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No. 30 Autumn, 1989

North East Catholic History Society

NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY

The Society was founded in July 1974 to foster interest and promote research into the history of the Catholic Church in North East England.

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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NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY

There were good attendances at the last two talks of the 1988–1989 Season. Speaking on 'Irish Immigration in Nineteenth-Century Tyneside' on 7 February, Mr T.P. Macdermott explored the many varied aspects of his subject, prompting a lively discussion among members with Irish forebears. Similarly, some contemporary echoes, albeit from a much more distant past, could be heard in Professor J. Watt's talk on 7 March on 'Anti-Semitism in Medieval York', in which he skilfully reconstructed the circumstances of the massacre of the Jews in that city in 1190.

The two Summer outings were, thanks to Miss Molly Davison's customary efficiency, well organised, well attended, and thoroughly enjoyed in fine weather. A full coachload of members visited Ripley Castle, near Harrogate, on 27 May, while the trip to Nunraw Abbey on 1 July attracted sufficient members and friends to fill two coaches, a rare event.

Details of the 1989–1990 programme appear on the inside end cover, but before members receive this edition the AGM which concludes the last Season and also elections for the current Season will have been held. Although few changes are anticipated, the names of officers and Committee on the inside front cover are those for the last Season. The lecture programme, thanks to Miss Josephine O'Callaghan's discernment and diplomacy, once again promises a high standard of talks. The change from Tuesday to Wednesday evenings has been made to enable the talks to be given in the Cathedral Centre itself, instead of in the small room in the Cathedral house where they had to be held last year.

The Society expresses its collective appreciation to all the contributors to this edition. Mr Douglas Smith re-enacts some of the events of the Northern Rising of 1569 in the personal story of John Brimley, 'The Rebellious Organist'. Mrs Christine Newman reappraises 'The Role of Women in Early Yorkshire Recusancy', which through intermarriage within Catholic families had many north eastern links and similarities. Mrs Elizabeth Fewster then introduces and presents the first part of an important document for Durham Catholic history in 'The Valuation of Catholic Estates in Durham 1724', the second part of which will be printed in Spring 1990. The edition is completed by a review of the progress of the Diocese from its establishment in 1850 to 1875, originally published in the *Northern Catholic Calendar* in 1876, supplemented from the Diocesan archives.

Robin Gard, *Hon. Editor*

THE REBELLIOUS ORGANIST

D.W. Smith

Countless passing feet have not erased the memorial stone set into the floor of the Galilee Chapel at Durham. Though the brass was torn away long ago, the inscription is still readable after some four hundred years, yet few stop to look at it. Fewer still are aware that it commemorated John Brimley, a man who not only played a part in that momentous enterprise known as the Rising of the North, but who also represents a direct link with the life of the pre-Reformation cathedral and the monks of St Cuthbert. The part he played was literal enough — indeed he might be described as the organist who accompanied a rebellion.

When Mary, Queen of Scots, entered England to seek protection from her cousin Elizabeth, the general discontent in the North Country focussed upon her. Intrigues centred around a demand for religious tolerance together with a confused and perhaps over-nostalgic desire for a return to the old ways. In Durham it was said that 'Not ten gentlemen do favour Her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion'. Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, became, with the Percy of the day, a natural leader in an enterprise to raise the standard of revolt against Elizabeth.

He seems to have hesitated at first for, according to tradition (reminiscent of the Derwentwater legend), it was his lady who finally decided him during the meeting of the conspirators in the great hall at Raby, another evocative place of those events. With a sizeable force, said to be 6,000 foot and 1,700 horse, he entered the city of Durham on 14 November 1569 to the joyful sound of bells. Making for the cathedral, they entered and cast out the symbols of Elizabethan conformity. The great Bible was torn up and the Communion tables destroyed. From their hiding-place, in one case beneath a dung heap, parts of the old altars were brought forth and reconstructed. Once again the Latin Mass was celebrated 'to the indescribable delight of the faithful crowds that flocked to hear'.

The rebel army eventually got as far as Wetherby but, still unsure, came back and demanded the surrender of Barnard Castle. Rumours of

Spanish troops who were to embark at Hartlepool proved insubstantial and the only success the rebels encountered was the capture of Barnard Castle from Sir George Bowes, who discovered to his distress that not all his garrison were wholeheartedly behind him, large numbers having absconded by dropping from the castle walls, not without some inevitable accidents to their persons. The revolt petered out, the rebel leaders ruined and in flight.

But the government had had a bad fright and were determined to show an example to the folk of the north. Never again would revolt raise its head and Elizabeth promised to send 'Such a breakfast as the north had never seen'. She kept her word and hundreds were hanged in the towns and villages of the north. After this came the punishment of those who had welcomed the rebels in the first place. as a warning. This came in the form of judicial proceedings. 'Parson' Plumtree, the chaplain to the insurgents, was hung, drawn and quartered in the Market Place at Durham.

> Well a daye, well a daye, woe is mee
> Syr Thomas Plumtree is hanged on a tree

runs the old ballad. The St Nicholas's Register records of burial of 'Maister Plumbetre'.

Some hundred or so people were summoned to give personal answers to charges made against them, mostly for taking part in the services of the cathedral. Several labourers and masons were called who 'by the instigation of the devill did unlawfully erecte and set up an altar by hewinge and layinge of stones and morter or did work in carrying stone, lyme and other stuffe.' Others had showed themselves 'cherefull and forward commending the rebellious' and came to services 'thereat kneeling, bowing, knocking, using beades, confessions and toke holy water and bread.' What is worse, said the commissioners, they had listened to William Holmes preaching and absolving them in the name of the Pope.

Faced with these charges, the Queen's 'evell disposed' subjects gave answers full of penitence and ingenious excuses. George Cliffe, one of the prebends who attended services, just happened to be dressed in his old monastic habit but of course did not sing, looked, bowed and knelt, sitting apparently in his stall immobile throughout the proceedings which must have been lengthy. As for hearing the rebellious

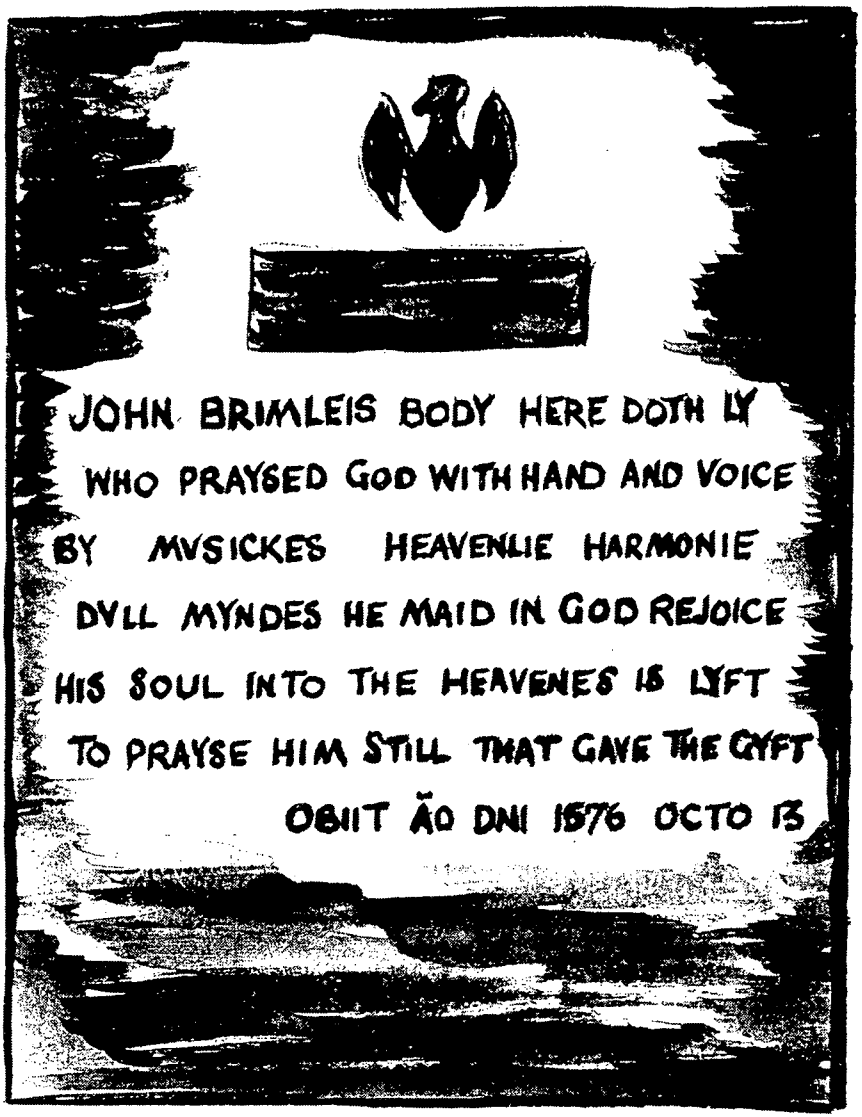
sermon, 'by reason that the press of people being very great he heard his voice, but understood not one sentence which was said.' When the congregation knelt to receive absolution 'he thought the preacher had been bidding prayers.' Another of the cathedral staff declared himself heartily sorry for carrying a letter to Staindrop to invite the rebel preacher for he was 'at the time content and willing, being a simple man and easily seduced.'

