Northern Catholic History

No. 46 2005

North East Catholic History Society

NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY

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IN MEMORIAM ROBIN GARD

It is with a great sense of loss that we record here the death of our Founder-Editor on Sunday 1 May. During his last few months Robin, determined to see this 46th issue *Northern Catholic History,* had shrugged off with awesome tenacity an illness which he knew to be terminal, and happily for us he lived to see it in proof. Nevertheless, his death has inevitably led to a delay in publication, and we are also expecting delay in distribution, since we lack an up to date list of subscribers.

Though Robin came from Cornish stock, nine years as County Archivist for Northumberland convinced him of the need to foster a wider interest in our local Catholic history, and in1974 took a lead in launching the North East Catholic History Society. The first issue of the new Society's *Northern Catholic History* appeared the following year with Robin himself and Michael Joyce as co-editors. Together they were responsible for twenty-five issues, but after Michael's untimely death at the age of 50 Robin soldiered on alone, hoping (as he mentioned privately just weeks before his death) that he would be able to complete his half century.

For thirty years Robin, with his vast knowledge and great expertise, allied to his ability to attract suitable material, has gradually secured for *Northern Catholic History* an honourable place in the long table of local Catholic history publications. He deserves our lasting thanks for expending so much time and energy on our behalf. Now that he has gone from us we pray that with his unquenchable thirst for knowledge he will be able to drink freely at the fountain of all knowledge, the One that he so firmly believed to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

IN TUO ADVENTU SUSCIPIANT TE MARTYRES ANGLIAE

New Editor: Dr Leo Gooch, see p. 71
Tributes to Robin, see p. 72

NORTH EAST CATHOLIC HISTORY SOCIETY

As customary, the new season of 2004-2005 began at St. Andrew's on 8 September with the annual Mass for deceased members, at which Cecily Murphy and Miss M Holmes, were especially remembered, followed by the AGM, attended by 19 members. Fr Milburn (Chairman) reviewed the talks and outings of the year, thanked the speakers and the officers, and the members for their continued support. He particularly thanked George Thornton (Vice-Chairman) for helping with the lecture and events programme during Bob Murphy's illness. The officers and Committee were duly elected for 2004-5.

Visits were made to Ripley Castle on 15 May, Whitby on 19 June, and to Dilston on 11 September, though shortage of space prevents a report of them here. The three Autumn talks, by George Thornton on Northumbria Crosses on 6 October, Fr Milburn on John Lingard as Historian on 3 November, and Richard Lomas on the Medieval Parish System were each well received, though the adverse weather conditions reduced the December attendance. Bob Murphy gave his talk on Bishop Tunstal on 2 February, but Patria Moran's talk on Adult Religious Formation in the Diocese had to be cancelled due to bad weather. Despite a membership of 137, the attendance at talks has recently decreased and the Committee will reflect on this.

This edition again offers a range of diverse articles. George Thornton discusses the three stone crosses of Bewcastle, Ruthwell, and Gosforth, Dr Constance Fraser traces the course of a long running dispute between a Prior of Durham and his Bishop in the early 14th century, the Editor records the names of Lamspringe Abbey monks who served as chaplains to local families, and Fr Milburn provides the text of his talk on John Lingard as an Historian. This is followed by an account by Jonathan Bush of a fracas involving the Irish in Newcastle in 1851, and a detailed record by Dr Leo Gooch of correspondence between Bishop James Chadwick, while attending the Vatican Council, and his Vicar General, John William Bewick, largely concerning diocesan affairs, and the edition is completed with reports on the outings.

The authors of these articles are warmly thanked, and it is hoped that the researches and writing by our regular contributors will inspire historians among our members to offer articles for future editions. The preparation of this edition has been generously undertaken by Mr Ben Stephenson, to whom special thanks.

R M Gard, Editor
March 2005

THREE STONE CROSSES: BEWCASTLE, RUTHWELL, GOSFORTH.

G. B. Thornton

INTRODUCTION

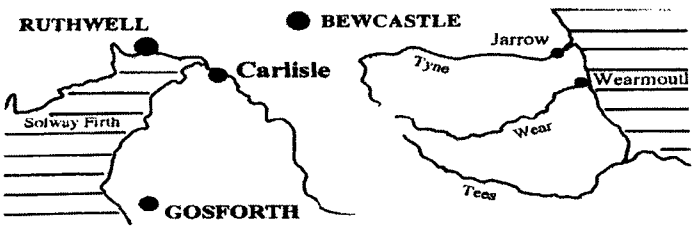
We readily identify the 'Golden Age in Northumbria' with such treasures as the Lindisfarne Gospels, Cuthbert's pectoral cross and Bede's History of the English Church and People yet equally impressive, though less well-known, are the many surviving pre-conquest stone carvings of the crosses found more frequently in Northern England than anywhere else in Britain.

Fortunately, the finest crosses are found *in situ*, in churches and churchyards, usually in wild and beautiful parts of our countryside rather than in museums. The excellent state of preservation of the carvings, despite some 1300 years of weathering and the depredations of vandals, is a tribute both to the skill of the sculptures and the durability of the stone, mainly sandstone from local quarries.

A study of the three of the finest crosses, two Anglian and the other Viking-age, poses some fascinating questions: what was their purpose? What do the carvings symbolise? Who were the sculptors and who were their patrons? What do they tell us about the religious, social and political life of the times?

BEWCASTLE

The isolated hamlet of Bewcastle is a place of much historic interest for it is the site of the Roman outpost fort of Banna, of a well-preserved medieval castle and of one of the finest free-standing outdoor stone crosses in the country. The cross was clearly meant to be seen for it still stands 4.4 metres high; its slender tapering form gives it an upward dynamic thrust pointing to the skies like a church steeple. Only the cross head is missing. It would have been a conspicuous landmark in a frontier region between the northern Angles and the Celtic sub-kingdom of Rheged north of the Solway Firth.

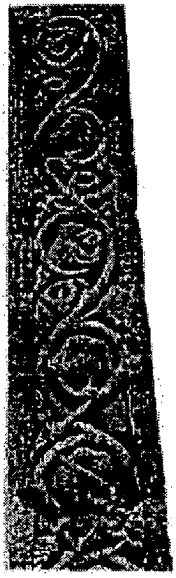


The place was much less isolated then than it is now for it lay on the Maiden Way across the hills north into Scotland and on the Roman road from Banna south to Catterick and York; it was also only a short distance from the ports of the Solway Firth and from the main east-west route to Ireland where Bede tells us there was much traffic.

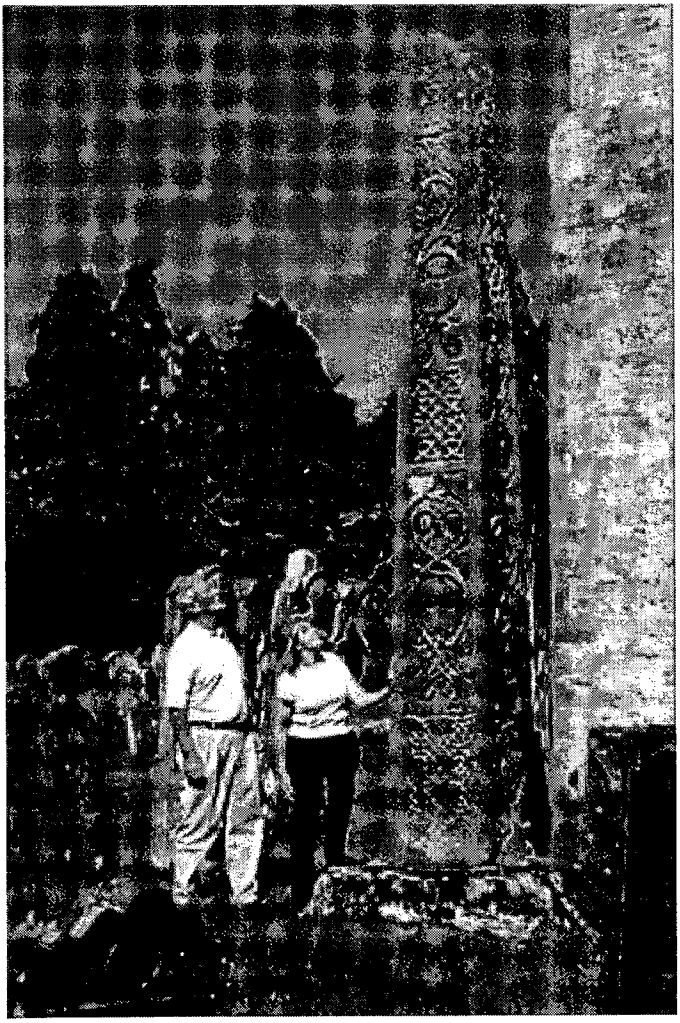
The first impression is that this is a cenotaph set up in the memory of a deceased person by perhaps three others. The runic inscription of the west face has been so eroded by weather and changed by misguided antiquarians that it is virtually indecipherable. There have been many attempted translations; one displayed in the nearby stone barn now used to stage an attractive exhibition reads: 'This slender victory sign set up (by) Hwaetred, Wothjar, Ollfwolthu in memory of Alcfrith, the king and son of Oswin. Pray for his soul'.

Another barely legible name may be Cyneburjg, daughter of Penda and wife of Alcfrith. It is quite possible that the dedicator is Wilfrid himself or Acca and that the Bewcastle cross was fashioned in the same mason's yard in Hexham Abbey as that formerly ascribed to Acca for both are dated c. 740 AD.

The panelled format and geometric interlace on the cross have much in common with Insular manuscripts and therein reveal strong Celtic influences; indeed one of the five panels of fine stranded interlace on the south face of the cross is identical to one found in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Plant scrolls are not part of early Irish art-forms but the decoration here shows sculptors growing still further in confidence and imagination for new varieties of forms have been carved with complex stem patterns inhabited by a variety of birds and beasts, one with a foliate tail linked to the vine. Innovative too is a sundial in the foliage, a reference to Luke 21 25-33 where we are told that 'there will be signs in the sun, the moon and the stars' to herald the coming of the 'Son of Man', a theme also taken up by the scene on the Judgement Stone on Lindisfarne.



Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses both have vines inhabited by animals and birds.



Perhaps the sundial on the south face was intended to assist with the daily routine of religious worship as the Divine Office was sung at the major hours: a sundial on the wall of one of our finest earliest Saxon churches at Escomb near West Auckland in County Durham served the same purpose. One commentator on the artist's portrayal of the leaves of the vine remarks rather unkindly that they resemble more closely the leaves of hops or our native clematis.

The iconography of the west face is most striking and much debated. Three separate panels seem to show in descending (and in chronological) order, John the Baptist, Christ in Majesty and John the Evangelist.

The Baptist panel is straightforward, John points his right hand at an Agnus Dei, 'Lamb of God', cradled in his left arm. It may be no coincidence that the prayer 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi....' was

introduced into the Eucharistic Liturgy at the very end of the 7th century by Pope Sergius and therefore the scene was a reminder and a visual aid in the daily celebration of Mass by a local monastic community. In his commentary on Luke Bede mentions the new 'Agnus Dei' prayer six times. Clearly it was a prayer of profound significance.[1]

Christ in Majesty in the middle panel was a popular image in contemporary iconography; it occurs on the Ruthwell Cross and in manuscript illustrations.

The suffering Christ on the Cross is rarely seen at this time, only appearing once in the Lichfield Gospels. People associated kingship with power and victory and the idea of victory through suffering and death was difficult to accept.

Christ in Majesty is shown between two adoring beasts, a reference to the Book of Habbakuk, 'You will be known between two adoring animals' and to Psalm 90 (Vulgate).

The crossed paws of the animals, each with three pads, form a chi-rho, the earliest Christian symbol, and well placed for viewing at eye level five feet above ground. A runic inscription reads: ' gessus Kristus', 'Jesus Christ'. Christ is shown raising his right hand in blessing with the correct finger raised and holding a book in his left hand symbolising strong links with Rome and the unity of the church.

Closer inspection of what used to be recognised as John the Evangelist raises several questions: Why is St. John in secular clothes? Why does he not have a halo as do all the evangelists in the portrait pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels? Does the bird of prey being held not resemble a falcon rather than an eagle, John's traditional symbol? It seems more probable that the figure in fact represents a memorial portrait of a local secular nobleman for whom the falcon would be an appropriate symbol of status whereas church authorities at the time frowned on hunting with hawks. The distinct arching frame of the panel may represent the protecting heavens above. This portrait is unique in Hiberno-Saxon art.

On the west side there is the runic inscription which seems to read: 'this victory sign was set up by ...' and to have ended with prayers for souls. Bewcastle is only one of nearly a dozen crosses like the one from Lancaster bearing the inscription 'pray for the soul of....' In the 8th century Life of St. Willibold we read that it is the custom of the Saxon race 'on the estates of many nobles they have, not a church, but the standard of the Holy Cross --- lifted up on high so as to be convenient for the frequency of daily

prayer .'[2] It is significant that the Anglo-Saxon word for a cross is *becun*, meaning a conspicuous symbol, a visible reminder of an unseen world rather than marking a burial site. Beacons on hill tops were for centuries set alight to warn of foreign invasion; today planes are guided along safe flight paths by radio beacons.

Though Bewcastle Cross may have served several purposes; as a conspicuous landmark and signpost for travellers, as a meeting place for country folk to gather to hear the Christian message, as an aid to the daily worship of local monks, yet it seems evident that our first impressions were correct; the primary function was a cenotaph, a memorial calling for prayers for the deceased. The cross at Bewcastle reflects the diversity of the models and motifs circulating in north Northumbria in the early 8th century.

Bewcastle deserves to be better known for it is a place full of rich history spanning many centuries. The cross at Bewcastle has much in common with the sister cross at Ruthwell some thirty miles to the west but there are major differences.

RUTHWELL

Approaching the small church of St. Ruth along a narrow country road just south of the busy A75 route from Carlisle to Dumfries it is hard to appreciate the strategic location of the place when the cross was first erected, c.750. Only a mile to the south is the Solway Firth, the main sea route from the port of Carlisle to Ireland; it stands astride the main land route from Northumbria through the Tyne Gap to Whithorn and the shortest sea route to Ireland; nearby was the important Minster of Hoddom where Kentigern was once bishop and where Irish crosses have been found; here too is the sandstone quarry providing the materials from which the cross was made. Unlike Bewcastle it seems the cross was always within the church and thus preserved from the elements, but not from the Covenanters who despoiled it in 1642 after the General Assembly of Scotland had declared it an idolatrous monument.

The monument is first recorded in history around 1600 when Reginald Bainbrigg sent a note to the Elizabethan traveller and writer Camden for inclusion in any future edition of his 1586 Britannia, the note reads; 'unexpectedly I encountered a cross of wonderful height which is in the church at Ruthwell. It has on it beautiful images telling the story of Christ. It is wonderfully decorated with vines and animals and on two sides, ascending from the top to the base and then opposite, descending from top to base, it is incised with strange and unknown letters'.

Between 1802 and 1823 the fragments were unearthed and put together by the Reverend Henry Duncan into the cross we now see. Duncan notes that the lower stone which he calls the column is a different sandstone from the upper cross where figures and inscriptions are cut differently. An excellent replica of the cross has been erected at Bede's World in Jarrow on a prominent headland overlooking the river Tyne. Jarrow is an appropriate site for the replica as it seems many of the details on the original might come from there. The story of the Ruthwell Cross is one of 'evangelical vision and veneration, followed by destruction, neglect,

reconstitution and obscurity reflecting what has happened to the religious imagination in Britain over two millennia .'[3]

Bainbrigg's 'strange and unknown letters' we now recognise as the runic characters of the Germanic alphabet seen earlier in the memorial slabs marking Christian graves: this form of writing was much in favour by sculptors from the third century to the Conquest as it uses oblique, horizontal, vertical or straight lines and is therefore much easier to cut in stone than rounded letters. The Runic alphabet was revived by the Vikings who used a modified and expanded version.

Uniquely the author of the poem The Dream of the Rood invests the Rood in his dream with a personality and the voice of the True Cross. The artist of the Ruthwell Cross by his choice of verses from an earlier version of this poem similarly identifies his own monument with Christ's Cross so that any reader of the runes 'shares in this dynamic and didactic relationship between reality and imitation and between word and image'. The subject of the poem is Mediterranean-Christian and 'the vernacular language, poetic idiom, metre, alliteration and runic letter forms belong to the Germanic heritage of Anglian Northumbria '.[4] The legible fragments of the poem read as follows:

> He stripped himself there, God Almighty, when he willed to climb the gallows, bloody in front of all the people. I did not dare to give way....
>
> I raised up the powerful King, the Lord of Heaven. I did not dare to topple. They humiliated us both together. I was soaked with blood, poured forth...
>
> Christ was on the Cross. But diligent and noble men came there from afar to the lonely one. All this I witnessed. I was sorely oppressed by anxieties, nonetheless I bowed....
>
> .....wounded by sharp points. They laid down the man weary of limb. They stood at his body's head. There they gazed upon the Lord of Heaven....

