Northern Catholic History

No. 34 1993

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 yearly, in May.

PATRONS: The Rt Rev. Ambrose Griffiths O.S.B. Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, and The Rt Rev. Owen Swindlehurst, Auxiliary Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

OFFICERS 1992/93

CHAIRMAN	Rev. D. Milburn, D.S.H., 2 Millgate Cottages, Esh, Durham
GENERAL SECRETARY	Miss E. Swallow, 1 Spittal Terrace, Gosforth, Nc. 3
PROGRAMME SECRETARY	R.M.Gard, 21 Larchwood Ave., Wideopen, Nc. 13 (Acting)
TREASURER	G. Wills, 18 Tanfield Rd., Denton Burn, Nc. 15
MEMBERSHIP SECRETARY	Mrs G.Wills, 18 Tanfield Rd., Denton Burn, Nc. 15
OUTINGS SECRETARY	Rev. D. Milburn (as above) (Acting)
EDITOR	R.M. Gard, (as above)
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE	Officers, Miss J. O'Callaghan, Mrs J. Scollen, G. Thornton, G. Wills, J.E. Woollaston (one vacancy)
Annual Subscription	£6.00 (with *Northern Catholic History*) or £4.00 (membership only).

NORTHERN CATHOLIC HISTORY

Published yearly (in May) £4.00, postage extra.

Copies of Nos. 10-33 available from Mr Gard (above) at reduced rates.

© North East Catholic History Society and contributors.

Articles and enquiries welcomed by the Editor.

ISSN 0307—4455

NORTHERN CATHOLIC HISTORY

No. 34 1993

CONTENTS

Editorial Notes		2
St Oswald, King of Northumbria, 605-642	J.B.SCOLLEN	3
The Foundation of Hulne Priory	A.C.EVERATT	9
David Ingleby, The 'Fox' That Got Away	K.M.LONGLEY	18
Ex-Jesuits and French Exiles in the North-East	L. GOOCH	36
New for Old: the Bowes Museum Chapel in the Park	D.MILBURN	46
"The Dutch Connection":Father Francis James Arcadius Kuyte (1853-1935)	A.HARRISON	58
Peter McGuinness (1931-1992)r		65
Book Review *Gothic Rage Undone.: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment* Geoffrey Scott O.S.B.		67
Programme 1992-93		End cover

Illustrations:

The Carmelite Migration to Europe (plan)	10
Barnard Castle R.C. chapel, 1847-1920's	47
Bowes Museum Chapel in the Park (2 illustrations)	51
Fr Francis Kuyte, 1927	64
Peter McGuinness	66

NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY 1992

Over the years these notes have briefly recorded the activities of the Society. Until 1990, two editions were published so that the notes were, in effect, half-yearly reports. Now, however, with just one edition which goes to press in January, it is possible to review the whole of the preceding year, although in only half the space previously available. Even so, every event noted involved much work for which members showed their appreciation by good attendances.

The talks by Dr Aldridge in February on Jacobitism, by the Editor in March on the Diocesan clergy in Victorian times, and by Dr Gooch in April on Catholic life in the eighteenth century were all well received. Likewise, the two Summer outings proved very popular. The first, in May, included guided tours of Nunnington Hall and Ampleforth Abbey in Yorkshire, and on the second, in June, to Cartmel Priory in Cumbria, members were joined by Bishop Lindsay from Boarbank. Both outings were arranged by Peter McGuinness, who made them all the more interesting by well-researched commentaries.

The 1992/3 season commenced in September with a visit to Warden and Corbridge churches in Tynedale, ending with attendance at the regular Saturday evening vigil mass in Corbridge medieval church, a testimony to inter-Church harmony. The Society's nineteenth AGM was held on 7 October, Fr Milburn conducting the business with the customary dispatch, thanking the officers, especially Josephine O'Callaghan on her retirement as Speakers' Secretary, a role she had filled with consistent success since 1974. There followed the usual informative slide quiz prepared by Peter McGuinness, but given on his behalf as Peter was not well on the day.

The two pre-Christmas talks, by Mr Everatt in November on the coming of the Carmelites to England and to Hulne Priory, and by Dr Sheridan Gilley in December linking Manning and Chesterton both stimulated much interest.

Alas, the year's end was clouded by the deaths in November of both Peter McGuinness and Michael Joyce. A tribute to Peter appears elsewhere, but Michael was also a founder member and gave the Society much support in its formative years.

The articles this year span thirteen centuries. Two medieval subjects, by Mr Scollen on St Oswald and by Mr Everatt on the foundation of Hulne Priory, are followed by Miss Longley's close pursuit of the elusive Yorkshire recusant, David Ingleby, in the sixteenth century and by Dr Gooch's review of the effects of the suppression of the Jesuits and the influx of French emigre clergy in the late-eighteenth century. Fr Milburn then recounts the late-nineteenth century story of the Bowes Memorial Chapel at Barnard Castle, and Mr Harrison pays tribute to a remarkable Dutch priest, Fr Kuyte, remembered even today by a few veterans in the faith.

The official vacancies have been filled by the Committee on a temporary basis (see inside front cover) but, as the officers are maturing, support from younger Catholic historians is much needed. Articles for the 1994 edition are likewise sought.

Robin Gard., General Editor

SAINT OSWALD, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, 605 — 642

John B. Scollen

Among the many saints of the North of England four are outstanding in several respects — their saintly lives, their influence on the history of Christianity in this part of England, and their contributions to the culture and traditions of our country.

The names of Oswald, Aidan, Cuthbert and Bede are familiar even to those who know little more about them than that in the darkness of Early Middle Ages they kept alive the Christianity first established here by missionaries from Gaul during the Roman occupation of Britain.

The ferocious barbarism of the pagan invaders from Scandinavia who came here after the Romans left threatened the survival of Christianity but the courage, leadership and devotion of Oswald and the apostolic zeal of Aidan held back the tide of paganism and through them Christianity took permanent root in the North of England.

St Aidan will always be remembered on Lindisfarne, the island from which he worked for the evangelization of all the territory between York and Edinburgh, and which came to be known as Holy Island because of his holiness and the saintly lives of many of his successors. His presence there is vividly recalled today by Kathleen Parbury's striking statue near the priory ruins and the parish church.

Many of our diocesan churches and schools are dedicated to the memory of St Cuthbert or St Bede. St Cuthbert, patron of the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, is also honoured in the sight of the world in his magnificent shrine in Durham Cathedral. St Bede, remembered for his holy life in Wearmouth and Jarrow and revered at his tomb in the Galilee Chapel of Durham Cathedral, is also honoured for his scholarship by students of British history everywhere.

St Oswald, however, though a few churches and schools in our diocese bear his name, is not so well known. An ancient wall painting and a modern stained glass window in Durham Cathedral recall his role in the history of Christianity in Northern England but he is probably best known today as the saint whose crowned head is borne on the hand of St Cuthbert in representations of the saint. [1]

When Oswald was born about the year 605, his father, Ethelfrith, a 'restless and sanguinary prince' (Lingard), had established great power in

his kingdom of Northumbria. His wife was Acca, daughter of Aella, the founder of the neighbouring kingdom of Deira in what was the southern part of Northumbria, corresponding roughly to modern Yorkshire.

When Aella died in 588, Ethelfrith subdued Deira, and Aella's son, Edwin, then three years old, was taken into the protection of the king of North Wales. As Edwin was the heir to the kingdom of Deira, Ethelfrith sought to get him into his custody and so secure the succession to the kingdom of Deira. In 613 Ethelfrith attacked the Welsh king in a battle near Chester, conducted with Ethelfrith's characteristic ferocity and culminating in the massacre of the monks of Bangor who had followed the Welsh army to pray for their victory, and the complete destruction of their monastery. Though the Welsh were defeated, Edwin escaped and after passing through the hands of various British princes, he came again into the custody of Raedwald, the king of the East Angles.

Ethelfrith continued to try, by threats and promises, to get Edwin into his power and almost came to terms with Raedwald for handing Edwin over. However, when finally rejecting Ethelfrith's request, Raedwald, anticipating another attack, assembled a great force and met Ethelfrith in a battle near the river Idle in Nottinghamshire in 617. The Northumbrian army was defeated and Ethelfrith was killed. Edwin was welcomed back as king of Deira and soon brought Ethelfrith's kingdom of Bernicia into a united kingdom of Northumbria.

The accession of Edwin meant that Ethelfrith's family now had to go into exile. Three of his sons, Eanfrid, Oswald and Osric, with their sister Ebba,[2] found sanctuary in Iona where they spent their childhood and youth in the peace and civilization of the monastic settlement and all became Christians. Meanwhile Edwin, their uncle, was reigning prosperously in Northumbria. There are still traces of his splendid capital city near Yeavering Bell in the Cheviots.

In 625 Edwin married Ethelburga, the Christian sister of Eadbald, king of Kent, who was brought up as a Christian but relapsed into paganism when he succeeded his father on the throne. A condition of the marriage of Edwin and Ethelburga was that Paulinus, her chaplain, would be allowed to accompany her to Northumbria. A year later Paulinus, who had been consecrated bishop of Northumbria, baptised their daughter, and the following Easter (627) Edwin himself was baptised by Paulinus at York.

Edwin supported Paulinus in his apostolic work among the people of Northumbria and many were converted to Christianity. In 633, however,

Edwin and his son Osfrith were defeated and killed by Cadwallon, king of North Wales, and Penda, king of Mercia, in a battle at Hatfield, near Doncaster, and Cadwallon and Penda went on to lay waste the whole of Northumbria. Ethelburga and her children escaped with Paulinus by the sea to Kent and Paulinus was installed as bishop of Rochester, where he spent the rest of his life.

After Edwin's death, Oswald and his brothers and sister were able to return from their exile in Iona. Eanfrid became king of Bernicia and Osric king of Deira. Both relapsed into paganism on returning to Northumbria and were soon involved in warfare with Cadwallon and Penda. Cadwallon made a surprise attack on Osric in York and killed him; Eanfrid was killed treacherously when he visited Cadwallon to sue for peace.

While Penda attacked the East Angles and Cadwallon continued to ravage Northumbria, Oswald went to Bamburgh and from there gathered an army in the North Tyne valley. In 634 his army and Cadwallon's met at Heavenfield, near Chollerford. St Oswald claimed later that the night before the battle he had a vision of St Columba, who promised him victory. Bede, writing about ninety years later, gives a vivid account of Oswald's address to his men before the battle and the way in which he helped in the erection of a cross on the battlefield as their standard:

'The place is shown to this day, and held in much veneration, where Oswald, being about to engage, erected the sign of the holy cross, and on his knees prayed to God that he would assist his worshippers in their great distress. It is further reported that the cross being made in haste, and the hole dug in which it was to be fixed, the king himself, full of faith, laid hold of it and held it with both hands, till it was set fast by throwing in the earth; and this done, raising his voice, he cried to his army 'Let us all kneel, and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty, in his mercy, to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy; for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation.'

The next morning, at first light, Oswald's army attacked and after a fierce battle Cadwallon's army fled and he was captured and killed. Bede describes the annual commemoration of the victory on the site of the battle and refers to the many miracles said to have taken place there.[3]

As soon as Oswald had established his authority as king of the whole of Northumbria he sent to Iona for priests to preach Christianity to his people. A member of the community named Corman was sent to undertake this work but he soon returned to Iona, complaining that the people of

Northumbria were uncivilised and unteachable. When Corman reported to the Iona community on the failure of his mission, Aidan, sitting in the assembly, reproached him for his severity and rigidity and recommended that the pagans should be introduced to Christianity more gradually. His words impressed the community and it was decided that he should be consecrated bishop and then go to Northumbria to resume the apostolate. He arrived in Bamburgh in 635 and Oswald gave him the island of Lindisfarne on which to establish a church and community.

There then began a period of remarkable co-operation between the king and the bishop during which, it is said, the king sometimes acted as the bishop's interpreter when Aidan had difficulty with the language of the Northumbrians. Oswald proved, during the remaining years of his short life, to have a very unusual combination of qualities. Strong leadership and military valour, inherited, no doubt, from his fierce and powerful father, were combined with great devotion to the faith he owed to his teachers on Iona. An impulsive nature is reflected in Bede's account of the hurried erection of the cross before the battle of heavenfield and in Oswald's prompt reaction when told, as he was dining one Easter with Aidan, that some poor people outside were begging for food he sent out to them not only the food that had been prepared for his table but also the valuable dishes on which it was served so that they could be sold and the proceeds used to relieve their poverty — an action that moved Aidan to seize his right hand and exclaim: 'May this hand never perish!'

In 635 Cynegils, king of the West Saxons, converted to Christianity by Bishop Birinus who had recently come from Rome to preach in Britain, gave his daughter Kyneburga to Oswald in marriage and they had a son, Aethelwald.

In August 642 Oswald and Penda met in battle at Maserfield, near Oswestry. The Northumbrians were defeated and Oswald was killed. Penda's ferocity was displayed in his treatment of the body of Oswald; the head and arms were cut off and displayed on high poles driven into the ground.

Osthrida, the Queen of the Mercians, who was Oswald's niece, arranged for the body to be taken across Mercia to the monastery at Bardney in Lincolnshire. To the community at Bardney Oswald was a stranger who had once ruled over them and was recently their enemy. Despite their Christianity they were reluctant to accept the remains of the dead king into their monastery and the cart carrying his coffin was left outside overnight, with a tent spread over it, while it was decided what to

do. During the night one of the miracles associated with St Oswald convinced the community that they should receive the king's remains and do them honour. 'During the night, according to Bede, 'a pillar of light, reaching from the wagon up to heaven was seen by almost all the inhabitants of the province of Lindsey.' The next morning the monks devoutly received the remains into their monastery, washed them reverently and poured the water in which they had been washed into the earth in a corner of the church. "From that time, continues Bede, "the very earth which received that holy water had the virtue of expelling devils from the bodies of persons possessed."

Miracles attributed to St Oswald began to occur at the place of his death at Maserfield and according to Bede still continued while he was writing his history nearly ninety years later. Stories of similar miraculous happenings were common in the Middle Ages but the attention given by Bede to those about St Oswald indicates the veneration in which Oswald's memory was held.

A year after Oswald's death his brother and successor, Oswy, recovered Oswald's head and hands and took them back to Northumbria. The head was buried in the Church at Lindisfarne and the arms at Bamburgh.

When the monks of Lindisfarne fled to escape the Danish invaders in 875 they took the head of St Oswald with them as well as their most precious possession, the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert, and they were eventually buried together in the shrine in Durham Cathedral.[4]

Before the Reformation, when on the greater feast days the prior and monks of Durham went in solemn procession around the cathedral they carried the relics of St Cuthbert and St Bede and also a picture of St Oswald in silver and gilt.

Durham's oldest parish church is dedicated to St Oswald and in 1414 an altar in the cathedral was dedicated to the memory of St Oswald and St Aidan. One of the altars in the chapel of Durham College, Oxford (now Trinity College) was dedicated to St Oswald until the present chapel was built in 1691.

It is not surprising that Oswald's success as military leader and king as well as his zeal for the propagation of Christianity should be long remembered here in his own country but it is remarkable that his cult should become so widespread in Europe. He is the patron saint of Zug in Switzerland, where a church was dedicated to him in the fifteenth century. Above the main entrance to the church there are two statues — one of St

Michael and the other of St Oswald.

At the foot of a wooded slope in a valley of the Black Forest near Scaffhausen is a small stone-built church with an inscription on the outside wall indicating that it is dedicated to St Oswald and there has been a church there since the middle of the twelfth century. Sir Timothy Eden states (*Durham*, p.26) that there is a village of St Oswald near Graz Austria and another in the valley of the Piave in Italy.

During the celebration of the ninth centenary of the opening of Durham Cathedral and the dedication of the shrine in which St Oswald's head lay for so long with the remains of St Cuthbert, it is appropriate to remember gratefully the achievement of the king who encouraged and protected the establishment of the Church in the North of England, an achievement summed up as follows by Professor Rosemary Cramp in her opening address to the conference on 'St Oswald, Northumbrian King and European Saint' held in Durham in April 1992:

> When one considered the extent of his overlordship, and the problems of ruling over his people and keeping his enemies at bay, it is amazing that he had time to act as Aidan's interpreter, but in the light of his other impulsive acts recorded by Bede — rushing forward to hold upright the Heavenfield cross, immediately sending out the silver dish from his table to the poor, before the food on it had been eaten, he was obviously a man who liked to get things done and rightly appreciated that time was short.

NOTES:

1. For further information on the two wall paintings of St Cuthbert and St Oswald in the Galilee chapel, see J.B. Scollen, 'A Twelfth-Century Painting of St Cuthbert', *Northern Catholic History*, No.26, Autumn 1987, pp.3-5.
2. Some years later, Ebba founded a convent at Ebchester and eventually became abbess of the joint monastery of monks and nuns at Coldingham in Berwickshire.
3. A church, erected in 1737, stands on the eminence where Oswald raised the cross, and a modern cross stands a short distance away on the actual site of the battle.
4. Regarding the history of St Oswald's head, see B. Colgrave, ed. C.F. Battiscombe, *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, (OUP, 1956, p.118), '(St Oswald's) relics have a long and complicated history but there is little doubt that his head eventually found its way into St Cuthbert's coffin, shared in its wanderings, and finally arrived in Durham in 995, where it still remains.'