Henry Younger, slater, was in the castle prison for two days and consented to help with the altar stones only after threats. What is more, he protested, he had received no money for his labours so 'gott himself away to Egglescliff to his mothers and there tarried.' He was ordered to do penance in front of his parish church wearing only a linen sheet.

Many of those summoned were middle-aged men who had been connected with the cathedral before the Reformation - - indeed one had been keeper of the shrine - so it is not surprising that they had taken part with some enthusiasm and nostalgia. When Oliver Ash, curate of St Giles, heard the bell ring during the Mass he 'looked up to Mr Brimley then in the loft over the quier door and smyled at hym.' It must have brought memories flooding back to John Brimley for he had been the last Master of the old song school. He was then aged sixty-seven and had been brought before the commission protesting strongly. He believed, he declared, that 'there is not other service than that which is sett forthy by Acte of Parlyment, that no subject ought to owne to any other service but that allowed by the lawes of this realm.' By that law Masse, mattyns and evensonge, books and ornaments pertaining to the same and the bishop of Rome's authority 'are by the law abrogatyd.'

Nevertheless, he remembered that he was twice at Mass when Robert Peirson and William Holmes sang the same within the cathedral, 'but he songe nott hymselff at them, but played at orgaines and dyd dyvers tymes help to singe salvaes at mattyns and evensonge, and plaid on the orgaines and went in procession as others dyd, after the Crosse.'

He had heard part of William Holmes' sermon wherein he spoke much in commendation of the Pope, but other things he could not remember except kneeling down to be reconciled 'emongst which this examinate knelde also as others dyd. He recewed hollywater but no holly breid to his wyttinge.'



The grave of John Brimley in the Galilee
with traces of a brass removed from a previous inscription

Of course, he declared his sorrow, that he did it all by compulsion, that he had instructed the choristers in such things necessary for the Choir services at the time but not since that date. That it was done at the command of Cuthbert Nevill and the Earl of Northumberland. Having not been attainted or corrected for his offence, he presumed he was pardoned by the Queen. To the judge who demanded to see written proof, Brimley replied that he had made full confession of his faults and the Dean had 'privately dealt with them'.

At this point the Tudor lawyers argued cleverly upon technical niceties. The Dean, they said, had no jurisdiction and could not act unless the Chapter as a single body acted in accordance with the Cathedral Statutes. Since these had been drawn up in the previous reign of Mary, the Latin Mass was actually commended and not condemned, therefore he could not be punished by their authority given to the Dean. Moreover, the Queen's free pardon was a general one covering conspiracy, rebellion and treason, not for 'diverse other enormities committed in this time and place'. According to the strict letter of the law, the *singing* of the Mass could not be construed under any of these headings but was nevertheless an offence. The general pardon of the Queen was anyway 'meant more straitely to binde all pardoned men to obey the lawes ecclesiasticall.'

Eventually, John Brimley was allowed to continue as organist and choirmaster of the reformed services. Evidently, he was also a composer, for an old book at Durham is entitled, 'Mr. Brimley, his Kyrie' and a Creed. He died aged seventy-four in 1576 and it is comforting to know that he was buried in the Galilee where, as the Rites tell us in the olden times, '. . . the altar where Our Lady's masse was sung daily by ye Master of the song scholl called Mr John Brimley with certain decons and quiristers, the master playing upon a paire of faire orgaines the tyme of Our Lady's mass wherein the founder of the said chanterie Bishop Langlee his soule was praied for . . .'

The worn inscription can still be made out and stopping for a moment one can perhaps feel a link with the long past life of the cathedral and the monks of St Cuthbert.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN EARLY YORKSHIRE RECUSANCY: A REAPPRAISAL

Christine Newman

The prominent part played by women in Elizabethan Catholicism has long been accepted as an important characteristic of the early recusant movement. Modern historians have repeatedly stressed this aspect whilst, to judge from the evidence provided by contemporary sources, the high incidence of female recusancy was equally acknowledged at the time. Various explanations of this phenomenon have been advanced. Contemporary accounts, since they were often written chiefly for the edification of other recusants, stressed purely spiritual motivation. Modern interpretations, on the other hand, have tended to dwell upon more social and practical considerations. Many of these explanations, however, have been touched upon only briefly during the course of broader discussions of early Catholicism as a whole. Yet, apart from the basic refusal to attend Common Prayer services on Sundays and holydays, these women engaged in numerous other activities, in order to promote and maintain their faith, many of which were illegal. As the evidence shows, however, the increasingly repressive legislation did not deter many female recusants. In view of this, a more detailed analysis of their attitudes and apparent aspirations would surely serve to advance our understanding of the reasons behind their prominent recusant stance.

Women played an active role in many recusant communities during this period. In 1603, for example, a thorough parish by parish survey of all English dioceses, commissioned by Archbishop Whitgift, revealed a total of 4,633 female recusants in comparison with only 2,986 male. The evidence is particularly strong for Yorkshire, an area which long remained notorious for its religiously conservative sympathies. The Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, with its close connections with Catholicism resulted in a thorough overhaul of the north's administration. The appointment of the staunchly Puritan Earl of Huntingdon as President of the Council in the North was thus accompanied by the translation to the see of York of the equally Protestant Archbishop Grindal. From the early 1570s, these two

mounted an increasingly powerful and united attack in order to eliminate what was perceived as the Catholic threat. Consequently, first through the agency of the Ecclesiastical Northern High Commission and later, after the introduction of more stringent legislation, through the civil courts, the activities of the Yorkshire recusants were recorded from their earliest stirrings. It is from these records that the prominent role of women recusants begins to emerge. Additionally, whilst these official sources inevitably furnish us with few details apart from names and numbers, we are also able to draw upon the small surviving collection of contemporary Catholic writings which recount the lives of some of Yorkshire's recusant women, such as Margaret Clitherow, Dorothy Lawson and Mary Ward. [1] Whilst these works are often essentially hagiographical in character, they nevertheless provide some further insight into the lives and activities of these women.

In York itself, Huntingdon and the High Commission depended, to a large extent, upon the co-operation of the civic authorities which were expected to submit regular returns of recusants, based upon parochial assessment. In 1576 a series of particularly thorough returns was secured, giving the various reasons for non-attendance at church and the estimated incomes of the recusants (in order to facilitate the collection of the statutory 12d. recusancy fine). A return, dated November 1576, listed some fifty-nine recusants and of these, fifty-one were women. Similarly, the records of a case which came before the High Commission Visitation of 1580–2, designed to root out Catholics throughout the county, showed a similar trend, with women figuring prominently in the proceedings. Whitgift's survey itself revealed that by 1603, within the diocese of York, women recusants outnumbered the men — some 420 females compared with only 300 male. Recent research by J.C.H. Aveling has suggested that of 300 Catholic households present in the county during this period, some 200 were matriarchal in character. [2]

Many historians regard as crucial the role played by the gentry in the early history of Catholicism. It has been suggested that sympathetic gentry households actually took the initiative and assumed the role, previously held by the institutional Church, in supporting the structure of Catholicism, thus ensuring its survival (and also accounting for the varied geographical distribution of recusant groups). Central to this theory is the idea that, as the practice of religion became integrated

into the household, the responsibility for its maintenance fell increasingly into the feminine sphere. In order to retain their faith, women had little option but to take the initiative in arranging for priests to say Masses, in supervising baptisms and marriages, in overseeing holydays and feastdays and in catechizing the children and servants. [3]

A. G. Dicken's surveys of early Yorkshire recusancy, based partly around the 1604 Census of Yorkshire Catholics, certainly lend credence to these theories. Professor Dickens established that many of the larger recusant groups within the county were comprised of gentry families, their servants and tenants. [4] Moreover, in many cases, the women of these families did play a leading role in maintaining their faith. Dorothy Lawson of Brough in the North Riding and later Heaton, near Newcastle, observed a full religious programme of daily Masses, matins, evensong, litanies and so on for family, neighbours and servants. Life in the Babthorpe household, at Osgodby, ran along similar lines. Lady Babthorpe, a persistent recusant, succeeded in keeping her eight children from church attendance, in spite of the fact that her husband was bound in a £4,000 bond to bring his children and servants to church, and contrived to have all but one baptised in the faith. Both women regularly sheltered priests. Lady Babthorpe's memoirs related how, '. . . we were never without the comfort of the priests and often three or four at a time . . . whosoever wanted a place till they were provided, our house was their stay'. Along the coastal strip of Cleveland, too, which verged onto the North Yorkshire Moors — an area known as Blackamore — the influence of the Whitby Cholmley family, headed by the matriarchal figure of Lady Katherine Scrope, the widow of Sir Richard Cholmley, stoutly maintained the recusant cause. A letter to the Privy Council in 1599 noted that the region was a known reception centre for incoming missionary priests and added that '. . . three parts of the people in Blackamore are become papists . . .' Where sympathetic gentry households were involved in the maintenance of the early recusant movement, their womenfolk certainly appear to have accepted the new responsibilities with considerable enthusiasm. However, not only gentlewomen were engaged in supporting Catholicism. The York butcher's wife, Margaret Clitherow, regularly harboured priests, affirming that '. . . if God's priests dare venture themselves to my house I will never refuse them.' Similarly, the home of her spiritual mentor, Dorothy Vavasour became '. . . a house of refuge for all afflicted

Catholics . . .' It has, indeed been suggested that hundreds of women, of all social classes were probably involved in sheltering priests, even if only for a few hours in order to hear Mass.[5] In view of this evidence, it appears that an explanation based upon the religious participation of gentlewomen in household Catholicism, whilst relevant in many cases, nevertheless does not wholly account for the high incidence of females in early recusancy.

