924, aged eighty-one, and was buried at Croydon.

Reverend Gerard Van Hooff

He was born 11 September 1851 in the diocese of Bois-leDuc, North Brabant, Holland. As a youth, he was sent to study in the English College, Bruges, which in its brief existence produced such men as Bishop John Vaughan, Bishop Keily of Plymouth and Dr Victor Schobel who were all his contemporaries. He was ordained 10 June 1876; assistant at St Augustine's, Darlington 1876, at St Joseph's, Gateshead 1879, at Tynemouth 1879. In 1879 he was sent as assistant to St Mary's, Hartlepool, and in the following year became Parish Priest, remaining for nearly twenty years. The town elected him as chairman of the School Board and afterwards chairman of the Board of Guardians.

Ill-health forced him to retire in 1899; for a brief period he tried to labour as priest at Wooler 1900, but he had to retire finally and returned to Hartlepool 1902, where he died 2 February 1915.

Reverend James Smits

He was born in 1846 at Boxtel in Holland and was educated at Gemert, Bruges and Ushaw. He was ordained 2 October 1870 and was appointed assistant at South Shields 1870, was in charge at Cockermouth 1871, Longhorsley 1884, Thornley 1888, and Cockermouth again 1897, where he built the schools. On the death of Fr Taylor the first priest at Haltwhistle, Fr Smits was sent there and remained for nearly twenty years. His health broke down at Easter 1921 and he retired to his native Holland and died near Leyden 16 September 1921, aged seventy-five.

Reverend Gerard Van Kippersluis

A native of Holland, he was ordained 15 August 1880 when he came to this diocese. He was assistant at Jarrow 1881, and Bishop Auckland 1885. He was Parish Priest at Willington Quay 1886, St Mary's, Hartlepool 1899, and Alnwick 1907. In 1912, he retired to Holland with impaired health and died in the nursing home of the Sisters of the Institute of St Andrew in Utrecht 22 April 1919.

Reverend Francis James Arcadius Kuyte

He was born at Oss in Holland 12 January 1853. After his early education in his native land, he was told of the need for priests in England and offered himself for this work. He studied his theology at Ushaw, where he was ordained 3 April 1877. He was assistant at St Bede's, Carlisle 1877 and at South Shields 1878. He became the first resident priest at Witton Park 1881, moved to Bell's Close 1884, and Longhorsley 1903, before being appointed to Crawcrook in 1912, where he was to remain twenty-three years until his death 5 January 1935.

Reverend Dominic Westendorp

He was the last Dutch priest to be ordained for this diocese. After ordination 23 July 1899, he was assistant at Houghton-le-Spring 1899, St Patrick's, Sunderland 1901, and North Shields 1906. He was in charge at Cheeseburn 1906, Dunstan 1908, Trimdon 1915, and last

of all at Lanchester, where he remained twenty years, retiring October 1949. He died 22 June 1951 at Lanchester.

Reverend Jules Lenders

He was born in Belgium 1860 and ordained 5 June 1887. He taught in the seminary and was in charge of a parish there. After a breakdown in health, his bishop allowed him to retire to England. For a number of years he acted as a supply in several parishes; then at the invitation of Canon Dunn lived at St Michael's, Newcastle, from March 1905 to 1911. He then left to live with his old friend, Fr Hosten of Willington, where again he acted as a supply in various parishes. Finally, he accepted the charge of Minsteracres in 1922, where he died 17 July 1932, aged seventy-two. The requiem Mass took place at St Micheal's Newcastle, and he was buried at Sacriston beside Fr Robert, and his old friend Fr Downey.

Although his name does not occur among the list of priests until the 1924 Northern Catholic Calendar, he was responsible for the diocesan Ordo until his death. He loved to search the records of the past, did much work on the diocesan archives, and wrote several parish histories: Prudhoe 1929, Sacriston 1930, St Michael's, Newcastle 1931, and Minsteracres 1932.

The English College, Bruges, is called a forgotten seminary by Stewart Foster. Equally, the period when the bishop went to Belgium to look for priests is a forgotten episode in our diocesan history, although the Low Countries have always remembered that they first received the faith from the great Apostle of the Frisians, St Willibrord, born in Northumbria, who founded Utrecht and is buried at Echtenach in Luxembourg

There were other priests from the Continent who worked in the diocese. Italians such as John Baptist Bulletti, who was priest at Thornley and left for Italy in 1884; Ralph Nenci D. D., born in Rome, and died at Haydon Bridge in 1909. There were French priests: Francis Cambours, the first resident priest at Washington; Peter Eugene Harival, priest at Hutton House, who died in retirement at Coutances in 1894. But with the Dutch and Belgian priests, Bishop Chadwick and the English bishops were attempting to create a permanent link by means of the Bruges Seminary.