THE FOUNDATION OF HULNE PRIORY

A .C. Everatt

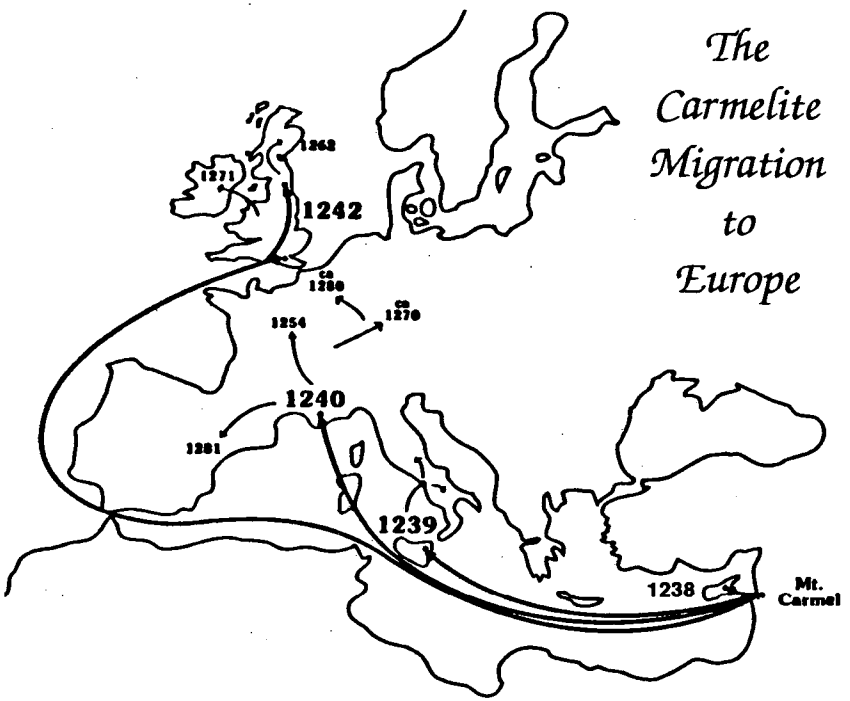
Hulne Priory is a ruin situated on a crest of a terrace overlooking the river Aln within the Great Park of Alnwick Castle. The remains of the priory buildings are quite extensive. To the north and east of the cloister are the church and vestry and chapter house; the old gatehouse still stands, and the building nearby, usually thought to have been the infirmary and chapel, is now a private residence. There is a Pele tower to the north west of the cloister connected to a restored chamber in the west range, and other conventual buildings. The ruins are successively enclosed by the precinct wall, an outer wall and the main wall of' the park, giving the visitor the impression of penetrating a secret and holy place. There was a house of the Carmelite order there for 297 years, with a post dissolution span of 453 years; 1992 was thus the 750th anniversary of the coming of the friars. The story of its foundation, however, begins elsewhere.

From the second decade onwards of the thirteenth century, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was under threat from increasingly effective incursions of the Saracens; Jerusalem was to fall in 1244, and the kingdom itself, reduced to a narrow coastal strip, fell in 1291. Especially vulnerable to attack was a community of hermits living a religious life according to a *formula vitae* prepared for them by the Patriarch of Jerusalem at some date between 1206 and 1214. There had been hermits living on Mount Carmel for some time but in the early years of the thirteenth century a group living near Elijah's Well at the northerly end of the Mount Carmel range had sought a more regular life.

The founder, or first superior, of this community is not known. Its obscure origins notwithstanding, it had certainly been set up before the fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

In response to the Saracen threat, the exodus began about 1238, when some of the hermits settled in Cyprus. Others settled in Sicily in 1239, followed by Provence the next year. A group arrived in England early in 1242. It is probable that among the party were Ralph Fresburn (or Fryston) and Ivo of Brittany. Ralph Fresburn is usually understood to have been a Nortbumbrian, having settled in the Holy Land after a military career, perhaps in fulfilment of a crusading vow. The party which arrived in England was attached to the crusading expedition returning with Richard

of Cornwall, who had set out on his crusade from England in 1240. Richard de Grey of Codnor was a member of the expedition; according to chronicles of the mid-fourteenth century and later, so was a de Vesci from Alnwick.[1] The Carmelites attended the English Court early in 1242 and then split up into four groups; one group settled at Hulne, another at Aylesford in Kent, yet another at Bradmeer (now Burnham Norton) in Norfolk, and another on the Kent/Sussex border at Newenden or Lossenham. Subsequently, houses were founded at Perth, in Scotland, in 1262 and in Ireland, at Leighlinbridge, in 1271. The settlement at Hulne in 1242 is the first on the foundation lists, so it was the senior house of the English Province. The Sicilian and English Provinces were established in this same year, Provence being established in 1245.



John Bale, who had been Prior of Doncaster and wrote up Carmelite history from chronicles in 1536, describes the arrival of the friars at Hulne.

'After this [the presentation at court], Ralph and Ivo searched through all the remote parts of England, to see if they could find some place that closely resembled Carmel. Coming at last to Alnwick, they found in the barrenness of Hulne a hill not greatly dissimilar. But then, tired out by their long journey, they decided to revive their weary limbs with a little sleep. After he had said a prayer Ralph stuck his staff in the ground, and thus exclaimed prophetically: "I will give sleep to my eyes and let my eyelids slumber; and rest for a while, until I have found the place of the Lord, the tabernacle of the God of Jacob."[2]

When they had rested their bodies for a little while, they rose again to pray, and saw, in the place where Ralph had thrust his staff into the ground, a delightful spring, very similar to the spring of Elijah. Overjoyed at this new wonder they fell to their knees, raised their hands and eyes to heaven, and struck to the heart gave thanks to God. Ralph finished, like the prophet David: "Here forever is my dwelling place, forever I will dwell for I have chosen it'![2]

The choice of Hulne may have been on account of the miraculous episode that Bale recounts and the resemblance of nearby Brizlee Hill to Mt Carmel, or the defensive properties of the site. What should also not be forgotten is the hill top mentality of religious at the time: the father of the Jewish people had his faith tested on a mountain, the law was given to the greatest of the prophets on a mountain, Christ's transfigured presence was revealed on a mountain. It is the aspiration of religious to dwell on the Lord's Holy mountain, and so it was that the prominence of Hulne was given and chosen as their hermitage.

Hulne was in the domain of the Baron of Alnwick. Who was he, and what part did he play in the Carmelites coming to England and making their first foundation on his land?

William de Vesci II, Baron of Alnwick,[3] was the heir and only legitimate son of Eustace de Vesci and Margaret, the bastard daughter of William, King of Scots, who were married in 1193. His father was a turbulent man: outlawed in 1212, his castle of Alnwick burnt by King John and his mercenary army in 1215, one of the northerners who forced King John to seal the Great Charter, and killed at the siege of Barnard Castle. Because he was in rebellion at the time of his death, his estates were forfeit.

The King ordered Philip of Olcotes to divide his lands, to give half to the King's steward William of Harcourt and to retain half himself. His lands in Northumberland and the Barony and Castle of Alnwick were committed in 1217 to the Bishop of Durham. Young William was at first brought up in the household of the Earl of Pembroke. In 1218 he became the ward of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury, whose daughter Isabel he later married. He took possession of his lands in 1226 when the Earl of Salisbury died, and later took possession of Alnwick Castle, which had been retained by the King. He was knighted in 1229. Unlike his father, Eustace and his own eldest son John, who as a young man took the side of Simon de Montfort and fought against the king at Lewes and Evesham, William appears to have been a king's man all is life. He campaigned with the feudal host in Ireland in 1229 and France in 1231, and later in Gascony in 1246. By command of the English king he escorted King Alexander II and Queen Joan of Scotland to the English Court in 1235 and 1237.

The Inquest of 1242/3 records William de Vesci as a tenant-in-chief holding 12 knight's fees, by far the largest barony in Northumberland.[4] He married, secondly, Agnes the daughter and co-heir or William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, by whom he had two sons. He died in 1253.

William de Vesci was certainly the founder of Hulne Priory. The land on which the priory came to be built was his to give, and he gave it to the Carmelites as a free and perfect gift. The original benefaction was the site and rights of way to and from it. Charters of his sons John and William, witnessed by men of good standing in the locality and confirmed by the three Edwards of England, attest the deed.[5] Did he also bring the Carmelites to England?

Joachim Smet writes: "The Carmelites were brought to Hulne by Sir William Vesci and to Aylesford by Sir Richard Grey of Codnor in 1242. Both these noblemen had gone on crusade in the following of Richard of Cornwall, who landed at Acre on October 11th 1240, and set out again for England on May 3rd of the following year.

The Carmelites were brought into the royal presence by their noble patrons around Christmas and were granted permission to remain in England. In the original band were Ralph Fryston (alias Fresburne) and Yves Breton. Hulne and Aylesford were founded almost simultaneously and were quickly followed by Lossenham (Kent) and Bradmer (Norfolk).[6]

Keith Egan, after a detailed and careful scrutiny of the evidence, writes: 'In the end one is left without any satisfaction in attempting to affirm or deny the part played by William de Vesci in bringing the Carmelites to England. One hesitates to rule out such a role because of the probability that Hulne was the first foundation in England and William is known to have been the first founder of this house.'

The principal barrier to a confident claim that William de Vesci brought the Carmelites to England is lack of adequate evidence for his presence on Richard of Cornwall's crusade. The Carmelites came to England with Richard of Cornwall's returning expedition. A chronicle of 1258 - less than twenty years after the events described - mentions Richard de Grey but not William de Vesci as being a member of that expedition. Richard de Grey was still alive at that time, William had died. Later chronicles include a de Vesci on Richard's crusade but get his name wrong: John is given instead of William, but John was not born till 1244. And in another chronicle, William is given, but confused with another William, who could not have been the crusader in question. The evidence of the chronicles is thus not strong. However, that William de Vesci was on the crusade and brought back the Carmelites to Hulne, entered the tradition. What can be said for it?

1. It is certainly plausible that William de Vesci was on crusade. There is no evidence that from the spring of 1240 to February 1242 he was otherwise engaged, and he was likely at some time in his life to have taken the cross.

2. Richard, brother of Henry III, was a loyal supporter of the king, unusually unencumbered by awkward allegiances. (It was very much in character that he achieved a constructive though short-lived diplomatic settlement for the Kingdom of Jerusalem as a result of his expedition.) William's affinities with Richard are striking, and they would have been well-matched as comrades-in-arms.

3. Happy though William would have been to serve under Richard (so it is being conjectured), he could well have been in the entourage of the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he was closely connected. He was also acquainted with Sir Richard de Grey. Both were fellow crusaders.

4. Though some members of the expedition were recorded - there were 800 knights in all - many were not, and it may be that Sir William was one of those not mentioned. Against that, it must be said, one would have

expected the presence of someone of William de Vesci's eminence to be noted.

5. The speed with which the friars settled at Hulne (they had arrived in England by December 1241 one account, but more likely in January or February 1242) suggests the land was earmarked by someone who knew them well. The order was of such obscure origin it must have been sponsored and endowed by someone familiar with it. The search "through all the remote parts of England" that Bale describes cannot have been very thorough if it was completed in six, or more likely, in four months; and anyway, would have been otiose if the site had already been identified. There is something fanciful and formulaic about Bale's story.

6. Finally, there is the chronicle evidence, uncertain though that is.

All in all, one is perhaps inclined to allow a balance of probability in favour of William de Vesci being on the crusade, bringing the Carmelites back to England and then offering them the site at Hulne. But on the evidence, circumstantial and conjectural, that is as far as one can go.

William gave the site to the priory with rights of way through the park and forest. Timber was gifted to the house precisely specified to be used for carts, hoops for vessels and implements. A fishery, quarry, watermill, all the wild bees in the forest, reeds and rushes for thatching and flooring, a rabbit warren, grazing for 6 bullocks, 2 horses and 2 asses, were all early benefactions. Later, gifts in coin and kind were made, both by the de Vesci family and others.

The grazing rights were increased through the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries till the priory had by 1422 rights to graze 28 beasts, and this was supplemented by yearly payments of corn, and income from two watermills. The share of the fees from the mills were the Friars' principal income. The Percies, who purchased the Barony in 1309 or thereabouts after the de Vesci line had failed in 1297, were every bit as generous as their predecessors. The second Percy to be Lord of Alnwick, known as the wisest of the wise, and also the third, were notably generous; the latter donated £105:13:4d in 1364 to pay for roofing the church.

It would appear that the friars in coming to Hulne were not occupying a waste but were, to a considerable extent, cutting across existing rights and practices. Bailiffs and foresters were strictly empowered to supervise the grinding of corn and the collection of wild honey and wax; rights of way

were very clearly identified and limited. Rights to collect timber, as previously noted, were for very specific purposes. The original benefactions were clearly inadequate, and many subsequent benefactions were money payments.

The de Vescis and Percies were so largely Hulne's benefactors throughout the history of the house that the priory was very much the priory of the barony of Alnwick. Almost all the priory's assets were local. The dwelling houses in local towns and villages, scattered granges, salt pans in distant estuaries, summer lodgings for the prior, remote peat cuttings and extensive hunting rights which appear in the cartularies of other foundations were conspicuously absent. It was not a rich house.

The rule the friars lived by when they arrived in England and settled at Hulne had been given to them by Albert of Vercelli, Patriarch of Jerusalem.[7] Albert, a 'well-tried, prudent and capable man', had had a distinguished career as a church diplomat, acting as a mediator between Pope and Emperor, and settling disputes between the North Italian Cities of Milan and Pavia, and Parma and Piacenza. He was himself a religious, being a canon regular of the Holy Cross of Martara and before becoming Patriarch had experience of drawing up statutes and a rule for religious communities. He was therefore a most appropriate person to approach, as he was by the hermits of Mount Carmel, to prepare a rule for them. The rule was a way of life for a lay community of hermits. They were to live by preference in solitary places *(in eremis)* and were to live as solitaries; they were to pray, work, eat, and sleep in their own cells, not saying the Divine Office in common, but reciting the psalms in private if they were literate, and the Pater Noster if they were not. Later, when there were more clerics in their communities they would sing the office together. Moderate rules of fasting and abstinence were enjoined, and fairly strict rules of silence were imposed, for silence fosters holiness.

Finally, what was set out in the rule was to be a minimum standard only - further ascetic effort could be made, but should always be governed by common sense.

The rule was later clarified, completed and mitigated by two commissioners, both Dominicans, appointed by Innocent IV, and this mitigated rule was approved at the first general chapter of the order at Aylesford in 1247. The changes, though slight, in a rule which finely balanced solitude

and fraternity nevertheless allowed the Carmelites to alter their pastoral life from desert hermits to evangelical friars.

What was the authentic Carmelite way according to the original rule was earnestly and fiercely debated in the following generation: the Prior-General from 1266-71, Nicholas of Narbonne, wrote his pastoral letter "Flaming Arrow" which condemned giving up the hermit life, and resigned his office in protest.

Hulne Priory was established according to the early eremitical rule. The original community almost certainly contained members who had lived such a life in the Holy Land, and they had received the grant of land as hermits. It was a remote spot, shielded from the nearest town by another rather more lordly and outgoing Praemonstratensian abbey and always distant from the other houses the order. It seemingly preserved more of the spirit of the hermit life than other foundations: traditionalists in the order retired to Hulne and this suggests something of the sort. The priory, off the beaten track and poor, was a witness to faith, the law and Christ's presence.

The de Vesci Benefactors of Hulne Priory

Eustace de Vesci = Margaret, illegitimate dr. of William, king
Baron of Alnwick of Scots, m. 1193
killed 1216

Sir William de Vesci = 1. Isabel, dr. of William, Earl of Salisbury
Founder of Hulne Priory
d. 1253 = 2. Agnes, dr. & co-heir of William, Earl of Derby

John de Vesci II = 1. Agnes, dr. of Marquess of Saluzzo
Principal benefactor of Hulne Priory
d. 1288/9 = 2. Isabel, dr. of Vicomte de Beaumont

William de Vesci = Isabel dr. of Adam de Periton
benefactor of Hulne Priory
d. 1297

NOTES

I am grateful to Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard, O. Carm for help in the preparation of this essay, and to David Cox, O. Carm for permission to reproduce the map of the Carmelite migration. I am also very grateful to Constance Fraser and Simon Lloyd for their comments on an earlier draft.

1. See the full appraisal of the Chronicle evidence in Keith Egan's 'An Essay toward a Historiography of the Origin of the Carmelite Province in England', *Carmelus* (1972) XIX, 1, pp. 67-100.
2. John Bale, *Anglorum Heliades. The English Followers of Elijah:* Part 1, Chapter 11.
3. Percy Hedley, *Northumbrian Families*, Vol. 1. pp.195-202.
4. C. Hunter Blair, 'Baronys and Knights of Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana,* 4th Series, Vol. XXX, pp. 1-58
5. C.H. Hartshorne, *Feudal & Military Antiquities of Northumberland & the Scottish Borders,* Appendix N.
6. Joachim Smet, O Carm, *The Carmelites: a history of the brothers of Our Lady of Mt Carmel* (1975-85), Vol. 1, Chapter 2, pp.12-13.
7. Bede Edwards, OCD, *The Rule of St Albert.*

DAVID INGLEBY, THE 'FOX' THAT GOT AWAY

Katharine M. Longley

David Ingleby, described by Fr John Hungerford Pollen as 'perhaps the most earnest and extreme supporter of the *ancien régime* who . . . remained in England',[1] has been ill served by historians (and indexers), being frequently confused with his martyred priest-brother Francis and even described as 'a Jesuit', which his brother never was. Most of David's activities were necessarily secret, but from 1586 he was hunted with a tenacity of purpose that reveals him as, in the eyes of the English establishment, the greatest of all public enemies still at large. He was never caught.