Dorothy Lawson, like Grace Babthorpe, was married to a conformist husband, again a phenomenon common in the early recusant movement. In 1588, for example, the Privy Council received three requests for advice, all within a matter of weeks and all echoing the sentiments of the Earl of Kent who desired to know, '. . . how he is to proceed against those women who are recusants, some whereof are widows and others married to husbands that are conformable in religion . . .' The problem centred around the fact that whilst men were liable, after the Act of 1581, to severe financial penalties for recusancy, the law regading their wives was extremely vague. As Professor John Bossy has pointed out, under Common Law a married woman possessed no property, since all her possessions were vested in her husband. Whilst there was a degree to which a husband could be held responsible for his wife's 'temporal debts', he could not, in theory, be penalised for the dictates of her conscience. It has been suggested that many Catholic families took advantage of this loophole and maintained their faith through the initiative of the wives, whilst the husbands outwardly conformed in order to safeguard the family inheritance.[6] Yet, if this was indeed the case, it was not the easy option that it appeared on first sight. Many authorities used their own discretion in the matter and, as in the case of the 'hard line' Earl of Huntingdon, proceeded to punish female recusants by imprisonment. In 1592, in response to increased government pressure, the Earl imprisoned many leading recusant gentlewomen in Sheriff Hutton Castle. These included Lady Constable and Lady Lawson (the mother and mother-in-law, respectively, of Dorothy Lawson), Lady Babthorpe, Lady Ingleby, Mrs Metham and Mrs Hungate. Mary Ward's biography, too, relates how her grandmother, Mrs Ursula Wright of Ploughland in Holderness, had in her younger years suffered, in all, some fourteen years' imprisonment. Widows and unmarried women of property were, moreover, open to the full force of the recusancy laws and often suffered doubly, as in

the case of the indomitable Catholic spinster, Katherine Radcliffe of Ugthorpe Old Hall, on the North Yorkshire Moors, who was not only imprisoned in Sheriff Hutton but, in 1592–3, also had two-thirds of her property farmed out for recusancy.

Indeed, the idea that recusancy amongst Elizabethan women may have flourished because of practical considerations and the leniency of the authorities to the gentler sex, founders further when confronted with the evidence of the harsh treatment meted out to Catholic women of the lower orders. Many of these, lacking the benefits of wealth and influence which may have protected some gentlewomen, suffered appallingly for their faith. One of the earliest stirrings of Yorkshire recusancy was in the city of York itself where a small group was beginning to emerge from 1569–70. These recusants were drawn predominantly from the lower orders of society. The 1576 returns of York recusants, which gave the occupations and wealth of those concerned, identified only four from gentry backgrounds. The rest were described as merchants, craftsmen (or in most cases, the wives of these men), labourers, servants and several poor widows. Even as the list was being drawn up, several of the women, including the later martyr, Margaret Clitherow, were in prison for their refusal to conform — a pattern which, in certain cases, was to be repeated many times. Similarly, the husbands of the more obstinate women were also penalised at times for failing to persuade their wives to conform and refusing to pay forfeitures. For this reason, in 1577, the conformist John Clitherow was committed to the Kidcote (the sheriff's gaol).[7]

Few women, even of the lower orders, suffered the ultimate penalty for their Catholicism during the reign of Elizabeth — who reputedly disliked the idea of punishing women for their religious beliefs. The case of Margaret Clitherow was unusual, since she actually suffered *peine et dure forte* for refusal to plead to a felony, rather than execution for harbouring priests, the offence with which she was primarily charged. Nevertheless, the contemporary memoirs of a prisoner in the Ousebridge Kidcote in York, give some indication of the hardships endured by some of the poorer women. Eleven of the thirty female recusants confined in the Kidcote, during a fourteen-year period, died as a result of the insanitary conditions of this riverside gaol. Amongst these was Dorothy, the wife of Dr Thomas Vavasour, the teacher and inspirational mentor of many York recusants including

Margaret Clitherow. Some of the poorer women had their younger children with them and the memoirs relate how the children of Mary Sutton (who was also later to die of gaol fever) were threatened '. . . with a great birch rod . . .' in order to force them to reveal the extent of their mother's recusant activities. Prisoners were expected to pay for their food and accommodation whilst in gaol, with the poorest forced to rely on charity and consequently suffering the worst conditions. Indeed, the collection of alms for imprisoned fellow-Catholics became the practice amongst wealthier recusants, as the biographies of Dorothy Lawson and Mary Ward illustrate. Thus, the available evidence hardly supports those explanations which seek to attribute female recusancy to the leniency or inefficiency of the penal laws. As we have seen. even some gentlewomen suffered considerable hardship, despite their social status, whilst for the poor, determined adherence to Catholicism virtually guaranteed harsh treatment at the hands of the authorities.

In view of the apparent inadequacy of many socially based interpretations, it does seem necessary, therefore, to seek an explanation for the prominent role of female recusants which transcends barriers of class and social distinction. Since the unifying element in the lives of all of these women was their professed devotion to the Catholic faith, it seems logical to consider the degree to which religious belief itself, was their motivating factor. The sixteenth century was a period of particular feminine religious intensity. Indeed, various parallels have been drawn between the activities of Puritan and Protestant nonconformist women and female recusants. In this context it is possible to view the upsurge in female recusancy as part of a wider religious reaction to the recently established Elizabethan Church which, in seeking to chart an acceptable middle course, succeeded only in alienating sections of the two extremes. Professor Bossy has, in fact, suggested that women may have resorted to recusancy as a result of dissatisfaction with the new religion which, by rendering obsolete the liturgical devotions formerly practised in large households, by stressing the need for literacy at a time when many women were illiterate and by abolishing the option of entering religious orders actually served to diminish the traditional religious role of women.

The spiritual strength of English Catholicism during this period has been the subject of much controversy. It has been suggested that there was little continuity between the old pre-Reformation religion

and the new revitalized Counter-Reformation Catholicism as propagated by the missionary priests after the onset of the English Mission in the late 1570s. This argument subscribes to the view that the remaining vestiges of the old religion were thus purely 'survivalist' and based upon medieval traditions and customs, rather than spiritually and doctrinally orientated.[8] Yet the evidence indicates that many of the early recusant women were not motivated by 'superstition'. As Marie B. Rowlands has pointed out, the reasons given for non-attendance at church by many of the 1576 York recusant women suggest that they were well aware of positive doctrinal matters. Anne Hewitt, a servant, asserted that, '. . . there is no presence there or right sacrament . . .', whilst both Elizabeth Wilkinson and Katherine Wildon refused on the grounds that, '. . . there is neither priest, altar nor sacrifice . . .'. Undoubtedly, then, deeper issues than mere 'superstition' were involved.

Whilst, for the uninstructed, there may have been an element of superstition or folklore in certain practices of the old religion, there was an old-established strand of religious devotion which was concerned with the deeper spiritual aspects of Christianity. This form of devotion, the *devotio moderna*, had evolved in the Low Countries and spread to England during the later Middle Ages. In this country its greatest exponents were the Carthusians, who were instrumental in translating and transmitting such spiritual classics as *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas a Kempis, and Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. The tradition in England also encompassed the works of the great English mystics Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton and the anonymous author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*. The works of Rolle and Hilton along with the revelations of the Swedish mystic St Bridget, greatly influenced the noted English mystic Margery Kempe. Indeed her religious experiences and those of the celebrated Dame Julian of Norwich illustrated the attractions to pious women of this deeply personalised form of devotion which sought, through intense prayer and meditation, to gain closer contact with God.