By allowing the cross to tell its own story of how it was cut down, taken from woods, and made into gallows and shared Christ's embrace and

his suffering, the poet evokes the empathy of the reader as 'all creation wept, keened with the King's death.' The poem reinforces the essential message of the Ruthwell Cross, by his terrible yet glorious victory on Good Friday Christ triumphed over death and Satan even in this heathen wilderness, a struggle enacted many times by later saints. The dreamer prays to the Tree of Victory: 'I saw the glory-tree shine out gaily, sheathed in yellow decorous gold and gemstones made for their Maker's Tree a knight mail coat'.

The belief then was that victory was achieved on Good Friday whereas on later medieval and modern crucifixes Christ is the suffering servant, a man of Sorrows, glory does not come until Easter day .[5]

Both Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses share the complex stem patterns of vine scroll with a variety of birds and beasts symbolising the sustenance and protection offered by Christ and His Church. There are only three figural scenes at Bewcastle, each one is mirrored at Ruthwell. Scenes from the life of Christ predominate in marked contrast to the High Crosses of Ireland and Iona where stories from the Old Testament figure prominently. The high crosses of Monasterboice, Durrow, Castledermot, Clonmacnoise and St. Martin on Iona are rightly called 'the crosses of the scriptures'. Typically it is the story of Daniel in the lion's den, Jonah and the whale and Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac that we see illustrated, scenes notably absent from our northern crosses.

Again prominence is given to the Agnus Dei panel with John the Baptist cradling the Lamb of God in his left arm while pointing to it with a finger of his right hand. The context is plainly Eucharistic for the panel is placed next to that showing Paul and Anthony sharing the bread of the Eucharist in the desert. Clearly the newly introduced Agnus Dei prayer before the distribution of Holy Communion was again being highlighted.

Also figuring here is the panel of Christ adored by the beasts recalling two biblical texts; Habbakuk 3.3 from the old Latin canticle sung every Friday at Lauds and at the ninth hour on Good Friday, Psalm 90 sung every evening at Compline, 'You will walk on the asp and the basilisk, and tread down the lion and the dragon'. At both Ruthwell and Bewcastle these two dangerous creatures are transferred into anonymous good beasts with crossed paws, a pun on the symbol of the cross.

There may well have been a rich symbolism in the placing of Christ between two beasts for was He not the bridge between the Old and the New

Testaments and did He not die between two thieves and appear between Moses and Elijah at the Transfiguration?[6]

A theme of the cross is clearly penance, reconciliation and conversion as in Celtic spirituality and this is perfectly illustrated in the Paul and Anthony scene, desert monks widely regarded as the 'Fathers of Western Monasticism'. The fame of these two hermits who lived a life of self-imposed exile in the Egyptian desert soon spread westwards aided by two of our earliest hagiographies, 'The Life of Anthony' by Athanasius translated into Latin by Evagrius of Antioch C.360 and 'The Life of Paul of Thebes' by Jerome about the same time. Both lives became influential throughout western Christendom and provided the basic texts of Celtic monastic wisdom. They were known both to the unknown author of Brendan the Navigator for in his monastic odyssey on the seas Brendan encounters Paul, and to the architect of Ruthwell Cross who portrays Paul and Anthony sharing bread in the desert, a reference to the passage in Elisha where the prophet is fed bread by a raven, though no raven is shown, so that the focus is on the bread. Christ is recognised in the breaking of bread, equally at the end of the road to Emmaus, in the deserts of Egypt or in the wilds of Northumbria. Ruthwell celebrates here the great symbolic riches shared by the Roman and Irish traditions besides which differences in the dating of Easter are of no great significance. In the early church the Communion bread was one loaf and shared among the people; the sharing by Paul and Anthony demonstrates the importance of communal liturgical worship, the great achievement of Christian culture in the early Middle Ages. This panel epitomises the message of the cross as a whole in celebrating both the universality of the Church in time and place and a lively liturgy worked out by a small community of monks with only limited resources.

Mary does not feature strongly in the illustrated manuscripts or in the iconography of the early Middle Ages, her cult was to burgeon later in the 12th and 13th centuries – yet, in contrast to Bewcastle where the only reference to women is the name Cyneburh, at Ruthwell, both Mary and Martha figure prominently. Mary is central to the Flight into Egypt scene and, in a scene as simple in outline as it is pregnant with meaning, Martha is shown washing the feet of Jesus. Again the kneeling figure of Martha, the ideal penitent, sums up the significance of the cross.

Recent scholars believe that the panels at Ruthwell celebrate the four major Marian feasts inaugurated by Pope Sergius c.700, Candlemas or the

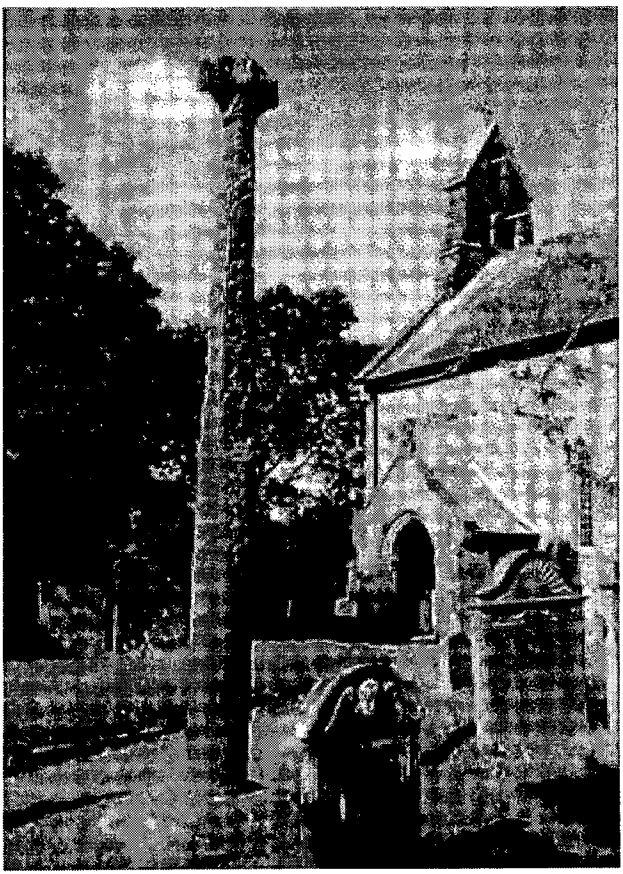
Purification on February 2, the Annunciation on March 25 inscribed with a verse from Luke 1 28, the Assumption on August 15 and the Nativity of the Virgin on September 8 shown by the Visitation. It says much for the awareness of the community and their close contact with distant Rome that these innovative feast days should be incorporated in the liturgy and commemorated so soon after their inception.

Though it was probably some local aristo who financed the community initially and the setting up of the Cross the inscription 'Iesus Christus, index aequitatis' is a clear warning to anyone who deems nobility of birth and political power to be important as God judges all men equally. Mayr-Harting calls this 'monastic classlessness' where true nobility arises from a growing spiritual and sacramental relationship with Christ for membership of the communion of saints is open to all. At the same time the patron, almost certainly an Anglo-Saxon, was demonstrating that Anglo-Saxons controlled this debatable region.

Scholars are united in their admiration for the degree of intellectual sophistication seen on Ruthwell Cross. The inscriptions and iconography are closely related to a fast changing 8th century Roman liturgy with a new cycle of feasts. The daily routine of communal acts of worship at set times, the Divine Office, is greatly aided for a monastic community with scant resources of books and heavily dependent on rote learning and chanting of prayers like the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo. The cross synthesises in stone the Gregorian ideal of blending Roman and Irish traditions in a diversity within a unity, an ideal stressed by Bede. Local needs are met yet there is no provincialism, but a sense of the universal church as East meets West and Heaven meets Earth; participation offers all Christians, living or deceased, membership of the communion of saints and a share in the fruits of the Incarnation and Resurrection. Ruthwell is 'a great contemplative monument of universal significance' and has 'the most complete theological programme of any surviving cross'.

GOSFORTH[7]

Gosforth is an attractive village a few miles from St. Bees (Bega) Head on the Cumbrian Coast : in the churchyard of the parish church of St. Mary's stands a remarkable and, in some respects, a unique Viking-Age stone cross. It stands in its original socket and is constructed from a single block of local red sandstone, with the base stepped like a market-cross. Five meters high it is taller and slenderer than Irish crosses and is classed as a ring cross, a form used before the Norse invasions of Western Scotland and Ireland and picked up by settlers moving across the Irish Sea to England. There are as many as eleven crosses of similar design on or near the Cumbrian Coast indicating that the main lines of communication were



by sea and that it was on the fertile coastal plain rather than the difficult hilly hinterland that the more prosperous farmers and landowners lived. It may well be that the very shape of crosses like Gosforth was richly symbolic as the square base represented the earth, the shaft the earth-axis and the wheel head the encircling heavens above. A bark-like pattern on the lower cylindrical part of the cross enhances its tree-like appearance. One wonders if the artist had the Tree of Life in mind, a recurring

theme of the Dreamer of the Rood and others. The 6th century poet Venantius Fortunatus wrote: 'Oh faithful cross, the only noble tree among all the trees. No forest produces a tree like you in leaf, flower or seed.'

A Holy Week preface reads, 'Death came from a tree, life was to spring from a tree'. At Sherburn in Yorkshire the arms of the cross actually sprout leaves. If this was indeed the intention of the artist then he has succeeded nobly. Though the cross cannot be dated precisely it must be pre-conquest as some of its carvings were re-used as rubble in the Norman church.

The four faces of the cross all have ornament, both figural and zoomorphic, and shows strong Scandinavian influence with no divisions between the panels unlike Anglo-Saxon crosses. However, as with the Ruthwell cross, the approach seems to be contemplative and again poses the question: "What does this mean?"

The only explicit Christian illustration on the Gosforth cross is a readily recognisable Crucifixion scene, by in the ninth and tenth centuries a popular theme among English figural sculptors. The later medieval portrayals of Christ on the Cross as the Suffering Servant with twisted and tortured body had not yet reached the remote and conservative north and Christ at Gosforth is shown as reigning from the tree, head erect, eyes open, limbs straight, legs uncrossed so avoiding any hint of suffering or death. Blood issues from Christ's right side but no cross is shown so no nails are seen; the emphasis being on the spear.

Two other figures are shown, on the left is Longinus holding a spear and at the foot of the cross a female with what appears to be a horn; in style she is purely Scandinavian with hanging pigtails, trailing dress, horn in hand, yet she stands where Mary stood beneath the Cross and where in a typical crucifixion scene Stephaton, as partner to Longinus, the sponge-bearer would have stood. We see the more typical scene at Hexham, Penrith and Bothal. Is she in fact Mary Magdalene in Scandinavian guise carrying ointment and, if so, is she as at Ruthwell representing penance and conversion? Equally she could be seen as a Valkyrie who welcomes heroes to Valhalla. At the foot of the panel is a double-headed snake symbolising triumph over the devil.

All the other panels show scenes from Norse mythology about which little is known in Britain. Our main source derives from the 13th century Edda written by Snorri Sturlusson where he records tales of a dying Norse pagan tradition reminding us that 'these beliefs of theirs have changed in

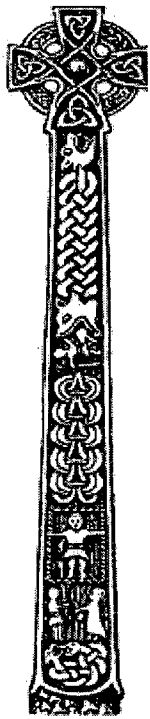
many ways as people drifted apart and their tongues became separated one from another.' The Gosforth sculptor therefore offers us a unique glimpse of how Norse myths were seen and interpreted in the 10th or 11th century.

On the same face as the Crucifixion scene we see Vioarr, son of Odin, avenging the death of his father by breaking the jaws of the wolf who had swallowed Odin, 'Vioarr shall avenge him, he shall rend the cold jaws of the Beast and kill him!' Odin's son was one of the innocent gods who survived the Ragnarok, the holocaust, where the gods of Norse mythology were overthrown and destroyed led by the evil god Loki. The juxtaposition of the two scenes is unmistakeably a reference to Christ who lived through the Crucifixion to rule the world after his great struggle against evil, the scenes comment on each other.

Another scene shows the watchman god Heimdallr holding back two advancing beasts with a spear in one hand and a horn in the other to awaken the gods to the impending doom of Ragnarok, a tortured Loki, father of many of the monsters, who is held, legs and arms pinioned beneath the venomous fangs of a serpent whose poison drips onto his forehead. Loki's faithful wife attempts to collect the venom in a bowl. Loki's terrible fate epitomises the fates of the evil gods.

The Gosforth cross introduces for the first time into sculptural art the figure of the armed secular warrior familiar in pagan tradition since earliest times.

Ragnarok with its darkness, wars and earthquakes echoes Doomsday still believed to be near (at the end of the millennium 1000 A.D.?) and sounds an Apocalyptic theme. The graphic scenes described all spell out clearly a message of the triumph of good over evil and may well have been chosen both to celebrate the myths of a rich pagan Norse folk-lore and some central truths of the new Christianity. With the final defeat of the forces of Loki the innocent gods who survived the chaos of Ragnarok rule a new cleansed world where 'the fields will grow unsown'.



Symbols of pagan Norse mythology and crucified Christ on the Gosforth Cross.

Other scenes show threatening monsters and horsemen riding out to battle and point to the eternal struggle between good and evil and the end of three worlds; the pagan world of Odin; the world Christ redeemed by His death on the Cross and resurrection; and the world ending in Doomsday as portrayed by the artist of the Lindisfarne Judgement stone.

Two panels of a wall frieze, perhaps continuous in the 10th century church, show the same commentary on Viking myths and Christian beliefs. In the upper panel a snake curls around the feet of a beast with horns, interpreted as a hart. The Roman writer Pliny considered the snake and the hart traditional enemies. In early Christian imagery the hart is shown as a symbol of Christ and the serpent equated with the devil; an Anglo-Saxon homilist names serpents 'among the eleven pains of hell' for did not the Lord say to the serpent who tempted Eve to commit the first sin, 'Cursed are you among all animals and among all wild creatures, upon your belly you shall crawl all the days of your life'.

The upper frieze panel is known as the Fishing Stone and features Thor, a god of great strength and limited intelligence, struggling with the World-serpent. Thor is in a boat and holds a hammer and a fishing line with an ox head for bait from one of the giant Hymir's oxen. Hymir is also out fishing and when Thor hooks the World-Serpent, whose coils encircle the world, Hymir cuts the line with an axe enabling the serpent to escape until the final battle of Ragnarok. Has the artist of this 10th century church wall-frieze chosen this colourful episode from Icelandic folk-lore to remind his audience of the passage in Isaiah XXVII I: 'On that day the Lord with his cruel and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent and will kill the dragon that is in the sea'? Again in Job XLII we read 'Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?' Bede describes Leviathan as a sea-serpent. Stories of struggles between men and serpent-like monsters are popular in both Scandinavian and Christian tradition. Grendel, the dragon of the Beowulf saga, is described as the 'progeny of Cain'.

Another interesting sculptural feature described as a 'hogback' only emerged during 19th century restoration work among the rubble used as foundation material by a Norman mason. It is a small solid structure with end-beasts as gables and a curving ridgeline reflecting the shape of contemporary Viking-age houses. The hogback developed into a shrine tomb in which Christian relics were housed. Two examples can be seen in

St. Mary's church at Gosforth and another in Hexham Abbey, possibly hinting at Scandinavian settlement in the Mid-Tyne valley.

Cumbria can boast of more Viking age carvings, some 120 in total, than anywhere else in the country and nowhere are they better seen than at Gosforth. Here is craftsmanship of the highest quality where artist and patron with access to a wide variety of ideas and much skill produced a programme of pagan iconography and Christian beliefs. Pagan narratives are used to celebrate Christian truths in line with the advice of Pope Gregory three centuries earlier, not to deny immediately pagan traditions but from time to time to compare their superstitions with our Christian beliefs. The cross illustrates the remarkable conversion of settlers achieved by a Church stripped of resources, deprived of its monastic centres and with its upper organisational echelons disrupted and impoverished. Its patron may well have been a rich land-owner with Scandinavian origins.

CONCLUSION

The meaning of the stone crosses erected at Bewcastle, Ruthwell, Gosforth and elsewhere is far from clear, but what is not in doubt is 'the love of earlier Christian culture ... that so early brought Christ and His saints out of the surroundings of the Church and majestically mounted them in the wild open places of Northumbria'.[8] Certainly, the achievement should not be viewed in isolation but as in integral part of the cultural and spiritual renaissance occurring in our region from the mid 7th to mid 8th century.

A visitor today who spends a few moments before these crosses in silent contemplation will enjoy a richly rewarding experience.