David, second son of Sir William Ingleby of Ripley in the West Riding of Yorkshire (Treasurer of Berwick 1558-1562) by Anne, daughter of Sir William Mallory of Studley, was born about the year 1547. In 'and before' 1565 David and his next surviving brother, Francis, are recorded as students ('probably scholars') at Brasenose College, Oxford, following in the footsteps of their eldest brother, William.[2]

Ripley Castle had been the home of the Ingleby family for at least two hundred and fifty years at the time of Sir William's marriage into one of the staunchest Catholic families in the district. One factor in the continuing recusancy of the majority of the Inglebys of the next two generations was undoubtedly their close link with the family of Dr William Allen, whose sister Mary married Christopher Conyers, nephew of Anne (Mallory), wife of Sir William Ingleby. This connection alone would have brought the Inglebys to the particular attention of the authorities, but their own ancestors had been deeply involved in the foundation of the Carthusian monastery of Mount Grace, near Osmotherley. The Inglebys' devotion to the Old Faith, and the loyalty of the families into which they married, must have contributed to the fact that down to 1590 the Deanery of Boroughbridge had one of the highest incidences of recusancy in the whole of Yorkshire.[3]

Nevertheless, when in 1569 the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland erupted in the North, Sir William Ingleby, David's father, was given joint-custody of Knaresborough Castle. Later, he and Sir Wiliiam Mallory were declared to be 'honest and loyal' and to have 'truly served the Queen'[4] Their loyalty was very important, as

neighbouring Ripon was a centre of the Rising.

Sir William's son David, however, was now of an age to pursue his own line, and he clearly took part in the rebellion, for at some time after 1572 his name appeared in a list of fugitives 'desiring by Her Majesty's favour and pardon to return into England.'[5] He may have fled with the Earls into Scotland, a flight that he was to repeat in 1586. (Many years later he was to marry one of the younger daughters of the Earl of Westmorland, but an intimate connection so early as 1569 cannot be assumed from this fact.)

On his father's death in 1579, David Ingleby inherited an annuity of £30, which was to be paid by his eldest brother at Ripley, half on the Feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June) and half on the Feast of St Thomas the Apostle (21 December).[6] (As his father's will was executed in 1578, David must by then have returned to England.) Annuities were to be paid to his brothers Francis and Sampson at the same place and time. it is of some interest that Sir William owed £80 to his son David.

There is no doubt that Mass was constantly said, in secret, at Ripley during these years. A seminary priest well known to the Ingleby family was Fr William Hart, who at Christmas 1582 was captured in his York lodging. During the weeks of his imprisonment in York Castle, he was twice brought out for disputations with Anglican divines, a tribute to his reputation as 'a second Campion'. Tried at the Lent Assizes, 1583, he was found guilty of treason. After his execution in York on 15 March, many of the crowd broke through the barriers to seize his clothes and shoes as relics. They were taken by force of arms, and imprisoned;[7] among them were 'two brothers of the noble family of the Inglebys', who were, as Fr George Birket informed William Allen on 24 April,[8] still in prison on that account. Francis Ingleby was studying for the priesthood at Rheims by that time, so these two brothers were almost certainly David – this would be the only known instance of his imprisonment - and either Sampson or John.[9]

Fr William Hart (beatified in 1895) was one of the priests whose words were frequently quoted by St Margaret Clitherow. Touching evidence of his lasting influence in Yorkshire survives among the Ingleby family archives, in the shape of an ancient manuscript copy of his 'Short consolatory epistle', dated 28 February 1583, a fortnight before his execution.[10]

1586 was to prove a traumatic year for the Ingleby family and their kin. In April 1584 Francis, ordained priest the previous December, had been sent

back to England, where he had worked to good effect in the north.[11] When Mrs Margaret Clitherow, wife of a York butcher, was arraigned at the York Assizes on 14 March 1506, she was charged with the harbouring of Francis Ingleby. She refused to plead, and suffered the traditional penalty for such refusal, being pressed to death on 25 March 1586.

An early seventeenth century manuscript copy of *A True report of the life and martyrdom of Mrs Margaret Clitherow* states that for six weeks after St. Margaret's death 'her ghostly father and others ... laboured all they could to find' her body, and having done so, 'carried it on horseback a far journey from York and . . . buried it again ...' It is now suggested[13] that the 'ghostly father' was Fr Ingleby rather than Fr Mush (who had the oversight of the 'whole of the North), and that the 'others' may have included his resourceful brother David.

On 28 May 1586 Fr Francis Ingleby was arrested in York by Henry Cheke, Secretary to the Council of the North, who boasted that he would now strike such a blow at the Ingleby family as they had never before received.[14] After a brief imprisonment Francis was tried by the Council on 2 June, condemned, and hanged, drawn and quartered on the Knavesmire the following day. (The right hand of Blessed Francis Ingleby, who was beatified in 1987, was recovered by someone who was not afraid to take risks.) Three of his four remaining brothers, David, Sampson and John, continued to be, in the opinion of the Earl of Huntingdon, 'the most dangerous Catholic laymen in the north.'[16]

David Ingleby had already embarked upon a career that involved mingling with young Catholic men of good family, such as those who had assisted St Edmund Campion and his companions in their enterprise of 1580-1. With his extensive knowledge of his country's road-system, and also of its by-ways and its safe houses, he was probably conducting newly-arrived priests to their destinations and accompanying young men and boys to the places of embarkation for the colleges on the continent. While in the London area, however, in 1585, David Ingleby had become acquainted, through a young kinsman, with a most dangerous man, a priest named John Ballard, *alias* 'Captain Fortescue'.

In 1581 Ballard had made friends with an imprisoned priest, Anthony Tyrell, who subsequently escaped and spent two years in Ballard's company in various countries. If any statement by the unbalanced and cowardly apostate Tyrell is to be believed, Ballard was chiefly maintained

by the young Edward Windsor, brother of Lord Windsor; and Edward was closely related to the Ingleby brothers, having married Elizabeth Arthington, step-daughter of their sister Katherine.[17]

Tyrell was arrested on 4 July 1586 and soon afterwards made a very full 'confession', which he subsequently retracted, at length, twice repeating both processes on later occasions.[18] (His statement , however, that 'Ballard and he being together in one lodging' in London, Edward Windsor *by chance,* 'not knowing of them, took a lodging also in the same house',[19] is likely to be true.) While Burghley was questioning Tyrell, the arrival of the Earl of' Huntingdon, Lord President of the Council of the North, was reported.[20]

On 30 August 1586 Tyrell stated that Edward Windsor and Ballard had conspired the Queen's death, and devised a plot; next, as he admitted several times during his repentant periods, he 'falsely accused the Earl of Arundel, the Queen of Scots, David Ingleby and others' of' planning to assassinate the Lords of the Privy Council in the Star Chamber.[21]

In response to twenty-eight new interrogatories received from Burghley, Tyrell stated, among much else, that Edward Windsor was to have been one of the principal assassins of Queen Elizabeth, that Ballard and Windsor became very friendly and went off into the country for two or three weeks at a time; and that these excursions included a ride into Derbyshire to Anthony Babington's (but he was not at home). [22] 'There came Davie Ingleby and he [Ballard] acquainted, who of all that are [not] taken yet, I take to be the perilous man and the only practiser in the north parts of England. He lieth secretly at one of his sister's, as I heard.'[23]

Ballard, perhaps unwittingly, during his own interrogation identified this sister, when he said that he and Windsor had ridden into the north 'last Trinity term', to Mistress Arlington's [*sic.*] and thither repaired to them Bost and David Ingleby, and there they remained four or five days.' Then Ballard rode to 'Typpings', followed by the other three.

Ballard also said that in the summer of 1585 he was sent by Ingleby and Windsor into the north 'to understand if the lords of Scotland meant to stand out'; he returned Boste's answer to them, that the Scots lords could not hold out without aid, and found great fault with English Catholics. If they held out and joined together 'they might the better attain to liberty of religion'.[24]

Fourteen conspirators were executed in September 1586 for the

'Babington Plot', which had been skilfully directed by the government to the involvement of Mary Queen of Scots. The official list of conspirators named Anthony Babington in third place; the first named was John Ballard, the second, 'Edward Windsor, late of Bradenham, co. Bucks., Esquire'.[25]

David Ingleby was not found, so could not be officially charged. (When Babington was questioned, he denied having ever seen Ingleby in Ballard's company;[26] nor had Ingleby and others ever mentioned the Star Chamber design to him.[27]) Upon this most dubious 'evidence' was constructed a charge that was to pursue David Ingleby for the next fourteen years, and even beyond the grave.

When, in September 1586, the priest-brothers Francis and William Stafferton were reported to be at David Ingleby's house in Yorkshire,[28] its owner was not there; he was on the run, to protect not himself so much as his foolish young kinsman Edward Windsor. The search for these two had now been taken up in the north by the Earl of Huntingdon. On 19 September he wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen of Hull, commanding them to 'make diligent search' there, 'for the apprehension of Edward Windsor, *alias* Digby, David Ingleby, and John Boste, *alias* Harckley' and to bring them, if caught, to himself in York 'without conference either among themselves or with any other.'[29]

But David Ingleby 'and other Englishmen' were already in Scotland. The news from Hull being negative, the Earl of Huntingdon in person followed up the clue cropped by Tyrell, and made a punitive search at the house of David Ingleby's sister, Katherine Arthington. As it happens, we have a detailed description of this house, Arthington Hall, from the codicil, dated 27 June 1585, of William Arthington's will (which was proved on 8 December of that year). His wife Katherine was to have, hold, occupy and enjoy the following 'parcels' of the manor house at Arthington 'wherein I now dwell', namely, 'the parlour where sue both now lie, the other parlour next adjoining, four chambers placed directly above the said parlours, with the garrets above the said chambers; the dining parlour above the hall wherein I now lie, and the entry adjoining the same, with free egress and regress for her, her servants and friends, in, to and from the said rooms and places at all times', for her life, if she continued unmarried.[30]

Huntingdon wrote from York to Walsingham on 2 November 1586, describing his fruitless search and his further plans. 'Last week late at

night, after I had sent my men before, I suddenly rode twenty miles west from this town, having heard from one of my spies that Windsor was in Arthington House, but when I got there he had gone. It is such a house to hide persons in as I have not seen before; I was assured that there are vaults underground, but where to find them I could not learn. Therefore, after I had examined the widow, who was or feigned to be sick in bed, and had sent her[31] with the rest to prison, I had a mind to have plucked up the boards, but a priest, who was found after much searching, hid in a strange manner, having confessed that Windsor had been there, but was gone into Nidderdale, and named two places in one of which I should find him, I stayed my purpose till I had made trial of the priest's word, and immediately sent my men there, who did not lose their labour, although they did not get the man; but there he was and there he is. I mean to go there tomorrow, and trust he will now not escape my hands, and Davy Ingleby is there also. It is such a country as I did not expect to find so near York, and the chief inhabitants, of whom William Ingleby is the head, have now shown themselves what they are in deed . . .'[32]

Meanwhile, about 'Holyrood Day' (14 September) David Ingleby had been with Lord Maxwell, near Dumfries, and on 4 November was expected there again.[33] On 29 October, Lord Scrope, Lord Warden of the West Marches, told William Davison, assistant Secretary of State, that he had heard that Ingleby had been at the Laird of Whittawe's house in Liddersdale, with Edward Windsor, and from there they had been taken by a servant of Lord Herries to Dumfries. Scrope had been trying to discover what Maxwell was engaged in, fearing 'a conspiracy or attempt against this state in favour of the Scots Queen.'[34] (The terrible peril in which Mary now stood was obvious to all concerned.) Ingleby had spoken with both Maxwell and Herries.[35] Scrope told Walsingham on 6 November that he doubted whether Ingleby would be captured now, as he had received a warning letter.[36]

On 24 November Huntingdon, who on the 16th could hear nothing of David Ingleby or Boste,[37] reported that he had now heard they were both together, not far from Newcastle.[38] On 17 December Scrope told Walsingham that he believed Ingleby, with two or three other Englishmen were 'at present with Maxwell, and quietly put up by him in a secret corner of Scotland.'[39] A spy was ready to investigate Maxwell's doings, and instructions for such a person, dated February 1587, survive; they end with the words, 'Beware of David Ingleby', in the hand of Thomas Phelippes,

Burghley's confidential secretary, schemer and forger. [40] In late February 1587 – Mary Queen of Scots having been executed on the 8th- David Ingleby was indeed in Scotland, for' on 2 March Scrope informed Walsingham that within the last four days Ingleby had been 'at the young laird of Drunlangrickes' near Dumfries.[41]

To return to English affairs: by 10 November 1586 the Earl of Huntingdon had Edward Windsor 'in safety'. In a series of letters to Walsingham he revealed that his visit to Nidderdale (Harewell Hall, an ingleby property standing high upon the left bank of the river, Nidd), 'a meet place to harbour such fellows', had, after all, been fruitless.[42] But soon after his return to York 'William Ingleby brought Windsor to me.'[43] (This William was not David's conforming eider brother, but a namesake who had been a 'servant' to the Lord President from the period when the Earl of Sussex held that office.)[44]

By the time of Windsor's capture, all the other 'Babington' conspirators had been executed. He too was tried and condemned to death, but languished in the Tower until June 1589. Then, upon his brother Lord Windsor's appeal to the Queen, he was delivered into his mother's keeping 'for a season', while she counselled him. His wife Elizabeth, who had remained in London and was suspected of influencing him in religion, was ordered to go into the country and stay there, for her husband's good. Alas, she 'after[wards] fell.'[46]

On 6 March 1587 a spy reported to '.Walsingham that David Ingleby 'was not long since at Mount St. John, a house of one Mr. Harrington's in Yorkshire' – where St. Edmund Campion is known to have stayed – [47] 'but is now sneaked into North Wales, for he feedeth not long in one pasture.' (This trip to North Wales was almost certainly a pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well, where many Catholics continued to gather). On 11 June he and certain 'Jesuits' were thought to be at the house of Francis Radcliffe,[49] near Dilston, co. Northumberland. On this occasion, the Privy Council, dissatisfied with Huntingdon's apparent slackness, intervened with an elaborate plan for their capture,[50] which failed. The same group also evaded the plot of a double agent named Robert Carr.[51]

From this point, until 1592, the records appear to be silent on David Ingleby's activities; what he did, and where he was, in the Armada year, is not known. The next references are personal. From 1590, official records of recusancy reveal that in the North Riding parish of Lythe - from whose

haven recusants frequently embarked for the continent– Lady Ann Neville (one of the four daughters of the exiled Earl of Westmorland) was living;[52] in this parish, too, lived the unmarried Katherine Radcliffe, in a property at Ugthorpe bequeathed to her by her father in 1587-8.[53] Her house 'sheltered many poor relations and pensioners'.[54]

About the year 1592, David Ingleby was reported to be 'often at Ugthorpe'.[55] In October 1593, in the course of a long letter, the apostate Marian priest[56] Anthony Atkinson, who had become the Hull customs officer and a famous spy, reported, evidently to Cecil, 'Davie Engleby has married Lady Ann Neville . . .' (He had in fact been married for several years by then, for his fourth and youngest child was born in 1593. If his marriage was worth reporting so late, he had surely been living abroad a good deal.)

Atkinson, however, had more startling news than that to report: on 10 September he had caught the priest described by Huntingdon as 'the greatest stag in the North', John Boste, who had 'said Mass at the 'Waterhouse' near Brancepeth 'when Lady Margaret Neville[57] and Adeline Claxton, her maid, and Mrs. Claxton . . . were present.'

Local spies had reported to Atkinson all the forbidden activities from 12 and 13 July, when 'Medcalf' (Fr Anthony Hebburn) had said Mass there (George Errington and others being present), as had John Boste on 5 August. On Sunday, 26 August, 'Lee *alias* Stapforth- who serves Lady Gray and one of the Earl of Westmorland's daughters,[58] wife of Sir Thomas Gray- said Mass there . . . Vernon, chaplain to Joseph Constable, keeps their company, and mostly remains at Constable's house, Yorkshire . . .' As for David Ingleby, 'having many friends in the north, [he] hopes for a day of alteration, and rides in Yorkshire and the north parts, like Robin Hood, and so do Joseph Constable and his wife and others.' On 30 August 'Davy Englebye and George Errington did harbour all night at one Wilfrid Lee's house in the Bishopric.' On 5 September 'Davy Englebye, Thomas Yorke'– Ingleby's nephew – 'William Norton and two others not known, rode by Piercebridge, and had every man a case of pistols.'[59]

Fr John Boste was martyred at Durham on the very day on which he was sentenced, 24 July 1594. (He was canonised in 1970.) George Errington was taken soon after Boste and imprisoned until his martyrdom in York on 29 November 1596. (He was beatified in 1987.)