Certainly this contemplative form of religious devotion appeared to influence greatly those Yorkshire recusant women whose lives are chronicled in some detail. Both Dorothy Lawson and Margaret Clitherow drew inspiration from *The Imitation of Christ*. Both, moreover, aspired to a life in religious orders, the highest earthly state in the teachings of the *devotio*. Margaret Clitherow expressed the desire to

'. . . take on her some religious habit and to this end learned Our Lady's Matins in Latin . . .', whilst after her husband's death Dorothy Lawson turned her home into a Jesuit sanctuary and herself followed, as far as possible, the rules of that Society. Lady Babthorpe, too, when widowed, was professed as a nun at Louvain. Similarly, the desire of Mary Ward to become a nun was so great that she almost declined '. . . into mortal sickness. . .', when urged by her family to marry. Penance, both physical and mental, was undertaken by the most devout. Again this was a feature common to the medieval mystics, Margery Kempe, for example, did '. . . great bodily penance . . .'. In like manner Mary Ward wore a penitential girdle and began to '. . . allowance herself . . .' in what she ate. Margaret Clitherow, too, fasted rigidly on four days of the week and partook of only '. . . bread and drink. . .' on Fridays. If then, women such as Margaret Clitherow, who could find, '. . . no substance, truth nor Christian comfort in the ministers of the new gospel, nor in their doctrine itself . . .', were dissatisfied with their role in the new Established Church, it is possible that they resorted to the contemplative traditions of earlier generations in order to attain spiritual fulfilment.

Undoubtedly, the onset of the English Mission did much to revitalise and re-define the spiritual beliefs of the Elizabethan recusants. The later experiences of Margaret Clitherow show her to have been deeply affected by the martyrdoms of the 1580s, whilst the spiritual motivation of both Mary Ward and Dorothy Lawson was to a great extent coloured by Jesuit influence. Indeed, the Counter-Reformation itself was greatly influenced by the precepts of the *devotio moderna*. St Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, drew on the *Imitation* and other earlier mystical works. Moreover, the works of the Catholic exiles in Louvain, which again reflected Counter-Reformation trends, were available to the early Yorkshire recusants. Thus it is possible that the adherence of the early recusant women to the *devotio* sprang from this later source. Nevertheless, the pre-Reformation contemplative tradition had been remarkably strong in Yorkshire. The medieval mystical writers Richard Rolle, Walter Hilton and the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* all lived within the diocese of York. During the 15th and early 16th centuries, the Carthusian Priory of Mount Grace, in the North Riding, acquired a reputation for devout piety which was reflected in the contemplative writings of its brethren,

Nicholas Love, Richard Methley and John Norton.[9] It is perhaps of note that shortly after her death, the brother-in-law of Margaret Clitherow was professed as a Carthusian in Louvain. Moreover, the martyr's daughter, Anne, entered the Convent of St Ursula in Louvain whose prioress, Mother Margaret Clement, had a particularly close affinity with the memory of Sir Thomas More (perhaps the greatest exponent of the *devotio moderna* in sixteenth-century England) and the eighteen Carthusian martyrs executed for their refusal to swear to the Act of Succession in 1535. In Yorkshire, the relationship between Elizabethan Catholicism and the pre-Reformation spiritual traditions of the area suggests intriguing possibilities worthy of further research. For it seems likely that, in respect of early recusancy, strands of the long-established English contemplative piety were interwoven with the newer, more vigorous spirituality of the English Mission.

It is thus possible that the major factor which unified and inspired Yorkshire's recusant women was their capacity for faith. They, in common with women of other religious persuasions, were reacting against the spiritual vacuum created by the tremendous religious upheavals of the age. Whilst, however, Protestant non-conformists found fulfilment in the newer forms of religious expression, often through the medium of the various separatist sects, Catholic women were drawn to that contemplative form of spirituality which had inspired earlier generations of devout Christians. Sustained and inspired by the long, locally strong traditions of personal piety, yet forced by practical need to take responsibility for the maintenance and support of their faith, these women seized the initiative and carved for themselves a unique role in the development of the early recusant movement.

NOTES

1. 'Mr John Mush's life of Margaret Clitherow' in *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, ed. J. Morris, 3 vols (London, 1882–7), 3, pp.333–440; W. Palmes, *The Life of Mrs Dorothy Lawson of St. Antony's near Newcastle*, (London 1855); M.C.E. Chambers, *The Life of Mary Ward*, 2 vols (London 1882).

2. A. Raine (ed.) *York Civic Records*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Rec. Ser. CXV, (1950), pp.130–7; J.C.H. Aveling, 'Catholic Households in Yorkshire', in *Northern History*, 16, pp.85–101.

3. J. Bossy, 'The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism', in *Crisis in Europe, 1560–1600*, ed. T. Aston, (London 1965), p.223.

4. A.G. Dickens, 'Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire' and 'Recusancy in Yorkshire, 1604', in *Reformation Studies*, (London 1982), pp.159–183 and 185–209.

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THE VALUATION OF CATHOLIC ESTATES IN DURHAM 1724

Elizabeth Fewster

When George I came to the throne in 1714 it was by no means certain that the Hanoverian dynasty would survive in England. James II's son, the Stuart claimant, was barred from the throne by English law on grounds of religion, but neither the King nor his ministers could tell how much support he commanded among English Catholics. The government reacted by treating the Catholic population with fear and suspicion. It assumed that all Catholics were sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and, after the rebellion of 1715, singled them out as a readily identifiable target for revenge. It was determined that they should be made to pay the costs of suppressing the rebellion, it being considered '. . . highly reasonable that they should Contribute a large Share to such Extraordinary Expences as are or shall be brought upon the kingdom by their Treachery and Instigation . . .' [1]

As a necessary preliminary all Papists who refused to take the Oaths of Allegiance were required to register the value of their estates by 20 November 1716, a date which was later extended to 20 October 1717. Catholics were already liable to pay Land Tax at double the rate of other landowners and they feared that this latest measure would lead to their ruin. Nevertheless, most appear to have complied with the law and registered their estates.

For the next few years the Duke of Norfolk and other prominent Catholics lobbied ministers to prevent the imposition of the tax, and tried to convince the King,

> and all moderate men that we are not the bad subjects we are represented to be but are such as are resolved to live peacably and quietly under his majesty's government knowing that our religion teaches us to obey ye supreme power that God has placed over us in everything that does not affect ye conscientious points of our belief . . [2]

It was unjust, they claimed, that the innocent should be punished equally with the guilty and they pressed to be allowed to take a form of oath which did not compromise their religious beliefs.

Eventually, however, events overtook their arguments. In the spring and summer of 1722 details of another Jacobite plot were discovered in which Francis Atterbury, the Anglican Bishop of Rochester, was deeply involved. Hoping that when the matter came to trial the Catholic community would also be shown to be implicated, the government introduced its measure to raise £100,000 on the estates of Papists. However, the evidence to justify the imposition was not forthcoming. The Bill was delayed for twenty-two weeks and many people thought that it would be abandoned. Some members of Parliament left London and returned home, 'but', wrote Edward Blount to his wife, 'Mr. Walpole and his friends say they Resolve it shall be brought in.' [3]

According to a diary of the passage of the Bill, proceedings were resumed in April 1723 and it was closely debated throughout. At one point the government issued the eighteenth-century equivalent of a three-line whip, letters desiring their attendance being delivered to several members 'by officers belonging to the Treasury'. 'This method is certainly very new and shows an uncommon zeal for the carrying through the said Bill.' [4] It was followed by another Bill re-enforcing registration and extending the measure to Scotland. Both Bills received the Royal Assent on 27 May 1723.

Although they had failed to defeat the Bill, the Duke of Norfolk and his friends appear to have won the argument. They returned to London the following November determined to have the tax abolished. In a letter to Edward Blount urging him to come to London 'as the time of business now comes on', the Duke added, 'There seems to be so much compassion in our countrymen that I flatter myself that with the little interest we can make, and assurances given of our living peacably and quietly we may prevent any further severity and possibly more.' [5] The legislation remained in place until 1791 and, on their succession, some heirs continued to register their estates, but the tax was only levied on this one occasion.

This episode has left the historian a series of documents, listing the names of Catholics, describing and valuing their estates in detail. The certificates of registration, which have been published by the Surtees Society, are the most informative, [6] although they do have some drawbacks. The majority of the Durham estates were registered in 1717, and another large batch of registrations occurred between the imposition of the tax and the end of that year (March 1723/24).

Registration took place before the magistrates in Quarter Sessions but there was no set form, it being left very much to the individual how to declare and value his estates. This was a simple enough task when properties were rented out, but owners frequently omitted to value the estates kept in their own hands. Moreover, the larger landowners had estates in several parts of the county which were all registered in a single certificate so that it is difficult to obtain an overall picture of where the Catholic estates were concentrated.

A Return of 'Estates belonging to RCs in the country Palatine of Durham' was compiled,[7] based on the certificates. This is arranged according to the five regions of the county: Darlington, Easington, Stockton and Chester Wards followed by Norham and Islandshires, and is set out more formally than the certificates with separate columns for names of individuals, the description of each holding, its value and any deductions for which allowance might be made.

The document which is printed here is a further refinement of this process. It is a Valuation listing the names of owners by township with the total value of their lands in each place. This focuses attention on the place rather than the individual and enables us to see clearly where the Catholic estates and, occasionally, the communities were, although the names of some individuals might have to be repeated several times. The Valuation is therefore complementary to the certificates and should be used in conjunction with them.