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7. Bailey R.N. This section draws heavily on England's Earliest Sculptors. 1996.
8. Cramp R. Jarrow Lecture 1965.

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IN TIME OF STRIFE: GEOFFREY BURDON, PRIOR OF DURHAM 1313-22

Constance M. Fraser

On 6 October 2004 a panel of notabilities including David Bellamy and Rosemary Cramp met in the Theatre Royal, Newcastle upon Tyne, under the chairmanship of Kate Adie. The occasion was to mark the launch of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the theme of the debate was 'Heroes and Villains of the North East'. Unsurprisingly, the choice for Rosemary Cramp was the Venerable Bede. One man's hero, however, may be another's villain. This is especially the case in times of crisis. One such crisis occurred on 20 May 1300, when Bishop Antony Bek attempted to make his first formal visit to his cathedral church of Durham. His chapter, the convent of Durham, had a long tradition of independence; Bishop Bek's two immediate predecessors had been Durham monks, for whom the traditional episcopal status of titular abbot was natural. Bishop Bek, however, was an experienced diplomat, working in Gascony, Spain and Germany for Edward I. Previous to his election as bishop of Durham he had been archdeacon of Durham, but his main merit in royal eyes was usefulness in government service.

Having issued the customary notification of his intent to visit Bishop Bek presented himself with a retinue of clerks and notaries. The prior, Richard Hoton, responded with an appeal to Pope Boniface VIII on the grounds that it was the custom in Durham for the bishop to come accompanied by only two clerks. Following this defiance there were appeals and counter appeals to the archbishop of York, the archbishop of Canterbury and the pope. The dispute got very nasty indeed.[1] The bishop's men blockaded the priory and ordered all the monastic servants to leave. After a month the monks submitted, following arbitration by King Edward I. The bishop imposed a nominee prior and imprisoned Hoton, who escaped and appealed to parliament. Hoton then led a delegation to Rome and fought his cause at the Curia, forcing Bishop Bek himself to attend. Then Boniface VIII died and his successor Benedict IX gave judgment in favour of Prior Hoton. Bishop Bek returned to the Curia to present his case before a new pope, Clement V, who not only accepted the reasonableness of the bishop's case but also nominated him as titular Patriarch of Jerusalem. Then Richard Hoton died abroad in January 1308, and his

advocates had to return to Durham to a disciplinary visitation and condemnation by the bishop's commissary-general, who pronounced sentences of excommunication on those who had supported Prior Hoton. A new prior was found from Wetheral Priory, a dependency of St Mary's Abbey, York, and the convent could only wait until Bishop Bek died on 3 March 1311. Whom would history find to be the hero or the villain?

Prior Tanfield had the difficult task of reconciling the convent of Durham with their bishop. The contemporary chronicler, Robert de Graystanes, described William as tall in stature, fair of face, of pleasing manners, lavish in expenditure and rejoicing in company.[2] On the debit side he could be regarded as improvident at a time when Scottish raids were devastating the North, and protection money was being levied from the inhabitants of the palatinate of Durham.[3] It was also said that his provision to the priorship had necessitated raising £2200 from the Society of the Ballardi, which had to be paid off by the bursar of the house, as shown by his accounts for 1308/9.[4]

In June 1313 Prior William Tanfield, conscious of his age, accepted that it was time for him to retire. He was allowed the use of the cell at Jarrow, together with the nearby manor of Wardley, and their tithes, and Bishop Kellawe authorised an election of his successor. The record of proceedings was entered into the priory's second register and provides evidence in regard to the inmates of the monastery at that date. A total of 86 monks were present at the election, headed by Geoffrey Burdon, the subprior, Walter Eggescliffe, third prior, William Gretham, prior of the dependent cell of Coldingham in Berwickshire, Henry Stamford, prior of Finchale, John Laton, chancellor and almoner, John Seton, chamberlain, and Geoffrey Haxby, STD. It was agreed that the new prior would be selected by committee, and their choice fell on the subprior, Geoffrey de Burdon, who was confirmed immediately by Bishop Kellawe. He was installed the same day 'to spare expense'.[5]

The precise date of Burdon's entry to the monastery at Durham is uncertain. He was listed in May 1300 as present on the occasion of Bishop Bek's visitation, when he was specifically excommunicated by the bishop for contumacy for resisting him. Previous to that date he had been in charge of the cell of Durham students at Oxford. Immediately after the visitation Burdon was acting as a proctor for Prior Hoton in pursuing appeals to the archbishop of York and Pope Boniface VIII against the bishop's actions. A notarial instrument of 2 March 1301 records Burdon

confronting the Archbishop of Canterbury as he was travelling between the manor of Breedon and Tewkesbury Abbey in the diocese of Worcester to demand that he execute a papal mandate to cite Bishop Bek and the intruded Prior Henry de Luceby to appear before the pope. A problem seems to have been that until Prior Hoton was reinstated there was no money to pay for legal expenses.[6] By November 1301 Prior Hoton was in Rome to pursue his appeal, where he succeeded in gaining papal support, and in February 1302 Hoton authorised three proctors, including Burdon, to present his letters to those in control of the Durham priory authorising the restoration of the convent to him as the rightful prior. On 14 August 1302 Burdon as proctor appealed against the collection in the diocese of Durham by the Official of Northumberland of a tenth towards the legal costs of the bishop of his action at Rome against Prior Hoton. The restoration of Prior Hoton was still being resisted in October 1302. By this date, however, Bishop Bek had braved the displeasure of Edward I, gone to Rome, explained his case to Boniface VIII, and secured a new ordinance that henceforth when the bishop of Durham visited the convent he should be accompanied by two or three honest clerks (at least one of whom would be a Benedictine monk) and a notary. As the bull *Debent* this was subsequently incorporated as part of the *Extravagantes* of Canon Law.[7]

By January 1303 Burdon was back in Durham and acting as steward of the priory estates, when he and the bursar appointed proctors to act for them in Rome. The battle of wills between Bishop Bek and Prior Hoton, however, continued to rage before the pope, by now Clement V, who was easier for the bishop to sway and who in 1305 nominated him titular Patriarch of Jerusalem. After Hoton's death in 1308, as we have seen, Tanfield assumed control of the priory with the bishop's tacit approval, and there was another visitation of the monastery. This time the visitors were commissaries, the bishop's vicar-general and the archdeacon of Durham, associating with themselves the new prior, subprior, third prior, feretrar of St Cuthbert's shrine and another monk. Their purpose was to discipline the monks who had supported Hoton in his stand against the bishop to protect the ancient privileges of the monastery. First of these was Geoffrey Burdon, who was pronounced 'disobedient, contumacious, despiser of the process of law (*cautium*), transgressor of laws, and notorious violator of the liberties of church of Durham', for which he had been previously sentenced by the bishop to the greater excommunication yet continued his defiance for eight years as prime supporter of Prior Hoton.[8]

Burdon was subjected to a prolonged interrogation covering his work pursuing appeals on behalf of Prior Hoton, fomenting resistance to the bishop, continuing to celebrate divine service despite excommunication and as Hoton's proctor roaming through various countries to harm the bishop, despite the wish of the monastery both for his return and that he desist from business in secular courts. Through his machinations the liberty of the bishop and of church of Durham had been twice taken into the King's hands. He had instituted lay proceedings against the bishop and other ecclesiastics for the death of a William Pollard. As prior of Finchale he had refused to swear an oath of fealty to the bishop for his land. Also, as prior of Finchale he had wasted the goods of that house, concealed business from the brethren, and kept himself in his room. While the Durham priory was vacant following the death of Prior Hoton he had disposed of hides, wool, horses, equipment, harness and other chattels from Finchale in great quantity. He had burdened the priory of Finchale with a corrody whereby Adam Elwald paid a lump sum of 60 marks in return for which he and his wife would receive for life as much as two monks received in board. He had failed to present his accounts as prior. He had taken goods from his fellow monks. He was suspected of improper relations when at Oxford, when a married woman was staying in his lodgings, and he had kept another woman at York in clothes and other necessary things. All these charges Burdon either firmly denied or offered an innocent explanation, and he asked to put his case for compurgation on the oaths of fellow monks.

The commissioners proceeded remorselessly, and eventually Burdon expressed contrition for his alleged offences. Absolution was pronounced, then the sentence. He was to be stripped of all offices and dignities within and outside the priory, and banished from all communication with the brethren, individually, in chapter or elsewhere, for a period of ten years. He was to stay in the 'ultimate' of the upper steps of the choir on the south side, and maintain a similar place in processions and in the refectory. He might not leave the house without the prior or subprior of Durham, he must observe silence and speak to no one but the prior or subprior, and then in moderation. He might send no letters nor receive them. Each week he must say two psalters for the bishop, whom he had so greatly offended, for his health while he lived and for his soul after his death. Each 'fourth day' he must have one kind of fish, each sixth day bread and water, unless he were sick, when the alternative was at the discretion of the prior or

subprior. On the other days he would have bread, ale and potage. On Saturdays during the ten years he would recite 60 Hail Marys in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and hold the bishop in memory in his prayers and devotions in life as well as in death. He was to swear on the Bible before the commissioners to refrain from contact by word, nod, or other sign with those monks who had resisted the bishop. Finally, on 13 December 1310 Bishop Bek graciously approved the relaxation of his sentences of excommunication and suspension, and on 12 January 1311 the commissioners sentenced Burdon to exile in the priory of Coldingham within eight days, where he should remain for the remaining period of the sentence of ten years. During that time he should not assume any office or dignity, nor be present at any debate under pain of the greater excommunication, which would fall equally on any who favoured him.[9]

After this crushing sentence on Geoffrey Burdon one must read in astonishment that by 1313 he was subprior of Durham. The explanation was that on 3 March 1311 Bishop Bek had died, and during the vacancy Archbishop William Greenfield of York visited the monastery and quashed all sentences passed on Burdon by Bishop Bek. Burdon was present among the monks who assembled to elect Bek's successor, and already was described as prior of Lytham, the tiny outlying cell of Durham located in Lancashire. Moreover, he was among the eleven monks selected as commissaries to elect the new bishop on behalf of the monastic chapter.[10] The new bishop was Richard de Kellawe, onetime subprior of Richard Hoton and participant in all the struggles between bishop and prior. With such a reversal of hierarchy Prior Tanfield might well consider retirement!

The details of Burdon's election as prior of Durham are described in a notarial instrument, subsequently copied into the second priory register. The monks met in the choir of Durham cathedral and celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit as customary on such occasions. They then proceeded to the chapter house and behind closed doors debated their choice. At the ninth hour the doors were opened and Prior Tanfield and Brother Geoffrey Haxby led a procession which entered the cathedral singing *Te Deum Laudamus* in a loud voice. Geoffrey Burdon was led to the High Altar as prior elect. He humbly prostrated himself until the canticle ended, when Brother Reginald Barneby, a senior monk, read in French before clergy and people the authorisation by chapter of Burdon's election as prior.

It was a difficult time to hold office, especially in the north of England. The king was facing rebellion on the part of his barons; the Scots

had regained the initiative after their victory at Bannockburn in June 1314 and were levying tribute from the north of England. The Durham monks sought to buy immunity, which meant delivery of money either to agents such as Richard Marmaduke, steward of the bishopric, or to Sir William Douglas. (The receipts still survive in the Durham archives.) The system did not always work, because the monks' stock of animals, taken to Spennymoor for safety, was captured by the Scots despite Prior Burdon being alerted to the danger. Added to which was the Great Famine, with harvest failures between 1315 and 1318 following incessant rain. On 9 October 1316 Bishop Kellawe died, and pressure was put on the monks to choose a new bishop in accordance with the wishes of the King, the Queen, the Earl of Lancaster and the Earl of Hereford, each with their own candidate. The monks attempted to elect their own nominee, Henry Stamford, prior of Finchale, but were outmanoeuvred by the Queen, who desired that a kinsman, Lewis Beaumont, be selected. After a scandalous seizure of Beaumont, his brother Henry, and the two cardinals who were to install him at Durham, the ceremony took place. Shortly afterwards there was another episcopal visitation of the convent. On this occasion the bishop met with no resistance, as Pope Boniface VIII had established procedure by his Bull *Debent*.

It is the contention of Mrs Jean Scammell that the years between the death of Prior Hoton in 1308 and the accession of Prior William de Couton in 1322 saw an entire transformation of the opinions of the monks as to Bishop Bek.[11] She considers that the evidence for this can be found in the questions and answers recorded for the visitation of the convent made by Bishop Beaumont in 1321.[12] The bishop's immediate aim seems to have been to get rid of Prior Burdon, against whom 53 charges were levelled. Some criticised his behaviour as prior, such as failure to attend services regularly, to consult frequently with his brethren and ensure that the monks had sufficient opportunities for recreation. More charges concerned the fall in the convent's income, leading to reduction of allowances to old and sick monks, reduction in hospitality and borrowing money. To these Prior Burdon replied that 'it was well known that the house's goods were no longer at the accustomed sufficiency'. Then came the charges of treating with the Scots. It was alleged that although forewarned he had failed to move livestock far enough south to escape marauders – who had moved quicker than expected. One article accused him of having dealings with the Scots. To this he answered that he had received letters from Englishmen

sent to Scotland 'to save the Durham monastery'. Article 37 alleged payments to the Scots out of the [English] king's money stored in the monastery. Here his justification was that it was a choice of pacifying the Scots, who were ready to invade, or seeing the countryside totally devastated. Sir Richard Marmaduke had taken the money and had promised to make the amount good, but had been prevented by death. An action was in hand against his executors, both in the consistory court and in the lay courts. In an earlier article (15) it was alleged that one monk, Robert Dychburn, had actually decamped and fled to Scotland. Prior Burdon explained that after earlier dealings Dychburn had been sent to Finchale, then being warned of dangers to the monastery through the Scots, and at the instance of Richard Marmaduke and many others had sent Dychburn to Scotland with letters of safe-conduct from Robert de Brus 'to treat of peace and salvation for the country and the monastery'. He had never returned, but what had befallen him Prior Burdon did not know.

Marmaduke's shadow fell across another charge against Prior Burdon. According to article 25 Marmaduke was keeper of the bishopric during the vacancy after the death of Bishop Kellawe. He took on himself to go to Scotland to negotiate with the Scots and because he had no money in hand Burdon had given him jewels belonging to the monastery. He had also given Marmaduke a coronet for his wife, because she had taken a fancy to it. This had been taken from an image of the Blessed Virgin in the Galilee Chapel. Burdon pleaded in justification that this favour was in the best interest of his house and he only did it because through Marmaduke's labours the monastery and country had been saved.[13]

Perhaps it was not surprising that on 25 January 1322 Prior Burdon tendered his resignation and retired to the minor cell of Monkwearmouth, where he had the use of the tithes of both Monkwearmouth and Fulwell. (Eight years later his monks at Wearmouth were still complaining of his unbearable temper.)[14] This could be considered as a vote of confidence in Geoffrey Burdon as administrator, without criticising his role as a previous upholder of the liberties of the convent of Durham. The change of opinion in the convent as regards the heroic struggle between Bishop Bek and Prior Hoton, upholder of the convent's liberties may be traced back to 1320. Bishop Beaumont was semi-literate and owed his position to his relationship with Queen Isabella of England. Bishop Bek had been a good-living and educated churchman, and was the first to be interred in Durham cathedral after St Cuthbert. The chronicler Graystanes refers to Bek's

modesty with women. More to the point, the sacrist's roll for 1338/40 lists among the effects of the convent and its relics the velvet covering of the tomb of *Saint* Antony.[15] My hero!

Endnotes

1. Details of the visitation may be found in C.M. Fraser, *A History of Antony Bek* (Oxford UP, 1957), 130-145.
2. J. Raine (ed), *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Society 9, 1839), 85.
3. J. Scammell 'Robert I and the North of England' *English Historical Review* LXXIV, 1958, p 393.
4. The same roll shows that £1800 was raised by sale of tithes and loans, possibly to repay the Italian bankers. Durham University Library, Durham Cathedral Muniments, Bursars' Accounts 1308-9, sections on receipts and payment of debts. See also Scriptores, 89.
5. Durham Cathedral Muniments, Registrum (1312-1401) ff13-19v.
6. C.M. Fraser, *op. cit.* p 154.
7. *Ibid.* 153-75.
8. C.M. Fraser (ed), *Records of Antony Bek* (Surtees Society 162, 1953) pp 134, 137-49.
9. *Ibid.* 161-64.
10. Durham Cathedral Muniments, Locellus 6 numbers 9b, 9d.
11. J. Scammell, 'Some aspects of Medieval English Monastic Government: the case of Geoffrey Burdon Prior of Durham (1313-1321)' *Revue Benedictine* 68, 1958, pp 227-50
12. Durham Cathedral Muniments, Locellus 27 nos 30, 31.
13. Durham Cathedral Muniments, Miscellaneous Charter 5730b.
14. Scammell, *Revue,* 249.
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LAMSPRINGE ABBEY MONKS WHO SERVED AS CHAPLAINS IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM

R M Gard

The Abbey of St Adrian and St Denis at Lamspringe, near Hildesheim, Germany, is perhaps the least known, (*pace* St Malo [1611-1669]), of the English Benedictine Congregation communities abroad. Before the Congregation itself, with its tenuous history from pre-Reformation times, was confirmed by Urban VIII in the Bull *Plantana* of 1633, houses had been founded in the Low Countries: St Gregory's at Douay, near Lille (1607); St Laurence's at Dieulouard, near Nancy in Lorraine (1608); and St Edmund's in Paris (1615). The history of these communities is well known, as they survived their expulsion at the French Revolution, returned to England and finally settled, respectively, at Downside, Ampleforth and Douai. Two convents of English Benedictine nuns had also been founded, Cambrai (1625), latterly at Stanbrook, and Paris (1651).