On 13 February 1594 Anthony Atkinson told Sir Robert Cecil that the Lord President, Huntingdon, had made a search for Ingleby, who had, however, got wind of it, and 'did absent himself from his usual places of resort.' Atkinson promised to do his best to catch him but said he must 'use many policies', for Ingleby 'is as crafty a fox as Boost was, and hath many places of refuge.' But, 'I... have hounds abroad, which I trust will lodge him as well as I lodged Boost.' [60] On Easter Tuesday, 1594 [2 April O.S.], Huntingdon, having heard that Ingleby and his wife were at Harewell Hall (for some years occupied by Katherine Arthington, David's sister), caused it to be searched again, but 'nothing greatly for their purpose' was found.[61]

David remained at large. On 16 August it was noted that 'the Earl of Essex' – by then a Privy Councillor and in possession of his own intelligence service – had 'written to the Earl of Huntingdon to use all measures to apprehend him.'[62]

For a time the pursuit was perhaps too close even for Ingleby. On 17 October 1594 he and his wife arrived in Antwerp, by way of Zealand.[63] By 4 December Cecil had passed on this information to the Earl of Huntingdon, who clearly supposed that the quarry had escaped for ever. He replied, '... I do heartily thank you for that you write of David Ingleby, for not above two days before, I was constantly told that he was in another place not far off Durham, and from this country [York] he went 'thither; but now I need not to employ any person about that business any longer. Since Anthony Atkinson did so throughly fear [i.e. frighten] him, he hath removed to many places and never rested long in any...' Huntingdon, however, would 'have been more glad to deliver him to her Majesty than I am to hear of his departure.'[64] On 13 January 1595 Anthony Atkinson felt obliged to send a messenger to Cecil to report 'what is done and what may be done about Da. Englebie.'[65]

During his stay in the Low Countries. David Ingleby and his father-in-law, the Earl of Westmorland [for many years a pensioner of the King of Spain) seem to have been approached by an English doctor named Robert Tempest (whose brother[66] was said to be 'one of the most seditious priests in Rome'). in the hope of gaining support for a plan proposed by Henry Constable.[67] This was to alienate English Catholics from the King of Spain in favour of the King of France, Henry of Navarre. Both King James VI of Scotland and the Earl of Essex were thought to involved. Fr Persons was informed of the plan by Ingleby, whom he described in a letter to the Duke

of Sessa as 'a gentleman of rank and a confidant of his Majesty.'[68]

Cecil and Huntingdon had rejoiced too soon at the departure of David Ingleby and his wife; by the spring of 1596 they were back again in Nidderdale. On 10 March of that year Toby Matthew (recently promoted from Dean to Bishop of Durham and in both capacities *ex officio* a member of the Council of the North) wrote to Burghley, 'I find . . . here what you deplore in the estate of Netherdale, Yorkshire, and am offered a piece of important service which, if you approve, I will entertain. One undertakes to apprehend in a month, David Ingleby, his wife, and many a seminary priest in that dale, if he may be rewarded (which I will undertake), and sorted with Mr. Atkinson of Hull, whom you know. Only he must have security from you and me, to repair, without danger of law, to such masses and ceremonies as those ill-minded persons frequent I beg your directions, so as not to lose the opportunity of their Easter, which comes before ours.[69]

Whether or not Lord Burghley consented to this trick, it did not work. On 10 September 1596 Anthony Atkinson reported from Hull to the Earl of Essex (the Earl of Huntingdon having died in December 1595 and the Presidency of the Council of the North remaining unfilled), 'There is sundry places in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire that are well known to me, that harboureth Joseph Constable, and sundry traitorous priests that are kept in houses by servants and friends belonging to the Lady Constable . . . Da. Engleby coming and going among them; and as is reported . . . he hath gotten of the Earl of Westmorland his ,whole title of his lands, and sundry in the North are in belief that he shall have all, at his pleasure; so that seminaries comes over seas daily . . . I will with your warrant venture my life for their apprehension. I have none to countenance since my lord of Huntingdon died. If the Queen wishes I can tell more, but without protectors I cannot escape the wolves.'[70] (The rumour about Ingleby's likely inheritance was nonsense, the Earl having been penniless since his attainder in 1570.)

On 11 March 1597 John Ferne, Secretary to the Council of the North, reported to Burghley that the late Lord President had for years in vain 'endeavoured to apprehend David Inglebye and Joseph Constable, the first a common runner beyond seas to conspire treasons (as is thought), and the other a notorious recusant, a common receiver of seminaries and other disloyal subjects.' Ferne had now learned that Joseph Constable had been arrested on 6 March in his house at Kirkby Knowle near Upsall (a house

full of vaults and secret passages) and had been committed close prisoner to York Castle. As for Ingleby, 'I am promised to have a plot laid' for him, as he 'is now in Yorkshire, and haunteth four houses there, and sometimes at his nephew Mr. Wynter's, in Worcestershire.'[71]

The following day, 12 March, the Archbishop of York (as interim President) and the Council of the North, sent the same information to Burghley about Constable, hoping that he would be hanged for 'harbouring', since 'his standing out was so great an emboldening of recusants in these parts,' that his exemplary punishment would restrain others within their obedience.[72]

But, to the fury of the Bishop of Durham, Joseph Constable conformed. Bishop Toby Matthew wrote on 14 June to Burghley that the special favour shown to Constable and his wife was very unpopular among those well affected, for they were 'as wicked and dangerous a couple as ever the north bred (except always David Ingleby and his lewd [i.e.. ignorant] lady.' The Constables had hypocritically submitted for fear of death; God forbid that this action 'should expiate so manifold and heinous felonies and treacheries (percase treasons also) committed by them, What inveterate Papist,' he asked, 'will forbear to receive priests or Jesuits, if to come to church *pro forma* may serve the turn?'[73]

On 12 July 1597 the industrious Anthony Atkinson had much of interest to report to Cecil, having discovered a place 'used like a Popish college', in North Lincolnshire, south-east of Scunthorpe. (This was Twigmore, owned by John Wright, of later notoriety.) 'It is credibly informed me that Davie Engleby, *alias* Jefford, is often there. The place is one of the worst in her Majesty's dominions . . . for traitors that use the north parts are there harboured.' Atkinson requested a 'commission' to search there. In a postscript he reported the recapture of 'one Warcop', who had harboured a seminary priest named Markland 'who was companion with Engleby'. 'This Warcop was of Babington's conspiracy' – he is not, however, mentioned in the surviving documents – 'and was of counsel with Engleby in all matters, and is a most dangerous person.'[74] (Thomas Warcop was in fact already dead, executed on 4 July, at Winston, co. Durham.)

From 1592, when a seminary priest, Thomas Clarke, captured at Upsall, apostatised and made a full confession of his activities since returning to England, the authorities had known that a secluded farm on the site of the former Grosmont in the chapelry of Egton, was a very

important recusant centre. Yet they hesitated to attack it. However, in January 1599, violence erupted in the district, with forty armed men intercepting two men carrying warrants to arrest recusants. On 27 April, John Ferne informed Cecil that for two years he had kept a spy 'to lay a plot for taking Grosmont Abbey, Hodgson's house' – John Hodgson tenanted the farm from the Cholmley family – 'near Whitby, five miles from the sea, whither dangerous priests and fugitives, among whom is David Ingleby, resort.' Ferne planned to attack in person. 'I hear David Ingleby, two priests, and the two Hodgsons, brothers, will be taken; also a register book or journal of all their treacherous practices'.[75]

A raid was arranged for 3 May, but was 'deferred by the act of God', very heavy rainfall all night making the river Esk impassable.[76] The spy, who had previously worked for Huntingdon but was in fact a double agent, wrote to Cecil on 29 May, to say that he had laid another plot 'so that I will take the house with sixty men'; he enclosed a list of eight priests frequenting the house, and of eleven lay helpers, including David Ingleby.[77]

On 7 June further and more serious acts of violence, against two sheriff's deputies, occurred, but John Ferne advised Cecil to take no action prematurely, since 'St. Peter's day is appointed for a search' at Grosmont Abbey, where 'the whole crew' might be caught.[78] Lord Sheffield, at Mulgrave Castle, received a warrant from Cecil at 10 p.m. on 26 June, armed thirty-six servants and led them to Grosmont, John Ferne arriving a little later. The entire house was empty, Hodgson having been forewarned.[79]

By August, Cecil' s half-brother, Lord Burghley, had been appointed as the new Lord President, had taken up residence at Snape, near Ripon (a strategic move), and commenced a vigorous attack on recusancy. On 8 January 1600 he reported to Cecil the capture in a house at Ripon of 'two notorious seminaries', Martin Nelson and Robert Middleton. The 'party' he employed was 'one in great trust with them, and one near akin to Davie Ingleby, who he swears has not been here these two years. He objects to betray Ingleby, a near kinsman, if he should come, but you know what reward may do, and he that will betray one may be brought to betray another'.[80]

The unknown 'party', however, had little opportunity to change his mind. In the autumn of that year a certain Henry Saunder, in Brussels, saw the Earl of Westmorland's daughter, and David Ingleby her husband;

Saunder was later captured by Cecil, to whom he described the couple as 'all as beggarly as brown paper'. Ingleby had told Saunder that the Earl of Westmorland was not present at the battle of Nieuport on 2 July of that year 'only for want of money to furnish him out'.[81]

By the first week of December 1600 Lady Ann Ingleby, with her children and servants, had returned 'from beyond the seas . . . to seek relief of her friends',[82] apparently preserving great reticence as to the reason for her plight; she found relief from an unexpected source, the Queen herself, who ordered a payment of twenty nobles to the London bricklayer who was keeping them all in his house.[83] By 25 March 1601, however, it was hoped that her friends and kinsfolk would pay her charges and enable her to leave the country by the middle of April. [84] She was still in England on 10 May, having been ill; once more her Majesty hoped she would go to the Low Countries or wherever else she wished. Perhaps the suggestion that her children might stay behind 'for their better education' [85] succeeded in moving the whole family.

On 16 November 1601 the Earl of Westmorland, who had been considering marriage with the daughter of Jean Richardot (President of the Archduke Albert's Privy Council) died at Nieuport.

One of the last references found to David Ingleby is in a most sinister connection, given the attempts made since at least 1585 to involve him in some plot against the queen's life. On 19 February 1601 the Earl of Essex was tried on a charge of treason; he was found guilty and executed on 25 February. 'True bills' were found against thirty-four other persons (most of whom were merely imprisoned and fined). Interrogatories prepared on 18 February for the examination of one of these, Sir William Constable, a Yorkshireman, contained the following (doubtless based on statements made by other defendants, a common practice): 'Upon going into Ireland with Essex, did you not first go to William Ingleby at Ripley? Was he at home, and had you some talk with him alone, as also with his brothers David and John, and have you not been in company of David in the Low Countries or in Ireland? Have the Inglebys been made acquainted with the actions of Essex or any of his accomplices? . . .[86]

There were other interrogatories for the brothers John and Christopher Wright. These two were kinsfolk of David Ingleby, being cousins of his nephews Thomas and Robert Winter, who were also kin to Catesby, Tresham, Monteagle and Grant, and to Thomas Percy, as well as to Robert

Keyes and to Ambrose Rookwood's wife;[87] several of these, also, had been involved with Essex. Events of 1605 were thus casting a very long shadow in advance.

A reference made in the immediate aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot seems to imply that David Ingleby had died; indeed this would most adequately explain the return to England of his family in December 1600. On 21 November 1605 Sir John Ferne In York informed Cecil (now Earl of Salisbury) that a messenger had arrived with writs and proclamations for the arrest of Winter, a nephew to Sir William Ingleby[88] (being his sister's son).[89] At his house in Worcestershire was David Ingleby (a recusant and a traitor)[90] often harboured: which Ingleby had conspired her late Majesty's death. No doubt Winter's house is full of vaults and secret conveyances. If he fly northward, I suppose he will resort to some of his kindred on his mother's side about Ripon, where he has a plentiful alliance, and most of them Papists. I will presently have a secret search made in all their houses.'[91]

Despite their close relationship with so many of the 'Gunpowder' plotters, no reliable evidence was found against the Inglebys; but they had trouble with new, Protestant neighbours for many years, and the old suspicions continued to hang about them.

By the time that Sir William Ingleby executed his last will,[92] on 29 December 1617, he had become the 'single bee' punningly mentioned on his monument in Ripley church: he had outlived all his brothers. By then, David's two elder daughters were married, Mary to Sir Peter Middleton of Stockeld, and Frances to Sir Robert Hodgson of Hebburn, co. Durham. To Ursula and Lucy Ingleby, [93] 'daughters of my deceased brother David', Sir William bequeathed £500 each. To his said niece Ursula, in augmentation for her preferment in marriage, he left 250 marks [£166.13s.4d.], to be paid within one year of her marriage, provided it be with the consent and 'good liking' of her mother and of Sir Peter Middleton.[94] To Lucy, Sir William left no money for preferment in marriage, for this 'unknown' member of the family, born in 1593, had entered the convent of English Benedictine nuns at Brussels on 29 June 1610; her name in religion was Anne. [95] Sir William Ingleby died in 1618.

By 1616 Lythe had once more received 'Ann Lady Ingleby' (recorded as recusant there in that year), for as long as Katherine Radcliffe lived, a large group of 'vagrant Catholic gentry relations' were sheltered there.[96]

Through the marriage of their great great-granddaughter, Elizabeth Middleton, to Sir Carnaby Haggerston, David and Ann Ingleby were to become the ancestors of a vast Catholic progeny.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. J.H. Pollen, S.J., *Mary Queen' of Scots and the Babington Plot* (Scottish Hist. Soc., 1922), lxxxi.
2. J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses,* 1500-1714 ii (1891).
3. This is graphically illustrated in a sketch-plan accompanying an early article by A.G. Dickens, 'The First stages of Romanist recusancy in Yorkshire, 1560-1590', in *Yorks. Archaeological Journal,* xxxv (1940-3), opp. p.157.
4. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Addenda 1566-79,* 85, 181.
5. Historical MSS. Commn., *Salisbury* (Cecil), xiii, 118.
6. *Wills & admons. from the Knaresborough court rolls* (Surtees Soc., civ, 1902), 129-131.
7. *The First & Second Diaries of the English College, Douay ...,* introd. by T.F. Knox (1878), 327-8.
8. id., 353.
9. Sampson, the fifth son, was born in 1569; though apparently remaining recusant, he seems to have been left in peace as steward to the ninth Earl of Northumberland at Spofforth. John, another ardent Catholic, was even younger. The third son, another John, had died young. (N.B. The illuminated pedigree in the Leeds District Archives Office (Ingilby 3682) is much more accurate than the version privately printed by J. Foster in 1875, but does not give dates of birth.)
10. West Yorkshire Archives Service, Leeds (Ingilby 3655).
11. J.C.H. Aveling, *Catholic recusancy in the city of York, 1558-1791* (1970), 71, suggests that Fr Ingleby took over the newly organised area of York and the Ainsty.
12. *'Ob receptum hospitio Franciscum Inglebaeum':* so runs the entry in the list of Causes of Death compiled in 1626-8 by Bishop Richard Smith from the original Assize records. (C.A. Newdigate, S.J., 'Quelques notes sur les catalogues des martyrs anglais dits de Chalcedoine et de Paris', in *Analecta Bollandiana,* lvi (1938), 330.)
13. See the present writer's article, 'The Lost body of St Margaret Clitherow: an hypothesis', in *N.C.H.,* no. 31, Spring 1990. The possibility of surmounting the legal barriers to investigate this theory has been studied with the co-operation of the Anglican authorities, but to apply for a faculty would be extremely expensive, and unlikely to succeed without stronger evidence.
14. *'Huius apprehensio tantam haerecticis laetitiam attulit ut ... ipsc Chec laetabundus iactitaret se Inglebeiorum familiae huiusmodi ictum porrecturum qualem nunquam antea habuisset.'* (Fr. Grene's *Collectanea* E (Oscott), p.282.)
15. When three of the martyr's nieces, Elizabeth, daughter of Sampson Ingleby, and Marie

and Grace, daughters of John Ingleby, entered the Franciscan Third Order Regular Enclosed, at Brussels in 1623, they brought their uncle's hand with them; it is now at Arundel, in the keeping of the Poor Clares, with whom the community formerly at Goodings, near Newbury, amalgamated in 1972.

16. Aveling, *York*, 342.
17. Katherine Ingleby, Sir William's youngest daughter, had married William Arthington in 1572. (Ingilby Papers, 3716 (18th c. notes). Cyril and Elizabeth Arthington were clearly the children of William Arthington by a previous wife, not by Katherine Ingleby, as is sometimes stated.
18. Fr. Persons's abridgement of Anthony Tyrell's confession, originally intended for publication, but in fact not published until Fr. John Morris did so, in *Troubles of our Catholic forefathers*, ii (1875), 287-501, 'The Fall of Anthony Tyrrell'. The answers to interrogatories etc. were published in full in *State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots*, 1547-1603, viii, ed. by W.K. Boyd (1914), 641-655, 667-672.
19. Morris, op. cit., 342.
20. id., 353.
21. id., 360.
22. id., 370-8.
23. id., 376.
24. *Cal. Scottish Papers* (ed. W.K. Boyd), viii, 694-5.
25. Pollen, op. cit., cxvi (from the *Fourth Report* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (1843), 276).
26. Pollen, 94.
27. id., 95.
28. H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vi (1880), 729.
29. J.H. Hirst, *The Blockhouses of Kingston-upon-Hull, and who went there* (1913), 40-42. The dating of this letter has been questioned of recent years, but is correct.
30. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Wills vol. 23A, ff. 122v.-123v. Will dated 21 June 1585.
31. Examination of the original document has revealed this to be an error; Katherine Arthington was not sent to prison.
32. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Addenda 1580-1625*, 45, where the letter is dated '1581'; the reference to Katherine Arthington, 'the widow', proves that this is an error. Two further accounts of this raid survive, from Fr Christopher Grene's MSS.: 1) Morris, op. cit. iii (1877), 327-8 ('Notes by a Prisoner in Ouse Bridge Kidcote'); 2) Foley, op. cit. iii (1878), 731-2. These reveal that among 'the rest' who were sent to York Castle were Edward Windsor's wife Elizabeth and Dame Isabelle Whitehead, who had been 'professed in the nunnery of Ardington, and after that was suppressed retained her state as well as she could.' Huntingdon's men ' stood over her with naked swords ... threatening to kill her unless she revealed where David Ingleby and Mr. Windsor was.' Dame Isabelle died in the Castle in March 1587, being at least seventy-one years of age.
33. *Cal. Scottish Papers*, ix, ed. W.K. Boyd (1915), 148.