The purpose of the arrangement was presumably to aid the collectors of the tax, which was administered in a similar way to the Land Tax. The sum of £100,000 was to be raised from Catholics throughout the country and each county was allotted a set quota. The quotas may have been set on the basis of a list of Papists which was appended to a Report to the House of Commons, in which those who had already registered their estates were listed alphabetically county by county with the value of their estates.[8] The total value of estates in Durham is given here as £13,892.19.2¼d., eighth highest in the whole country. The quota was set at £3,611.14s. which would have represented a tax of nearly 26 per cent. As more people registered, however, the value of the Catholic estates in Durham rose to £16,726.17.5d., according to the valuation, and the quota then represented a tax of approximately 21.5 per cent or just over 4s in the pound.

The Valuation is accompanied by an Assessment for the townships

of the three divisions of Chester Ward. This calculates the tax on each estate at the rate of 4s.5½d in the pound, and deducts 'deficiencies' to obtain the net sum. The two items are at the end of a paper book belonging to the Shafto Collection in the University of Durham Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic. [9] This book also includes copies of the Book of Rates and related matters, a list of Improved Rents for Bedlingtonshire as set in 1655, and values of estates in Norham and Islandshires agreed at a meeting in 1647. The first few pages are extremely fragile and the book has no cover. It is written throughout in an elegant eighteenth-century hand and it may well have been compiled for official administrative purposes.

Another version of the Valuation exists among the papers of the Salvin family of Croxdale Hall.[10] Although its content is substantially the same as the Shafto document and it is arranged by township, there are important differences. It is written on two medium-sized bifolii and has the appearance of having been compiled for personal reference. It is in no sense an official record. All names are listed surname first with different abbreviations for Christian names and some different spellings for both Christian and surnames. Most important of all, it has been extensively annotated to include, among other things, assessments for Easington Ward. Thus, although the two copies were compiled from similar sources it would appear that they are independent of each other.

The imposition of this extraordinary tax on Papists has therefore given rise to the following sources for the study of the Catholic community in county Durham between 1717 and 1723/24: certificates of registration 1717—1723/24; a Return based on the certificates; the list in the Parliamentary Report; and two Valuations for the collection of the tax with their accompanying assessments for Chester and Easington Wards. No two lists are precisely the same and so they complement each other and act as a check for the detection of error.

The Shafto Valuation includes names of forty-two persons who had not registered their estates. The estates in question were mostly of small value, twenty-five of them being worth less than £5 a year, and fourteen of them in the Durham City areas of St Giles, Crossgate, Elvet and Framwellgate. All but one of this last group were valued at £3 or less. More surprising is the omission of a large number of persons who had registered their estates albeit at the last minute. Twenty-four of the thirty estates registered between January and April 1723/24

were left out. There is no obvious explanation to account for these exclusions. Four of them were registered on the same day, in January, as three which were included, and most of them had already been registered by 9 March, the date when the latest registration to appear in the Valuation took place. The excluded estates were scattered throughout the county and vary in value from £1 to £85, representing a total value of over £400. Had they been included, they might have reduced the incidence of the tax on their fellow Catholics considerably.

As to the values attributed to the estates, there is considerable variation between the different sources. The evidence is sometimes contradictory and confusing and requires detailed study. A few general points may be made however. When registering their estates, many owners listed expenses and outgoings in great detail, hoping no doubt that these would be deducted from the value of the rents. Thus annuities, mortgages and other encumbrances were set down together with allowances made to tenants for such things as spreading lime and the payment of taxes. Some owners declared the net value only, after all deductions had been made. Occasionally, the Valuation takes account of these expenses. Anne and John Clark of Witton Gilbert, for example, appear to have been allowed to deduct a payment of 5s. to the poor and 3s.2d. Lord's Rent; and it would seem that the three Liddell brothers of Whickham, Henry, Thomas and William, got away with an extraordinary amount. They are each set down in the Shafto Valuation for £20, the tax payable being assessed at £4.8.9d., whereas according to the certificates, the Ushaw College Return and the Salvin Valuation notes, the value of their estates was in reality just under £54 each.

These were the exceptions, however. For the most part the gross value was entered in the Valuation. John Conyers, for example, leased out eight farms in Layton for a total rental of £360; he allowed his tenants deductions amounting to £18.10s. and had to pay a fee farm rent of £2.8s. In spite of this the value of his estate is listed as £360. Owners of mortgaged estates were equally unlucky even when the rents were paid over directly to the mortgagees, and amounts were set for lands which had not been valued because they were in the owner's own hands and not rented out at the time of registration.

It should not be assumed, however, that tax was paid on every estate listed in the Valuation. The Assessment for Chester Ward shows that it was remitted in certain circumstances. Owners of estates worth

£1 or less seem not to have paid any tax, nor did the recipients of an annuity. Annuities account for five of the twelve 'deficiencies' noted in the Chester Ward Assessment. Death and a sale account for two more.

The treatment of annuities in the Chester Ward Assessment shows that the assessment for Easington Ward which was added to the Salvin Valuation should be treated with caution. Every entry is assessed, including annuities and estates of £1 or less, and no 'deficiencies' are recorded. The total adds up to £410.5s., the exact amount the Ward was allotted to raise. This suggests that the assessment for Easington Ward may have been a private estimate rather than a copy of the official record. The Salvin assessment also assumes a rate of 4s. in the £, while the assessment for Chester Ward declares that the rate was 4s.5½d in the pound. Nevertheless, the Salvin assessment illustrates Catholic fears about the burden the tax of 1723 would place on their estates.

The text of the Shafto Valuation is to be given in full with the exception of some of the subtotals which are carried over from one page to another. However, because of its length, only the section relating to Chester Ward is printed in this issue. The remaining sections will be printed subsequently. The column alongside the text contains the net tax as calculated by the Assessment for Chester Ward. Any variation in the values on which the assessment is based is mentioned in the notes on the text, as are the assessments recorded as 'deficiencies'. The notes also indicate most of the points on which the Shafto and Salvin Valuations differ, together with the annotations on the Salvin document. These annotations marked a large number of holdings as 'not register'd', but it is not possible to say what version of the register was being used as a source for these comments. Although the observation is applied to some who registered late, or not at all, it is also applied to some of the earliest registrations which took place in April 1717 and which appear in the Ushaw Return and the Parliamentary list. In the transcription these entries are marked with an asterisk.

It was not thought necessary to note differences in the spelling of place names or Christian names, but alternative spellings are given for surnames if they would significantly alter the position of that name in any alphabetical list. No comment has been made either on some differences between the Valuations and the Chester Assessment as to the township in which some holdings lay. Most of the idiosyncracies of the Chester Assessment in this regard were probably due to faulty

copying whereby the name of the township, written in the first column, was wrongly aligned with the name in the second column.

As so often happens with documents produced in the course of administration, the Valuation and Assessment have an importance which exceeds their primary function. As well as adding to our understanding of how the tax was assessed, by showing how the values declared in the certificates were interpreted and by putting a value on estates which were originally left unvalued, they give a snapshot picture of the state of the Catholic community in Durham in 1724. From them we can find out the number of Catholics, their names and their wealth. We can see where some of the main centres were, particularly in the city of Durham where there was a cross-section of society from the inhabitants of the small tenements of Crossgate and Gilesgate to the nobility and gentry in more comfortable houses in Elvet. Information about people of very modest means is often difficult to find and even a small amount of detail can be of great use. Together with the certificates and all the biographical detail contained in the Surtees Society volumes, these documents provide a useful source for the study of the Roman Catholic community in Durham towards the end of the period of active financial persecution.

NOTES

1. Preamble to the Act 'For Registring ye Estates of Papists'. 1 Geo. I c.55, as summarised by a document in Durham County Record Office, Salvin Papers D/Sa/F/189.
2. Letter from P. Southcote to the Duke of Norfolk, 7 April 1719. Ushaw Collection of MSS. I, 143.
3. Letter from Edward Blount to his wife, 8 January 1722/23. Ushaw Collection of MSS. II, 27.
4. Diary of the passing of the Act with Observations; an unattributed account of the passage of the Bill (9 Geo. I c.18). Ushaw Collection of MSS, I, 147.
5. Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Edward Blount, 30 November 1723. Ushaw Collection of MSS. II, 6.
6. The Certificates for Durham have been edited with biographical notes by C.R. Hudleston, *Surtees Society*, vols 173 and 175 (1958 and 1965). See also W.V. Smith, 'Durham Recusant Estates', *Ushaw Magazine*, vol. 73 (1963) p.89. The certificates for Northumberland were edited earlier by J.C. Hodgson, *Surtees Society*, vol. 131 (1918).
7. Ushaw Collection of MSS. III, 18.
8. 'Report to the House of Commons . . .', printed 1719. Copy in Salvin Papers, Durham County Record Office, D/Sa/F/190.
9. University of Durham Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, Shafto Papers 1445.
10. Durham County Record Office, D/Sa/F/191 and 192. This is probably the manuscript 'in Croxdale Hall' referred to by W.V. Smith, *op.cit.* (note 6 above).

A schedule of the yearly value of all the Papists Estatesin ye County Palatine of Durham who Registred their Names towards paying the Sum of £3611.14s. wch by an Act of Parliamt. made in ye 9th Year of his present Majties. Reigne is directed to be raised by ye sd. Papists.

