

Northern Catholic History



St John Boste

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Front Cover: *Saint John Boste* by Michael Boe (see Notes)

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The Society was founded in 1974 to foster interest and promote research into the history of the Catholic Church in the North East of England. a term which is interpreted as extending from the Border to the Wash on the eastern side of the Pennines. A yearly programme of talks and outings is arranged. The present annual subscription is £7 single, £11 joint, which includes a copy of the annual journal *Northern Catholic History*. An index to past editions will be found on the Society's website. The Editor welcomes offers of articles for future editions. Details of the availability and price of back issues can be obtained from the Editor.

THE OUTLAWS ERRINGTON AND INGLEBY

N. Hogan

By any standard, the ‘careers’ of two brave and resourceful laymen – a Northumbrian and a Yorkshireman – were of crucial importance to the mission in early recusant times. Seminary priests newly ordained for the mission in the north-east began to cross over in 1574 and they had to be met when they landed, mostly at Shields at the mouth of the Tyne, or at Whitby, and then escorted to their mission stations. Thereafter, when out and about they would need a guide or companion to protect them from official, curious and malicious attention. Laymen such as these also delivered letters and distributed money, books and contraband devotional objects to the missionaries and Catholic families across the region. Without these bold, courageous and enterprising men, the mission would hardly have survived, let alone flourish as it did, to the increasing dismay of the civic and ecclesiastical authorities in Durham, Newcastle and York.

*

George Errington was born in 1556 into a well-to-do family which owned an old tower-house at Hirst near Ashington not far from the Northumbrian coast.¹ At the age of eighteen he matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, *filius generosi*. He graduated B.A. and M.A. indicating that he must have taken the Protestant oaths and so was not a Catholic at that time. It is not known when he was reconciled to the faith, but his alma mater produced seven martyrs, one of whom, William Spenser, (‘robust, squarely built and of moderate height’²) from Gisburn in the West Riding, was a student at the same time, and Errington was doubtless influenced by the college’s Catholic leanings. At any rate, he returned home in 1579 and became involved, indeed the leading figure, in the development of the secret recusant underground in the northern counties.

Operations were conducted by a group of laymen from a house in South Shields belonging to Miss Ursula Taylor, who belonged to a family with extensive continental mercantile interests, which was ideal cover for getting students out of the country and bringing priests in. Errington, ‘a lusty tall gentleman, well horsed and armed,’ was in charge; the quarter-master was Lawrence Kellam, an alumnus of the English College at Reims. A certain Atkinson was ‘supposed to have some great somme of monye yt comes overseas for reliefe of ye needfull papists.’ John Speed (vere Spence), a ‘very simple and ignorant’ Durham man, worked with Errington as courier and guide. Students leaving for the colleges abroad would be brought to the house by Errington where they would ‘secretly remain till such times as they can safely steal away.’³ In 1580, the young student ‘John Errington sonne to Lancelot Errington dwellyng at Denton,’ a couple of miles up-river, was

questioned about a journey he had made abroad. 'Being asked where he dyd embarke he saythe he tooke shipping at the Shells [Shields] in a frenche ship bownde for Deape [Dieppe].' He was a kinsman of George, and the Taylor-Errington organisation will have arranged his journey. Priests, who usually came in on a collier, would be received, given money and other necessities and, after a brief rest, Errington or Speed would escort them 'to such gentlemen's houses as they were assigned unto.'

Priests heading north and west would be escorted to Stella Hall, seat of the Tempests. Nicholas Tempest, a leading coal-owner, was a church-papist, though his wife Isobel was a well-known recusant and harbourer of priests, and he conveyed both priests and students up and down the Tyne in his keelboats and abroad in his colliers, often at the behest of John Boste or Errington. Dilston Hall, further up-river near Corbridge, was the residence of Francis Radcliffe, described by Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham, as 'an obstinate, dangerous and not unlearned recusant'. From Tynedale priests were passed on to remoter houses further north. In 1586 Lord Scrope, warden of the Western Marches, wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's spymaster:

Certaine Jesuytes ar receipted and quietlie kepte at Cardington Mr Radcliffes howse, him selfe being absente from the same. They frequente the howses of Stephen Phennycke at Longshare, Mr Ralph Grayes, Medfordes of Riall, and Carres of Ford. Radcliffe of Cartington, Fenwick of Langshaws, Grey of Chillingham, Midford of Ryal, Carr of Ford.⁴

Priests intending to go south were escorted to Thornley Hall, seat of the Trollops. Thomas Trollop was a defiant church papist (he attended Sunday services, but refused to say Amen to the prayers), and priests were routinely accommodated at Thornley. Thomas was arrested and arraigned for trial at Durham in 1586 for repeatedly 'conveying' the Durham-born priest Bernard Pattenson around the county carrying 'in a cloak bag on his horse behind him the priest's massing vestments, books &c.' Priests for the local mission could be taken to any one of a number of houses, many of which were on rivers or near the coast: Hebburn Hall (seat of the Hodgsons); Cleadon Tower (Chambers), Hylton Castle (Hylton), Hordern Hall (Conyers) and Hardwick Hall, Hesleden (Maire from 1587). There was also a chain of safe houses along the river Tees: Sockburn Hall (Conyers); Low Dinsdale Manor (Surtees); Sledwich Hall (Clopton, 'receivers of priests'), Wycliffe Hall (Tunstall) and Westholme in Winston (Warcop). The Lawson's residence, Brough Hall, was the strategic link between these houses and the dales beyond Richmond.⁵

In August 1585, Errington was arrested on the quayside in Newcastle

about to board a ship which was leaving for France, with a student and his escort, Miles White, onboard, both of whom he had brought up to the Tyne from Neville's Cross, near Durham. Robert Hethfield a merchant of Newcastle was also present. Errington had £23 on him and he was carrying letters for English Catholics in Rouen. Errington and Hethfield were clearly important catches and were taken to London. In his examination in the Tower by Edward Barker, one of Walsingham's inquisitors, Errington admitted that he 'rode with the boye to the water's edge about one mile and a half from Newcastell, where the Frenchman laye and stayed for them.' Hethfield had already been taken and examined in June when he said that

he was never in France but only twice, nor ever in any other town of that kingdom but only Nieuport, Dieppe, and Rouen, and that he is bound by the Lord President of York not to cross the seas, because he had been intermeddler for the conveying over of one Hawfield who was lately executed for treason.