34. *Cal. Border Papers,* i (1894), 237.
35. id., 238.
36. id., 239.
37. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Addenda 1580-1625,* 191.
38. id., 193.
39. *Cal. Scottish Papers,* ix, 196.
40. id., 307.
41. *Cal. Border Papers,* i, 248.
42. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Addenda 1580-1625* 191.
43. ibid.
44. *Cal. S.P. Dom. Addenda 1566-79,* 91.
45. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1588-9,* 311-12.
46. Foley, op. cit., iii, 731.
47. J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics* (1966), 58-9, 105.
48. *Cal. Border Papers,* i, 250.
49. Francis Radcliffe had married Isabel Gray of Chillngham, whose brother Ralph had married another of Katherine (Ingleby) Arthington's step-daughters, Jane Arthington.
50. *A.P.C.,* 1587, 127.
51. *Cal. Border Papers,* i, 261.
52. Aveling, *Northern Catholics,* 425.
53. id., 130.
54. G.W. Boddy, 'Catholic missioners at Grosmont Priory', Pt. 1 *(N. C.H.,* no. 19, 1984), 6.
55. Historical MSS. Commission, *Cecil* IV, 258.
56. G. Anstruther, O.P., *The Seminary priests,* i [1968], 44.
57. Lady Ann's eldest sister.
58. Lady Katherine Neville, Lady Ann's second sister.
59. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1591-4,* 377-8; cf. C.R.S. v, 220-3, from the original.
60. H.M.C., *Cecil* IV, 478.
61. Morris, op. cit., iii, 164.
62. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1591-4,* 544
63. H.M.C., *Cecil* V, 432-3.
64. id. , 484.
65. id. , 83.
66. Edward Tempest, one of the students who opposed the régime of the Venerable English College in 1595-6. (Anstruther, op. cit., 348, from Foley, *Records,* iii.)
67. This Henry Constable was a Catholic convert, son of Sir Robert Constable of Newark. *See* G. Wickes, 'Henry Constable, poet and courtier, 1562-1613' (*Biographical Studies,* ii (1954), 272-300.)
68. i.e. the King of Spain. (*Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1587-16.03,* 681, from B.M. Add. MS. 28420.) This document is filed under 1601, but there are several indications that this date is too

late, e.g. Robert Tempest's brother is referred to in the present tense as in Rome, yet Edward Tempest returned to England in September 1597.

69. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1595-7,* 183.
70. Hirst, op. cit., 44-5; also H.M.C., *Cecil* VI, 378.
71. H.M. 0., *Cecil* VII, 105-6.
72. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1595-7* 369.
73. *Cal. Border Papers,* ii (1896), 344.
74. Hirst, op. cit., 45-6; also H.M. C., *Cecil* VII, 300.
75. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1598-1601,* 188. A full account of 'Catholic missioners at Grosmont Priory', by G.W. Boddy, appeared in *N.C.H.* in 1984 (nos. 19 & 20).
76. H.M.C., *Cecil* IX, 153-4.
77. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1598-1601,* 200-1.
78. id., 210-11.
79. id., 233.
80. id., 378. This sentence unfortunately appears in garbled form on p.12 of *N.C.H.* no. 20. David Ingleby was *never* captured.
81. H.M.C., *Cecil* XII, 570.
82. *A.P.C.,* 1600-1, 243,340.
83. id., 72. Queen Eiizabeth had paid the Countess of Westmorland a pension of £300 until her death in 1593. *(D.N.B.)*
84. id., 243.
85. id., 340.
86. *Cal. S.P. Dom. 1598-1601,* 576.
87. H.R. Williamson, *The Gunpowder Plot* (1951), 75.
88. William Ingleby had been knighted on 17 April 1603 (C.R.S. xiii (1913), 106, n. 210), while James I was staying at Ripley Castle on his way down to London.
89. Jane Ingleby had married George Winter, of Caudwell, co. Worcs.
90. As printed, the text reads, 'At his house in Worcestershire was David Ingleby (a recusant and traitor often harboured)'; my suggested correction of the punctuation makes better sense. 16th-century writers frequently forgot to close brackets; possibly in this case an editor has closed them. K.M.L.
91. H.M.C., *Cecil* XVII, 503-4.
92. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Wills vol. 35, ff. 160r.-l61v.
93. Lucy is unknown to the *Complete Peerage.*
94. Ursula married Robert Widdrington, Esquire.
95. 'Dame Anne Ingleby, Daughter of Mr. David Ingleby in Yorkshire', died on 20 January 1626. (C.R.S. xiv, 180-1; C.R.S. i, 123.) Her portrait, incorrectly identified but showing her wearing the Benedictine habit, may be seen in the Tower room at Ripley Castle.
96. Aveling, *Northern Catholics,* 269.

EX-JESUITS AND FRENCH EXILES IN THE NORTH-EAST

Leo Gooch

The later years of the eighteenth century were turbulent times for English Catholics. A census of papists in 1767 seemed to presage a more rigorous application of the penal laws; that fear was allayed by the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 but the Gordon Riots, and a second census in 1780, gave rise to further anxiety. Quite apart from the political situation, Catholics in the north had internal clerical disruptions to worry about. The deaths of three Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District and a coadjutor bishop between 1769 and 1790 caused a discontinuity in leadership at a critical time. The cisalpine tendencies of the Catholic Committee negotiating the second Relief Act had become a matter of public controversy, as had their attempts to influence the succession to the Northern and London vicariates which both fell vacant in 1790. The suppression of the Jesuits between 1773 and 1814 threatened to deprive the northern mission of a large number of priests. The French Revolution had major repercussions in England. The main supply of newly-ordained English priests coming to the region stopped when the expatriate seminaries on French territory were forcibly closed. A long wrangle ensued about the location and management of a replacement for Douai College. The nationalization of the Church in France in 1790 led to the involuntary exile of large numbers of French priests and many came to the north.

Clearly, each of these events alone would have a marked effect on the mission, together they were alarming. This article will investigate two of them, the suppression of the Jesuits and the French influx, for evidence of their impart on the maintenance of Catholic life in the region in the light of the hiatus caused by the closure of Douai and the other English colleges in France.

EX-JESUITS

When the society of Jesus was suppressed by the Holy See, there were eleven Jesuit priests in the two north eastern counties (known in the order as the Residence of St John the Evangelist). These priests, under their superior William Strickland at Alnwick, had the care of half the Catholics in Northumberland and one fifth of those in County Durham. William Warrilow, missioner in Newcastle, was the only one to protest publicly against the suppression and that he did in a letter to the local newspaper,

for which he was reprimanded by his secular colleague in the town, Charles Cordell. Relations between the two priests never recovered. Henry Rutter, chaplain at Minsteracres told his uncle:

> I often see Messrs. Warrilow and Cordell at Newcastle; oftener I believe than they one another, for light and darkness are scarce more opposite than these two singular characters. The latter has *cacoethes scribende,* Warrilow has that of *loquendi.*

Rutter was advised by his uncle not to 'admire Mr W...w; a pompous man, I hear, *oia' magna loquens* I suppose.'[1] He may have heard of Warrilow's reputation as a preacher; Mrs Siddons declared that had he taken to the stage he would have immortalised his name and realised a splendid fortune.

In the event, all eleven Jesuits signed the Brief of Suppression for the Vicar Apostolic. He renewed their priestly faculties and they all carried on in their posts. Moreover, at a meeting at Alnwick in October 1774 they agreed that all funds belonging to the Jesuit missions would become the personal responsibility of incumbent ex-Jesuits; the Vicar Apostolic was thus relieved of any necessity to find money for their support.[2] To everyone's relief, then, the suppression had no immediate effect. but changes soon occurred.

There were four Jesuit, now ex-Jesuit, missioners in County Durham, two of whom were the first in the Residence to be displaced. Richard Murphy, chaplain at Stella Hall, was dismissed in 1775 when the estate changed hands and Thomas Eyre appointed his kinsman, Thomas Eyre, a secular priest, to take his place. The people no doubt thought Murphy had got his just desserts because they had formed a breakaway congregation at Blaydon in protest at the peremptory dismissal of his predecessor by Henry Francis Widdrington in 1748. At any rate, Murphy was 'out of place' in Newcastle for eighteen months before he was made chaplain to Lord Arundel in Salisbury. The same thing happened in 1792 when the estate passed into the hands of the Towneley family and Thomas Eyre promptly left to go as chaplain to Mrs Mary Silvertop at Wooler, leaving, as Rutter observed, 'an old and numerous congregation to bury himself in a desert country where there is nothing to do.'[3]

Stella was never again a Jesuit mission; nor was Pontop Hall, a few miles to the south, after the death of the chaplain, Thomas Leckonby, in 1778. Joseph Howe moved there from Cheeseburn but he stayed only a few

months. It may be thought surprising that the ex-Jesuit succession was not maintained at Pontop since the vacancy came soon after the suppression and ex-Jesuits were still readily available. Furthermore, the trustee of the Pontop fund was John Silvertop of Minsteracres whose wife was described as 'a great Jesuitess'[4] and who might have welcomed one of the order for a neighbour. There was, however, a domestic problem. The patron, Thomas Swinburne, had died six years before Leckonby, leaving a sixty-year-old widow and an adult son who was married to Charlotte Spearman, a Protestant. She was not amenable to a resident chaplain and would only tolerate a secular priest in the house while old Mrs Swinburne was alive. Howe, then, stayed only long enough to wind up Leckonby's affairs.

There was, in any case, something of a glut of priests at this time and Bishop Walton, mindful of the precarious financial situation of the mission and, perhaps, seeking to increase the number of places for secular priests, said that ex-Jesuits should only:

> be employed on the mission where they can be provided for, else it would be imprudent to increase the number of priests. And this seems to be our situation at present: Messrs. Houghton, Parkinson and Marsland are out of work, another is expected from Hilton [Rome]: so that there is no want, but, on the contrary, an evident redundancy. [5]

As we shall see, this was a temporary situation — demand would soon exceed supply.

The other two ex-Jesuits in County Durham were undisturbed in their places and, since they were the longest-lived in the Residence, they represent continuity between the suppressed and restored Society. Edward Walsh was missioner in the city of Durham for the whole fifty years of his priestly life. He was popular in the city where he was known as 'the thirteenth prebendary', but Rutter thought him a social climber:

> He has travelled much and passes for a very agreeable companion, is very great with all the prebendaries and constantly one of their parties. In return for which he gives a grand rout once a year to which all the gentlemen and ladies are invited and at his last was honoured with above 90 persons of the first rank of gentility in the neighbourhood.[6]

Shortly after Walsh's death in 1822 at the age of eighty-three, the Jesuit Provincial, Nicholas Sewell, decided that the three hundred Catholics in the city did not require two chapels and that Jesuit priests would be better employed in setting up missions in the newly-industrialising towns of the Midlands. He therefore instructed John Scott to negotiate the

amalgamation of the Jesuit and secular missions in Durham.[7] Scott left in 1826 after burying Christopher Rose, the last surviving member of the suppressed Society in the Residence. Rose had been the youngest member in the year of the suppression and he served at Hardwick Hall for fifty-six years. He retired to Durham in 1824 when the mission at Hardwick was moved to Hutton House a few miles to the north under a young secular priest, Thomas Slater, who had assisted the aged ex-Jesuit since 1822.

The ex-Jesuit missions in Northumberland were first affected in 1774 when Joseph Pleasington, chaplain at Callaly Castle, retired to Alnwick at the age of fifty-nine, having grown weak and 'zealously crazy'; he had objected to Mrs Clavering riding on a Sunday. Clearly this was a place the ex-Jesuits sought to retain, for Joseph Dunn, twenty-eight years old and newly-ordained, was immediately appointed to the chaplaincy. But he left within two years and, after an interval of three years, the mission was taken over by an exiled French ex-Jesuit. But that was evidently only to provide a needy priest with a place for negotiations were then proceeding between the Vicar Apostolic and the family about the appointment of a secular priest to the chaplaincy. The change of tenure here, then, seems to have occurred either as a result of differences between Dunn and the patron or because of a change of attitude towards the ex-Jesuits.

Ellingham Hall was another chaplaincy the ex-Jesuits hoped to keep. In 1779 John Richardson retired at the age of forty-five, probably because of illness for he died three years later. He was succeeded immediately by the ex-Jesuit Matthew Joy who remained at Ellingham until his death in 1798, aged fifty-six. His unexpectedly early death so long after the suppression might have brought a change of tenure here but William Meynell, a highly peripatetic ex-Jesuit, was quickly sent north to fill the vacancy. He was fifty-four years old and, no doubt, expected to hold the living for some time, But the patron, Edward Haggerston, died without issue in 1804 leaving the estate to his nephew Thomas Haggerston of Sandhoe. He and his wife had been used to Benedictine chaplains, and so Meynell was immediately replaced by Dom John Forshaw.

Much the same thing happened when Joseph Howe, chaplain to the Riddells at Longhorsley Tower, died in 1792 at the age of eighty-one. He had also supplied at Felton Park until 1778 but the Riddells then engaged James Weldon, a fellow-ex-Jesuit, to live there; but he was in his sixties and did not stay long in the north. The missions of Longhorsley and Felton were

separated at Howe's death; since Riddell had known Benedictine chaplains at his home in Swinburne Castle before his marriage, both missions were handed over to monks.

Doubtless the ex-Jesuits would have liked to hold on to Haggerston Castle and Berrington Hall, the other missions they had occupied in north Northumberland for almost a century. Charles Hanne had been a vigorous missioner in his youth but when the Society was suppressed he was sixty-two years old and beginning to fail, though he continued as chaplain at Haggerston Castle for a further seventeen years. Francis Digges, the American-born ex-Jesuit chaplain at nearby Berrington Hall, retired in 1776 at the age of sixty-three but he too remained in residence. They were assisted for seven years by Nicholas Sanderson, who, fortuitously, had to leave Swinburne Castle when it was closed for renovation at this time. He left in 1784 to go to Alnwick and Thomas Nixon was moved up from York.

William Clavering, patron at Berrington, died in 1789, aged eighty-two, leaving less than £600. The new squire, Edward Clavering, seemingly oblivious of the limitations of such a small inheritance, started to rebuild the mansion, but he so over-reached himself that parts of the estate had to be sold off; one of his first economies was to let the residential chaplaincy lapse when Digges died; the old priest did not keep his patron waiting long, he died in 1790. When Nixon left that year to follow Sanderson at Alnwick no more ex-Jesuits could be found and a transfer to the seculars of what had now become a unified mission was put in hand. Michael Tidyman was placed in charge and was provided with a new and furnished house and an income of £90 a year by Sir Carnaby Haggerston. (Hanne was then eighty and would live a further nine years).

The independent (i.e., having no gentry proprietor) mission in Alnwick was one place the ex-Jesuits had no intention of losing if they could help it. In 1784 William Strickland was appointed President of Liege Academy (which removed to Stonyhurst in 1794) and he was succeeded by Nicholas Sanderson and Thomas Nixon, both of whom died in their late fifties, necessitating the transfer in 1793 from Richmond of the seventy-year-old Francis Holme. He belied his age by completely rebuilding the chapel within three years. At his death in 1802 the ex-Jesuits found it almost impossible to find a successor.

In 1797, shortly after Stonyhurst College had opened, Strickland told Warrilow that it was:

probable that some years must elapse before the college will be able to furnish successors to all the places . . . Till this takes place, recourse must be had to monks, friars, [and secular] clergy.[8]

Curiously, Strickland doubted if any English secular priest would find Alnwick 'a very desirable place.'[9] that was an academic point, in any case, for a shortage of priests generally meant that no Englishman, secular or regular, was then available. In 1792 Rutter told his uncle:

> There are now three considerable congregations adjoining to mine which appear to me not to be sufficiently provided for. Mr Ashmal at Newhouse who is 97 years of age at least has been unable to do duty for a long time. No priest has been fixed at Pontop since Mr Johnson's death. Nor is Stella, as I hear, yet provided with a pastor. For the present indeed Mr Story from Hexham says prayers there and Mr Worswick at Pontop . . .[10]

Eleven congregations in the region were without pastors in 1802. Thus for ten years to 1812 the ex-Jesuit mission at Alnwick had to be put in charge of a French exiled secular, M.Vergy. The English Jesuits then resumed their tenure with John Beaumont, a newly-ordained priest in the restored Society.

The last of the Northumbrian ex-Jesuits was William Warrilow, who died in 1807. The *Newcastle Chronicle* described him as 'much esteemed by a numerous circle of friends for his extensive information, his urbanity as a gentleman and his erudition as a scholar'. His clerical colleague John Lingard was not similarly impressed; he disapproved of Warrilow for living 'at great expense' . . . besides other servants he kept a footman and two horses.'[11] Although Newcastle was one of the principal missions in the country, the ex-Jesuits were unable to provide a successor for Warrilow. In fact, it was not crucial that he be replaced because James Worswick, the secular, dominated the mission. St Andrew's chapel, which Worswick built, had become the focus of Catholic life in the town. Indeed, it became prominent in the general ecclesiastical life of Newcastle; Protestants regularly went to hear sermons and hear solemn Masses. Rutter had long thought 'one of the Gentlemen at Newcastle might easily be spared' for North Shields which had a growing Catholic community but no resident priest, Thus the ex-Jesuits gave up their place in Newcastle which had, in effect, become redundant.

In summary, then, the suppression of the society of Jesus did not have as great as impact on the mission in the north as was feared. Since all the

Jesuits acceded to the decision, change would depend on their own longevity and the goodwill of existing patrons. Only in one or two cases do hints of anti-Jesuit feelings emerge. The majority of patrons took the view that if their chaplains conformed with ecclesiastical discipline by signing the Brief they could remain in place and continue to receive an income from the old Society's funds of which the patrons were trustees. Threequarters of the ex-Jesuits lived for upwards of twenty years after the suppression and it would be over fifty years before the last of them died. They tried to maintain a presence wherever possible and in a remarkable display of flexibility they were successful for longer perhaps than even they dared to hope. Inevitably, though, as the younger ex-Jesuits died around the turn of the nineteenth century, it became an increasingly difficult task and most missions had to be given up. After 1807, Alnwick was left in Northumberland with Durham and Hardwick Hall in County Durham; only Alnwick remained at the time of Catholic Emancipation. The suppressed Society was a long time dying, then, and the last of its members had the satisfaction of being succeeded by members of the restored Society.

FRENCH EXILES

France, which had been the traditional refuge of English Catholics, became the enemy of religion with the Revolution, and, from 1792, Protestant England became a sanctuary both for French clerics and expatriate English Catholic establishments. The story of the French exiles in north-east England has been told in earlier volumes of this journal and it is intended only to present here new material which modifies the rather harsh judgement that the French priests left no mark on the mission.[12]

There were, of course, rather a lot of them. Almost three hundred arrived in the Tyne in October 1796 and, except for a few sympathetic Catholics and one or two others, no-one offered them lodgings. The government recommended that they lived together for economy, and large groups of priests were put up in government buildings in Sunderland and Berwick; in a row of newly built miners' cottages in Heddon; at Brooms in a half-finished chapel and priest's house; and ten were accommodated at Stella by Mr Silvertop. The Anglican Sir Matthew Ridley took some in at Plessey Checks, Stannington, and others are known to have been at Spittal, near Tweedmouth, and Witton Gilbert.