[Net tax of 4s.5½d. per £ according to the Assessment for Chester Ward (Shafto 1445)]

CHESTER WARD EAST DIVISION

Cleadon	* Mr. Thos.Wood £25 [1]	20. - . -	
Gateshead	Lady Mary Radcliffe [2]	134. 5. -	29.12.11½
	* Mrs. Cath. Riddle £18	35. - . -	3.18.10½
	Geo. Errington	- .16. -	3. 7
Low Heworth	Ra. Brandoling Esq. [3]	208.15. -	46. 3. -
	Mary Blakey £5 [4]		1. 2. 5½
		£398.16. -	

MIDDLE DIVISION

Chester	* Mrs Mary Owen [5]	10. - . -	2. 4. 4½
	Mr. John Owen Decd,[6]	70.10. -	- - -
Cross Gate	* Thos. Smith	1.10. -	6. 8
	* Thos Teasdale	1. - . -	omitted
	* John Baldridge	2. - . -	8.10½
	* Mary Smith	1. - . -	omitted
	* John Smith	- .12. -	omitted
	* Elizth. Walton	2. - . -	8.10½
	* Robt. Teasdale	- . 5. -	omitted
	* Mary Winter	-. 5. -	omitted
Elvett	Lady Mary Radcliffe £20 [7]	12. - . -	4. 8. 9
	Thos. Witham [8]	6. - . -	1. 6. 7½
	* Elizth. Todd £3 [9]	4.10. -	13. 3¾
	* Elizth. Johnson [10]	6. - . -	omitted
	* Elizth Greenwell	4. - . -	17. 9
	* Henry Reah	1. 6. -	7. 3¾

	* Anne Coxon	6.10. -	1. 8.10¼
	* Thos. Smith	3. -. -	13. 3¾
	Michl. Pudsey [11]	3. -. -	13. 3¾
	Anne Thornton £20 [12]	25. -. -	4. 8. 9
Framwell Gate	Mr. Forcers House £20 [13]		4. 8. 9
	* John Forcer Esq. [14]	110.15. -	24.11. 5¾
	* Thos. Nicholson [15]	3. -. -	-. 8.10½
	* Mrs. Mary Hutchinson	50. -. -	11. 1.10½
Holmside	* Mr. Roger Meynall	10. -. -	2. 4. 4½
(p.2)			
Lyns Green	Mr. Richd. Hodshon [16]	173. -. -	38. 7. 8¼
	* Mr. Nichos. Blackiston £35 [17]	52. -. -	7.15. 3¼
	* Fras. Wray £5 [18]	7. -. -	1. 2. 5¼
	* Mrs. Mary Hodshon [19]	80. -. -	-. -. -
Tanfield	Mr. Antho. Mealbourne	3. 7. -	14.11
Waldridge	Mr. Jno. Owen Decd. [20]	16. -. -	1. 6. 7½
		£665.10. -	

WEST DIVISION

Ash	Sr. Richd. Smith	374. 2.10	82.12. 6¼
Butsfield	* Jno. Fuester [21]	10. -. -	2. 4. 4½
	Anne Taylor £10 [22]	15. -. -	2. 4. 4½
Burnhope	* John Johnson [23]	2. -. -	2. 4. 4½
Bladon	Mrs. Jane Owen Widow	6. -. -	1. 6. 7½
Colepighill [24]	* Mrs. Anne Coxon [25]	91.10. -	-. -. -
Ebchester	* Ra.Fuester [26]	16. -. -	3.11. -
Iveston	John Taylor [27]	20. -. -	5.10.11¼
	* Thos. Smith	24. -. -	omitted
Lanchester	Jane Wheatley £12 [28]	7. -. -	4. 4. 4
	* Ra. Widdrington Esq. [29] per tithes	170. -. -	37.14. 4½
	* Mrs. Anne Widdrington Dto.[30]	400. -. -	-. -. -
	* Mrs. Cath. Selby Dto. [31]	12. -. -	-. -. -
	Mr. Jno. Smith	19. -. -	4. 4. 3¾

Medamsley	* Lady Mary Swinburne	121. 6. -	26.18. 4
Ryton Woodside	* Geo. Errington Esq.	15. -. -	3. 6.10
	* Lord Widdrington	44. -. -	omitted
Stella	* Dto.	160. -. -	omitted
Satley	* Wm. Taylor	16. -. -	3.11. -
Witton Gilbert	* John Clark [32]	4.12. 7½	17. 4¼
	* Mary Fenwick [33]	4.12. 7½	omitted
	* Anne Clark [34]	4.12. 7½	-. -. -
Whickham	Mr. Henry Liddell	20. -. -	4. 8. 9
	Mr. Wm. Liddell	20. -. -	4. 8. 9
	Mr. Thos. Liddell [35]	20. -. -	4. 8. 9
Winlaton	* Mrs. Elizth. Longdale [36]	100. -. -	-. -. -
Pontop	Mr. Antho. Meabourne	93. 8. -	20.14. 6½
Kyhoe	Dto.	296.15. -	66. -. 2
Iveston	Dto.	10. -. -	2. 4. 4½
Witton Gilbert	Dto.	20. -. -	4. 8. 9
Rowley	Dto.	34. -. -	7.10.10½
Whickham	Dto.	14.18. -	3. 6. 2
Swallwell	Dto.	16. -. -	3.11. -
(p.3)			
Biggin	John Smith [37]	12.15. -	2.12. 2
Burnhope	John Johnson [38]	10. -. -	omitted
		£2199.12.8½	
	[Total for Ward]	£3263.18. 8½	

[To be continued]

NOTES

* An * at the side of a name indicates that the Salvin note marks this property as 'not register'd'.

1. Assessment gives value as £25. The tax of £5.10.11¼d. is recorded as a deficiency.
2. Assessment gives value as £18. Salvin note adds 'a house not valued'.
3. Salvin note gives value as '£320.15s., £140 in possession of Owen'.
4. Omitted by Salvin Valuation.
5. The Assessment has Thomas Pickering, instead of Mary Owen.
6. The tax of £15.12.10¼d. is recorded as a deficiency. Salvin note brackets this with a property in Waldridge valued at £16, and adds 'in this and other places £93.10s.'

7. Assessment gives value as £20.
8. Salvin note gives the value as £4.12s. The Assessment has another property. valued at £6, in the name of William Witham and records the tax of £1.6.7½d. as a deficiency.
9. The Assessment gives the value as £3.
10. Salvin Valuation has Mary instead of Elizabeth Johnson.
11. Salvine note has Margaret instead of Michael Pudsey.
12. The value is given as £20 in the Assessment, and as £25 in the Salvin Valuation with the note ' – [minus] £5 and tyths not valued'.
13. Omitted in Salvin Valuation. Between 'Mr. Forcer's house' and 'John Forcer Esq.' the Assessment has the following:

[Elvet]	John Hall	annual rent	1.10. -	net tax	6. 8
Edmonsley	Mr. Geo. Pearson	"	30. -. -	"	6.13.1½
Beamish	Antho, Meabourn Esq.	"	26. -. -	"	5.15. 4½
	Dto. for a Colliery	"	70. -. -	"	15.10. 7½

14. Salvin Valuation gives value as £110.5.0d.
15. Assessment gives value as £2.
16. Salvin note gives value as £172.
17. Assessment gives value as £35.
18. Assessment gives value as £5.
19. Registered as an annuity. The tax of £17.15s. is recorded as a deficiency.
20. Assessment has Mrs. Jane Owen instead of John and gives the value as £6. The Assessment adds two properties in Waldridge in the name of Matthew Smith, valued at 7s. (sic.) and £10 respectively. Taxes of £1.11.1d. and £2.4.4½d. are both recorded as deficiencies.
21. Salvin Valuation has Fewster.
22. The Assessment and Salvin Valuation both give the value as £10.
23. Assessment gives value as £12. The tax is assessed at £2.13.3d., of which 8s.10½d. is recorded as a deficiency.
24. Coldpike Hill in the township of Lanchester.
25. The tax of £20.6.1½d. is recorded as a deficiency.
26. Salvin Valuation has Fewster.
27. The value is given as £25 in the Assessment, and as £7.10s. in rhe Salvin note, the Parliamentary Report and the Ushaw College 'Return'.
28. The Assessment gives two properties for Jane Wheatley: one at £7 on which the tax is assessed at £2.13.3d.; making a total of £4.4.4d. Salvin Valuation has John, instead of Jane, Wheatley.
29. Salvin Valuation has Withrington for both Ralph and Anne.
30. Registered as an annuity. The tax of £88.16s. is recorded as a deficiency.
31. Registered as an annuity. The tax of £2.13.3d. is recorded as a deficiency.
32. Assessment gives value as £3.17.10½d.
33. Salvin Valuation has Henry, instead of Mary, Fenwick.
34. The Assessment gives the value as £10 with the tax, assessed at £2.4.4½d., recorded as a deficiency. Anne and John Clark (note 32) both had a life interest in one-third of property in Witton Gilbert together with Henry Fenwick, the value of which after deductions for Lord's Rent and payments to the poor, comes to £13.17.10d. (S.S. vol. 173, pp.21

and 22). Divided by three this gives each of them property to the value of £4.12.7½d. as stated in the Valuation. The Assessment divides the property differently, presumably because Henry Fenwick could not pass on his life interest to Mary Fenwick.