The three named French towns were well-known for their communities of English Catholic exiles. Hawfield was the priest Thomas Alfield; he had come to the mission in 1585 (it can be inferred from his connection with Hethfield that he landed in the Tyne); he was gaoled in June and executed in July, his offence being that he had brought 'seditious books' into England. In his second interrogation, Hethfield made quite sure that Errington's part in these schemes was clearly understood. He said that they had first met on the road between Gosforth and Newcastle (Hethfield told him that he 'rode suspiciously like a priest') and had later met at the house of Edward Taylor, another local merchant and relative of Ursula. He had seen Errington early that year in Yarmouth Roads since Errington's 'coming out of France.' He denied knowledge of the letters found on him except one to his uncle Valentine Taylor in Rouen, and another 'from one Garthe to Browne.' In fear for his life, Hethfield promised to conform.⁶

It is abundantly clear from their examinations that both Errington and Hethfield were deeply involved in illegal trafficking. Errington emerged as one of the 'comon carriers of papistical bookes and letters from one papist to another,' and 'a common conveyer of priests and recusants ... over the seas.' He certainly made no secret of his Catholicism. When asked

whether he can be contented to go to the church and to conform himself like a good subject in matters of religion, in case her Majesty would vouchsafe to pardon his former offences against the laws?

his answer was uncompromising:

He would pray for and serve her Highness with his body and life, but as for going to the church, his conscience would not permit

him.

On 2 June he was imprisoned in the Tower, and kept at his own expense. The Privy Council released him on bail in February 1587 and, unsurprisingly, he returned to the north and resumed his previous activities.

The clandestine use of the coal trade by Catholics was confirmed, unwittingly, by Francis Dickenson who went on to the mission at the end of August 1589. His ship was driven aground in a storm off Dover and he was arrested and questioned three times. In his first examination by Topcliffe he said that he had

departed from his father about June last, and came to Newcastle and took shipping at a place there called the Sheeles in a small French boat laden with coals, which went to Callis [Calais].⁷

This was quite enough for Topcliffe to have Henry Sanderson, 'her Majesty's searcher of the town of Newcastle upon Tyne and the ports thereunto belonging,' instructed to 'break up the nest of that popish and traitorous crew.'⁸ Sanderson, 'a bankrupt merchant and base companion,' was the most assiduous of priest-hunters in the region for some fifteen years and was greatly feared.

As instructed, Sanderson maintained a close watch on the comings and goings of the coal trade in South Shields, and he raided Ursula Taylor's house at the end of February 1591 and 'apprehended George Errington hand to hand, being their chieftain and guide.' By a fluke, three young men, Roger Ashton, Oliver Cotton and Robert Musgrave, bound for Reims or Rome, were also taken; they had been despatched earlier but

were by a contrary wind after certain days sailing brought back again to Shields, and there apprehended on the 27th February, and brought back to Durham and there committed.

Sanderson was mightily pleased with himself and Toby Matthew, Dean of Durham, was jubilant; he commended Sanderson for his work which 'was by him so faithfully and diligently performed, as he forced the priests to seek elsewhere for landing places ...'⁹

About the 2nd March after, was Mrs Ursalie Taylor, a maid, taken for harbouring them, and committed to Newcastle Gaol close prisoner, as the rest were.

About the 12th or 13th day of April following, they were brought to York Castle from Durham, and Mrs Ursalie and Sir George Williams, a seminary priest, with them. They were committed ... Mr Roger Ashton to the Kidcott, Mr Cotton to Alderman

Jackson's, Mr Musgrave to the Palace, Mrs Ursula Taylor to Peter Prison,' and Sir George to the Castle, all closely to be kept.¹⁰

Ursula Taylor was eventually freed. Williams, a Welsh priest, had been shipwrecked off the coast of Kent the previous year and had made his way by road to Newcastle (the probable destination of his ship) where he was arrested. On 22 May Errington was examined by the Council of the North and, with Williams, was committed to the Castle. The prison regime was clearly slack, for during the evening of 4 December, they simply walked out. Williams went to the west country and Errington returned to the north. As a marked man and fugitive, however, he could not return home or to Tyneside and so he kept to Catholic houses in the rural hinterland.

Errington's audacious escape infuriated the authorities and led to an intense search for him. Anthony Atkinson, an apostate Marian priest, spy and customs officer at Hull, took the lead, and he was closing in:

Metcalfe a priest said Mass at the Waterhouse at one [William] Claxton's house, a recusant who is in prison, and there were present at the Mass the 12th and 13th July, 1593, George Errington, Nicholas Bridges, Francis Eglisfield and many others.

It was Eglisfield who informed Atkinson of this gathering and of later events.

Boost did say Mass at the Waterhouse the 5th day of August in that company.