The rest were dispersed around the region in various Catholic houses and missions, sometimes singly, but mostly in pairs or threes. Three

'emigrated Popish priests' went to live in Bishop Auckland and were reported to confine themselves to private devotions;[13] Alexis Hebert was living with John Galley, a coal-merchant in Sunderland; and M. de Buisson officiated in Mr Dunn's house in Gateshead Fell. Thus some middle-class families were given the opportunity of having a resident chaplain, an unexpected but welcome social boost.

Most missions would find it difficult to support a second priest and, in any case, many of the French clerics would be excluded from pastoral work because of language. Rutter said he was 'for the present their interpreter and do what lies in my power to make them comfortable.'[14] (The French exile in Stockton was recommended by the mayor as a teacher of French and for his French-English dictionary). And then, the French were believed by many English priests to be dangerously bigotted to gallican liberty and that it was only prudent to keep them isolated from the English Catholics. The French were invited to assist at examinations at Crook Hall, but some thought them unscholarly.

For various reasons, then, most French exiles stayed together in closed communities. At the same time, however, some mission histories show that, when required, those who could speak English did fill temporary vacancies. French priests acted as stop-gaps at Croxdale, Darlington, Stella, Stockton and Sunderland in County Durham, and at Callaly Castle, Berrington Hall, Hexham, Stonecroft Farm, Witton Shields and Wooler in Northumberland. Four Northumberland missions owed much more to the exiles. The French stand-in at Alnwick was in charge for ten years. The presence of the French in Berwick dispelled a great deal of anti-Catholic prejudice, and Michael Tidyman was emboldened to open a chapel in the town and appoint Abbe Louis Bigot as missioner. When he returned to France in 1801 his congregation was desolate at 'the loss of so suitable a pastor.' His English successor stayed less than a year and Abbe Philip Besnier took over. To judge from Besnier's account, the precipitate departure of the Englishman was probably due to the conditions he found in Berwick; there was no furniture in the priest's house except a bed, a little table, a chest, and a chair; and there was no linen or anything else. In a year, Besnier walked a thousand miles in all kinds of weather visiting his scattered flock. Despite his privations he was much encouraged at the response of the people:

> Had I not seen a considerable change for the better amongst the congregation, although not yet as I wish, I would have given up long ago. Last year there were only 43 who received at Easter; this year I had eighty.' [15]

It is likely that Berwick would have remained a suppy-station from Haggerston for many years had it not been for the efforts of Abbes Bigot and Besnier.

The mission at Cowpen near Blyth had its origins in the appointment of a French exile as chaplain to the Sidney family in 1801. Louis Deshogues (or La Hogue) succeeded in 1801 and he remained long after the majority of his fellow-countrymen went home. A resident mission was established at North Shields at the turn of the century under two French priests. One of them, Pierre Dubuisson, having returned to France came back to England in 1802 hoping (in vain) to be appointed missioner at the new church of St Cuthbert.

It is somewhat unfair, then, to dismiss the French contribution to the English mission entirely. Most of the exiles were never asked to help, but those who were became successful and popular with their congregations, not least because they were prepared to endure conditions rejected by English priests. Rutter acknowledged their contribution when, in 1801, he wrote 'Some of our French priests are gone, and others are about to go. The Mission in these parts will feel the want of them.'[16] Quite so, for Michael Tidyman, with much of north Northumberland under his care, suggested that they be replaced by Spanish and Portuguese priests who might at least say Mass for the people on Sundays and holydays; in time they would become sufficiently proficient in English to hear confessions.[17]

In 1798 John Barrow, a secular priest then aged sixty-three, told the Vicar Apostolic:

> The more I reflex on the present state of the Northern mission, the more plainly I see the future scarcity of Missionaries to fill our Places. More than twenty of us are far advanced in years, without the most distant prospect of a succession, though we have numerous congregations.[18]

Moreover, suitable candidates for the priesthood were hard to find. William Fletcher, a missioner in Sunderland, told Thomas Eyre in 1805 that he did 'not know a Catholic of this congregation that is fit for a Clerk's place.'[19]These comments were made, however, just as the crisis was beginning to abate; ordinations of secular priests began at Crook Hall in 1794 and the number of clerical applicants rose rapidly when Ushaw

College opened in 1808. But, as this article has tried to show, it was a close-run thing. The Church was fortunate in retaining the services of the ex-Jesuits and obtaining those of the French exiles which enabled it to maintain that presence across the region which it had worked so hard to achieve over the previous century, and without which the Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century would have been set back many years.

PRINTED REFERENCES

This article has been abstracted from my PhD thesis 'From Jacobite to Radical: The Catholics of North East England 1688-1850' (Durham 1989). The usual printed sources have been used, including:

D. Bellenger, 'The French Exiled Clergy in the North East' NCH No.11, pp 22/3 and 'The French Exiled Clergy in the North of England', AA(5) vol. X, 171 ff.

Recusant History and volumes of the Catholic Record Society, esp. G. Holt, *The English Jesuits 1650-1829* (1984) in which the movements of the priests named can be followed.

J Kirk, *Biographies of the English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (1909).

Northern Catholic Calendar

Northern Catholic History

MANUSCRIPT REFERENCES.

1. Upholland College: *Banister / Rutter Correspondence*: Rutter 26 Jan 1784; Banister 21 Mar 1784 (Letters hereafter cited giving originator and date).
2. A signed copy of the Brief is at NRO *RCD*, 6/9. See also *Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts (UCM)* II/119-21,, 25 Oct 1773.
3. *UCM* DIO 41; Rutter 3 Mar 1793.
4. Rutter 19 Nov 1783; (John Johnson, a secular, went to Pontop when Howe left but he died in 1790, four years after old Mrs Swinburne.) *UCM Smith of Brooms Papers* OS/D1, Eyre to Smith, 8 May 1793.
5. *UCM* II/124, Dec. 1775.
6. Rutter 9 Mar 1796.
7. *Archives of SJ* (Farm Street), X, 6 Feb 1823; VIII, 26 Sep 1825.
8. Diocesan Archives (Northumberland Record Office) *RCD* 6/9 12 July 1797.
9. ibid *RCD* 31 Sep 1802.
10. Rutter 3 Mar, 1793.
11. *UCM Lingard Letters* No.27, 9 Jan. 1808.
12. Cf. Bellenger, op. cit.
13. Diocese of Durham Episcopal Visitation Return 1801.
14. Rutter 7 Nov 1796.
15. *UCM Eyre Manuscripts* No. 88, 1805.
16. Rutter 24 Nov. 1801.
17. *UCM Eyre Manuscripts* 27 Feb 1803.
18. *Barrow Letters* (Lancs. Record Office), 1 Jan 1798.
19. *UCM Eyre Correspondence* No.80, 13 May 1805.

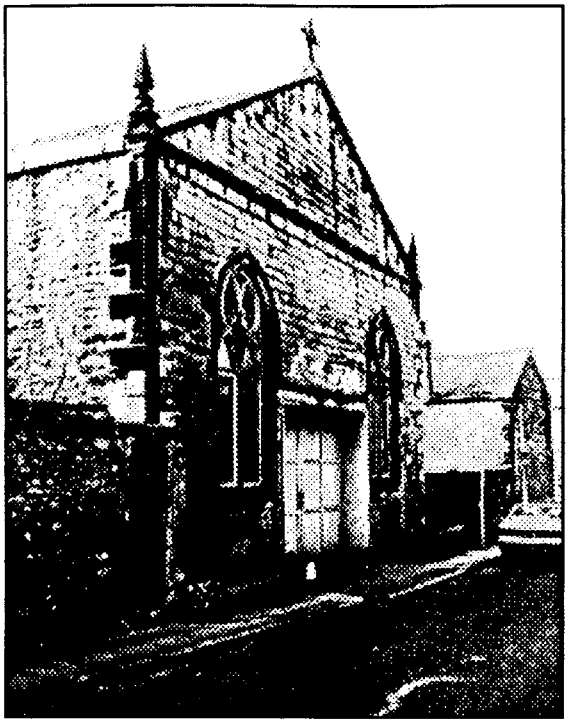
NEW FOR OLD: THE BOWES MUSEUM CHAPEL IN THE PARK

The Rev. David Milburn

Writing on 22 February 1871 from Ridley Hall, Haydon Bridge, to her cousin John Bowes at Streatlam Castle, near Barnard Castle, Susan Davidson expressed her very best thanks for sending her the drawing of 'Mrs Bowes Museum': 'It will indeed be most superb so far beyond all my ideas of its beauty and grandness that I have been astounded by seeing what a magnificent Building it is to be . . .'[1] Like many others, including John Bowes and his French wife Joesphine, Susan Davidson did not live to see its completion. The land was purchased from five different owners during the second half of the decade 1860-70, the foundation stone laid in a private ceremony on 27 November 1869 and the roof completed by 1876, but not until 10 June 1892 was the new museum formally opened to the public. To mark the centenary of this extraordinary achievement of creating in our remote north-eastern countryside a typical French museum,[2] I offer this in-depth account of the somewhat less spectacular plan of the Bowes, though no less close to their hearts, to found a chapel alongside the museum where their bodies could be buried and their names remembered, a project undertaken at the same time as the emerging museum, but destined not to be completed until 1928.

The mortuary chapel was Josephine Bowes' idea and as she was a Catholic, the chapel was also to be Catholic. Maybe this says more for John Bowes' religious tolerance than it does for his wife's Catholicity, as we shall see later, but in so far as a Catholic chapel was being planned, it is of more than passing interest to say something here about the state of Catholicism in Barnard Castle at the time. Up to 1847 the needs of the Catholics, many of them poor, in what was a relatively prosperous town of 4,000 had been met by the missioners at Wycliffe and Lartington. In that year, with the financial backing of Owen Longstaff, the owner of the Ullathorne mill at Startforth, the Union Hall in Ware Street was rented as a Catholic chapel and the Rev. William Allen sent directly from ordination at Ushaw College to be the first resident priest. Three years later Longstaff purchased the property outright. A school was also established at this time. At first it was nothing more than a room in the mill, but subsequently it moved to a new building designed by Joseph Hansom and erected in 1868 in Queen Street at a cost of £600, met by Longstaff's further generosity The mission

acquired its own cemetery in 1860 on a site purchased for £100 from the Duke of Cleveland, who generously returned the money to help with the project.[3]



CATHOLIC CHAPEL IN WARE STREET, IN USE FROM 1847 UNTIL 1928

A visitation report of the later part of of the 1860s (probably 1869) gives us a good idea of the state of the Barnard Castle mission at the time the Bowes were contemplating the building of their museum. The chapel, originally a lecture hall without architectural merit, had been improved by the addition of an apse and a new sacristy. The chapel had seating for 300 and standing for 30. The presbytery, purchased in 1861, had been connected with the chapel and sacristy three years later. The buildings were all in good repair. As to finance, the year's income June-June 1867-1868, was £163-7-5, of which £25 a yearly endowment from the property of the late John Swale. The debt on the church amounted to £400, the interest of

which was paid to Owen Longstaff who held the deeds of the property. The debt on the presbytery amounted to £150. A census taken in 1866 revealed 500-600 Catholics in the town. Average baptisms were 27, Easter communicates 270 and eight converts had been received during the last three years. First communicants were about 20 in 1867, with 60-70 to be confirmed, as the last confirmation had been conducted by Bishop Hogarth in 1861. The Redemptorist Fathers had been responsible for recent retreats.[4]

When did the Bowes begin to think of building their new church? Maybe this Visitation report provides a clue. Although its exact date is not known, internal evidence shows it to be after June 1868 and before the year 1870 had advanced very far, for the compiler, the Rev. John Dunderdale, died 4 January 1870 at the early age of 37. As it is the only surviving report of the period, could it be that it had been specifically requested by the bishop of the diocese, James Chadwick, in view of hearsay about a new church at Barnard Castle? It is surely too much of a coincidence that the writer comments 'the accommodation it sufficient,' and 'the church is conveniently situated,' phrases echoed in arguments later formulated against the proposed new church. Without being at all specific, this report and the other surviving documents do leave us with the impression that the chapel was conceived not as an afterthought but as an integral part of the overall plan for the museum and thus ante-dates by some time the laying of the foundation stone of the museum in 1869, a view which is supported by the Bowes' intention from the beginning to situate their museum within a landscaped park.

Be that as it may, in a codicil to her will of July 1871 Josephine explicitly desired to be buried in the chapel which she intended to build on the raised ground in the park to the east of the museum.[5] At the same time John Bowes began to look for trustees for the chapel. He had not far to look, for on his doorstep, so to speak, was the very man to help him, the Rev. Thomas Witham of nearby Lartington Hall. Heir and son of the spendthrift Henry Thomas Silvertop of Minsteracres, who took the name of Witham on his marriage to Eliza Witham of Headlam, Thomas' life spanned most of the century (1806-97). Educated at Stonyhurst and Ushaw where he was ordained priest, he inherited the Lartington estate in 1847. Despite his considerable wealth (he once said that had it not been for the extravagances of his father he would he would have been the richest Commoner in

England), he was a considerate landlord and a zealous missioner, whose energy (and money) led to the opening of the Catholic Church at Gainford in 1854 as well as to improvements at Lartington. Thus it was as a friend and social equal that John Bowes turned to Witham, who replied 7 July 1871: 'I am quite willing to meet Mrs Bowes' wish, and act as one of the Trustees of the proposed Roman Catholic Chapel about to be built. I may be allowed to congratulate with her upon the noble and generous act she is about doing.'[6] Just a week later Witham tells Bowes that he has asked Henry Charles Silvertop to be a trustee and intimates that Francis Henry Riddell is to be another.[7]

From this early correspondence it emerges that John and Josephine Bowes did not wish at the time for their plan to be known publicly. 'You may depend upon me,' writes Witham, 'most strictly', keeping secret everything in connection with it.'[8] The reason for the secrecy seems to have been Bowes' desire (reinforced by others, including perhaps his own wife), to secure a completely free hand in the building of the chapel, its endowment and even the appointment of the priest, in other words to have a proprietary church. Thomas Witham encouraged this at first, but then had second thoughts and wrote to his friend to say that he considered it wiser to send a draft of the new trust deed to the bishop of the diocese [Hexham and Newcastle], whom he describes to Bowes as 'a most kind and amiable gentleman.' He also comments: 'Perhaps this may not meet the views of the other Parties ... but I think that we had better do away with every difficulty now, than run the risk of meeting one later. when perhaps it cannot be so easily got over.'[9] It is a measure of the pressure on Bowes to maintain a tight control of the whole project that, despite the bishop's request for a copy of the draft deed, he did not receive it until four years later.[10]

Meanwhile, Josephine Bowes, whose health was never robust, had been greatly affected by the calamitous Franco-Prussian War and the violence of the Paris Commune. She died in Paris at the age of 48 on 9 February 1874. After her funeral at La Sainte Trinité her body was laid in its vault until it could be transported to Gibside Chapel and thence, when completed, to her new church at Barnard Castle, Commendably, John Bowes proceeded at once to fulfil his beloved wife's wishes. By a deed of 2 March 1874 he conveyed the land for the new church to trustees of his choice 'upon trust for the purposes only of a chapel for the celebration of Divine Service according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church and of a

Sacristy and other buildings necessary or convenient for the same and of a presbytery or residence for the Priest or Priests serving the said Chapel.'[11]

Building must have commenced soon afterwards, for the foundation stone was laid 6 April 1875 in a private ceremony attended by the chosen few: Thomas Witham, J.D. Holmes, Bowes' solicitor, R.J. Dent, his local agent, J.E. Watson, the Newcastle architect who supervised the work, and the builder, J. Kyle. Nevertheless, the project was ambitious enough for Witham to enthuse about it.