35. Salvin note gives the values for Henry, William and Thomas Liddell as £53.18.4d. each.

36. The tax of £22.3.9d. is recorded as a deficiency. Salvin note adds 'Annuity'.

37. The value is given as £11.15s. in the Assessment, and as £12.5s. by the Salvin Valuation. Salvin note adds 'Biggin and Cornsey £25.9s.'

38. Salvin note gives the value as £2 'and part unlett'.

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continued from p.16

5. Marie B. Rowlands, 'Recusant Women, 1560–1640', in *Women in English Society 1500–1600*, ed. Mary Prior, (London1985).

6. K. Thomas, 'Women in the Civil War Sects', in Aston (ed.), *Crisis in Europe*, p.321.

7. J.C. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558–1791*, (Catholic Record Soc. 1970); H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics: Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790*, (London1966).

8. For this controversy see the discussion by J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*, (London 1975) pp.5, 7, 18; C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *Past and Present*, 93, (1981) pp.37–69; P. McGrath, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35, (1984) pp.414–428.

9. Dickens, 'The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire', *Reformation Studies*, p.224; D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (1961), 3, p.239.

THE DIOCESE OF HEXHAM AND NEWCASTLE, 1850–1875

[From the *Northern Catholic Calendar 1876*]

AREA

The Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle covers at this date the same area as when constituted on the re-establishment of the Hierarchy on 29th of September, 1850 — the same, in fact, as the Northern District covered in 1840, under the Vicars Apostolic — and comprises the four most northern Counties of England, viz.: Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham and Westmorland. Its area is 3,492,322 statute acres, equivalent to 5,457 square miles. Its greatest length from Berwick-on-Tweed on the North to Morecambe Bay on the South, is 125 miles or thereabouts, and the greatest breadth, from the mouth of the Tees on the East to Whitehaven on the West, is 100 miles or thereabouts.

POPULATION:

(A) *General.* — The subjoined table taken from the Parliamentary Census, shows the comparative population in the years 1851, 1861 and 1871.

Counties	Population		
	1851	1861	1871
Northumberland	303,535	343,025	386,959
Cumberland	195,487	205,276	220,245
Durham	411,532	508,666	685,045
Westmorland	58,380	60,817	65,005
Totals	968,934	1,117,784	1,357,254

The rate of increase between 1851 and 1861 was 15 per cent; between 1861 and 1871 it was 23 per cent. Since 1871 to this current year, the rate of increase, especially in the coal-fields and iron districts of Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham, and in the large manufacturing towns, had been even greater than previously. It may therefore be estimated that the present population does not fall short of 1,500,000, being an increase in the last 25 years of 531,000 or thereabouts.

(B) *Catholic.* — As far as can be gathered from the sundry data at

command, viz.: from the taking of census, the number of children baptized, the attendance at school, &c., the present Catholic population is computed to be about 121,000, or nearly one twelfth of the whole. In 1850 it was estimated at 70,000 or thereabouts, which gives an increase in the interval of 25 years of 51,000, or upwards of 70 per cent.

BAPTISMS

The number of Infant Baptisms in 1874 was 6,469. And it is groundedly ascertained that the proportion of each Baptisms to the Catholic population — though differing widely in different missions or localities, especially in the large centres of population as compared with the rural districts — is, taking the Diocese as a whole, 1 in 19.

The Catholic Church has fairly kept pace with the constantly increasing population in all her material appliances and appointments during this period, and the progress of Religion has been in all respects very marked, as is evidenced from the following facts.

BISHOP

On the re-establishment of the Hierarchy in 1850, the Right Rev. Wm. Hogarth, D.D., the then Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District or Vicariate, was appointed Bishop of Hexham. The joint title of Newcastle was added subsequently in virtue of a Rescript dated 23rd of May, 1861. Bishop Hogarth died on 29th January, 1866, and was succeeded in the same year by the present Bishop, the Right Rev. James Chadwick, D.D.

The late Bishop continued, up to the date of his death at the age of 80 years, in charge of the large mission at Darlington with the cure of souls; the present Bishop resides in his Cathedral town, and devotes his time and energies exclusively to the Diocese.

PRIESTS

In 1850 there were in the Diocese 67 Priests, viz.: 55 of the Secular Clergy, 11 of the Order of St Benedict, and 1 Jesuit. Of these 55 were employed in missions with cure of souls, and 11 were engaged in the capacity of Professors, or otherwise, at the College of St Cuthbert's, Ushaw, and 1 as chaplain to the Carmelites. Now, in 1875 the supply is doubled. The numbers are as follows:—

Of the Secular Clergy			106	130
Of the Regulars	Benedictines	18	24	
	Dominicans	6		

Of these 16 are stationed at the College, 8 are acting as Convent Chaplains, 3 have retired, and the remaining 108 are on the Mission.

RELIGIOUS MEN

In 1854 the Jesuits withdrew from the Diocese, and handed over the charge of the Mission at Alnwick (the only one held by them,) to the Bishop.

In 1860 the Fathers of the Order of St. Dominic were introduced and established in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they have since built a large Church, Schools, &c., and formed a new Mission. They also now serve the Mission or Chaplaincy at Prudhoe Hall.

RELIGIOUS WOMEN

The only Convents or Houses of Religious Women in 1850 were those of the Carmelites at Carmel House, near Darlington, and of the Sisters of Mercy in Sunderland, (1841). There are now the following additional houses, viz:

The Poor Clares, at St. Clare's Abbey, near Darlington.

The Little Sisters of the Poor, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The Sisters of Mercy, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with a Branch House at North Shields: -- Branch Houses from Sunderland, at Hexham, Bishop Auckland and Tow-Law: -- and a Mother-House at Wigton.

The Sisters of Charity of St. Paul, at Kendal, (1855,) Benfieldside, Crook, Stockton-on-Tees, Whitehaven and Maryport.

In all, there are now Houses of 5 different Orders, with 7 Mother-houses and 9 Branch-houses. All except two of these Houses are engaged in the work of Education.

MISSIONS AND CHURCHES

In 1850 there were in the Diocese 47 Missions with resident Priests, 2 Stations or Chapels of ease, 1 Collegiate and 1 Conventual Chapel. There are now in 1875, 83 Missions, with one or more resident Priests, 10 subsidiary stations without resident Priests, 2 Collegiate and 2 Conventual Chapels without resident Chaplains. Thus, in the last quarter of a century, the Missions of one kind and another have been doubled. This increase has not been extended over the whole period at the same ratio, three fourths of the work having been accomplished in the last 15 years; nor over the whole area of the Diocese in equal proportions; there being in the county of Durham 32; in Northumberland 12; in Cumberland 5; and in Westmorland 1.

Nearly all of these additional Missions have been supplied with a Church or Chapel proportioned to their requirements, and decently furnished, and also with a School or Schools, and residence for the Priest or Priests. In twenty of these Missions the buildings are used temporarily for the double purpose of Chapel and School; in other words, are School-Chapels. Six have been established at the cost of private benefactors, the rest by the exertions of the Priests and the alms of the Faithful. Many are yet more or less burthened with debt. In a few instances the old missionary centre has been abandoned, but in all such cases another has been established in the immediate neighbourhood.

In addition to the above new Missions and new Churches and Chapels, the work of Church-building, with all its accompaniments, has been going on in the old centres of missionary operations extensively during the same period. In 12 places entirely new Churches have been built or are in progress, and in 6 other places the old buildings have been enlarged and improved.

SCHOOLS

(A) POOR SCHOOLS. — The increase in the number of Schools has been even larger than that of Churches, but as no reliable record of the Schools existing in 1850 is at hand, it is impossible to give an accurate statement of the numbers. During the period of the recent "Educational crisis" from 1870 to 1872, additional school accommodation was provided for about 9,000 children by the erection of 41 additional school-rooms and 32 class-rooms, at a cost of £23,000. In May of last year, there were throughout the Diocese 77 Schools, containing 116 departments, under the charge of 174 Teachers, and 148 Pupil Teachers, with an average attendance of 12,353 scholars, while the names on the Registers amounted to 21,473.

(B) GRAMMAR SCHOOLS. — A Grammar or Collegiate School for boys of the middle or higher class, though not Diocesan property, yet under the patronage of the Bishop, was recently opened in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the attendance being about 50. Several similar schools for girls have also been established throughout the Diocese, mostly under the charge of the Religious.

(C) POOR-LAW SCHOOLS. — A certified Poor-Law School or "Home" for poor and destitute children, who otherwise must be thrown into the Union Workhouses, or become altogether abandoned, was opened in

March, 1872, at Tudhoe, near Durham. There are at this date 47 inmates.

(D) ORPHANAGES. — A Diocesan Orphanage was founded in January, 1878, at Wigton, under the care of the Sisters of Mercy. It now contains 21 orphans.