John Boste was another who was desperately searched for. He had been living dangerously for some time and was constantly on the move. Lady Hylton of Hylton Castle near Sunderland was one who had given him shelter. He was in Newcastle in July 1592 and witnessed Joseph Lambton's execution. Boste and two other priests were harboured by the Newcastle postmaster John Carr whose wife was a Catholic.¹¹

On Sunday, 26th August, Lee alias Stapforth [Stafferton] a priest and one that sarveth ye Ladye Graye' one of the Earl of Westmorland's daughters, and wife of Sir Thomas Gray said Mass there ... Vernon, chaplain to Joseph Constable, keeps their company, and mostly remains at Constable's house, Yorkshire ...

Upon Thursday, the 30th of August, Davy Englebye and George Errington did harbour all night at one Wilfrid Lee's house in the Bishoprick.

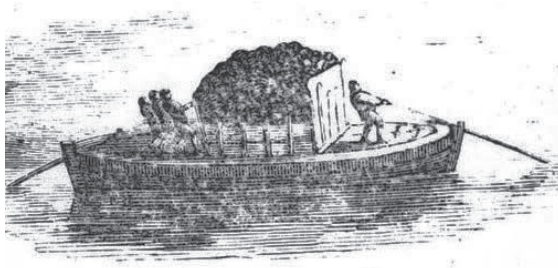
The 5th September, Davy Englebye, Thomas York, William Norton and two others not known, rode by Pearsebridge, and had every man a case of pistols.

As a result of Eglisfield's information, Boste was arrested by Atkinson in Claxton's house at Waterhouses near Brancepeth on 10 September 1593 and imprisoned in York. Also taken were Grace Claxton and Lady Margaret Neville (daughter of the exiled earl of Westmorland) who were both allowed to buy pardons at the intervention of Matthew Hutton, Bishop of Durham. The ladies had been held at the bishop's palace at Bishop Auckland.

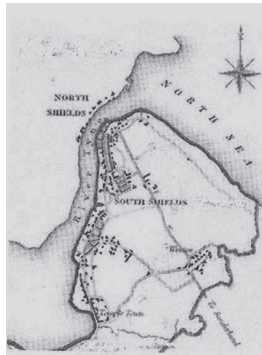
Errington and his assistants Nicholas Briggs and John Speed were caught on 6 November and taken to York. Briggs conformed and was released. Speed was returned to Durham and was indicted in that he did 'carry priests up and down.' Evidence was given of a letter written to 'Miles of Durham' (one of Errington's associates) stating that Speed had escorted a priest called Medcalf, whose true name was Anthony Hebburn (of Durham), who was ordained in Rome in February 1592 and sent to England in August. He was reported at Waterhouses in 1593 but spent much of his time afterwards in London. Speed was condemned and executed '1594 in the Lent time' because he would 'not accuse his master and other Catholics for priests harbouring.'¹²

Errington was kept prisoner in York Castle until July 1594 when, in company with John Boste, he was sent, in irons, to Durham for trial at the Assizes. Boste was tried on 24 July 1594 and, after the inevitable conviction, he was executed (it is said that a great crowd from the city walked with him to the gallows at Dryburn). Being a Northumbrian, Errington was transferred to Newgate prison in Newcastle. Probably because of a lack of conclusive evidence, he was not put on trial but returned to York. Since he could not be found guilty of the capital offence of conveying priests, other charges had to be found. A stool-pigeon in the castle was primed to pose as a potential convert and ask to see a priest. Errington and other Catholic prisoners directed him to Henry Abbott, a lay intermediary in the city. The authorities now had the evidence they needed. Errington was charged with 'persuading' to popery, convicted, and executed at York on 29 November 1596. Over the seventeen years he served on the front-line, so to speak, he doubtless expected to be put to death honourably, not in the shabby way which had to be devised by a desperate and vengeful government. In any event, he was beatified in 1987 by Pope John Paul II. John Speed had been beatified in 1929 by Pope Pius XI.

Note: The illustrations accompanying this article are not contemporary with the text and are reproduced for imaginative purposes only.



Historically, a great deal of coal shipped from the Tyne was floated down-river to sea-going colliers in 'keels,' in which the coals were piled high.



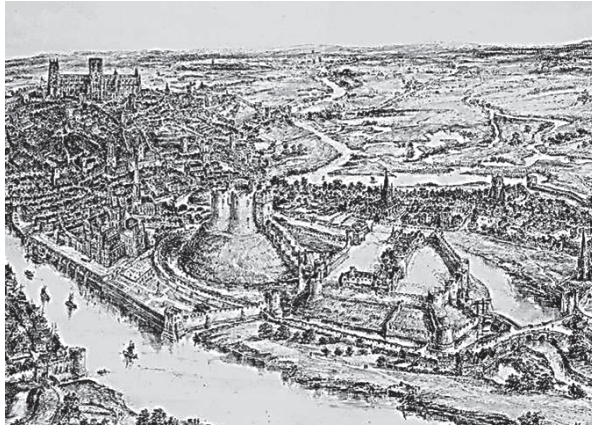
The entrance to the Tyne



Colliers loading at Shields



Whitby Harbour



York Castle



The gallows at Tyburn, similar to that used in York.