Lamspringe, however, was acquired by the Congregation in 1643 and dissolved in 1803, but had no permanent lineal descendant in England, except for a short-lived monastery at Broadway. It had belonged to a federation of German monasteries in the Congregation of the Bursfield Reform of 1450. It was one of seven monasteries offered to the English Congregation, two of which, Cismar in Holstein, and Rintelin, near Minden, came to nothing. Lamspringe, however, came to be well integrated into the local German ecclesiastical and economic life of its area, and became the wealthiest of the English Benedictine communities. It was also exceptional in being ruled by abbots elected for life. Even so, as with St Gregory's, St Laurence's and St Edmund's, it was dedicated to the training of priests for the English Mission.

Missionary priests in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries working in England were almost exclusively maintained as chaplains by Catholic gentry families. This brief article identifies the Lamspringe monks who served primarily in Northumberland and County Durham. The listing follows the sequence in "Historical Notes on Catholic Missions in Northumberland and Durham during Penal Times (down to about 1840)", by J. R. Baterden (1912-1916), corrected and amplified by entries in Athanasius Allanson's *Biography of English Benedictines* (St Laurence Papers, IV, 1999), and names listed in Birt's Necrology, wherein 88 out of

200 Lamspringe monks are recorded as having served on the English Mission. Where discrepancies occur between these sources, preference is given to Allanson. Allanson gives each monk two Christian names, the first presumed to be his name in religion and the second his baptismal name: Baterden gives both names without distinction.

Appointments and elections of monks as Definitors (Councillors) Procurators (Bursars), Scrutators (Auditors), Praepositus of Districts (cf. modern Deans), Provincials of the North (York) or South (Canterbury), Preachers General, and Cathedral Priors are noted, as they indicate the responsibilities accorded them by the General Chapter of the Congregation, and the respect with which they were held.

NORTHUMBERLAND

Beaufront (Errington family)

1661-1668 Bede or Bartholomew Addy. Born in County Durham. Professed at Lamspringe, 8 December 1655. Beaufront (1661-1668). In South Province, of which Scrutator (1685-1705). Died 16 August 1705.

1668-1689 Francis Porter. Born in County Durham. Professed at Lamspringe, 16 September 1658. Died 15 March 1689.

1737- 1759 Gregory or Edward Selby. Born at Yearl, or Yardhill, near Wooler, Professed at Lamspringe, 21 April 1726. Also served Hesleyside (1757-1759). Died 6 February 1759.

1766-1774 Bede or Lancelot Newton. Born at Stocksfield Hall, 12 May 1714. Educated at Lamspringe and professed 15 April 1732. Prior, 1748. On English Mission, 1750. Witham Place (1750), Gilling Castle (1751-1761), Beaufront (1766-1774), Whitehaven (1774-1775), Birtley (1775-1777), where he died, 27 February 1777. Praepositus of District (1753-1761), Secretary to the Provincial Chapter (1757), Preacher General (1761), Scrutator of Yorkshire (1764-1766).

1774-1780 Adrian or Thomas Gurnall. Born in London. Professed at Lamspringe, 18 September 1763. Ordained, 1767. On English Mission, 1774. Capheaton (1774), Beaufront (1774-1780), Hesleyside (1780-1781), Everingham (1781-1811), where he died, 5 January 1811. Scrutator of Yorkshire (1785-1800), Definitor of Province (1800-1811), Prior of Worcester (1802).

1786 Boniface or Charles Taylor. Born at Goosnargh, near Preston, 28 May 1752. Professed at Lamspringe, 1 November 1772. Whitehaven (1780), Aberford (1780-1786), Beaufront (1786), Crosby (1786), where he died, 27 April 1812.

Capheaton (Swinburne family)
1774 Adrian or Thomas Gurnall. See under Beaufront.

Ellingham (Haggerston family)
1805 - 1810 Lawrence or John Foreshaw. Born at Ormskirk, 12 February 1769. Professed at Lamspringe, 7 September 1788. Novice Master, 1795. On English Mission, 1801. Hindley, Lancs., (1801-1805), Ellingham (1805-1810), Birtley (1810-1815), where he died, 5 December 1815.

Hesleyside (Charlton family)
1747-1756 Bede or William Hutton. Born at Eldon, County Durham. Educated at Lamspringe. Professed, 8 December 1713. Ordained, 1720. On English Mission. Stella (1731), Kendal and Workington (1731-1747), Hesleyside (1747-1756), where he died, 29 May 1756. Scrutator of Northumberland, 1733, and of District, 1749-1756.

1756-1757 Augustine or Robert Turner. Born at Walton le Dale, Lancs., 3 July 1721. Professed at Lamspringe, 26 May 1740. St Gregory's, (1750), The North Province, (1752), Hesleyside (1756-1757), where he died, 30 July 1757.

1757-1759 Gregory or Edward Selby. See under Beaufront.

1761-1777 Anselm or Thomas Bolas. Born at Preston Goballs (Shropshire), 1732. Professed at Lamspringe, 10 January 1751. Whitehaven (1760), Hesleyside (1761-1777), Warwick Bridge, near Carlisle (1777-1797) where he died, 30 September 1797. Provincial of York (1777-1785), Cathedral Prior of Bath (1777).

1780-1781 Adrian or Thomas Gurnall. See under Beaufront.

Swinburne Castle (Riddell Family)

1729-1738 Thomas or Robert Riddell. Second son of Edward and Dorothy (nee Dalton) Riddell, and brother of Thomas Riddell, the Squire. Born at Swinburne, 1698. Professed at Lamspringe, 25 January 1715. At St Gregory's, Douay, 1726. Swinburne (1729-1738). Returned to Lamspringe, where he died, 7 July 1740. His brother, Edward Joseph Riddell, died at Lamspringe, 20 February 1726.

COUNTY DURHAM

Birtley

1819-1827 Bede or John Rigby. Born at Warrington, 2 February 1774. Professed at Lamspringe, 18 November 1798. Houghton Hall, (1803-1805), Bath (1805-1806),Weston, (1806-1809), St Mary's, Liverpool (1810-1814), Ampleforth (1816-1819), Birtley (1819-1827), Downside (1827-1835), Broadway, Worcs, (1835-1836). Returned to Lamspringe, 1836, where he died 15 January 1837.

Stella

1731 Bede or William Hutton. See under Hesleyside.

Chester Le Street

1727-1745 Edward or Bertram Bulmer. Born in Yorkshire. Professed at Lamspringe, 27 June 1685. On English Mission from 1693. Stockeld (1701-1715), Chester Le Street (1727 1745), died 16 March 1745. Scrutator of York Province,

(1697-1713). Definitor, 1717, Preacher General, 1721. Cathedral Prior of Durham, 1725. Praepositus of Durham, (1729-1745). Provincial, 1731. President, (1729-1737). Cathedral Prior of Canterbury, 1733.

Durham

1683 Benedict or David Constable. Third son of Thomas and Anne (nee Marston), Constable of Yorkshire. Professed at Lamspringe, 7 August 1669. On English Mission in the North, but within a month arrested for his priesthood, and confined in Durham Gaol, where he died, 11 December 1683. His death is recorded in the burial register of St Oswald's parish, Durham.

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JOHN LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND: AN APPRAISAL
(A revised version of a talk given to the Society in November 2004)

The Rev. David Milburn

I stand here tonight because I feel that I owe it to our Society and our Society owes it to the *Journal's* readership to spell out the importance of John Lingard's contribution to English historical studies before the 150th anniversary of his death recedes from our memories. This task has finally been made possible by the publication of *John Lingard and the Pursuit of Historical Truth* by Edwin Jones, Sussex Academic Press, 2001 together with a series of essays edited by our friend Father Peter Phillips for the Catholic Record Society under the title *Lingard Remembered*, also 2001.

BACKGROUND

Like many of you I have seen during my lifetime a fundamental sea change in our English approach to history. Regularly in the special history papers of the 1940s Higher Certificate there appeared a question along the

lines whether history was an art or a science, for these were the last days of the great literary historians like G M Trevelyan. Such a question raised a smile among the history lecturers at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium where I went after my ordination in 1951 to take a degree in historical research. Belgium had been in the forefront of the continental revolution in historical studies (already 100 years old by that date) which had given researchers the principles by which they could arrive at historical truth. England, meanwhile, had continued to ignore such developments. In an earlier work, *The English Nation: the Great Myth* (Sutton Publishing, 1998) Edwin Jones had sought to explain this "peculiar myopia of English historians". In it he argued that in their self-satisfied superior way they had been content to repeat for three hundred years what they thought to be the truth without ever wanting to question it. Only since the 1950s has it come to be accepted that mediaeval England for all its quarrels with the pope and other European powers thought of itself as an integral part of the international community. Like Thomas More in the 16th century the English people had believed they could be patriots defending their emerging nation's interests while belonging to the Roman Church. But for three hundred years they were led to believe the opposite.

The erosion of that sense of belonging began with Henry V111's two revolutionary statutes, the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome and the 1534 Act of Supremacy by which the Crown took control of the Church. In an attempt to justify such radical measures it was asserted that England from time immemorial had been an "empire" within the boundaries of which the Church had always been subject to the Crown and where papal interference had always been challenged. These two Acts, writes Jones, were the pincers which were to hold English historiography in a tight grip until well into the 20th century. Their architect Thomas Cromwell, perhaps our first spin doctor and certainly the pioneer of the Tudor propaganda machine, employed an army of lawyers, theologians and historians to erase the memory of all things Roman while stamping on the nation's conscience the erastian views of William Tynedale's *Obedience of the Christian Man*. This xenophobia, actively encouraged by those who profited from the religious changes, gradually widened to include all things Catholic at home and abroad. It became the norm to assume that Protestantism had swept to power on the back of a real revulsion against the discredited medieval Church. Coinciding as it did with the rise of England's maritime supremacy, this easily led on to the conviction that the

English were the new chosen race, superior to all others. Britain was truly great, and the task of any patriotic historian was simply to demonstrate the continuity of English institutions through the ages, charting the steady ascent of a nation destined to lead the post-Reformation world in a war against Catholic Europe. The next two centuries would see ordinary English people develop such an abnormal antipathy to Catholics that they would be led to follow blindly worthless fellows like Titus Oates and Lord George Gordon. This is the view expressed by Professor Patrick Collinson, a much respected defender of the Protestant Reformation. David Loades also writes of a deep anti-Catholic prejudice as much xenophobic as theological taking root in important sections of the political nation.

It is true that some took exception to this official view of the nation's history. A long line of Catholic writers in exile defended not only Catholic theology but a Catholic perspective in history as well. Its main opponents within the Anglican Church appeared at the end of the 17th century among the group of Non Jurors who refused to assent to the new constitutional arrangements which followed the Revolution of 1688. These continued to identify their Anglican Church with the Church before the Conquest but bitterly opposed the idea that at any stage had the old Church been subject to the authority of the Crown. To challenge the official line they had at their disposal recently printed collections of medieval documents such as William Dugdale's *Monasticon* (which had produced howls of protest when it appeared in 1655) and Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* of 1691. Even more importantly, they were able to use the new techniques of textual criticism developed by the Belgian Jesuit Bollandists and the French Benedictine scholars of St Maur to determine the authenticity of such material. For fear of reprisals most of these writers circulated their findings privately, but Thomas Hearne (1678-1735) was one of the few prepared to go public and thereby forced to resign his prestigious position as librarian of the Bodleian. Despite these sporadic attempts to overthrow the party line, it has to be said that by the beginning of the 19th century the prefabricated version of English history had become deeply embedded in the folk memory of the English nation, not least as a result of the 18th century Whig belief in England's inexorable progress from time immemorial to the very top of the league of nations. Rule Britannia!

JOHN LINGARD

In brief John Lingard's achievement lay in destroying this national myth. Born in Winchester in 1771 he experienced at first hand the Gordon Riots before his exceptional intelligence and pleasant disposition brought him to the notice of Bishop Richard Challoner who in 1782 sent him to study for the priesthood at the English College in Douai at the age of eleven. His time there coincided with the presidency of the Northumbrian William Gibson noted for his attempt to revive an ancient institution almost paralysed by complacent poverty. Returning to England after the outbreak of the French Revolution but prior to the forcible closure of the college Lingard for a time tutored the sons of Lord Stourton in Yorkshire before being called by Gibson, newly appointed vicar apostolic of the Northern District of England, to supervise the regime of some northern ex-Douai students lodged at Tudhoe academy, a few miles west of Durham city. From there he moved in September 1793 to the Catholic mission at Pontop Hall at Dipton prior to the opening of a temporary replacement for Douai College at Crook Hall near Leadgate. Ordained at York in 1795 (alongside his contemporary James Worswick after whom the Newcastle street is named) Lingard held a variety of official posts alongside the college president Thomas Eyre during the fourteen years that Crook Hall continued in being. After its transfer to Ushaw in 1808 Lingard stayed only two years before moving to the peaceful mission of Hornby near Lancaster. Here he began work on his great enterprise *The History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the Accession of William and Mary in 1688*, which was published in 14 volumes over the years 1819-30. A perfectionist, Lingard endlessly revised this as new materials came to light, the last edition for which he was directly responsible being that of 1849-51 in 10 volumes. In a sense this *History* was the logical development of his *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon-Church* which he had published in 1806 while at Crook Hall. Considering the conditions under which he worked, cramped quarters, the inevitable interruptions of college life, a mere handful of books, stressful relationships, his *Antiquities* were of a quality which gave him the confidence to press on to his greater enterprise. It has to be said that he had little more than his native ability to fall back on. Edwin Jones writes of the influence of the French tradition of historical scholarship at Douai College. There is no evidence of that in the college curriculum. The university at Douai had ceased to exist at the time of the

Revolution, but even before that the students had been debarred from attending lectures there. Their own course of studies within the college was frankly no more than workmanlike, meant for missioners not academics. But the college did have one great asset, its library built up over 150 years. Naturally curious, Lingard in his student days no doubt browsed among its books, educating himself in the way that enterprising students did at Ushaw during the "great sleep" of the years 1910-1940.

At Hornby Lingard set himself the task of a major overhaul of English history. His motivation came from the growing clamour in the land against granting Catholics their civil rights. They had benefited from a number of relief measures passed at the end of the 18th century, but a long entrenched antipathy towards them still blocked their way to public office. Every year from 1800 a bill was put before parliament to allow Catholics their political freedom, and every year it was rejected. Tracts, no popery campaigns and petitions against Catholic Emancipation were an every day occurrence. Lingard believed that this was his opportunity to try to remove 300 years of blind prejudice by producing a reasoned and measured narrative of the nation's history according to the principles of the age of the enlightenment. In such a hostile climate he knew that every statement he made would be subject to the closest scrutiny. He would be accused of partisanship, of producing untrustworthy statements, of drawing unfair conclusions. The *Edinburgh Review* thought that anything written by a Roman priest would automatically incur hostility and suspicion. The *Westminster Review* decided that neither the spirit of his religion nor the habits of his profession were calculated to prepare him for the composition of an impartial work, but by 1827 it realised how wrong the earlier judgement had been.

All this was bad enough, but it was accompanied all the way by a strong Catholic opposition. Many Catholics bitterly resented Lingard's attempts to conciliate Protestants. They were headed by John Milner, himself an able historian, who in his long tenure as vicar apostolic of the Midland District (1801-1826) ceaselessly accused Lingard of selling the pass.

LINGARD'S METHODOLOGY

Sufficiently acquainted with the Bollandist and Maurist techniques of testing the authenticity of original documents Lingard set about collecting

his materials. At hand by now were many more printed collections, but his search for the truth did not stop there. He wanted information still locked up in major archives. We take for granted easy access to public records nowadays, but in so far as they became available to the public only from the 1860's, Lingard had to set up a European network of contacts (many of them priests working abroad) who were given the task of persuading the archivists of these major holdings to allow them access on his behalf. It says much for Lingard's innate instincts of detection that he usually managed to point his scouts in the right direction.