> He [Bowes] is going to have a very handsome high Altar, besides which there are two side chapels, and he has purchased somewhere abroad a very handsome Altar for one of them, and which is now in one of the cases at Streatlam — he calculates that it will be nearly three years before it is finished, and he thinks, as far as he sees, that it will cost him £23,000 — what a grand Cathedral Church it would make if in a proper locality ...[12]

As to the overall design, we have Bowes' observation:

> The church here is at Vanves, to the south of Paris outside the fortifications and is an ancient structure, but Mr Pellechet [the French architect responsible for the museum] has only followed the style, not the form or arrangement of the Building itself. Our Church will I think be a much more handsome edifice.[13]

Though Bishop Chadwick was absent from the laying of the foundation stone of the new church, this must not necessarily be construed as a sign of his disapproval. Not only was he aware of the progress of the building but he was also apparently quite ready to cooperate in the work. For example, he discussed with Thomas Witham some of the financial arrangements,[14] and commented on the plans for the interior of the church, for Bowes wrote to him in the June: 'I am most happy to find the arrangements proposed for the interior of the church at Barnard Castle meets with your Lordship's approbation.' [15] But at the same time the bishop was being reminded by his London solicitor G.W.M. Arnold that he really ought to write to Mr Western, John Bowes' London solicitor, to ask that Arnold should see the draft trust deed before it became an accomplished fact.[16] Bowes himself did not think that there was going to be any great difficulty. That much we can gather from the fact that when recommending that the two solicitors should sort things out between them he tells Witham: 'The Conveyancer who drew the Bd Castle Deed consulted some similar Catholic Deeds to which he had access, but it is very adviseable that there should be no doubt hereafter as to the complete solidity of the matter.'[17]

BOWES MUSEUM CHAPEL IN THE PARK, AS IT STOOD FROM 1877 UNTIL THE MID-1920'S

What are we to make of all this? It might seem that Bishop Chadwick, that 'most kind and amiable gentleman,' had been putting off a confrontation with John Bowes, whereas in truth he had not been party to the initial negotiations and still had not seen a copy of the draft trust deed. He seems to have assumed that the new church was to be a sort of private mortuary chapel in which John Bowes and his wife would eventually be interred. This is hardly surprising, as it was put forward as Bowes' own view. 'He thinks it not a Missionary Centre but a private spiritual foundation in connection with the deceased,' wrote Arnold after a session with Western.[18] That kind of arrangement was quite acceptable to the bishop, apparently even with a chaplain presented by Bowes.[19] With the building under way, however, and pressed by his solicitor, he felt the need to examine the content of the draft trust deed, to make sure that he had understood the situation correctly. What he read there made him realise that he had been mistaken.[20] Arnold, to whom he turned, had no hesitation in advising that he should inform Bowes at once that he, the bishop, would require full canonical rights over the new church. He was also urged to point out that there was already a Catholic chapel adequate enough to serve the needs of Barnard Castle: 'Though no architectural gem it is fitted up very devotionally' and in a central position. Further, he should say that he had not been consulted in the first instance, and the project had been put into effect before he properly knew about it. Naturally he would be anxious to cooperate with the scheme, but only on the understanding that it did not mean sacrificing his independence.[21]

This was clearly a sticking point. Earlier in life John Bowes' admirable religious tolerance had been such as to lose him support in South Durham, causing him, in part, to withdraw from the national political scene. This, however, was a personal matter, and from the beginning, as we saw earlier, he envisaged exercising right of patronage over his church. Badgered by solicitors and friends into taking a strong line with the bishop, he was dragged into current controversies within the Catholic Church. Thus he was asked: 'Which tendency (the liberal or the ultramontane) should be impressed upon the chapel by the regulations for its management? . . . I remember Mrs Bowes saying that she wished a clause to be inserted that no Jesuit should be appointed the priest.'[22] The question came from Western, who was also at pains to get Bowes to add more liberal Catholics from England or France to the body of trustees and to make sure that liberal Catholics were not barred by any regulations that might be

drawn up. Sir William Hutt, Bowes' step-father and life-long friend, went even further. He took the extreme view that it would be folly to make the chapel over to the Catholic authorities. 'He said that he had on various occasions conversed with Mrs Bowes on religious subjects. She was accustomed to speak openly on those matters — that her religious opinions were, for a Roman Catholic, very liberal indeed — in fact she held much the same opinions as the Jansenists formerly, or the Old Catholics now, and not very different from those of Protestants.' In fact Hutt felt it was quite wrong to make Josephine Bowes' memorial church 'a place to disseminate teaching dramatically opposite to what were her feelings and opinions.' His experience in the House of Commons left him in no doubt that Catholics could be very dishonest people. Could it be that the bishop was not being honest in his handling of all this? He recommended Bowes to continue building and 'leave the church in the hands of Trustees as a permanently endowed R.C. Church independent of the Bishop, with the right of appointment of Priests' until later (ten years?) when the liberal Catholics had regained the upper hand.[23]

During the course of these weeks of May and June 1875 positions hardened, the situation made worse by conflicting views over access to the new church. It worried the diocesan authorities that, if they did not insist on a permanent right of way through the museum park, the church would inaccessible after nightfall to both worshippers and callers. The bishop's solicitor therefore drew up a document which he wanted Bowes to sign giving specific and permanent access across the park to the chapel. 'If agreed to,' he wrote, 'it will be far better than the mere present general directive by the Foundress that her Committee of the Park should hereafter afford the Church Trustees that necessary accommodation,'[24] this did not please his opposite number, who countered the suggestion that Bowes should stand by his wife's instructions in her will that there should merely be a permissive pathway. [25] With this letter Western enclosed some draft regulations drawn up by Arnold for the management of the chapel. He comments: 'Clearly the Bishop withdraws from the intimations he gave Witham and asks you to grant him absolute control to do whatever he may think right.'

Until October 1875 both parties continued to look for common ground in the dispute. Thereafter the correspondence ceases for almost two years. Why this should be so is difficult to say. Perhaps it was felt that a cooling off period was desirable, perhaps other business distracted the two parties.

What is highly unlikely is that they felt that they had reached the end of the road, for the simple reason that work on the chapel was continuing. So, sooner or later, negotiations would need to be re-opened. Thus in the spring of 1877 we find Bishop Chadwick sending a long memo to Thomas Witham, hoping that he will continue to play the important role of intermediary. [26] Until then Witham had a foot in both camps. Now, in view of the bishop's insistence on exercising his full canonical rights, he had to come off the fence. Had he not been in the 'secret' from the beginning and given the task of finding trustees for the new church? Sufficiently old-fashioned to resent episcopal intrusion, he wrote back very uncompromisingly: 'I consider the Doctrine laid down by the Canonists you have quoted to be nothing but the grossest illiberality and assumption, and a doctrine quite unknown in Country.'[27]

Reeling from this onslaught, the embarrassed bishop looked again for advice to his colleague George Errington, Bishop of Plymouth, formerly Co-adjutor to Cardinal Wiseman. Chadwick's instinct was still to seek a compromise, if that were possible. Errington pointed out that according to canon law a builder or endower had the right to presentation, provided the bishop assented to the building and accepted the endowment. As the patron in question was a Protestant, he thought the problem might be solved by some kind of transaction which would invest right of presentation with the trustees, making sure that they were Catholics. On the other hand, the issue was clearly complicated by the existing church and missioner at Barnard Castle. Surely the bishop could not give up for himself and his successors the power of appointing or removing a missioner, which would happen if the bishop allowed the existing mission and missioner to merge into a presentation chaplaincy. Errington concludes a lengthy letter:

> But I hope you will be able to have the new Church (if continued) made an ordinary mission establishment, with any obligations of masses etc. on the priest, and of inspection to see that all was kept in material order on part of the Trustees, that would be declared by Mr Bowes. It is not likely that the Presentation condition comes from Mr Bowes, he would leave that and other details, one would think, to his Catholic friends: and as you say that F. Riddell is one of the proposed Trustees, it is highly probable that, as a lawyer, he is the leading spirit in this business: and from his antecedents this is not a promising feature in the case. Could you not get Monsignor Thompson, who used to be a special friend of R.T. Witham, to talk to the latter, and get him to take the lead which from his peculiar position he would naturally be supposed to have? . . . [28]

At the time of writing, Errington was unaware that Thomas Witham had finally come down on Bowes' side. When he learned of Witham's 'hostile and strong views', he found himself at a loss to understand how reasonable men could expose themselves to ridicule by being reduced to maintain that a man is bound to receive a gift simply because it is offered, even though hampered with conditions considered to be prejudicial. Perhaps Bowes thought the acceptance of trustees as equivalent to the bishop's acceptance, and that as he acted on it, it was too late to withdraw, or perhaps the trustees wished to force through a measure which they had presented to Bowes. Whatever the explanation, he felt that his brother bishop was now obliged as 'simply and shortly as possible' to leave the other party in no doubt as to what he ought to do and would do, though of course expressing sympathy for the inconvenience Bowes had been put to by some mistake for which the bishop was in no way responsible. Bishop Chadwick, he advised, should also try to find out why the trustees had not communicated with him before letting Bowes begin the work. Edward Charlton, he was sure, would have known for certain why they so acted. It would have been strange if Bowes himself had made the presentation of the priest an issue, still less his wife. [29] How wrong Errington was.

The last word (literally) during these years 1871-77 comes from Bowes' solicitor. 'Would it expedient to stop entirely work on the chapel as a way of bringing the bishop to recognise a little of your rights and wishes?'[30] This advice could not have been offered at a more opportune time, for by the mid-seventies the drop in his coal royalties was embarrassing Bowes financially. Finding it difficult to continue building both museum and church, he apparently took his lawyers' advice and suspended work on the church, which by this time had been completed to the top of the windows. There in the north-east corner of the park it began to resemble a medieval ruin as it weathered during the course of the next fifty years. Ironically so, for its history echoes successive medieval squabbles over rights patronage.

POSTSCRIPT

That the church was ever completed was due to the enterprise of the trustees at the beginning of this century. John Bowes had handsomely endowed his church. By his will dated 1 June 1878 he bequeathed to the trustees a legacy of £35,000. On May 1881, having already expended £8,000 on the work he reduced the legacy to £27,000. [31] When he died on 9

October 1885, his affairs were in such disarray that the Court of Chancery had to administer the estate, the legacies for both museum and church being paid only in 1905. By this time the legacy was insufficient to complete the church as planned and the trustees wisely decided to accumulate their income until funds were sufficient to carry out the wishes of the founders. After further lengthy negotiations an exchange of land was effected and a new site for the church acquired in the south-west corner of the park, close to the public thoroughfare. In the 1920s plans were drawn up for the new church, the old church dismantled and the good stone taken by miniature railway to the new site and a start made on the present elegant and extremely well-appointed Bowes Memorial Church, a unique example in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle of a parish church being administered by a board of Catholic lay trustees. At its completion, the remains of John and Josephine Bowes were brought from Gibside Chapel (I am told that as a result John Bowes is the only Strathmore not buried there), but such are the quirks of history that the Bowes were interred not in the church itself but outside, at the east end, doubtless because of a canonical ruling against the burying of Protestants in Catholic churches.[32]

NOTES

HNDA Hexham and Newcastle Diocesan Archives
BMA Bowes Museum Archives

1. BMA Edleston Book; copies of letters to Mrs Bowes 1870-1 pp 136-7.
2. Bowes Museum Official Guide p.13.
3. *Northern Catholic Calendar 1881.* pp. 40-6
4. HNDA. Barnard Castle Visitation Papers. Subsequent Reports begin 1885.
5. C.F. Hardy, *John Bowes and the Bowes Museum,* 4th printing, 1989, p.195.
6. HNDA, Old Filing Series, 118 No.8 typed copies of Witham's letters to Bowes, 1871.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Letter of 14 July.
10. As we shall see later.
11. Printed regulations for the trustees, 1905.
12. HNDA Old Filing, Series 118, N0.1,Witham to [Chadwick], 24 March 1875.
13. Ibid. Bowes to Witham, 9 May 1875.

14. Cf. footnote 2.
15. Ibid. Bowes to Chadwick, 14 June 1875.
16. Ibid. No.2a, Arnold to Chadwick, 12 May 1875.
17. Ibid. No.1, Bowes to Witham, 9 May 1875,
18. Ibid. No.2a, Arnold to Chadwick, 19 May 1875.
19. A possibility suggested by Bishop Errington, ibid. No.5, 19 February 1877.
20. Ibid. N0.2a, draft letter, no date.
21. Ibid. No. 2a, Arnold to Chadwick, 22 May 1875.
22. BMA Box File 37, folder F/H, photocopies of Bowes Correspondence in Durham County Record Office, Western to Bowes, 20 May 1875. Quoted by Hardy op. cit. pp 195-6.
23. Ibid. Western to Bowes, 1 June 1875, quoting Hutt.
24. HNDA. No.2b. Arnold to Chadwick, 29 May 1875.
25. BMA (as above) 20 May 1875.
26. HNDA. No.3, Chadwick to Witham, 1 March 1877.
27. Ibid. No.4, 2 March 1877.
28. Ibid. No.5, Errington to Chadwick, 19 Feb 1877. They had already corresponded on this matter in 1875.
29. Ibid. 7 March 1877.
30. BMA as above, Western to Bowes, 14 June 1877.
31. It is likely that these legal arrangements were completed rather belatedly, I haven't been able to find any reference to work being continued on the church after 1877, which is traditionally held to be the year during which the project was suspended. The article on Barnard Castle in the *Northern Catholic Calendar* for 1881 was written in the course of 1880 at the latest, and there a specific reference is made to the work already having been suspended.
32. Bishop Errington had foreseen that difficulty already in 1877.

Acknowledgement

There are several people I need to thank for helping me to get this article into print: Mr Robin Gard, who led me straight to the material in our diocesan archives; Mr Bryan Crossling of the Bowes Museum departmental staff who located relevant documents in the museum archives and also supplied two of the photographs printed here; Mr Dominic Rutter of Gainford, the chairman of the Bowes Memorial Church Trust; and Maureen Bray whose preliminary observations whetted my appetite to know more about the Bowes Chapel in the Park.

For visitors to the present church there is available an excellent leaflet about the trust, produced by the board of trustees.

"THE DUTCH CONNECTION" : FATHER FRANCIS JAMES ARCADIUS KUYTE, (1853-1935)

Aidan Harrison

In his article 'Belgian and Dutch Priests in North-East England' (*Northern Catholic History,* No.34, pp. 35-42), the late Fr Nicholson gave the background to and listed the 'remarkable fourteen Belgian and Dutch priests who came with little English to labour among a foreign people.' Fr Nicholson went on to state 'It is difficult to judge what special contribution these priests from abroad made in the formation of their Catholic people.' This account of one of those priests may, perhaps, go some way to throw light on this subject.

Rev. Francis James Arcadius Kuyte was born in Oss, Holland, on 12 January 1853 into a well-to-do family and, after his early education there, offered himself as a candidate for the English mission. He came to Ushaw to continue his studies at the age of sixteen. Ordained on 5 April 1877, he began his ministry in this Diocese as a curate at North Shields and Carlisle, then as Parish Priest at Witton Park, Bell's Close and Longhorsley before transferring to St Agnes', Crawcrook, in 1912. He served there for twenty-three years until his death in January 1935 — a week short of his 82nd birthday.

Father Kuyte was multi-facetted character — beloved by his school-children and parishioners, but a scourge to his curates. In the early 1920s his age and ill-health prompted the Bishop to send him assistance and it is recalled how this unfortunate young priest was received. Arriving after dark one Saturday evening, following a train journey from Newcastle to Ryton Station and then a stiff, mile walk from there, he found the presbytery in total darkness. There was a long delay before his knock was answered by the housekeeper who opened the door a crack. The young priest explained his business. He had come to say the Masses on the following day. 'I'll have to see Father', he was told. The door closed and he was left standing on the doorstep. After a while the door was opened again only for the young priest to be told 'Father says he doesn't want you!' The door was then closed, and the young priest was obliged to make the long journey back to his parish. It was 1924 before Fr Macluskey, the first of a number of permanent curates, was installed but he, like all his successors, was only just tolerated by a priest who was dedicated to, but very possessive of, his parish and parishioners.

Fr Kuyte's predecessor at Crawcrook had suffered from chronic laryngitis so preventing him from preaching. The parishioners, it is said, felt deprived and sent a deputation to the Bishop to ask for a preacher. It is further recounted that Bishop Collin's reply was 'You want a preacher? I'll send you a preacher!' Fr Kuyte was a renowned preacher — for length as much as for content — and soon the parishioners of Crawcrook were making up for lost time with hour-long sermons at the Sunday Masses and Evening Devotions. The congregation of the 8.30 am Sunday Mass were leaving just as those for the 11.00 am were arriving. These, in turn, would be fortunate to be leaving by one o'clock in the afternoon.

In one of his later notice books there is a pencil note to the effect:- 'Speak about ——, —— and —— leaving before the end'. This gave three names and referred to an incident which has been recounted by succeeding generations. At this Sunday Mass, during a particularly long sermon, three men decided they had had enough and proceeded to leave the church. Noticing this, Fr Kuyte called out to them forbidding them to leave before he had finished. Ignoring him, they continued on their way out. Fr Kuyte left the pulpit, followed them outside, pursued them across the main street with vestments flying, then 'persuaded' them to return. He was not averse, obviously, to 'naming names' should the necessity arise.

Fr Kuyte's sermons, though long by modern standards, were full of content, as his extant sermon notes show. He was well-read and knowledgeable on secular as well as religious subjects and this knowledge he attempted to impart through his sermons. His exposé, for example, of Atheistic Communism at the time of the Russian Revolution, was masterly and showed his wisdom and perception. His castigation of the 'World Powers' following World War I was truly prophetic. Historians now agree that the harshness of the terms of the Versailles Treaty was a direct cause of the rise of Hitler and World War II. Fr Kuyte had pointed out the dangers of such a course some dozen years before the advent of Facism. It was his knowledge of, and standing as an authority on, social matters generally which persuaded the Catholic Social Guild to hold its Northern Summer School at Crawcrook in 1924.

Fr Kuyte was a champion of Catholic Education and, over the years, formed deputations to plead for the right to keep our schools when local and national authorities threatened as they often did. He was Chairman of the local Education Board on a number of occasions and was regarded as an authority in this field too. When, in the late 1920s and after the disastrous General Strike, the school at Crawcrook was to be the victim of road

improvements he fought tooth and nail to ensure that the Catholic population, in his words 'mainly miners, impoverished', was not disadvantaged. It is sad that he had to fight not only Durham County Council and the Ministry of Transport but the Diocesan authorities as well, to ensure that justice was done. He refused to accept the compensation offered, even though the Bishop asked him not to 'offend' the District Valuer. He persisted and eventually won for his parishioners a figure three times that originally offered. This was, however, still short of the cost of a new building.

Loss of an old school meant the building of a new one and a suitable site had to be sought. He complained bitterly that the delegation sent by the Bishop had ignored his local knowledge and advice and that the site eventually chosen by them, although close to the original school, was not the best. In making his submission to the diocesan authorities he laid out in minute detail the pros and cons of two proposed sites, then gave extremely valid reasons for his particular choice. In acknowledging, finally, the Diocese's choice he expressed the hope that future generations would not criticize what he, as the Bishop's agent, was obliged to do. He also kindly asked that it never be referred to as *his* school.