Ripley Castle

David Ingleby was George Errington's counterpart – as it was said, 'Davy Englebye rides in Yorkshire and the north parts like Robin Hood'¹³ – and he was hunted for with as much urgency as Errington for round twenty-five years.¹⁴ Born around 1547, he was some ten years older than Errington and, given that they were doing the same kind of thing, he may even have offered the younger man advice based on his experience. The Ingleby family of Ripley Castle in the West Riding was staunchly recusant: they were intermarried with Catholics, William Allen was related, and David's younger brother, Francis, was a seminary priest. In his early twenties David joined the 1569 Rising and succeeded in escaping to the continent afterwards. His name then appears in a list of fugitives 'desiring by Her Majesty's favour and pardon to return into England' and he was back home by the mid-seventies.¹⁵ He immediately joined the recusant underground to shepherd departing seminarians to Hull or Whitby for their passage to the continent, as well as to conduct incoming priests to their mission stations, or to Grosmont Priory farm which served the same purpose as Taylor's house in South Shields and Thornley Hall in Durham. He would certainly have received his brother Francis who went onto the Yorkshire mission in April 1584. Margaret Clitherow was pressed to death in York on 25 March 1586 for refusing to plead to a charge of harbouring Francis and other priests. Two months later Francis himself was arrested in York, tried and condemned on 2 June, and was executed on the Knavesmire the following day. Henry Cheke, Secretary to the Council of the North, declared that he would now strike the hard-line Ingleby family with such a blow that it had never had before.¹⁶ In the opinion of the earl of Huntingdon, President of the Council, Francis's three brothers, David, Sampson and John, were the most dangerous Catholic laymen in the north.¹⁷ Little is known of the last two, but David appears in the records on many occasions from the mid-eighties until the end of the century as an annoyingly elusive and militant recusant.

In 1585 Ingleby's kinsman Edward Windsor introduced him to two priests, Anthony Tirell and John Ballard, who were actually government agents. Burghley and Walsingham had devised the Babington Plot to entrap the Queen of Scots and English Catholics in high treason, and Tirell tried to incriminate Windsor and Ingleby as co-conspirators.¹⁸ The plot was 'discovered' and the alleged plotters were tried and executed in September 1586, including Ballard. Tirell was granted a special pardon for his services. Antony Atkinson said that Thomas Warcop of Winston, county Durham, 'was of Babington's conspiracy' (he is not, however, mentioned in the documents) and had harboured a seminary priest named Markland 'who was companion with Engleby' and that Warcop 'was of counsel with Engleby in all matters, and is a most dangerous person.'¹⁹ Ingleby and Windsor were not charged, probably because in a fit of remorse Tirell confessed that he had

'falsely accused' the earl of Arundel, Ingleby and others of being involved. Tirell, however, complimented Ingleby: 'of all that are [not] taken yet, I take to be the perilous man and the only practiser in the north parts of England.'²⁰

Not taking any chances, Ingleby and Windsor made themselves scarce, and Huntingdon began a desperate search for them. He ordered the mayor and aldermen of Hull to 'make diligent search' for 'Edward Windsor, alias Digby, David Ingleby, and John Boste, alias Harckley,' and to bring them to himself in York 'without conference either among themselves or with any other.'²¹ He searched Arthington Hall, the house of Ingleby's sister, Katherine. His men confronted Dame Isabelle Whitehead, an old nun, with drawn swords threatening to kill her unless she revealed where Ingleby and Windsor were. They arrested her and Windsor's wife Elizabeth who was also in the house.²² Huntingdon had also been told that Ingleby was in Nidderdale and he sent men to search for them without success; he also heard that Ingleby and Boste, were together not far from Newcastle.²³

In November, Windsor gave himself up, probably to protect his wife from torture. Ingleby was out of reach, in fact he was sheltering with Lord Maxwell near Dumfries, as Lord Scrope, Lord Warden of the West Marches, reported. In February 1587, Walsingham despatched a spy to investigate what Maxwell was up to; his instructions, signed by Thomas Phelippes, ended with the warning, 'Beware of David Ingleby.'²⁴ In early March it was reported that Ingleby 'was not long since at Mount St. John, a house in the North Riding of one Mr. Harrington's ... but is now sneaked into North Wales, for he feedeth not long in one pasture.' In June he was thought to be at Dilston Hall the house of Francis Radcliffe in Hexhamshire.²⁵ The record is silent about him during the Armada crisis and the year or two afterwards, and his whereabouts are nowhere hinted at, which perhaps suggests that he went into Scotland again, or to Ireland where he was rumoured to be at one point, or to the continent where he is known to have gone later.

When Ingleby reappears, it is as a married man. He was said to be 'often at Ughthorpe' in 1592 which was where Lady Ann Neville, one of the four daughters of the earl of Westmorland, lived, maybe with Katherine Radcliffe who also lived there. In October 1593 Anthony Atkinson reported that 'Davie Engleby has married Lady Ann Neville.' This was hardly news because Lucy Ingleby, their fourth and youngest child, had been born by then, but it is another example of Ingleby using his extensive circle of friends and relatives to successfully conceal his whereabouts. Atkinson, however, still euphoric at his capture of John Boste a month earlier, said that although Ingleby was 'as crafty a fox as Boost was, and hath many places of refuge, I have hounds abroad, which I trust will lodge him as well as I lodged Boost.'²⁶ But Ingleby was kept extremely well protected. In February 1594 Huntingdon planned a new search but Ingleby got wind of it and 'did

absent himself from his usual places of resort.' When Burghley captured 'two notorious seminaries', Martin Nelson and Robert Middleton, in a house at Ripon, he told Cecil that the person who gave them away was 'one in great trust with them, and one near akin to Davie Ingleby,' but the informant said he would not 'betray Ingleby, a near kinsman, if he should come, but you know what reward may do, and he that will betray one may be brought to betray another.'²⁷

At Easter, Huntingdon, having heard that Ingleby and his wife were at Harewell Hall had it searched, but found 'nothing greatly for their purpose.' In August the earl of Essex wrote to Huntingdon to 'use all measures to apprehend him.'²⁸ In October, however, Ingleby and his wife slipped away to Antwerp, probably by way of Hull. Huntingdon had mixed feelings,

for not above two days before, I was constantly told that he was in another place not far off Durham, and from this country he went thither; but now I need not to employ any person about that business any longer. Since Anthony Atkinson did so thoroughly fear him, he hath removed to many places and never rested long in any ...'