It is difficult to judge what special contribution these priests from abroad made in the formation of their Catholic people. In the *Tablet* of 5 January 1884, there is one of several references to the temperance work of Fr Poupaert. But a great many priests in Victorian times hoped to protect their people from the evils of drink. Various associations existed in the country to promote temperance or total abstinence, and they were established in many missions. One of the earliest, the Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst was particularly successful in the early Seventies, while the League of the Cross was flourishing in the Eighties. Fr Poupaert's 'Sermons from the Flemish' no doubt helped many a busy priest in the days when sermons were a great deal longer than they are nowadays. Fr Jules de Floer was a musician of a very cultivated kind and he took lively interest in the choir of St Benet's, Sunderland. Invariably, after his visit to his home in Belgium he brought back fresh music to enrich their repertoire.

The diocese owes much to these remarkable fourteen Belgian and Dutch priests who came with little English to labour among a foreign people where the Church was a tender plant struggling to grow in uncongenial soil, and established new parishes, churches and schools courageously overcoming all the difficulties involved. Fr Jules Lenders sums up the work of his fellow-priests with much wisdom. 'It is with great reason that the faithful of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle are grateful to so many priests from Belgium and Holland, and especially from Ireland for the great help they came to give to the few English priests that the Bishops had at their disposal for the spiritual needs of their rapidly increasing flock . . . . The Irish priests had over the Dutch and Belgian priests, two great advantages: they had a common language and they were to minister to their own countrymen or their descendants.'

SOURCES

For information on 'A forgotten seminary: the English College, Bruges 1858–73', I am indebted to Stewart Foster OSM, of St Philip Benizi's Priory, Begbroke, Oxford.

The details of careers of the various priests are taken from the obituary notices in the *Northern Catholic Calendar*. The references to the obituary notices in the *Tablet* come from Stewart Foster. Fr Jules Lenders, in his parish histories, adds many details.

JOHN WILLIAM BEWICK (1824–1886), THIRD BISHOP OF HEXHAM AND NEWCASTLE

On the centenary of his death, it is fitting that the Society should remember John William Bewick, the third Bishop of the Diocese.

He was born on 20 April 1824 at Minsteracres and went to Ushaw at the age of fourteen. He proved to be both a brilliant scholar and an accomplished athlete. He was ordained in 1850 and after two years at the Cathedral he became curate to Thomas Gillow, parish priest of St Cuthbert's, North Shields, whom he succeeded in 1857. A few years later, he became diocesan treasurer and canon of the Cathedral. In 1868 he became Vicar General and moved from North Shields to Tynemouth, founding the mission church of Our Lady and St Oswin. In his various diocesan offices, he was the right-hand man of Bishop Chadwick, whom he followed as third Bishop, being consecrated on St Luke's day 1882. He was, however, already a sick man and after only four years in office he died 29 October 1886, aged sixty-three years.

Bishop Bewick was a keen historian of the diocese and wrote many of the short lives of saints and historical sketches of missions which appeared in the early editions of the *Northern Catholic Calendar.* His last work was a Catholic Truth Society booklet, *St Bede, Monk and Mass Priest.*

TIN CHURCHES

Tin churches are very much a thing of the past, alive only in the memory of elderly saints, and soon to become part of ecclesiastical archaeology. However, for many parishes founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries struggling financially to meet essential needs, prefabricated iron churches were a popular investment. The illustration shows the first Holy Name church erected in St George's Terrace, Jesmond, on the site now occupied by Jesmond Baths. It was opened by Bishop Preston on 18 January 1903, and was used until the opening of the present church by Bishop Thorman on 19 November 1929. The tin church was then taken down and re-erected at Murton Colliery and served the new parish from 1930 until a new church was built in 1964.

The Society is anxious to make a permanent record of all the tin churches in the Diocese, and appeals for photographs, historical information and reminiscences. These may be sent to either Peter McGuinness or Robin Gard, whose addresses appear on the inside front cover. Everything received will be acknowledged, copied, and returned if requested.

PROGRAMME 1986/87

All lectures will be held in the parish hall of St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne, on Tuesdays, at 7.00 p.m.

7 October 1986	Annual General Meeting. Rev. W. J. Nicholson (Chairman), *The Significance of Saint Cuthbert.*
11 November 1986	Robin Gard M. A. *Catholic Lay Societies in the Nineteenth Century.*
9 December 1986	John White Ph. D. *Newman for our time.*
24 February 1987	Members' night. Short papers on current research.
24 March 1987	Very Rev. Luke Magee C.P. *The Passionists in England*

Coach Excursions

11 October 1986 (Sat., half-day)	Belsay and places of Catholic interest nearby.
May 1987	Seahouses and the Inner Farne Island.
June 1987	Kirkham Priory and Byland Abbey, North Yorks.

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