Having collected the information he required and judged its authenticity by applying the rules drawn up by the earlier continental scholars, Lingard then had to judge the reliability of the evidence. 18th century German historians had already begun to establish criteria to apply to this stage of their investigation, but as far as we can establish their methods were not known as yet to English historians, including Lingard. In these circumstances Lingard had no other option than to construct his own methodology. A pamphlet written way back in 1803 in answer to criticisms of his Anglo-Saxon studies reveals his first tentative steps in this direction but he never wrote any kind of treatise. The main value of Jones' study lies in his painstaking search for signs of this source criticism, as we now call it, in Lingard's *History*, scrutinising every page of every edition and examining the footnotes in detail. English historians had tended to repeat each other down the centuries ignoring the value of documentary evidence. But Lingard broke new ground. He collates documents, he contrasts them and compares them, answering vital questions as to where the information came from and how the author came to know it, before reaching a conclusion as to its reliability. He brought his readers into the process. If he thought the information unreliable, he would offer them the pros and cons and ask them to form their own judgement. In the course of his researches Lingard came to realise that even public documents were not necessarily trustworthy. On occasion he would use the private confidential papers of the highest officials in the land to prove the untruthfulness of some of the public statements they made. Thus, with the aid of this newly acquired methodology Lingard was able to challenge successfully the assumptions and assertions of even the greatest of England's historians, overthrowing in the process the prevalent isolationist view of an England untouched by the leprosy of a Catholic Europe. Lingard was the first revisionist. We had to wait a 100 years for others to follow in his footsteps.

SOME OF LINGARD'S CONCLUSIONS

Medieval period

Most English historians up to Lingard's day despised the so-called Dark Ages. The Whig historian Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) said he would rather dig mines than read about medieval people. If they went back to the earlier period it was usually to find justification for post-Reformation events, e.g. the dissolution of the religious houses. They had already formed the view that the monks sent to these shores by St Gregory in 596-597 were no better than intruders, their expulsion in the 16th century a long delayed act of justice. So we cannot be surprised that they wrote harshly about St Dunstan's reforms of the 10th century, describing them as ill advised innovations which helped to establish papal authority over a formerly independent English Church, paving the way for everything detestable about the English Church in the high Middle Ages. Lingard's account, based on fact, not fantasy, foreshadows what historians like Stenton and Knowles would come to write a hundred years later, and the standards by which he scrutinised his documentation were not bettered by the medieval specialists of the mid and later 20th century. Jones gives many such instances (not all of them related to religion) where Lingard's interpretation was well ahead of his time. They include the conversion of the British King Lucius c. 171, King John's submission to the pope (1212-13), his verdict on William Wallace (+1305), the death of Henry VI (+1471) and the murder of the princes in the Tower (1483).

Reformation period

Lingard excels himself when handling the 16th century. Two or three examples will have to suffice. First, in regard to Thomas Cranmer. Though it is true that some earlier Protestants as well as Catholics had taken exception to him as a time server, from the 17th century onwards mainstream Protestants had begun to eulogise him. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) for instance described him as "a man raised by God for great services and well fitted for them...". John Strype (1643-1737) in particular admired him: "the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of the Church of England". Catholics, of course, abhorred him, none more so than Milner for whom Cranmer "exhibited such a continued scene of

libertinism, perjury, hypocrisy, barbarity, profligacy, ingratitude and rebellion, as is, perhaps, not to be matched in history". But Lingard's account was more influential than Milner's because it was solidly based on documentary evidence. From this he concluded that Cranmer had been given his position in order to secure a divorce for Henry, which he duly did, though his chief motive throughout was to serve Anne Boleyn. He noted the archbishop's sycophancy and extreme personal ambition. Lingard, by his scholarship and modest tone, had shown that Cranmer did not deserve his reputation as a saintly reformer, and gradually historians came to share his view.

In regard to Anne Boleyn, though Protestant writers had done their best to defend her reputation, Lingard unearthed the evidence to reveal an astonishing tale of lust. Mary Boleyn had already been Henry's mistress when Anne turned up as early as 1522 to distract him from his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. Anne, argued Lingard, was therefore a cause, not an occasion, of the break with Rome. He shocked the public by claiming that Anne had become Henry's mistress in 1529, months before the calling of the Reformation Parliament. He even produced a letter written by Cranmer which suggested that the marriage did not take place until 25 January 1533 when Anne was already pregnant. Impartial contemporaries were quick to see that Lingard's work cast a long shadow over the popular version of the origins of the English Reformation.

Lastly, Lingard broke new ground in the approach to Elizabeth's reign by his flat refusal to be limited by court and parliamentary sources. So, for example, rather than take at face value William Cecil's assertion in 1583 that the persecution of Catholics (and in particular of priests) was a necessary State intervention against traitors (a view repeated down to our own day) he hunted out the record of the 1581 trial at which Edmund Campion spoke on behalf of the thirteen defendants. Putting what they said into the context of a 1000 year old tradition he showed that Englishmen were entitled to be loyal to the monarch as head of the state but equally loyal to the pope as the head of the Church. Lingard also shows how unreliable had been the prosecution evidence gained by the threat of torture against an informer who soon after the trial withdrew his allegations and fled to France. It is standard practice in our own day for historians to refer to trumped up charges and an unfairly conducted prosecution when writing about this incident. The recent public reference to Edmund Campion as a "terrorist" was well wide of the mark.

Lingard's treatment of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day in 1572 occupies a whole chapter in Jones' book with good reason, for the opponents of Catholic Emancipation constantly quoted its horrors to show how untrustworthy Catholics could be. For example, a tract of 1826 claimed that the conduct of the Catholic Church was "too fearfully recorded in blood by the never to be forgotten Massacre of St Bartholomew" for it ever to be safe to allow Catholics the vote in England. Of course, there had been previous efforts, mainly by continental writers, to get at the truth, but Lingard was the first to launch a full enquiry into a very unpleasant affair which lacked credible witnesses. In his first edition of his *History* he had concluded that far from being premeditated, the whole event had been a pre-emptive panic measure to ward off an expected attack by the Huguenots after Catherine de Medici's failure to bring about the assassination of their leader, l'Amiral Coligny. This suggestion provoked what Jones calls the most vitriolic attack Lingard ever experienced, and it came from John Allen, a knowledgeable contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, who condemned Lingard out of hand for a partiality which beggared belief. In reply Lingard produced a 112 page pamphlet in which he gave an account of the methodology he had used to arrive at this conclusion. As the event was supposed to have resulted from a secret plot between the pope and Catherine, a confession by the parties or the evidence of someone who had been in a position to know the facts was surely needed to arrive at any certainty. He had deliberately refrained from using a denial by Catherine which he found in the correspondence of Francis Walsingham because she had clearly been an interested party. On the other hand, Philip of Spain could not be said to have been an interested party, and therefore his denial of pre-meditation could be safely relied on. But Lingard's trump card came later. He had already guessed that the most valuable evidence lay in the archives of the papal nuncio in Paris. At his request his contact there gained access to them and reported back that there was no evidence to support the allegation of a papal plot. These particular archives were published just in time for Lingard to refer to them directly in his 1831 edition of his *History*, and that for him was the end of the affair.

Stuart period

One example will have to suffice, and it concerns the Secret Treaty of Dover in 1670. Everyone knew that such a treaty had been signed, but

only a select few of Charles II's confidants knew its terms. Historians had to guess what these were, and the Whig historians used its supposed contents to blacken the name of the king by alleging that he had arranged for a French invasion to force Catholicism on the English nation the moment Charles went public about his conversion to the Catholic Faith. This version proved particularly useful in 1688 in persuading people that by their intervention in the events of that year the Whigs had saved England from the tyranny of foreign rule.

Lingard contacted the family of one of Charles' confidants, the Cliffords, who found a copy of the treaty in their archives. He printed it in full as an appendix to his last volume of the 1830 edition. Charles had expressed his intention to become a Catholic but clearly worried by the possible consequences of this, it was agreed that if his enemies incited the nation to rebellion, then and only then would Louis XIV provide him with the means to suppress it. Jones comments drily that despite Lingard's great breakthrough, the popular version was still being circulated in reliable history books as late as 1952, and featured in the 1995 *Companion to British History.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

After his death Lingard was not quite forgotten, but his fame rested rather on his natural flair for making right historical judgements. Lord Acton the great liberal Catholic historian of the late 19th century declared that Lingard had never been wrong. Another Cambridge scholar, A W Ward declared that there had never been a more vigilant recorder of facts or one whom criticism was less successful in convicting of unfounded statements. But as we have seen tonight Lingard's real importance lay behind the production of another narrative history, albeit a very ambitious attempt at what we may call a Catholic history. Almost single-handedly he invented a methodology which made him among English historians a pioneer in the search for historical truth, a methodology which did not receive general acceptance until the second half of the 20th century. Surprising as it may seem this process was overlooked even by men of the stature of Acton. Jones offers a number of reasons why this should have been so, among them the assumption that because Lingard had little or no contact with the academic Establishment his work was bound to be second

rate and not worth reading. More importantly, by the time Lingard died England was well into the Victorian Age, a world leader in every way from industry to empire. Most English people saw this as a confirmation of the nation's innate superiority which the Victorian historians like Macaulay were only too happy to underpin by reproducing all the assumptions of the past in a literary style which reflected the character of the age. All of us of a certain age can remember looking proudly at the world map where Britain's vast territories marked in red seemed to dominate the globe. And this colonial aspect was only one of many ways in which England asserted its ascendancy over Europe and the world at large. This wasn't the time to question the past. Lingard's views could not possibly be true because they went against what everybody knew to be true.

Even English Catholics themselves failed Lingard. He had set himself the gigantic task of exposing such long-standing Protestant prejudice against their religion by producing a scholarly yet impartial "Catholic" narrative of England's history. His successors, however, enthused by the gradual recognition of the Catholic Church's place in the life of the nation in the years which followed the restoration of its hierarchy threw discretion to the winds: on the whole they lacked Lingard's ecumenical spirit and wrote in an "aggressive, separatist and tendentious manner", lecturing their Protestant brethren about the wrong that had been done them and the need to return to the Catholic Fold.

It wasn't until 1952 that public attention was drawn to the value of Lingard's work by Professor G P Gooch in his *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*. Without elaborating, Gooch claimed that Lingard had produced the first modern narrative of two critical centuries of English history. The date is perhaps significant, for English Catholics had celebrated Lingard's centenary just the year before with a flurry of articles on various aspects of his life and work. Maybe these publications directed Gooch to take up Lingard's cause. Edwin Jones, too, by this time had begun his researches into Lingard's historical method, his initial work at Swansea attracting the notice of Professor Herbert Butterfield who invited him to continue it under his direction at Cambridge. From this time on, Lingard's achievement began to be recognised, though it must be said that even today too many professional historians seem to be ignorant of his place in English historiography. Peter Burke in his 'Historiography and Philosophy of History' in *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century* (2002) had a wonderful opportunity of paying Lingard a timely tribute

when he commented that just as foreigners had once regarded England as a *Land ohne Musik* so too they had regarded it as a land without historiography, but he failed to take it.

During the last half century English historians have at last though perhaps unknowingly embraced Lingard's methods to produce their own "revisionist" histories, influenced by the source criticism practised in European faculties of history for the last 150 years. This means, of course, that much of Lingard's patient and exact scholarship has a distinct air of *déjà vu* about it. In any case, we seem to have reached the end of the revisionist era. Writing in *The Tablet* over a year ago Christopher Haigh expressed the view that the last battles over Reformation history were fought in the 1980s and 1990s, Patrick Collinson's *The Reformation* (2003) representing at long last (400 years!) a road map to peace. So, for all Edwin Jones' enthusiasm I expect Lingard's *History* will continue to languish on library shelves, or even be consigned to the recycling bin in this post revisionist era.

John Lingard was never one to sing his own praises or even tolerate his praises being sung by others. When he died in July 1851 at the age of 81 his body was brought to Ushaw's cemetery for burial. A simple plaque on the wall above his grave briefly records his life in the service of the Catholic Church in England. A second memorial is to be found in the Anglican parish church at Hornby, a mark of respect for a priest much loved by the whole community there. As a third I propose the book we have been considering tonight, Edwin Jones' *John Lingard and the Pursuit of Historical Truth*. Despite its repetitiveness, its disjointedness, its tiresome mantra "Lingard was here first" it is a belated public recognition of the exceptional contribution John Lingard made to our national history. I have derived a good deal of satisfaction from being allowed an opportunity this evening to bring it to your attention. Thank you.

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'THE HORRID WAR I'SANGEYT': A SECTARIAN RIOT IN NEWCASTLE, 1851

Jonathan Bush

"Wor jack pick'd up the rantor craw,
An' tell'd him nut gyen Popes te jaw.
An noo the bonny gam begun,
The Pats frev oot thor hooses ran:
They poored be hundred fae the "Sun",
To start a war I'Sangeyt."
(The Horrid War I'Sangeyt, 1851)

In October 1850, Pope Pius IX issued a proclamation restoring the Catholic Hierarchy to England and Wales. Intended merely as an administrative measure to manage more effectively the expanding Catholic population of the country, the bull nevertheless caused a storm of Protestant protest, with writers and speakers throughout the country denouncing this insidious attempt of a "foreign Power to fasten its authority upon our divisions".[1] Perhaps more seriously however, the Papal measure did little to improve the already fractious relationship between Catholic Irish immigrants and their Protestant English counterparts. English against Irish clearly became Protestant against Catholic in a number of religious-related incidents most notably in Stockport, Wigan, Cheltenham and Liverpool.[2] Newcastle, with its large Irish Catholic presence, was not immune from this as the consequences of Protestant evangelical activity in the locality brought about one of the most serious riots ever witnessed in the town - the so-called 'Horrid War I'Sangeyt' of May 1851. This article, therefore, seeks to examine this riot, focusing on the motives of the rioters and their prejudicial treatment by the authorities.

Wherever they chose to reside, the incoming Irish immigrants were visibly situated in the worst possible areas each town had to offer, naturally gravitating towards the cheapest lodging houses located within close proximity of unskilled labour. For the Irish arriving in Newcastle, the Sandgate area of the Quayside was a natural magnet with potential employment prospects in the burgeoning ship-building industry.[3] If employment prospects were good, however, living conditions in Sandgate were arguably one of the worst in the country. One of the main problems

was undoubtedly overcrowding. *The Inquiry into the Newcastle Poor* (1851) stated that 3,000 men, women and children were effectively:

> "crammed into a space which, if properly lived out, would be four of five times more exclusive. There are about twenty-five entries on each side of the street, with from 8 to 10 houses in each, containing on the average, eight rooms in each house...from ten to twenty people are very often to be found in one room".[4]

This overcrowding was not purely "a manifestation of Irish poverty", but was brought about by a general chronic housing shortage attributable to the effects of industrialisation.[5] Indeed, the Irish in Sandgate were certainly not isolated in their chosen living quarters, making up only 28.8% of the total inhabitants of Sandgate, and effectively living side by side with their English counterparts.[6] This factor always had the potential of creating ethnic-related disturbances between the two groups and, as the *Newcastle Courant* bluntly put it: "the public house brawl along with other disorderly proceedings" were facts of life in this "sink of profligacy and vice".[7]

However in spite of the potential for trouble, nothing had ever occurred on the scale of the events of 11 May 1851. In response to the activities of an anti-Catholic street preacher, a large number of Catholic Irish, who had spent the day congregating in large groups drinking, launched an attack on English property, smashing windows and breaking doors. Many of them were carrying a variety of weapons including "huge sticks, iron rods, pokers, tongs (and) coal rakes", accompanied by "women and lads" carrying brick bats and missiles. One of the rioters, who was said to be the ringleader, was heard to exclaim "Och by Jasus, we'll take Sandgate tonight and be revenged on every English b_____d in it!".[8] No resistance was offered initially as the two policemen who were called to the scene were clearly inadequate to deal with the rioters and, after being attacked, fled the scene to obtain reinforcements. When these reinforcements eventually did arrive many of the Irish were apprehended but the English residents - who up until this time had remained well-hidden in consequence of the ferocity of the Irish attack - chose to exact physical revenge upon the Irish. Women, in particular, were said to be at the ready with rolling pins, battering their foe without mercy. After a great deal of effort, the police were eventually able to restore order and bring the rioters

into custody. The next morning, 40 of them were brought before the magistrates and 23 of them were charged with a variety of offences associated with the previous evening's events.[9]

So what were the motives of the rioters and to what extent did religious antipathy play a part in their choice to riot. Certainly, there can be little doubt that the event cannot be divorced from the context of the Papal Aggression. Only 6 months before, the whole country was up in arms over the Papal measure and the hysteria surrounding it would clearly not have helped communal tension between the two ethnic groups, given the Catholic Irish provided a visible target for anti-Catholic sentiments. In spite of differing circumstances, it is unlikely the Catholic Irish would have escaped this vilification. Indeed, the increase of anti-Catholicism in general, would have increased the feeling of disassociation and 'otherness' which had become a staple part of the Irish migrant experience in Britain - generating an anger further fuelled by the activities of Protestant evangelical groups who wished to convert them from "the evils of Popery".