At the same time, however, he would 'have been more glad to deliver him to her Majesty than I am to hear of his departure.'²⁹ He never got another chance, for he died in December 1595, three months before the Inglebies returned to England. But there were others who would continue the hunt. In March 1596 Toby Matthew (Bishop of Durham) told Burghley that he had been contacted by someone who 'undertakes to apprehend in a month, David Ingleby, his wife, and many a seminary priest' in Nidderdale

if he may be rewarded (which I will undertake), and sorted with Mr. Atkinson of Hull. Only he must have security from you and me, to repair, without danger of law, to such masses and ceremonies as those ill-minded persons frequent. I beg your directions, so as not to lose the opportunity of their Easter, which comes before ours.³⁰

The Gregorian calendar had come into effect in October 1582 but England did not adopt it, leaving it ten days behind Catholic Europe. Nothing came of Matthew's proposal but it illustrates the many ways adopted by informers to entrap recusants.

In September the indefatigable Atkinson told the earl of Essex that there were

sundry places in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire that are well known to me, that harboureth Joseph Constable, and sundry traitorous priests that are kept in houses by servants and friends belonging to

the Lady Constable ... Da. Engleby coming and going among them
... so that seminaries comes over seas daily ...³¹

Atkinson had discovered Twigmore, in North Lincolnshire, south-east of Scunthorpe, owned by John Wright (one of the Gunpowder plotters):

It is credibly informed me that Davie Engleby, alias Jefford, is often there. The place is one of the worst in her Majesty's dominions ... for traitors that use the north parts are there harboured.

John Ferne, Secretary to the Council of the North, noted that Huntingdon had long

endeavoured to apprehend David Inglebye and Joseph Constable, the first a common runner beyond seas to conspire treasons (as is thought), and the other a notorious recusant, a common receiver of seminaries and other disloyal subjects.³²

Constable was arrested in March 1597 at his house at Kirkby Knowle and was committed to York Castle. The archbishop hoped that he would be hanged for 'harbouring' since 'his standing was so great an emboldening of recusants in these parts' that only an exemplary punishment would restrain them. But the Constables conformed, insincerely of course, and only to avoid being hanged. Bishop Matthew was outraged and wrote that their conversion should not

expiate so manifold and heinous felonies and treacheries (percase treasons also) committed by them [who were] 'as wicked and dangerous a couple as ever the north bred (except always David Ingleby and his lewd lady.)'³³

As for Ingleby, Ferne said, 'I am promised to have a plot laid' for him as he 'is now in Yorkshire, and haunteth four houses there, and sometimes at his nephew Mr. Wynter's, in Worcestershire.'³⁴ In the autumn of that year, Henry Saunder saw the Inglebies in Brussels and described them 'as beggarly as brown paper.'³⁵

The last recorded sighting of David Ingleby was at Grosmont in 1599. He died in his mid-fifties late that year in Brussels and in early December Lady Ann with the children and servants, returned 'from beyond the seas ... to seek relief of her friends.' In 1601 the queen hoped that she would return to the Low Countries, suggesting artfully that her children be left behind 'for their better education.'³⁶ But, Lady Ann had no reason to – her father the earl died in Nieuport that year, the penniless widow needed support from her sisters, relations and friends in north England, and she intended to raise her children as English Catholics. In 1616, 'Ann Lady Ingleby' was listed as a recusant in Lythe, one of the 'vagrant Catholic gentry relations' of Katherine

Radcliffe. Her brother-in-law William Ingleby died in 1618 having outlived his four younger brothers, but he made bequests to all his nieces.³⁷ By then, of David's daughters, Mary was married to Sir Peter Middleton of Stockeld, and Frances to Sir Robert Hodgson of Hebburn: Ursula was unmarried but would wed Robert Widdrington, and Lucy had entered the convent of English Benedictines at Brussels; her name in religion was Ann.³⁸

*

George Errington and David Ingleby, then, were of exceptional importance to the recusant underground in the north-east during the fifteen-eighties and nineties, the most dangerous period for Elizabethan Catholics: dedicated, fearless and resourceful laymen, comparable with similarly resolute priests such as John Boste and the long-lived Jesuit Richard Holtby. But for their ignominious betrayal, Errington and Boste would undoubtedly have continued to serve the mission as courageously and successfully until their natural deaths, just as Holtby and Ingleby did.

Notes & References

¹ An extensive biography of Errington by A.M.C. Forster was published in the *Ushaw Magazine*, December 1961

² G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol. I, Elizabethan 1558-1603, 1968, *sub nomen*

³ HMC *Salisbury* v, p. 203.

⁴ T.F. Knox (ed.) *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, 1878, p. 458

⁵ Anstruther; H. Aveling, The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790, (*Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Lit. and Hist. Section*, vol. x, part vi.) pp.161, 203; A. Morey, *The Catholic Subjects of Elizabeth I*, 1978, p.185; W.L. Hayward, *Hide or Hang: Priest Holes in North East England*, pp. 30-2, 57ff; G. Boddy, 'Catholic Missioners at Grosmont Priory,' Part I, *NCH* 19 p. 3; Part II, *NCH* 20 p. 5

⁶ J.H. Pollen (ed.) *Unpublished Documents Relating to the English Martyrs*, vol. 1 1584-1603 (CRS Records V, 1908), pp.125 ff.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ *CSPD Add.* 12 (1580-1625), pp. 191/2/3.