When the building of the new school was begun he criticized, and rightly so, the deal that was make by the Diocese for the land and for the actual building work. Because the site chosen was owned by a builder he, the builder, insisted that he should build the school. One price would be charged for the land and the building work. Fr Kuyte went to great lengths to demonstrate that, apart from the site not being the best one, the single price was not as favourable as first purchasing the land and then putting the building out to tender. He advice was ignored and the Diocese, in their wisdom, accepted the builder's offer for the land and the building of the new school. Some twenty years later a successor of Fr Kuyte was obliged to seek a further site for a new church — a fact which would have been rendered unnecessary had his expertise and foresight been acknowledged and his advice followed.

When the 'experts' crossed swords with this Dutchman they more than met their match. The District Valuer discovered this to his cost as did Durham County Council, builders and architects. He was usually one step ahead of them and, rather than dealing with a 'layman' they found his knowledge in most fields was superior to their own. He was sad that he was not heeded or given the full backing that he deserved.

This state of affairs could well have stemmed from his time at Bell's Close. Whilst there, in the early 1900's. alterations and extensions were being made to the church and presbytery. The plans, Fr Kuyte decided were inadequate, so he had them altered and the work was completed — but at additional cost. The Bishop was not very pleased and the records show that Fr Kuyte shortly thereafter spent some time in Belgium and in his native Holland. His correspondence shows that he held to his belief that what he had done was for the best, for the benefit of that parish, and that the costs genuinely incurred should be borne by the parish. The Bishop did not agree apparently, for the outcome was that Fr Kuyte had to pay for these 'extras' from his own pocket. The amount involved was approximately £400, which, in today's values, would represent a staggering £80,000! It was only by virtue of his family and personal circumstances that he was able to pay-off this amount but it is to his credit that he did so and returned from 'exile' to be appointed to Longhorsley.

Longhorsley at that time must have been considered the equivalent of the *Gulag Archipelago,* for he reported to the Bishop on his arrival that things were in a bad state. There were altar furnishings, chalice, ciborium etc., but he had to borrow pots and pans and a stove from 'the lady at the pub (Protestant)' or 'farmer's wife (Protestant)'. Fr Kuyte remained there until his transfer to Crawcrook in 1912.

When the new St Agnes' school was finally completed — after he had personally supervised the building and had tried to correct errors and omissions by the architect and builder – he wrote to the Bishop, as it was usual for the Bishop to open new church or school buildings formally, and Fr Kuyte suggested suitable dates to coincide with the school year. However, these were apparently unsuitable to the Bishop because of other commitments and he requested other dates. He was never to receive these for Fr Kuyte himself blessed and officially opened the school.

Although often regarded by his parishioners as a stern character, he was nevertheless well-loved and highly respected. Alternatively, he either frustrated or amused them. His wit was as well-known as his erudition. His views of 'Dancing' were well known and it was with some trepidation that a deputation approached him suggesting a parish dance. His reply was a surprising 'Yes — you can have two!' This was followed by 'You can have one, one week for the men, and another, the next week, for the women!' The matter was never broached again. On another occasion, an erstwhile Mass-goer was delivering coals to the presbytery. 'These'll burn well, Father,' he told the priest. 'So will you. Paddy, so will you!' was the immediate reply.

One of the complaints that Fr Kuyte made of his parishioners was that 'I have never know a parish where so little notice was given to news (notices)' They did eventually get the message when, on arrival for Mass one Sunday morning they found a clothes-line stretched from one side of the church to the other on which were displayed a selection of vestments. His message was simply that these were worn-out, unrepairable, and in need of replacement. Within a week or two he had obtained sufficient funds to obtain replacements. On another occasion, the congregation was showered with halfpennies thrown from the pulpit, from the previous week's collection. The message received and understood, was that if that was all they could afford their need was greater than his. In subsequent weeks he congratulated them on their increased generosity. These are only two of many anecdotes told of this remarkable and memorable priest who, despite his eccentricities, was much admired and respected by his flock and by non-Catholics.

Fr Kuyte did much to foster what would today be termed 'ecumenism' but without betrayal of principle. He was a well-known figure locally and could be seen on his rounds of the parish, dressed in top-hat, three-quarter length coat and silver-topped cane. He was interested in and had a word for everyone. This respect and popularity was borne out by the massive turn-out at his funeral in 1935 when the road to the cemetery was lined by mourners, non-Catholics as well as parishioners, all paying their respects.

Fr Kuyte's passion was Nature in general and Ornithology in particular. His knowledge was immense and he tried to impart this knowledge and his enthusiasm to the schoolchildren. Older parishioners remember how he would often call into the school to take pupils and teachers alike on nature walks. 'Everything he pointed out or spoke to us about took on another dimension', they recall. 'He pointed out things we'd never noticed before and we saw things we never knew existed — he was marvellous.'

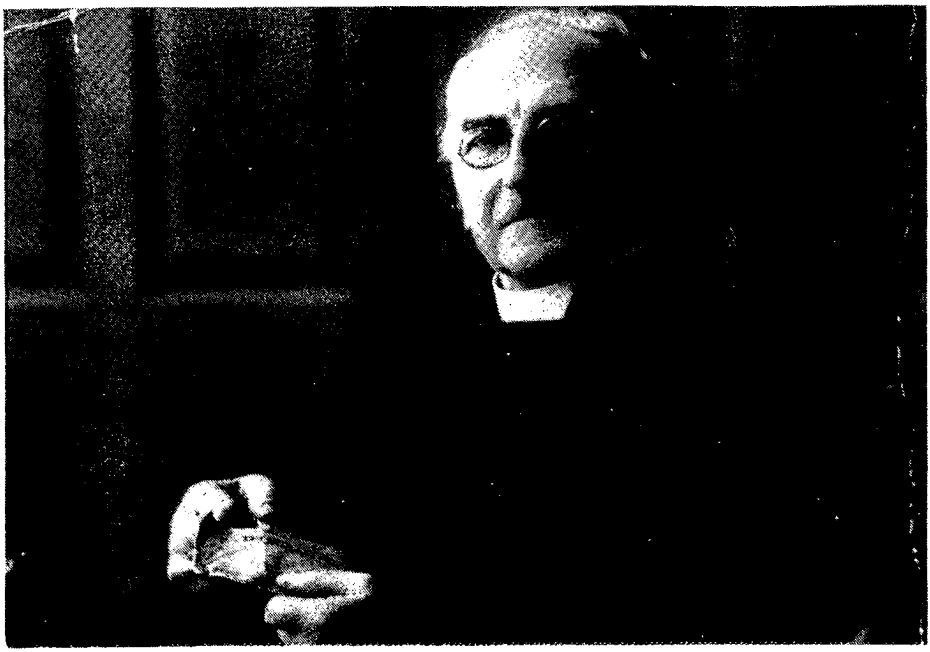
But it was as an ornithologist that he was foremost and, in particular, as a world-renowned expert on the nightingale. Whilst at Longhorsley he had built an aviary and had bred there a variety of wild birds, including the nightingale, recording their breeding and feeding habits. He was in contact with various learned societies and made known his findings through articles in various journals and in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* His studies continued after his arrival in Crawcrook where he had an aviary built behind the presbytery. At Longhorsley, and later at Crawcrook, the song of the nightingale was heard for the first time so far north — the only time this had been known. What is, perhaps, most remarkable is that these

nightingales were tame — bred in captivity, and virtual pets.

Sir Basil Simpson of Bradley Hall, Wylam, recalled years later how Fr Kuyte, a close friend of his late father, Sir Frank Simpson, used to walk to the Hall with his nightingales in the pockets of his voluminous overcoat. Once there, he would release them into a bush or tree near the entrance, telling them to stay there until he had finished his visit. This they did, and would not budge,until he told them to 'Go home'. They watched until he had set off on his mile-walk back to the presbytery before they 'homed' back to their aviary. In order for them to produce their remarkable song, these birds had to be released for a period of time, which Fr Kuyte did regularly in the woods surrounding Bradley Hall. After they had delighted the evening air with their unique song they duly returned to their home in the church grounds. It is no surprise to record that Fr Kuyte was regarded as *the* expert in this field and was in contact with fellow ornithologists world-wide.

Fr Nicholson posed the question as to the contribution these Belgian and Dutch priests made 'in the formation of their Catholic people.' In Fr Kuyte's case his contribution has been immense for, even now, after almost sixty years, his influence still remains through generations of children, parents and grandparents. He could be a hard task-master but was as uncompromising with himself as he was with others. Generous in his praise and encouragement, he was a man of integrity, intelligence and humour. By good example he instilled in his people deep religious devotion with a strong sense of duty and responsibility. He loved the children — they were the future, and they still remember his kindness and generosity. He was barely tolerant of curates but their experience with him certainly served them in good stead in subsequent years.

Fr Kuyte was a 'character' who would alternately frustrate, madden or delight, but he was also a man of deep understanding and learning who attempted to impart knowledge to his people through his, albeit, lengthy sermons. He knew that many of his older parishioners had not had the benefit of schooling, Catholic or otherwise, and so he was to them both priest and teacher. By his championship of Catholic education he ensured that future generations would benefit.



FR KUYTE WITH HIS TELEGRAM FROM POPE PIUS X, CONGRATULATING HIM ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ORDINATION, 1927.

His lengthy sermons did not suit all parishioners, however, and the Bishop was approached by some of them to get him to curtail them. The Bishop was ill and the Diocese was being administered by a Vicar Apostolic who took up the matter. At one subsequent Mass Fr Kuyte astounded the congregation by telling them that His Lordship, through the Vicar Apostolic', had granted him, because of his age and indifferent health, 'the great honour and privilege of absolving me, at my discretion, from the duty and obligation of preaching at the Sunday Masses.' Many in the congregation would have given a sigh of relief and the records show that for the two following weeks the sermon notes were meagre. However, immediately thereafter, the wily Dutchman, 'at his discretion', was back in full flight, in fine voice and continued so until his final illness and death.

'Watch, guide, direct and rule your sons and daughter ... That is difficult? Well parents' duties are difficult — and great!' This was the theme of one of his sermons. He regarded himself as a 'parent' and was, indeed, a true 'Father' to his people.

Editorial Note. This article is extracted, in part, from Aidan Harrison's *One Hundred Years — the History cum personal Reminiscences of St Agnes', Crawcrook, 1992.*

PETER McGUINNESS (1931-1992)

Members were very saddened to learn of the death in November of Peter McGuinness, our Treasurer from the start of the Society in 1974. Peter was known to have been ill for some time but there were great hopes for a full recovery, so that his death came as a great shock to his many friends. Up to the last he served the Society wholeheartedly and, indeed, it was only at the last moment that he found he could not give his customary popular slide quiz at the annual general meeting on 2 October in person. He was also working on a paper on 'Richard Holtby, SJ, 1553-1640', which he was to have given to the Society on 31 March 1993, and subsequently to publish in the 1994 edition of this booklet. (It is hoped that an article on Richard Holtby will be published next year, as a further tribute to Peter.)

The formation of the Society in 1974 enabled Peter to combine happily his Christian faith and his love of history, but his interest in local history was wide and he was ever alert to extend his knowledge in many fields. He was among the earliest members of the Northumberland Local History Society and served on its executive committee and on the council of its successor, the Association of Northumberland Local History Societies, representing the interests of its individual members. No annual general meeting of the Association seemed complete without Peter's presence behind the bookstall which he had organised for many years. He had also an intimate knowledge of Newcastle and was one of the best informed and inspiring of the band of City Guides.

Peter was widely read in local history of the North East and over the years assembled an extensive library of reference books. He was modest about his abilities as an historian, but his research was always thorough, and in the few articles he contributed to *Northern Catholic History* (listed below) he had always something new to offer. While these articles are evidence of his scholarship, they merely indicate the extent of his interests and, had he lived into retirement, he would surely have left a wealth of published material on Catholic history. He had a gift, too, of telling an often complicated story simply, following the admirable example of our late chairman, Fr Bill Nicholson. Members on recent coach excursions greatly appreciated the informative notes he had carefully prepared for each visit.

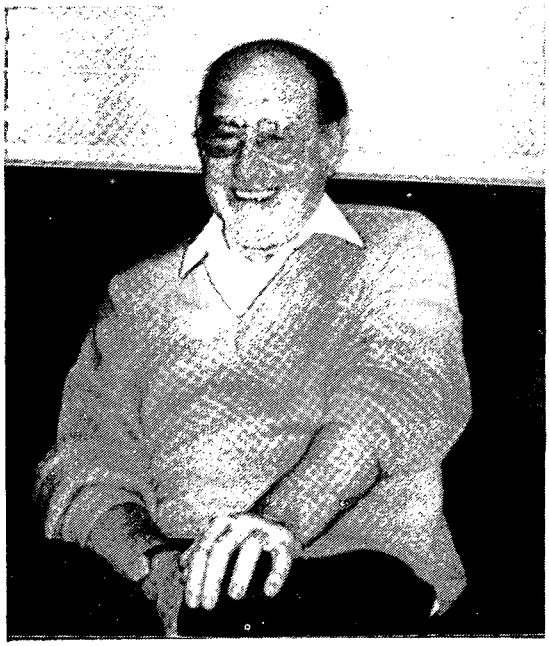
As well as tending the Society's accounts - no mean task in a society existing on faith, not to mention the proverbial shoestring- Peter also kept the records of membership and, on Molly Davison's retirement in 1991, he generously assumed the organising of the Summer outings, with notable success. There was indeed no job within the Society which Peter would not have taken on if he could, such was his devotion to its aims. His death is thus a major loss to the Society's efficient running and it is hoped that

others, emulating his example, will come forward to take up his work. It can be said that for almost twenty years Peter laboured loyally in the Lord's vineyard, endeavouring to make better known the good news of the heroic lives of our forefathers in the faith, without whose devotion in harder times than the present we would not have, let alone enjoy in peace, the spiritual wealth of the Church in the North East today.

The Council, on behalf of all members of the Society, offer heartfelt condolences to Pat and the family on their tragic loss, which it is hoped will be lessened just a little by the knowledge of how much Peter was loved and appreciated within the Society. May he rest in peace.

Articles by Peter McGuinness in *Northern Catholic History*

St Mary's Cathedral: The Early Years, Pt.1.	No. 5, Spring 1977
St Mary's Cathedral: The Early Years, Pt.2.	No. 6, Autumn 1977
Some Notes on the Dunn Family of Newcastle upon Tyne	No. 14, Autumn 1981
Pugin and St Mary's Cathedral, Newcastle	No. 28, Autumn 1988
Maria de Stacpoole 1840-1872: Letters from France during the France-Prussian War	No. 32, 1991
Harbour House County Durham	No. 33, 1992
Index to Authors and Articles, Nos.1-32	No. 33, 1992



BOOK REVIEW

Geoffrey Scott O.S.B. *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment.*
230 pages and 11 illustrations. Downside Abbey 1992.
£27.00 but £18.00 post free to subscribers to *Northern Catholic History.*

When Dom Ambrose Griffiths of the Ampleforth Benedictine Community was appointed in January 1992 as Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, my instinct was to celebrate the event by offering to this Journal an article on the work of the Benedictines in the diocese. However, other matters had to take precedence, and the thought went out of my head. Just as well, perhaps, for here now is a very timely assessment of English Benedictine history, at least as far as the eighteenth century is concerned.

The author, Fr Geoffrey Scott of Douai Abbey, is already well known to our North Eastern Catholic History Society. To him we owe two recent lectures, both commemorating our late respected Chairman, Fr Bill Nicholson, and at least two contributions to this Journal.

After a brief introduction and an outline of the first years of the revived English Benedictine Congregation, the book gives a detailed study of the communities at Douai, Lambspring, Dieulouard and Paris during the years 1689-1794 and a view of the English Benedictine Mission itself before examining the monastic contribution to spiritually, learning and education. There follows a chapter on the monks' connection with the Jacobites, and a final chapter deals with the period from the French Revolution to Emancipation. There are several appendices, and full notes are provided, from which one can gather the originality of much of the material, for example the important collection at Lille of correspondence of Fr Augustine Walker, President of the Benedictines 1774-1794. The bibliography is extensive, the index inadequate.

In 1980 David Lunn's *The English Benedictines 1540-1688* gave us a fascinating account of the earlier period, and Dom Geoffrey's aim is to continue that work by showing for the first time the richness and diversity of English Benedictine life in the eighteenth century, a period usually thought of rather negatively as a time of exile and hibernation (David Knowles). The author apologises for the amount of detail especially in the chapters dealing with the English Mission, but such is very welcome to

many interested in the period.

Dom Geoffrey also contributes to the debate begun by John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850,* London 1975. Stated by Dom Geoffrey, Bossy's thesis is that the Catholic Church in England, isolated from the mainstream of European Catholicism, gradually took on the character of a non-conformist sect which led a marginalised existence. If this really is Bossy's thesis, then Dom Geoffrey is able to challenge it by showing that the Benedictines at least were open to European influence in their training, their spirituality and their customs.

Dom Geoffrey is not another David Lunn either in style or content. Nevertheless he provides us with an original study of the eighteenth century English Benedictines and it appears very aptly as the Catholic Church in England prepares to commemorate the second centenary of the confiscation of British property in France by the Revolutionary Government and the return to England of so many institutions. The book has been seen through the press by the monks of Downside, a happy collaboration.

D. Milburn

PROGRAMME 1992 — 1993

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

7 October 1992	Annual General Meeting, followed by slides and quiz by Peter McGuinness, B.A.
4 November 1992	A.C. Everatt, Esq., *Hulne Priory.*
2 December 1992	Dr Sheridan Gilley, *Manning and Chesterton.*
3 February 1993	Rev. D. Milburn, *The Bowes Memorial Church, Barnard Castle.*
3 March 1993	R.M. Gard Esq., *Fr Ignatius Spencer, CP, 1799-1864.*
3l March 1993	G. Thornton, Esq., *An Appreciation of Bede.*

Coach Excursions

22 May 1993	Hazelwood Castle, near Tadcaster.
26 June 1993	Melrose, Dryburgh and Kelso.
18 September 1993	Hulne Priory, Alnwick.

Printed at Darlington Carmel