Indeed, it was the activities of these groups and, in particular, the appearance of a street preacher by the name of Ranter Dick who helped to provide the spark in an already volatile mix of inter-communal tension.[10] It appears that Ranter Dick originally began preaching mid-afternoon to the large groups of Irish congregating on the green. He was not received well, with many spitting on him whilst ripping up his tracts, so he eventually left. Throughout the rest of the day a number of incidents occurred which further angered the Irish, including the appearance of a number of English boys throwing oyster shells into the crowd.[11] By the time Ranter Dick made his reappearance at around 7.30 pm, the Irish were certainly in no mood to listen, and he was faced with a barrage of stones. It is difficult to say what exactly the Ranter was preaching about at this stage. Both the *Newcastle Guardian* and the *Newcastle Chronicle* report the testimony of a policeman who believed the Ranter was preaching a teetotal lecture.[12] However, the *Newcastle Journal* argued that his lectures made "allusions to the Pope", whilst the *Tablet* reported he was carrying out an "ignorant tirade against the Pope and Popery".[13] No doubt the latter two papers for contrasting reasons wished to increase the amount of sectarian tension in the locality, but it is difficult to believe that Ranter Dick would have chosen to ignore topics relating to anti-Catholicism given the tenor of the times. Whatever he spoke of surely had more of an effect than he was intending as shortly after he was chased away, the Irish began their assault.

The behaviour of the rioters during the event itself, however, conforms to a more ethnic rather than a purely religious motivation. The slogans shouted by the Irish were clearly of an anti-English rather than a specifically anti-Protestant nature. The phrase "Och by Jasus, we'll take Sandgate tonight and be revenged upon every English b_____d in it!" as well as phrases such as "Blood for blood!" and "Sandgate shall flow with the blood of the English!"[14] certainly confirms this. This was followed up by the choice of targets to attack by Irish rioters - attacking English property and breaking English windows. One Irishman, Peter Maloney was heard to say, "There's another English window, let's break it!"[15] It appears the Irish were fairly comprehensive in their destruction of property. Two English publicans, George Dixon and Mr Moore, each had 30 and 21 panes of glass broken respectively.[16] The English retribution saw them directly target the Irishmen who had caused destruction to their property. Indeed, even the progress of the riot seemed to develop along ethnic lines - the Irish attacking the English and vice versa. It is important to point out also that there is no evidence of any religious antipathy during the riot itself, such as cries of 'No Popery' from the English or similar sentiments expressed by the Irish. Furthermore, unlike the Stockport Riots, where two Catholic chapels were sacked,[17] there is no destruction of church property in this instance. It is clear that religious hostility in this heightened period of anti-Catholic sentiment would have played its part in moulding ethnic perceptions and prejudice - the Irish in particular had a strongly 'nationalist' Catholicism - but it was certainly not the only factor that helped to cause ethnic division.

The behaviour of the Irish rioters in particular also points to another dimension at play. One historian has argued that "popular disturbances involving the Irish sometimes contained an anti-police element, although on the surface they were attributable to other causes".[18] This is clearly evident in this riot. The only reports of physical attacks on people by the Irish were directed at the police. The Irishman Patrick Devlin struck P.C. Thompson with a poker while a similar fate befell P.C. Graham. The Irishman John McGuinness also threw a brick at P.C. Short.[19] Irish violence against the police was commonplace in Ireland, with migrants attempting to transfer these values to an English setting.[20] However, it could be possible that more localised factors were to blame in Newcastle. In March, the Watch Committee had dismissed P.C. Nicholson and P.C. Pike from the force for mistreatment of an Irishman.[21] In spite of their

dismissal, the Newcastle Irish undoubtedly retained grievances against the police for this - so much so that the two policemen who were dismissed were not replaced for fear of revenge attacks. This grudge against the police is evident in the behaviour of the Irishman Patrick Devlin. After chasing P.C. Thompson who had given him the slip, Devlin was heard to exclaim - "I can't get my revenge on the b_____d...I would take his life if I could get him".[22] Perhaps Devlin had wrongfully assumed this policeman was one of those involved in the original incident in March as it is certainly probable he, like many of the other Irish, would not have known of the outcome of the Committee's internal investigation.

If mistreatment of an Irishman was one of the main motivations for the riot, however, did the police fair any better in dealing impartially with the Irish in this instance? Certainly their initial response to the riot cannot be questioned. In the Stockport Riots of 1852, it has been suggested that the police were deliberately slow in arriving on the scene in order to allow time for the English - who originally started the riot - to wreak as much havoc as possible on the Irish.[23] If this were the case then a swift response would be expected from the Newcastle police in this instance, as the Irish were the original perpetrators. This, however, was not apparent, and a considerable police presence was only evident once the Irish had caused considerable damage. This tends to suggest a lack of efficiency and manpower rather than a deliberate prejudicial policy.[24]

The behaviour of the police during the riot was undoubtedly more questionable. Reports in the press point to the police heroically protecting the Irish once the latter had become the subject of retribution in the second stage of the riot. The very fact that only the Irish suffered "broken hands and torn faces" tends to suggest that, as one historian believes, the police 'assisted' the English in their attack given there were no serious injuries to the latter.[25] Indeed, the police treatment of the Irish became the subject of several subsequent Watch Committee meetings in which 2 Irishmen, John McLean and Bernard McGrath, lodged formal complaints to the Committee claiming the police exercised unlawful authority "in the discharge of their duty". The Watch Committee dismissed both accusations. In responding to McLean, they claimed this was decided "after hearing all parties and considering all the circumstances of the case".[26] McLean, however, was not satisfied. In July 1851 he called on the Mayor to assist him in his case, the latter dutifully wrote a letter to the Committee asking for the matter to be fully re-investigated. Again, however, McLean was unsuccessful - the

Committee dismissed his case again and the Mayor appeared satisfied with the decision.[27] In October, McLean again tried to reopen the case - this time issuing a summons of £10 for damages to the policeman he deemed to be responsible for his mistreatment, P.C. John Parker. The Committee requested that the "necessary steps be taken to defend him (Parker)".[28]

It is difficult to say whether there was a genuine case by McLean here. Police brutality towards the Catholic Irish was not uncommon in the Victorian period but it is also important to remember that the Irish may have exaggerated their claims given their often long-held grievances with them. Nevertheless, the persistence of McLean and the involvement of the Mayor do tend to suggest a legitimate complaint. One other point may also help to increase suspicion. In responding to McLean's original accusation, the phrase "and considering the circumstances of the case" appears to have been inserted into the original report after it was initially filed. Not only is it written as an insertion above the main text but is also written in a different colour pen. Whether this is evidence of the police attempting to add extra justification for their behaviour it is difficult to say but it certainly only adds to the suspicious nature of the case.

The response of the judicial authorities to the Catholic Irish rioters also reveals a similar bias against them. Firstly, it is apparent that the defence lawyer for the Irish Mr G. W. Hodge, was completely unprepared, having been brought in as a last-minute replacement for Mr Stoker, the latter having been unable to attend. Mr Hodge, in light of this, asked the Mayor to adjourn the case until the next morning. The Mayor's response, however, was to dismiss this, claiming it was better to go on as "an adjournment would only find to keep up the excitement".[29] Because of this Mr Hodge was not able to offer an adequate defence of the Irish, speaking out only once to ask the court to take into account "the excited state of their (Irish) blood".[30] It also became clear that the magistrates were not planning to deal leniently with the Irish. Indeed, in wanting to give Patrick Devlin the highest punishment possible, they exceeded their legal jurisdiction by committing Devlin to pay £5, on default of which two months imprisonment. However, it was found that the magistrates only had the power to action one month's imprisonment and thus forcing them to backtrack on the decision.[31] In the end, all the rioters who were charged were Irish, thus ignoring the clear involvement of the English in the second stage of the riot.[32]

This riot may be an episode some local historians would rather forget but the 'Horrid War I'Sangeyt' incident is of vital importance in revealing the extent of ethnic and sectarian tension in Newcastle in the mid 19th century. It questions the hypothesis of a predominantly harmonious relationship between the local Irish Catholic immigrants and their Protestant English hosts. Although hostility never matched the scale of either Liverpool or Glasgow, English-Irish relations in Newcastle were certainly far from the celebrated *bonhomie* that some historians would have us believe.[33] Indeed, various sporadic outbursts in the following decades, such as the English-Irish riot on the Town Moor in 1866, tend to suggest otherwise.[34]

Notes

1. *The Times*, 19 October 1850
2. For a general overview of many of these riots see Paz, D G *Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford University Press, 1992), Chapter 9; For detailed studies of specific riots such as Stockport or Liverpool, see Millward, P 'The Stockport Riots of 1852: A Study of Anti-Catholic and Anti-Irish Sentiment' in Gilley, S and Swift, R (ed) *The Irish in the Victorian City* (Croom Helm Ltd, 1985) and Neal, F *Sectarian Violence: The Liverpool Experience 1819-1914* (Manchester University Press, 1988)
3. Other areas of heavy Irish immigration in the town were Wall Knoll and Mount Pleasant. See Scott, C L 'A Comparative Re-examination of Anglo-Irish relations in nineteenth century Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle-upon Tyne' PhD (Durham University, 1998), pp262-263
4. Quoted in Cooter, R *The Irish in County Durham and Northumberland 1840-80* (MA Thesis) (University of Durham, 1972), p22
5. Cooter, op cit, p37
6. Scott, C L, op cit, p263
7. *Newcastle Courant*, 17 May 1851
8. *Newcastle Journal*, 17 May 1851
9. ibid
10. Little is known of Ranter Dick. His name suggests Methodist connotations and he was referred to in the court proceedings as a "Methodist preacher". It is likely also that he was working for the

Religious Tract Society who employed a number of ranters to get their message across.

11. A witness in court attempted to justify the actions of these boys by claiming rather dubiously that they had 'accidentally' thrown oyster shells at the Irish. *Newcastle Guardian*
12. *NG*, 17 May 1851; *N Chron*, 17 May 1851
13. *NJ*, 17 May 1851; *Tablet*, 24 May 1851
14. *N. Chron*, 17 May 1851. The "Och by Jasus..." quote in particular shows the degradation of the Irish accent by the English press in quoting this phrase.
15. ibid
16. ibid
17. Millward, P 'The Stockport Riots of 1852: A study of Anti-Catholic and Anti-Irish Sentiment' in Gilley, S and Swift, R (ed) *the Irish in the Victorian City* (Croom Helm Ltd, 1985), p209
18. Swift, R 'Another Stafford Street Row: Law, Order and the Irish Presence in Mid-Victorian Wolverhampton' in Swift, R & Gilley, S (eds) *Irish in the Victorian City* (Croom Helm, 1985), p190
19. *NG*, 17 May 1851
20. Paz, D G P*opular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England* (Stanford University Press, 1992), p260
21. Watch Committee Reports, 13 March 1851
22. *NJ, 17 May 1851*
23. Millward, op cit, p212
24. In fairness, Millward does make this point in asserting that the Stockport police force was inadequate in comparison with London.
25. Scott, op cit, p109
26. WC, 6 June 1851
27. Ibid, 4 July 1851
28. Ibid, 24 Oct 1851 The Watch Committee Reports are only available until the end of October so the outcome of this case will be forever shrouded in secrecy.
29. *NG*, 17 May 1851
30. *N Chron*, 17 May 1851
31. *NG*, 17 May 1851
32. Neal, F *English-Irish Conflict in the North East of England* (University of Salford, 1992), p31
33. Most notably Cooter, op cit

34. For the Town Moor riot and other examples of English-Irish hostility in the North East (including the Sandgate Riot) see Neal, *English-Irish Conflict* op cit

Bishop Chadwick's Letters from Rome 1869/70

Leo Gooch

On 15 November 1869 James Chadwick, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, left his diocese to attend the First Vatican Council in Rome, and he was away for eight months. Routine diocesan administration continued during his absence, of course, but a number of matters which could not await his return had to be referred to him, and, in any case, he wanted to know how things were going on back at home. From time to time, then, Canon John Bewick, his Vicar General and 'in all things save *in sacris episcopalibus, locum tenens*', wrote to consult the bishop and to keep him informed about diocesan affairs.[1] The bishop also corresponded with Monsignor Robert Tate, President of Ushaw College.[2] But, while Chadwick's letters have survived, Bewick's and Tate's have not. In general, however, the loss of their side of the correspondence is not disastrous because the bishop's letters are largely self-explanatory and the dialogues can be reconstructed without difficulty. They are easily read - the tone is businesslike but not bureaucratic, friendly

but not familiar. These letters, then, recount Chadwick's participation in this important event in the history of the Church, and they shed light on his concerns about his local responsibilities.

James Chadwick was born in 1813 of Lancastrian stock. He was educated at Ushaw and he remained there (except for periods of ill-health) from 1825 to 1849 as a student and, after his ordination, in various professorial capacities. He then joined the Diocesan Missionary Establishment at St Ninian's, Wooler; when it was burned down in 1856 he rejoined the staff at Ushaw. In 1859 he became chaplain to Charles, Lord Stourton (XIX) at Allerton Park in Yorkshire, and he was presently elected a Canon of Beverley. He went back to Ushaw in 1863 but he left again three years later upon his election as second Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.[3] He was consecrated at Ushaw by Henry Edward Manning, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Westminster, with six other English bishops in attendance. Chadwick first visited Rome in 1850, and he went again in the summer of 1867 accompanied, as it happened, by his two episcopal successors, Canons Bewick and Wilkinson. John Bewick was a fifty-eight-year-old Northumbrian and Ushawman who had served at the cathedral and at North Shields; he was elected a canon and was appointed diocesan treasurer in 1865. Bishop Chadwick made him vicar general in 1868 and he moved to Tynemouth at the end of 1869 (during the course of this correspondence) to open a new mission.

Pope Pius IX originally intended the Council to convene on 29 June 1867 but war between Austria and Italy and the withdrawal of French troops protecting the Papal States made that impossible. The French returned later that year, however, and plans for the Council were revived; the bull of convocation *Aeterni Patris* was promulgated on 29 June 1868 summoning the Fathers to Rome by 8 December 1869. Like many other bishops, Bishop Chadwick issued a pastoral letter about the Council and convened a special Diocesan Clergy Synod in November 1869 preparatory to his departure.[4] Attended by his manservant Anthony Robson, he travelled via London, Folkestone, Boulogne, Paris and Maçon. He fell in with two bishops (unidentified, but probably North American) at Aix les Baines (he does not say if they took the waters) and together they went on to Bologna. It was, he said, 'very cold crossing the Alps and the R-way is slow and shakey - but safe'. They visited a convent of Poor Clares to make their devotions in the chapel where the mummified body and other relics of St Catherine de' Vigri of Bologna are preserved. They did not proceed

directly to Rome but made a diversion to the east coast because the bishop wanted to say Mass in the Holy House at Loretto. They arrived in Rome after a tiring week-long journey with the bishop suffering from his 'old enemy bronchitis' brought on by sleeping in a damp bed in Loretto. A great number of English Catholics, including several from the north-east, were in Rome which, though full, was 'as quiet as Durham'.

Eleven of the thirteen diocesan English bishops attended the Council (the Pope sent them a welcoming present of two dozen woodcock[5]). In terms of episcopal appointment, Chadwick was the most junior; Archbishop Manning was his senior by only one year. The two absentees were Thomas Brown (Newport & Menevia) the senior bishop, who stayed in England to look after the shop, and Alexander Goss (Liverpool) who left for Rome but was taken ill and got no further than Cannes. Thomas Grant (Southwark) was seriously ill most of the time; he had to be carried out of the Council on 14 February and he died in Rome on 1 June; his body was returned to England.[6] The non-diocesan George Errington, Archbishop of Trebizond, *in partibus infidelium*, was also present and voted. Seven of the English bishops lived at the *Venerabile* and the others lodged privately. Amherst and Clifford lived at via Condotti 85; Errington 'put up at Fr Mullarkey's! *est, sicut erat in principio eccentricus*'[7]; Manning had quarters in the Via del Tritone; and Chadwick was close by at 57 Via Sistina, 1° Piano, described by *The Tablet* as 'an excellent English Catholic boarding-house ... most highly spoken of by persons who have tried it for comfort and fair prices'. Chadwick was not so sure about the last point: the housekeeper was someone called 'Old Church' who, he said, was an 'old screw' because of the high rent he was charging, though he admitted it was no more than what other English bishops were paying. Chadwick arranged to say his Mass in a little church nearby but, he said, 'a Monsignore upstairs has a private altar at which I can say Mass when I like. He is a very nice fellow & we often chat together'.