⁹ HMC, *Salisbury* v. 256, x. 202/5; J. Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* iii, 1877, pp. 134/5, 144, 147, 154, 190.

¹⁰ H. Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, (7 vols. 1877-83) iii, pp. 745 ff.

¹¹ CRS V p. 221

¹² Foley iii, p. 760.

¹³ CSPD 1591-4, pp. 377-8; C.R.S. v, pp. 220-3.

¹⁴ I am indebted to K. M. Longley, 'David Ingleby, the Fox that got away' *NCH* 34, 1993, for much of the following account.

¹⁵ HMC, *Salisbury*, xiii, p. 118

¹⁶ Fr. Christopher Grene, *Collectanea E* (1666-97) (Oscott), p. 282.

¹⁷ J.C.H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York 1558-1791*, (CRS Monograph 2) 1970, p. 342.

¹⁸ W.K. Boyd (ed.), *State Papers relating to Scotland & Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, viii, (1914), pp. 641-655, 667-672. [*Cal. Scot. Papers*]

¹⁹ J. Hirst, *The Blockhouses of Kingston-upon-Hull, and who went there* (1913), pp. 45-6; HMC, *Salisbury*, vii, p. 300.

²⁰ J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, ii, 1875, pp. 287-501, 'The Fall of Anthony Tyrrell.' Tirell eventually went abroad and died in Naples in 1615, apparently reconciled to the Church.

²¹ Hirst, pp. 40-42.

²² J. Morris, *Troubles iii*, 1877, pp. 327-328. *CSPD Add.* 1580-1625, p. 45. Christopher Grene's Mss; Foley, vi, 1878, pp. 731-2. Dame Isabelle Whitehead was professed in the nunnery of Ardington, afterwards suppressed, and 'retained her state as well as she could.' She died in the Castle in March 1587, being at least 71 years old.

²³ *CSPD Add* 1580-1625, pp. 191/3.

²⁴ *Cal. Scot. Papers*, ix, p. 307.

²⁵ J.C.H. Aveling, *Northern Catholics*, 1966, pp. 58-9, 105; *Cal. Border Papers*, i, pp. 250, 261; *Acts of the Privy Council* [APC], 1587, p. 127.

²⁶ HMC, *Salisbury* IV, p. 47

²⁷ *CSPD* 1598-1601, p. 378

²⁸ *CSPD* 1591-4, p. 544

²⁹ HMC *Salisbury* v, pp. 432-3, 484

³⁰ *CSPD* 1595-7, p. 183. Reform of the Julian calendar had been called for by many down the centuries, including Bede in the eighth. Protestant Europe deliberately ignored the actions of 'Gregorius calendarifex' (Gregory the calendar-maker). Great Britain only adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1752 – leading Voltaire to comment: 'the English mob preferred their calendar to disagree with the Sun than to agree with the Pope.'

³¹ Hirst, p. 44-5; HMC *Salisbury* vi. p. 378.

³² HMC *Salisbury* vii, pp. 105-6

³³ *CSPD* 1595-7, p. 369; *Cal. Border Papers*, ii, p. 344

³⁴ *CSPD* 1598-1601, pp. 200-1, 210-11, 233.

³⁵ HMC *Salisbury* xii, p. 570

³⁶ *APC*, 1600-1, pp. 243, 340

³⁷ *Surtees Society* vol. 104, 1902, p. 129. Christopher Wharton may have been chaplain or resident at Ripley Castle. He was captured in 1599 in the house of Eleanor Hunt, widow, 'at the foot of Nidderdale within Ripley Park.' He was martyred at York 28 March 1600; Mrs Hunt died in prison. William Ripley was knighted on 17 April 1603 while James I was staying at Ripley Castle on his way to London. (CRS Records vol. 13, 1913), p. 106, n. 210).

³⁸ 'Dame Ann Ingleby, Daughter of Mr. David Ingleby in Yorkshire,' died on 20 January 1626. (CRS Records vol. 1, p. 123; vol. 14, pp. 180-1. Her portrait, incorrectly identified but showing her wearing the Benedictine habit, may be seen in the Tower Room at Ripley Castle.

THE SURPRISING TREASON OF WILLIAM WATSON

L. Gooch

After the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569 and the Ridolfi Plot of 1570, Queen Elizabeth's chief ministers, Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham, never ceased trying to discredit the English Catholics as traitors conspiring to assassinate the queen. The Throckmorton Plot of 1583 and the Babington Plot of 1586 were largely, if not entirely, devised by them for the purpose. An innocent Protestant was framed for the supposedly Catholic Squire Plot of 1598. In fact, even after her excommunication in 1570, the English Catholics overwhelmingly accepted Elizabeth as their head of state, though not as head of their religion, and the martyrs all affirmed their temporal loyalty to her, even as they went to their death on the scaffold convicted of treason. But then, her successor, James I, was faced with two real conspiracies of Catholic sedition in the first two years of his reign, the best known of which is the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Two years earlier, however, almost immediately after ascending the throne, a plot was instigated against him by the seminary priest William Watson who, like the leaders of the 1569 Rising, was a native of the north-east. Moreover, as well as being the ringleader of a treasonable conspiracy, he was a major contributor to the internal dissensions which bedevilled English Catholicism in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. His full biography is therefore well worth recalling.