(E) COLLEGIATE SEMINARY. — To the College at Ushaw there was added, in 1859, a large Seminary or preparatory College, capable of accommodating upwards of 100 boys. It is under the charge of Priests.

GENERAL REMARKS

Along with this marvellous increase of material aids and appliances, it is admitted that, with the blessing of God, there has been also a corresponding increase of Religion, of Catholic feeling and devotion. The services of the Church have been improved and multiplied. Forms and practices of devotion hitherto unknown in the Diocese have been introduced. Confraternities have been established. Missions, previously little known and rarely given, have been preached in almost every Church, and in many many times. Confessions and Communions are now much more frequent. The resources of the Priest have been added to, and funds for various ecclesiastical and charitable purposes have been enlarged and multiplied. The Churches and Chapels are more becomingly adorned and more devotional. Bishop and Priests are better known, and more influential with their fellow-townsmen and neighbours.

Thus, unquestionably in the last quarter of a century, under a re-established Hierarchy, great things have been done. Each and all who have been privileged to have part or share in the good work, be it much or be it little, may say: "*Ego plantari, Apollo regavit, Deus autem incrementum dedit.*"

If much has been done, much yet remains and much will yet arise to be done, not merely in consolidating and in perfecting what has been so auspiciously begun, but in breaking fresh ground and in planting thereon new missions up and down the Diocese. The debts unavoidably incurred have to be liquidated. More Priests are to be educated and supported. New Churches and Chapels have to be built. More Schools are yet called for. None need fold their arms, or stand idle in the market-place. There is work enough in the vineyard for all, and for a generation yet to come. No one need hide his talents in a napkin or

hoard up his gold and silver as though they were not wanted. It behoves all with one mind and with one heart, if not with a common purse, to throw themselves into the good work, and each in his own way and to the utmost of the abilities and talents and goods which God has lent to him, to do all he can. Thus, it may be hoped, the next quarter of a century will witness as marvellous a progress as the one which closes to-day.

Feast of St. Michael, 1875.

APPENDIX I

List of Missions opened since A.D. 1850

Mission	*County*	*Year*	*Notanda*
Annitsford	North'd	1866	School Chapel with Presbytery
Bell's Close	"	1869	Built and endowed by Mrs Lamb
Benfieldside	Durham	1857	Church, Schools, Presbytery & Convent
Blyth (O.S.B.)	North'd	1861	Church, School & Presbytery
Burnopfield	Durham	1869	School-Chapel of wood—temporary
Carlisle, St Bede's	Cumb'd	1866	School-Chapel with house, served from St Mary's
Cleator (O.S.B.)	"	1853	Church, schools, &c built in 1872
Cockermouth	"	1856	Church & School
Coxhoe	Durham	1866	A purchased Chapel -- served from Trimdon
Coxlodge	North'd	1868	Sch. Chapel with house, served from Cathedral
Crook	Durham	1853	Church, Presbytery, Schools
Darlington, St Wm's	"	1871	Sch-Chapel
Dodding Green	West'd	1861	Re-opened after having been closed for years
Durham, St Godric's	Durham	1864	Church, Presbytery, Schools, &c.
Easington	"	1865	A room converted into Chapel, Presbytery, &c
Felling, St John Bapt.	"	1868	Chapel temporary — new Church in progress
Gainford	"	1852	Chapel, Presbytery., &c by Rev. Th. Witham
Gateshead	"	1859	Church, Schools & House
Haltwhistle	North'd	18—	Hired room
Harrington (O.S.B.)	Cumb'd	1875	Church

Haverton Hill	Durham	1865	Room lent for Services — Presbytery &c.
Haydon Bridge	North'd	1873	Chapel & Presbytery built by Trustee
Hebburn	Durham	1871	Sch-Chapel & Presbytery
Jarrow	Durham	1860	Church, Schools & Presbytery
Millom	Cumb'd	1867	School-Chapel & Presbytery
Monkwearmouth	Durham	1864	School-Chapel, Schools & Presbytery
Newcastle, St Michael's	North'd	1873	School-Chapel, Presbytery &c
" St Dominic's (O.P.)	"	1873	Church, Schools. Presbytery &c
Newhouse	Durham	1871	Church, Presbytery, Schools
New Tunstall	"	1873	Church, Presbytery, Schools by Mrs Beckwith
Prudhoe Hall	North'd	1870	Chapel, Presbytery by Mr M. Liddell
Sacriston	Durham	1867	Sch-Chapel rented, Presbytery
Seaham Harbour	"	1860	Sch-Chapel, Presbytery &c
Shap	West'd	1870	Room hired—served from Penrith
Stanley	Durham	1872	Sch-Chapel
St Clare's Abbey	"	1857	Conventual Chapel, Convent & School
Sunderland, St Patrick	"	1861	Church, Presbytery, Schools
" St Jos.	"	1873	Sch-Chapel
Thornley	"	1850	Purchased Chap., Presbytery (1870)
Tow Law	"	1869	Chapel, Presbytery, Schools,. Convent
Trimdon	"	1864	Church, Presbytery &c
Tudhoe	"	1858	Church (1870), Presbytery, Schools (1872), Home
Tynemouth	North'd	1871	Temporary Chapel, Presbytery, Site
Walker	"	1860	Church, Schools, Presbytery
Washington	Durham	1861	Sch-Chapel, Presbytery, Site &c
West Cornforth	"	1874	Church, Presbytery
West Hartlepool	"	1867	Hired room & rented house, Schools (1873)
Witton Park	"	1871	Rented room — served from Bishop Auckland
Willington on Tyne	North'd	1865	School Chapel, Presbytery, Site
Willington on Wear	Durham	1874	Sch-Chapel & house — served from Crook
Wolsingham	"	1850	Church, Presbytery &c — served from Tow Law

APPENDIX II

List of Churches and Chapels built or enlarged in old Missions since 1850

Birtley (O.S.B.)	Durham	1862	Enlarged
Brooms	"	1864	New Church
Cowpen (O.S.B.)	North'd	1872	Enlarged
Darlington, St Aug.	Durham	1865	Enlarged
Durham, St Cuthbert	"	1869	Do. with Tower
Esh Laude	"	1865	Do. by addition of Apse
Felton (O.S.B.)	North'd	1858	New Church by Thos. Riddell Esqr.
Hartlepool	Durham	1851	do.
Lowick	North'd	1860	do. (two words illegible) Haggerston Church
Minsteracres	"	1854	do. by . . . Silvertop Esqr.
Morpeth *O.S.B.)	"	1852	do.
Newcastle, St Andrew's	"	1875	do. old premises sold to Corporation
Penrith	Cumb'd	1850	do. also enlarged in 1860 with (three words illegible)
South Shields	Durham	1875	do.
Whitehaven (O.S.B.)	Cumb'd	1868	do.
Wooler	North'd	1857	do. (two words Chapel (two words illegible)

NOTE

This survey of the Diocese during its first twenty-five years was published, without the two appendices, in the *Northern Catholic Calendar* for 1876. That printed text was derived from a manuscript draft in a volume among the older Diocesan archives deposited in the Northumberland Record Office, ref. RCD.3/7, pp.26—32. The volume contains accounts and papers concerning diocesan funds, statistics, missions and schools from 1871 to 1886. The entries to 1881, including the draft of this document, are in the handwriting of Rev. John William Bewick, then Bishop's Secretary and Treasurer. (John William Bewick was consecrated third Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle in 1882 and died in 1886, aged 62 years.)

The two appendices printed here are taken from this volume which is in the form of a 'copy letter book', in which the documents were copied on the the flimsy paper by a wet transfer process. In the copying of Appendix II, some words were unfortunately smudged and are illegible. This is indicated in the transcript printed here. The dates given in the two appendices differ in several instances from those recorded in the directory sections of contemporary and later editions of the *Northern Catholic Calendar*, and should not therefore be quoted as dates of foundations, etc.

PROGRAMME 1989–1990

All lectures will be given in St Mary's Cathedral Centre, Clayton Street West, Newcastle upon Tyne, on Wednesdays, at 7.00 p.m.

4 October 1989	Annual General Meeting, followed by slides and quiz by Peter McGuinness, B.A.
8 November 1989	Dr Constance Fraser, *Durham Cathedral Priory: some Episcopal Visitations.* (Fr Nicholson Memorial Lecture)
6 December 1989	Fr Colin Carr OP and Sr Felicity OP, *Brothers and Sisters: aspects of Dominican Life in Newcastle, 1239–1989.* (To commemorate the 750th anniversary of the first Dominican foundation in Newcastle)
7 February 1990	Sr M. Enda B.A.: *The Mercy Mission to Sunderland: the work of the Sisters of Mercy on Wearside, 1843–1989.*
7 March 1990	Fr David Milburn DSH: *Sound and Sight of Ushaw.*

Coach Excursions

7 October 1989	Historic churches of the Tyne Valley. (An afternoon tour)
May 1990	Carlton Tower, Yorkshire
June 1990	Traquair House, Innerleithen.

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