Chadwick knew and liked Rome but on this occasion he found it neither congenial or stimulating; he was always itching to get back home and he often said he would not be sorry when the Council ended. The weather was bad for a lot of the time and his health suffered, but he was always counting his pennies (or scudi, of course). Whenever Bewick sent money it was to be in gold or English bank-notes to save exchange costs. He took care to tell Bewick (who until recently had been the diocesan treasurer) that his rooms were 'snug but not luxurious' and that his living

expenses were only about £45 a month excluding wood, lighting and washing. To further emphasise his thriftiness, he told Bewick that some of the French and other foreign bishops were spending at the rate of £200 to £300 a month. His greatest worry was the hire of a carriage which, at £24 a month, he was disinclined to pay, but he would be the only English bishop without one. He could not 'go shares in one, as all my confreres and all the bishops I know have made up their carriages, but I might get a one horse Brougham. Even that would cost £16 a month'; in fact, he secured one for £12 a month. 'When I think of all this', Chadwick said, 'I sometimes cast my mind's eye on NCastle gaol'. He was doubtless much relieved when Church's lease of No. 57 ran out and he could move into cheaper lodgings at No. 72; he also gave up his carriage except when going to and from St. Peter's. Ullathorne observed that 'many poor Spanish and Italian bishops [had] to walk, even through heavy rain' to the council chamber.[8]

It was cold and wet in Rome and, not long after his arrival, Chadwick came down with a severe attack of 'bronchitis mixed with asthma' and for eighteen hours 'was on the brink of being in danger but was never really in it.' He had the doctor in but he hoped that no exaggerated reports of his condition reached England. At any rate, he was not well enough to attend the papal audience given to the English bishops on the feast of St Andrew, and he had to tag on to another group the following Sunday, on which occasion he presented the Pope with £360, the diocesan contribution to Peter's Pence. The bishops celebrated St Andrew's Day in the Scotch College, but what they did at Christmas is not known; Chadwick was still unwell and, it appears, homesick to boot. On Christmas Eve he told Bewick that he wished he 'could eat plum pudding with you at Tynemouth on Xmas Day! My heart is in my Diocese. I very often think of Ushaw & mind if I die here I am to be buried there.' He could not celebrate the customary three Christmas Masses although he did get to St Peter's for the Pope's High Mass. Chadwick had not fully recovered by the time Lent started and he was unable to keep the fast except on Fridays. His health improved as the weather got warmer and drier, and he then suffered no more than an 'attack of the bowels.' Bewick, it may be noted, was not entirely fit either but the 'Tynemouth breezes' clearly did him good, for Chadwick wrote that he was delighted that his headaches were diminishing.

Neither he or Bishop Grant were strong enough to walk in the procession during the opening ceremony of the Council on the feast of the Immaculate Conception but took their seats and watched the 'soul-stirring

sight' of some 640 bishops in white copes and mitres walking into St Peter's singing the *Veni Creator Spiritus.* The 'thundering *placet*' of the bishops that the Council be opened also moved him deeply. He told Tate: 'never was I so proud of being a Catholic as I am now.' The bishops sat in order of promotion; Chadwick had a French Canadian on his left and a Spaniard on his right. Each footstool held a spitoon but while Chadwick had no need for his, his neighbours made use of theirs. Refreshment rooms and lavatories were nearby; Chadwick went in to the latter and 'lo! I found all the stalls occupied with a white cope & mitre! I could not help laughing.' Ullathorne quite liked the comfortable withdrawing room (a converted chapel) with its little kitchen where one could get a cup of broth or a glass of wine; it reminded him of the tea room at the House of Commons.[9] During the general congregations (and there were some eighty-five of them) the bishops dressed 'in rochet and manteletta & the assembly looks beautiful. It looks like a monster House of Commons, but all respectful & devout ...' Like others, Chadwick surreptiously ate biscuits and chocolate during the long sittings. The Council aula (a transept of St Peter's) was cold, however, and the acoustics were dreadful, and all the speeches had 'to be in *altissima voce.*' Chadwick arranged for a change of seat but 'I have got two horrible French men near me. There are no people so rude as the French'. That was a bit rich coming from someone who remarked of Cardinal de Angelis, a Frenchman: 'He is very like old Bp. Brown of Liverpool - Very ugly. On Saturdays the Bishops look very dirty, as half of them are not shaved on that day.' Although he got a new place, it was draughty and he found he still could not hear very well, and so he petitioned for yet another move.

Substantive proceedings did not really begin until after Christmas and were extremely slow moving; indeed, Chadwick feared that if the Council were to be prolonged and the political situation continued to deteriorate, the bishops would 'have to cut and run in double quick time'. On 8 March he wrote that the Italian revolution was expected 'to break out on the 7th of May'; not surprisingly, the advance notice of two months rendered the plan useless: the revolt did not take place and the bishops worked on. Bewick and Tate may have hoped to get a privileged view of the Council from Chadwick's letters but the bishop wrote little about the proceedings, partly because he was under an oath of secrecy but also because they could read about everything in the papers: 'I should think that *The Tablet*, the *Civilta Cattolica* and the English newspapers will supply

you with all requisite information about the Council.' Chadwick noted, however, that while the *Westminster Gazette* (edited by Edmund Purcell) had a growing reputation, *The Tablet* (edited by Herbert Vaughan) was not well-regarded since its strongly pro-papalist line was thought 'very one-sided, silly & dictatorial'. He deplored the inaccurate coverage by the secular papers: the correspondent of *The Times* wrote 'either downright lies or misconstructions'; and Ullathorne thought those reports funnier than anything in *Punch* and that the journalist had been duped by the Roman wits.[10] Chadwick was also deeply shocked to see the *acta concilii* printed in the French newspapers: there must have been 'some Traitor, or servants must have been bribed to open locks & get hold of the papers committed in confidence to the Bishops.' It was intended that a *Giornall del Consilio* be published but the idea was abandoned, presumably because it would be superfluous.

The pre-conciliar discussions showed that the most controversial proposition to be debated would be the definition of the infallibility of the Pope which was contained within the Constitution on the Church. Although a majority of bishops supported the definition, a substantial and influential number, mostly Europeans, thought it inopportune to make such a declaration and a pamphlet war ensued between the two factions. At this stage, of the English bishops, Henry Manning (Westminster) and Robert Cornthwaite (Beverley) were as passionate for the definition as William Clifford (Clifton) and William Vaughan (Plymouth) were against it. (George Errington was also of the minority party.) The others were undecided although Francis Amherst (Northampton) and William Turner (Salford) 'certainly inclined to the inopportunist position'.[11] Chadwick professed neutrality: 'one ought to try to inform one's mind to the full, to hear the thing discussed and then, *inspirante SS*, to vote'. At any rate, he said, 'Thank God, I keep myself free' from all movements and decline to sign '*any* postulation for or against' the definition. But he soon came round to the majority view. It was Manning who made the literary running, which he did in a pastoral letter of October 1869. His remarks were mistranslated into French (or misinterpreted) by the inopportunist Felix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orléans, and Manning demanded a retraction which was eventually given but their relations never recovered: Chadwick told Tate that Dupanloup twice refused to shake hands with Manning but added 'No doubt our Archbp. was imprudent in stirring up the French cock in his Pastoral. He is not so esteemed here as he used to be. *"Troppo Fanatico"*.

He will not be made Cardinal yet awhile ...' (Indeed, six years would pass before Manning was raised to the Sacred College.) Chadwick was scathing in his comments on the inopportunists, chiefly the French: 'The French disgust me ... Oh for another Waterloo.' He expected a 'battle royal & desperate things said & done' when *'the* question', as he called it, came up in Council. Meanwhile, there appeared 'bales of baneful literature' (in Ullathorne's phrase[12]) and the controversy gathered steam: Chadwick remarked: 'there is a war of opinions going on, as well as intrigues, &c &c, equal to any thing you have ever read of.' There was great agitation 'especially *inter Germanus*' and he told Tate about Mgr Nardi, the curial official and staunch infallibilist, who 'had the German Bishops in his house for their meetings, but they discovered that he had made a hole in the wall thro' which to listen to what they said!'

The most important debate, on the Constitution on the Church, opened on 13 May and, as Chadwick had expected, it was heated: 'a tempest is feared even unto the blowing out of a schism'. Bishops were reprimanded for insolence or verbosity, and their speeches were cut short; one bishop was expelled from the aula. Chadwick was reminded of the Council of Trent during which 'one Bishop pulled another by the beard in hot dispute!!' The chapter on infallibility was fiercely debated from 15 June to 4 July and any hope of unanimity was quickly dispelled. One Swiss bishop 'was so violent in speaking *contra*, that he shot out one of his false teeth whilst speaking and had to get it up from the floor and put it in again before he could go on.' Chadwick prepared an intervention for the debate in favour of the definition but it was not delivered, presumably because he acceded to Manning's request not to prolong the debate, which was guillotined anyway. The schema was put to a preliminary vote on 13 July; Errington, Clifford and Vaughan voted *non placet* (Amherst had returned to England in June because of ill-health). Errington and Clifford then left Rome so as not to embarrass the Pope and themselves at the final vote. That was taken on 18 July and the English bishops still in Rome (Chadwick, Cornthwaite, Manning, Ullathorne and Vaughan) voted *placet.* Chadwick had asked Bewick to produce a congratulatory address signed by the diocesan clergy, and Tate to prepare a 'slightly decorated' letter on parchment, signed by all the professors and students at Ushaw, with a place left at the beginning for his own signature, for presentation to the Pope. Chadwick agreed that the latter be published in the Catholic papers; he even composed the press release. (He would later congratulate himself on

obtaining from the Pope three play-days for the students as a result.)

Chadwick was anxious about the reception of the definition in England, firstly by Catholics whose public debates on the matter he deplored: why could they not, 'like good Catholics, wait till the church ha[d] spoken.' (Newman's confidential letter to Ullathorne taking the inopportunist view, his word was 'inexpedient', had become public.) Secondly, Chadwick was worried about the reaction of non-Catholics; he wondered if there would be a 'second Durham letter' provoking anti-Catholic feeling similar to that which had arisen in 1850 when the hierarchy was re-established. Mr Witham, the priest at Lartington had told him that

> a very bitter article against the council has appeared in the N[ewcastle] Chronicle. We are told here by some that the Bishops will find England very hot for them when they return to England. Is that true?

He also asked Bewick to give him 'some idea of the real state of opinion and feeling in England about the Council & especially as regards Catholics.' He had heard that some windows had been broken but he did not specify whose.

On 18 July, the pope announced that the fathers could leave Rome but that they would have to return in November to complete their work: Chadwick dreaded the prospect. War between France and Prussia was declared the following day. French forces were withdrawn from the Papal States and the Piedmontese immediately advanced on Rome. This possibility had been anticipated for some time, of course, and the protection of the Pope had long been of concern in the Church. During his visit to Rome in 1867 Canon Thomas Wilkinson had become so inspired by the regiment of Papal Zouaves that he returned home and immediately recruited six volunteers from Crook to join at his own expense.[13] In December 1869, Chadwick had told Tate, 'The furore for Zouaveship is, I think, on the wane *inter Anglos*.' But in July 1870 the group of Durham men found themselves in the front line; in the event, the city was surrendered and the pontifical army saw no action. The Council continued in session for some weeks dealing with minor matters, but the occupation of the Papal States by Victor Emmanuel prevented its reassembly after the summer break and it was prorogued *sine die* on 10 November.[14]

Chadwick said little about his social life in Rome. He mentioned the

visiting English nobility and people from the north but not whether he entertained or was entertained by them. Charles Bodenham of an old Catholic family of Herefordshire, and his wife, Irena-Maria, a Polish countess, held a Reception for all the bishops each Wednesday evening, but Chadwick does not say whether he attended. Ullathorne dined out occasionally but he avoided evening *conversaziones*. On Shrove Tuesday the bishops went out to Frascati and dined on boiled turkey and roast beef, but the hostess forgot the pancakes.[15] In March the entire English contingent of bishops and their assistants went on an excursion to Castelgandolfo and to dine in Albano at the villa of Dr Richard Roskell, Bishop of Nottingham. (Ullathorne wrote a rapturous account of the day.[16]) No social event seems to have taken place at Easter (mid-April) except for the illumination of St Peter's and fireworks on Monte Pincio on the Pope's feast-day. Later in the week there were 'English races' and a 'dramatic and musical entertainment was given at the Sala Argentina by the English Zouaves' which most of the English bishops attended. Chadwick went again to Albano in July for a day or so to freshen up his system. He presumably visited the *Venerabile* from time to time for a meal as well as for meetings of the bishops. He was certainly aware that the internal affairs of the college were in some disarray. Cardinal Charles Reisach died in debt towards the end of December:

> unfortunately he had borrowed a portion if not a *great* portion of the money that had been collected for St Thomas's Church at the English College and was paying interest on it. It is feared that it will be hard work to recover the capital.

Frederick Neve, the rector, had been replaced by Henry O'Callaghan in 1867 and Cardinal Annibale Capalti had been appointed Protector in 1868, and discipline had been tightened. Chadwick observed that there was *great* discontent among the students and some of them transferred to other seminaries.[17] Moreover, Manning had given great offence to the English bishops by taking 'all things into his own hands as regards the English College', especially the appointment of O'Callaghan, his fellow-Oblate. Writing *entre nous*, Chadwick cautioned Tate not to

> allow Dr. M. to have *anything* to do with Ushaw. He would smash it up tomorrow if he could, to favour his Utopian, his as yet Utopian

University scheme. *Verbum sap.* Please do not quote me. My love for Alma mater prompts me to say what I do.

Manning had conceived of a board of examiners made up from the Catholic colleges who would award the equivalent of a degree because Catholics were prohibited from attending the universities of Oxford and Cambridge since students were required to swear the Oath of Supremacy. Neither Chadwick or Tate thought much of the scheme and, in any case, they did not want to prejudice Ushaw's affiliation with London University which did not impose the oaths and hence Catholics could matriculate without violating their consciences; from 1840, therefore, Ushaw students had been able take degrees in London.[18]

Chadwick usually mentioned his church-students. He saw all those from the diocese who were studying at the Venerabile and found most of them well, although one or two looked to him like 'plants stuck into a soil uncongenial to them' and wanted to leave. About candidates for Ushaw he gave instructions to reject one who was consumptive, one who was illegitimate, another because he was too young (even though he was a nephew of one of the canons), and yet another because his family had 'never hitherto pulled their weight'. No boy from outside the diocese could be accepted without his own bishop's permission; he redirected others to Lisbon or Douay instead of Ushaw. He delayed the ordination of one or two students because he was uncertain about their true vocation, and he urged Tate to get rid of one or two unsuitable characters. Two students who transferred from the Venerabile to Ushaw proved to be unsatisfactory; one of them withdrew voluntarily but the other would not accept his dismissal and he appealed directly to Chadwick, but to no avail. Rightly, then, the bishop kept a close eye on the wellbeing and the training of future priests and he was much affected when one student committed suicide. Moreover, one of his reasons for wanting to get back home as soon as possible was to resume his episcopal privileges: 'The ordinations are the great motive for my going as I like to ordain my own priests'.

Chadwick's affection for Ushaw was frequently expressed in his letters to Tate but it was also demonstrated by his purchase of a portrait of Pius IX in 'walking dress' for £40 (paid for by the college); he sent it on ahead of him with detailed instructions about its varnishing and framing and hanging in the refectory at Ushaw. Chadwick kept an eye out for suitable gentlemen to become honorary members of St Cuthbert's Society.

Candidates included Cardinal Cullen and Mgr Nardi, but he had great doubts 'as to the use of getting Roman Princes' names' (to get their money would be impossible).' He thought he could recruit the Marquis of Bute who was in Rome following his recent conversion (he was confirmed by Pius IX) and suggested he be invited to attend Defensions at Ushaw. Chadwick often saw the wealthy marquis and thought he might 'do something more for us' although he was 'teazed to death with applications'. The marquis was indeed a generous, but discriminating, benefactor of the English mission and the bishop was particularly concerned that Patrick Matthews, one of his priests, might be 'putting his foot in it' with Bute's agents.

While Chadwick wrote to Tate mostly about the Council and college affairs, with Bewick he was more concerned with national and diocesan matters. Three important political problems faced the hierarchy. The first was the strident Irish nationalism of the movement known as Fenianism, which the Church denounced as a conspiratorial and malign secret society. The English bishops asked the Holy See for a formal condemnation and the *Decretum* issued in February 1870 was sent back by Chadwick for publication. Essentially, it ruled that Fenian members and supporters had to renounce their association or suffer excommunication. The second great contemporary problem for the English Church was education. Since (and even before) emancipation the Church had established its own schools which were built partly with government grants through the Catholic Poor Schools Committee. In 1870, however, the government sought to create a national compulsory system

and to enshrine in legislation the principle that only secular education would be provided out of public money; religious education would have to be funded privately. The Church, however, insisted on the absolute right to a denominational education and demanded a fully aided voluntary system . The absence of the bishops in Rome reduced the effectiveness of the Catholic campaign although Chadwick encouraged Bewick to do his best. A public meeting was held at Newcastle, a new committee was formed and statistics were gathered, though Chadwick thought the priests were remiss in making full and accurate returns . Ultimately, however, the Church lost the battle and a dual system of denominational and non-denominational schools emerged.