Watson was born on St George's Day 1559 in County Durham and, if his own account of his youth is accepted, his family would have been of some worth, although it does not appear in the *Visitations of Durham*. His recollections, however, are inaccurate, inconsistent and misleading where the contents can be independently established, and the details are untrustworthy where they cannot. His account is included in a long and (self-admittedly tedious) letter he sent from prison to Edward Coke, the attorney general in April 1599 which is largely a diatribe against the Jesuits and their pro-Spanish leanings in contrast to his own strongly patriotic stance.¹ At any rate, recalling his earlier years, he wrote

I have been brought up in learning, sent to Oxford at 10 years of
age with my tutor (a perfect linguist which my father kept to teach)
at 14 I came to the Inns of court: at 16 I passed the seas to Rheims:
at 26 I returned home; was brought of the sea in mariners apparel

...

But he does not appear in the registers of the university or of the inns of court, and he did not arrive at the English College in Reims until February 1581, shortly before reaching the age of twenty-two. He also said that

My studies until I was 18 years of age were in the 7 liberal sciences intermixt, with the tongues, physic, common law (& especially histories all my life time for recreation) from 18 until 21, I studied the laws canon & civil with positive divinity & perfecting of my metaphysic and philosophy. after that until my return home I plied school divinity (the whole course being then read orderly in 4 years).

The Jesuit Robert Persons conveys a very different picture, though it must be stressed that he wrote after he and Watson had become bitter enemies:

His coming out of England and the manner thereof we know nothing, nor greatly doth it import, only we know that he came to the English seminary at Rheims in France a poor little begging boy, where, being taken out of charity, his first allowance was for a good time pottage only, and licking the dishes which other men had emptied before him, after that again he was admitted to make beds, sweep chambers, and other like offices belonging thereto, in which kind he served especially one M. Boast, [John Boste] a good priest and a holy martyr since, which if he had known then or suspected that the squint-eyed boy (for so he called him) would have proved so wicked a man, he should never have come (no doubt) within his chamber door. And yet further you must note that all this while, Wil. Wat., besides his poor estate, was the most contemptible and ridiculous thing in all that house for many years, for that his grace was in tumbling and making sport to others, for which his body (if you know him) was fitly made, and so he passed by the name of Wil. Wat or Wat Tumbler.²

Nor could Persons resist pointing out that Watson

was so wrong shapen and of so bad and blinking aspect as he looketh nine ways at once as scarcely he can discern anything that toucheth not his eyes, which yet we object not as nature's defects, but as rather representing the state of his mind.

But then, the proclamation for his arrest of July 1603 also noted Watson's unfortunate physical appearance: 'a man of the lowest [shortest] sort ... he looketh asquint, and is very purblind, so as if he reade anything he puttethe the paper neere to his eyes.' He was also said to be 'erratic, vainglorious and not altogether veracious,' argumentative and to have a violent temper. He was not entirely trusted by his fellow priests.³

Watson was confirmed at Reims in March, 1581, given minor orders in 1583, made a priest in April 1586, and sent to England on 16 June, aged twenty-seven.⁴ Persons could not let his ordination pass without comment:

But at length after divers years, pretending much devotion and humility, he was upon compassion made priest and sent into England.

It hardly seems likely that Watson, or anyone else for that matter, would be ordained by the rector, William Allen, out of pity or charity. The contempt with which Persons seemed to regard poverty in a priest, and his habit of taunting his opponents for it, are notable features of his writing, yet, as a blacksmith's son, he too came of a modest background. Anyway, he went on,

for a time he used himself not evil, but by little and little falling to liberty and sensuality, and not having either sufficient wit or learning (but especially grace) needful for the government of such a charge, he fell into divers great disorders and absurdities, whereof one was his foul fall by going to the protestant church, and thereupon the discovery of many catholics to the persecutors ... the matter is notorious.⁵

Notwithstanding Persons's obvious animosity, there is enough in his account, which was written for general readership, to raise doubts about Watson's bona fides. Aspects to wonder about include the series of Watson's extraordinary imprisonments and escapes that took place over the next fifteen years.

Watson was first captured six months after arriving in England and put into the Marshalsea, in Southwark, just south of the River Thames. He was banished with a safe-conduct to the continent, but while waiting to take passage across the Channel, he was seized by Richard Topcliffe and severely tortured ('whipping, grinding in the milne, with the like') in the Bridewell prison, on the banks of the Fleet River in the City. In 1588, Margaret Ward, a Catholic gentlewoman of Congleton, Cheshire, companion of 'a lady of distinction named Whittall' in London, obtained permission to visit him. After several visits she smuggled in a rope with which he let himself down the outer wall, breaking an arm and a leg while doing so. Two Catholic watermen rowed him to 'a safe hiding place' down-river past Greenwich. John Roche, an Irishman, who was either her servant or one of the boatmen, exchanged clothes with Watson, who made good his escape. But the rope betrayed Margaret Ward and the clothes betrayed John Roche and both were arrested. They were martyred on 30 August while Watson got abroad and lived for the next two years in Liège.

In the autumn of 1590, Watson returned to England and went into the west country, eluding capture despite, he was told, there being at one time sixteen warrants out against him. Eventually, he was given away and one of Sir William Waad's men got him. Waad had worked as an agent for Burghley in

the 1570s gathering political intelligence in Florence, Paris, Strasbourg and Venice. In 1581 he became secretary to Walsingham and then clerk to the Privy Council. In April 1584 he was sent to negotiate with Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, and he would later ransack her room and seize the papers which implicated her in the Babington Plot. For the rest of Elizabeth's reign he was occupied searching for Catholic priests and uncovering plots. Watson was taken to the Gatehouse prison at Westminster Abbey, where Topcliffe again tortured him. Presently, Watson walked out, 'taking occasion of the dores set wyde open unto me.' He was reported by a spy to have crossed to Ireland in the summer of 1593 with the priest Simon Fennel. He was in the Bridewell again in May 1597 but was soon free; he was once more in custody in December 1598; in the following June it was reported that he had 'escaped from the Gatehouse and cannot be heard of; he is thought to have with him a servant who, with his consent, has stolen his master's best gelding and 40*l.* in money for Watson's use.'⁶ It may have been at this time that Watson, seeking to avoid what he said was the unremitting hostility and surveillance of the pro-Spanish English Catholics, fled

into Scotland, intending to have gotten over into France that way & so to have lived at Paris, where I knew I should be safe from them or else to have billeted in Scotland for a time. But there also finding as great a division as here touching that Spanish faction & not that comfort nor harbour for priests either English or Scots as had been heretofore, I returned thence into the North.