The third problem concerned the convents. The bishops decided to raise funds to keep poor convents going and asked Lord Denbigh to set up a national committee with diocesan branches for the purpose. Denbigh recommended that converts be recruited where possible. Chadwick suggested a number of names for the northern branch (mostly ladies) including a Charlton, Dunn, Liddell, Priestman and a Salvin; the chairman had to be a priest, of course, and Canon Consitt was nominated. At the same time there was a revival of the anti-convent campaign which had begun in the fifties following the awful but popular disclosures of ex-nuns and ex-priests; it was now being suggested in parliament that convents be inspected half-yearly. The bishops wanted 'a tremendous stand made against the affair' but they decided to make preparations in case the proposal did reach the statute book. Bishop Brown was invited to take legal advice and to convene a meeting of all the English vicars general to ensure that each convent followed the same procedure and responded in exactly the same way to any enquiries; Chadwick instructed Bewick to attend the meeting. In the event, the parliamentary debate rumbled along for a year or so and eventually came to nothing.

Clearly Chadwick was sympathetic to the religious communities, but not when disciplinary problems arose. One concerned a Poor Clare who he thought would 'always be a trouble'; he urged Bewick to get 'her consent to be dispensed whilst she is in the mood & I will not leave Propaganda a moment's rest till the dispensation is granted'. Chadwick complimented Bewick for not intervening when a convent of nuns in Middlesbrough expressed their displeasure with a priest. Not so easily dealt with were the Sisters of Mercy in Sunderland who, the bishop said, 'give *trouble* wherever they go' and he cautioned Bewick that it was 'a dangerous thing

to let Nuns get their own way by foul means'. He remarked on their annoying certain priests but the larger problem was their proposed involvement in the mission at Tow Law, high on the moors of west Durham, which had been established some ten years earlier. A new school was opened on 30 June 1869 and William Taylor Smith, the newly-appointed priest in charge of Tow Law and Wolsingham, asked the order to establish a convent and to take over the school. Bishop Chadwick was not keen for several reasons. He did not think that community life and spirit could be kept up in a branch house of four or five nuns; the building plans were unclear; Taylor Smith, a scion of a local gentry family, was partly financing the project and the bishop feared undue influence. Would there be 'a real security against molestation on the part of the Smith Family ... Taylor Smith and the Nuns are thick - too thick ...' and it was uncertain what would happen to the convent if he were to be appointed elsewhere; the mission at Wolsingham might be prejudiced (an earlier priest had taken all the furniture with him when he left). He asked Bewick to review these considerations and to delay matters until his return. Taylor Smith and the Reverend Mother would not be put off, however, and wrote directly to Chadwick who, it appears, was unable to affect the course of events for the convent opened on 14 June 1870, that is, before the bishop returned to the diocese.

Ill-discipline, however, was not the preserve of nuns. Chadwick remarked: 'It is generally true when Priests fight their Bishops something is wrong'. Quite so, for missioners at odds with him were usually shown to be financially incompetent or to have personal difficulties. Chadwick asked that a close watch be kept on one or two priests and he did not hesitate to warn that their faculties would be withdrawn if a reformation was not effected; others were told that they would be returned to their dioceses. The odd resignation was encouraged: the bishop was glad that one priest had 'done the gracious thing' and he hoped to get rid of another whom he described as 'one of his sort'. One priest was threatened with suspension unless he dropped his support for the Fenians. The greatest problem, however, was financial irregularity. One priest who had made a mess in Carlisle, Monkwearmouth and Stockton was told to sort himself out else he would be returned to Southwark, his parent diocese; after the priest had appeared in the bankruptcy court, Chadwick concluded that he would always be 'a plague' and told Bewick to get rid of him. Another was thought to be 'cracked' and was in danger of having his priestly faculties

withdrawn, but he was in 'a poor place' and Bewick was asked to keep him up to the mark. Chadwick's most troublesome case involved a priest in Newcastle who was in a 'worldly and disrespectful way of living' which was giving rise to 'disedification if not downright scandal'. When the priest was told he would be dismissed, he threatened to take legal action against the bishop and to make revelations about other priests. Chadwick decided to deal with him under canon law and he asked Provost Platt to prepare the case with witnesses; but he also instructed Bewick to consult a lawyer on whether he was obliged under the civil law to pay a priest whom he could not in conscience employ and who actually owed the diocese money rather than having a claim on it. In the event the priest backed down and even asked Archbishop Eyre for a place in Glasgow; the request, needless to say, was summarily rejected. Nothing further is known of him.[19]

Of course, only those individuals in serious difficulties are mentioned in the letters, but they were a small minority of the priests and religious in the diocese who were quietly and devotedly getting on with their pastoral duties and who would not come to the unfavourable attention of the vicar general or bishop. Indeed, most of the pastoral problems referred to the bishop were less sensational. He always expressed concern for sick priests and he tried to help those in personal difficulties by reappointing them: he moved one priest out of Darlington for health reasons; when Ellingham unexpectedly fell vacant because the missioner left without giving notice and without making provision for the Holy Week services, he advised against putting Bewick's nominee, a young man, into so solitary a place; he tried (in vain) to get an overworked priest in Gateshead to accept a curate; he instructed one newly but temporarily appointed priest not to make any changes in the mission. He gave instructions on a reserved confessional matter and a marital problem; and he applied for some dispensations, though Propaganda was busy and preoccupied with Council business. Even so, Chadwick was not impressed by the Roman curia: 'if you give them a hint that you are in a hurry, they shrug their shoulders, *modo Italiano*, and cry out *ma ché*!' He issued his Lent pastoral letter (from 'outside the Flaminian Gate') but he made little reference in it to the events going on in Rome. Because he would not be back in time to consecrate the Holy Oils on Maundy Thursday, he obtained permission to use what was left from the previous year.

Bewick kept Chadwick informed of the progress of a number of the northern missions, often in connection with their early development and

financial state, including: Blackhill, Coxlodge, Easington, Elswick, North Shields, Seaham, Stanley, Thornley, Trimdon and West Hartlepool, all of which were in newly industrialising localities. Barnard Castle was 'vexing', and Canon William Thompson at Newhouse was difficult to deal with and his proposed buildings were too small and ugly. In Durham, St Godric's was separated from St Cuthbert's during the bishop's absence but Canon Consitt objected to its complete autonomy. Chadwick wrote: 'Experience proves that two missions in the same town, one depending on the other, seldom work well'. Hence, since the new parish had responsibility for its own finances, it should 'be made, if *possible*, independent in all things else. The Incumbent will on this account work with more spirit'. The involvement of the lay gentry in some missions also arose. The death of Mr Riddell led Chadwick to hope that his successor might look more favourably on the mission at Longhorsley and that Mr Leadbitter-Smith might not be so independent at Haydon Bridge. When Matthew Liddell took a new house, Chadwick wondered if he would take a chaplain. Chadwick agreed to the sale of land at Wooler, partly because it was redundant but also because Lord Tankerville would be pleased. He approved of Bewick's intention of collecting all the title deeds of church property in the diocese. When Bewick moved to 48 Front Street, Tynemouth, in December 1869 he immediately began to build a new chapel and he asked Chadwick to get him a chalice for about £40. Chadwick went over budget by £7.10s. but, he said, there would not be 'a handsomer chalice in the whole Diocese whether at the college, in convents or at Crook. If Hardman had made it all say it would have been £70 - How proud Tynemouth will be!' The Pope consecrated the chalice by using it during his Mass on 9 May. Pugin was shown it but whether its design corresponded with his exacting demands is not known. (The chapel, dedicated to St Oswin, was opened on 15 August 1871.)

Begging was a perennial feature of missionary life at that time. English priests toured the country raising funds for their churches without censure but Chadwick complained to the Irish bishops about the way his diocese was 'teazed' with their begging priests. Not only did they vex him very much but he had no doubt that they were taking 'advantage of the discontent of the Irish about the Fenian decree & also of my absence'. The English bishops, too, were constantly looking for funds. Special collections for the Tudhoe orphanage, the Diocesan Fund and the Poor Schools Committee were ordered and Chadwick agreed to hold a collection on

Hospital Sunday to oblige the Mayor of Newcastle. He also made a small contribution to the new training institution, the ship *Wellesley* on the Tyne and to the Catholic Reformatory in Sheffield.

In anticipation of his return to England, Chadwick asked Bewick to have the outside of his house, 11 Elswick Villas, painted and to get the lavatory fixed. Mrs Pattison, the housekeeper, required a new under-servant to replace Jane who had left, and the bishop decided to take on one of Anthony Robson's younger sisters. He was pleased that the Bishop's Room at St Mary's had been redecorated but he wanted the throne in the cathedral altered and refurbished. There was also the tedious matter of income tax. He had forgotten to make the necessary returns but he told Bewick where to look for the papers and asked him to 'do the best you can for me to get me off or to manage that I pay as little as possible'. Looking ahead, he got Bewick to arrange for the Redemptorists to give the clergy retreat that year and he was anxious about being compromised by accepting an invitation to attend a Social Science meeting in case it had anything in it of a rational or infidel character.

Chadwick told Tate on several occasions that he hoped to get back to Ushaw for Defensions and 'Great Week', as he called it, but as the Council dragged on he realised he would not make it: 'It would be a break-neck journey to try to get to Ushaw for the 28 [of July], besides, as I have business at the E. Coll. at Bruges, & at Douai I have given up the idea ...'Anyway, he was delighted when the Council ended on 18 July and he was permitted to leave Rome. At first, he and Archbishop Eyre intended to travel via the Brenner Pass and on through Munich and Cologne 'but it would not do to be detained by the war & we therefore have nearly made up our minds to go by Mt Cenis.' In fact, they chose to join Bishops Cornthwaite, Ullathorne and Vaughan and go by sea from Civitavecchia to Marseilles and then overland northwards. Chadwick made brief visits to Bruges and Douai where, presumably, he conducted ordinations or elections at the English religious houses, or recruited Belgian priests for the diocese. On Sunday 31 July he was welcomed back into St Mary's cathedral and he preached on the Council.[20]

Ullathorne had enjoyed the Council and had looked on it as a prolonged retreat[21] but Chadwick had merely endured it; the prospect of having to return for a second session appalled him. The Council, a rare and important historic occasion in the Church's life, should have been the event of a lifetime for a cleric, yet, as David Milburn has remarked, Chadwick

showed no deep interest in the issues under discussion - his diocesan pastoral letter of September 1870 on infallibility was as dry as dust.[22] This was partly because of his being the junior and the least experienced member of the hierarchy; the others (except Manning) had all been bishops for ten or more years, and many for a lot longer. Moreover, he was by no means an original thinker or an outstanding theologian, nor was he adept in the world of high ecclesiastical politics so much relished by Manning and others. His preferred milieu was the diocese, the retreat-house and the seminary and he seems to have been a little out of place at the Council. His domestic situation was another factor. He was ill for a time, but he did not mention a single visitor, and he worried constantly about his expenditure. Had he lodged in the *Venerabile* and had a greater social and personal interaction with the other bishops he may well have gained confidence and found it all less of a trial. His letters, then, do not disclose anything new about Vatican Council I, nor do they reveal Chadwick as a formidable intellectual or an influential figure; they do, however, clearly show him to have had a sincere paternal regard for his diocese, which many will think preferable.[23]

Notes & References

1. Hexham and Newcastle Diocesan Archives MR/7. All unattributed citations are taken from the letters but it has not been thought necessary to provide references, since generally they have been treated in chronological order and a specific reference can be found easily in the originals.
2. The letters to Tate (President from 1863) have been published in *Ushaw Magazine* vols. 71 and 72, edited by D. Milburn. Chadwick wrote occasionally to others but those letters have not been traced. Reference has also been made to a number of Ullathorne's letters published in Cuthbert Butler, *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne 1806-1889* (2 vols. 1926).
3. This was the first time the diocesan chapter made a nomination to the see, though Chadwick was named second on the *terna* after Ralph Platt and before William Knight. Cf. Edmund S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning* (2 vols. 1896) II, p. 269.
4. See Butler, *op. cit.* for the detailed chronology of the Council. It is worth noting that nine petitions bearing nearly two hundred bishops'

signatures demanded a conciliar definition of the bodily assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

5. Butler. p. 128.
6. On 7 March, the feast of St Thomas Aquinas, the Pope called at the Venerabile (at only five minutes notice) to visit Grant's sickbed - only three bishops were present to receive him. Cf. Butler, p. 250, who wrongly dates the visit to 8 March. The Requiem Mass was said in the chapel of the *Venerabile* on 3 June. The Roman parish priest claimed a scudo for every mile a corpse was moved to its place of burial, regardless of distance. It does not appear whether he was paid in this instance.
7. The official attendance list puts Errington at the Convento de S. Clemente, where, presumably Mullarkey was chaplain; he is otherwise unidentified.
8. Butler, p. 155
9. Butler, p. 202.
10. Butler, pp. 166, 180.
11. Butler, p. 176.
12. Butler, p. 287.
13. A photograph of Wilkinson and the six West Durham Zouaves appears at *Ushaw Magazine* No. 56 (July 1909) facing p. 198.
14. Bishop Clifford declared his grudging adherence to the new dogma in December 1870 when it became clear that the Council would not reconvene to reconsider the matter.
15. Butler, pp. 156, 167, 211.
16. Mother Francis Raphael, OSD, Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne 1892, pp. 223-5.
17. M.E. Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome* (1979), pp. 129-131.
18. D. Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (1964) pp. 167-9.
19. Archbishop Charles Eyre (of Anazarba *in partibus infidelium*), Administrator Apostolic of the Western District of Scotland, had been vicar general in Hexham & Newcastle before Bewick. His elevation was requested by Archbishop Manning who feared that Eyre's presence in the diocese might make it difficult for Chadwick. Cf. Purcell, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
20. *The Tablet* 30 July 1870. Chadwick recruited the Belgians Bruno Vanderstichele in 1864, Aloysius Hosten in 1869, Jules du Floer in

1870. While in Rome he considered taking a twenty-year-old Italian student: 'he is good and clever & I once thought it would be as well to have *him* as a Belgian, for it will not do to have too many Belgians'.

21. Butler, p. 203.
22. Milburn, *op. cit.*, p. 261; HNDA RCD 1/17, pastoral letter dated 4 September 1870.
23. Bishop Chadwick laboured in the diocese for ten or more years after the Council and, for a year, as President of Ushaw following the death of Dr. Robert Tate. He was obviously not averse to foreign travel for he made three more continental trips; he was the first English bishop to visit the Holy Land in modern times, which he did for his health in 1875, and he made an *ad limina* visit to Rome later that year and again in 1879. He died, after a short illness, in May 1882. He was buried at Ushaw and was succeeded by Bewick.

STOP PRESS

In February of this year Robin, realising that his health was rapidly failing and eager to ensure the continuity of this periodical, offered **Dr Leo Gooch** of Wolsingham, Co. Durham the editorship of *Northern Catholic History*. Dr Gooch, well known to readers of this periodical as an expert in the field of local Catholic history and to the Society's members as a frequent and informative lecturer, despite many local and national commitments, thankfully accepted Robin's proposal, feeling, as we all did, that under Robin's guiding hand *Northern Catholic History* had become altogether too valuable a periodical to be allowed to die with him.

The Society's Committee members have since unanimously endorsed Dr Gooch's nomination, and in accordance with the rules of the Society his name will be put to members for their approval at September's AGM.

We need to take this opportunity to thank Dr Gooch for such generosity in laying aside some of his own interests in order to devote himself to the work of editing this magazine. We are confident that as our new editor he will be a worthy successor to Robin Gard.

TRIBUTES TO OUR LATE EDITOR

At the reception of Robin's body into the church of the Sacred Heart, Gosforth on Sunday 8 May Bishop Kevin Dunn of Hexham and Newcastle declared that "Robin's faith was rooted in history. "He was a fount of knowledge of the parishes and the story of our diocese. He cherished the stories of the people of faith and the institutions of previous generations and those stories enriched his life and those who met him. We thank God for his skills and his example of remembering the stories of our past which enable us to live in the present and look to the future with hope."

Several other appreciations of Robin's life and work were offered during the funeral Mass concelebrated by Bishop Ambrose Griffiths OSB and several priests in the presence of Robin's family, friends and colleagues from all parts of the country. Bishop Ambrose, with whom Robin as diocesan archivist had a long association, spoke especially (as did Fr. Joseph Travers in his homily) of Robin's outstanding and unfailing courtesy.

Since Robin's funeral other tributes have come to hand, two of which we expect to appear in full in issue no.47 due in May 2006. One is from Mrs Sue Wood, Senior Archivist at Northumberland Record Office, who writes that as the second County Archivist Robin had greatly expanded the Archives Service, increasing its collections from 200 to 3,400.

The other tribute comes from Margaret Harcourt Williams and Mrs Judith Smeaton of the Catholic Archives Society. It describes in some detail Robin's connection with that Society. As a founder member he edited the first 15 issues (1981-95) of *Catholic Archives* and retained an active interest in the Society's work to the very end.

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.

PATRON: The Rt. Rev. Kevin Dunn, S.T.L., Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.

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