He was appalled, however, to find there were Catholics with pro-Spanish views in Cumberland as well, and

being moved to see their folly I was both round & plain with them that they of all others towards the borders showed small neither wit, religion, or affection towards their country that would any way listen to that Spanish faction or title, it being certain that the lords of North were all opposite against it, especially Westmorland & Dacre ... In fine I was forced to fly thence & come Southward again to London.

He was soon recaptured and, on this occasion, sent to Wisbech Castle in the Isle of Ely which had been used since 1580 to imprison the more troublesome of the Catholic clergy. The castle was protected by a strong wall and wide moat, but the regime was remarkably lax; servants were kept, visitors admitted, friends supplied food and wine, priests were allowed to go into the town and 'an active correspondence kept up with friends abroad.' No wonder that indignant complaints were made to the Privy Council that 'through the favour of the keeper, Gray, the prison was growing to be as dangerous as a seminary college, being in the heart and midst of England.'⁷

Watson would not bother to attempt an escape this time.

Watson's history of repeated jailings, easy escapes and travels is highly suspicious. London prisons were known to be insecure, and prisoners enjoyed much liberty ('free custody'), but a frequent absconder such as him, a traitorous priest under the law, should surely have been subject to stricter control or moved out of the capital unless, of course, an elaborate subterfuge was in play and that he had, perhaps, been persuaded by Topcliffe to work for the government, and there are several reasons to suppose so. It is odd that almost nothing is known of his activities during his periods of freedom, and it is not clear that he was actually arrested on each occasion he was sent to prison; he was never put on trial, whereas other priests were tried and put to death or banished without delay. In 1587, when in the Marshalsea, he protested against the Babington Plot, and the usually well-informed (though biased) Jesuits denounced him as a government spy and his sufferings in prison as fictitious. Certainly, for one who had broken a leg and who was twice tortured, he seems to have been unusually agile. The Jesuits also accused him of holding secret meetings with Robert Cecil, Burghley's son and ministerial successor, which he denied, but, tellingly, added that, even if he had, it was for the good of the country and the English Catholics; Cecil was well known to have scant regard for the good of the English Catholics. Parts of his letter to Edward Coke can be read as an admission of collaboration with the government. Watson reminded Coke that he held a 'loyalty, love & duty, to god, my prince, country & yourself in authority;' and that he and other seminarists had fought 'together against the ruin of our poor country which we greatly feared by that Spanified league' of Jesuits. Watson said that he suffered greater persecution from the Jesuits for speaking out against them than he otherwise did at the hands of the magistrates. Although he could have moved out of England into positions in schools and churches in other countries, he decided to remain in England despite the persecution because of the great love he felt for his native country. Not only were a great number of secular priests in arms against the Jesuits, the Catholic nobility of northern England was also against them.⁸ Watson wished for a truce between himself and the Elizabethan regime and he promised that no inflammatory works would be published by him against Protestantism, the queen or her council. He hoped that the attorney general would consider these promises and persuade the queen and her ministers to alleviate the persecution he suffered. His letter and his uncertain activity, then, give rise to some doubt about his true loyalty; his opinions in the quarrels then consuming the English Catholics certainly suited the government, and it is to those disputes – once described as the priests' Eight Years War – that we now turn.

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Cardinal William Allen exercised informal jurisdiction over the English mission after the death in 1585 of Bishop Thomas Goldwell, the last survivor of the ancient hierarchy, and he worked closely with Robert Persons to ensure full cooperation between the seminary priests and Jesuits. The cardinal's death in October 1594 led to fears among the secular clergy that Persons might be given a red hat and succeed him, and that prospect gave rise, in part, to what became known as the 'Wisbech Stirs.' In the winter of 1594 a majority of priests in the castle, mostly Jesuits led by William Weston, wanted to adopt a regulated quasi-monastic regimen but they were opposed on practical grounds by the minority, mostly seculars whose spokesman was Christopher Bagshaw (of Lichfield). The parties went their own way in February 1595 and it was not until November that an agreement was arbitrated by two priests, John Mush (a Yorkshireman) and Richard Dudley (of Westmoreland), that the whole body would live together under a distinct rule, though it would not last.

The hostility between seculars and Jesuits exposed by the stirs, were a symptom of a growing disquiet among seculars more generally about the extensive influence of the Society of Jesus over the affairs of the English Catholics. Persons founded a college for boys at St. Omer and in the early nineties he established new seminaries at Valladolid and Seville and put them under Jesuit management. The superiors of the English College in Rome were also Jesuits, although their dealings with the students were not always amicable, indeed the college was almost permanently in a state of discontent and indiscipline. Matters came to a head in 1597 when the vice-rector, Fr Harewood, publicly charged certain youths of various crimes and caused great offence. Persons took over as rector and restored good order. In addition to his major role in English Catholic lay and seminary education, Persons also had charge of the Jesuit mission in England. On top of all that, the political views of the Jesuits were opposed by most English Catholics. Watson claimed that the intrigues of the Jesuits with foreign states, especially Spain, were not only unpatriotic, but Persons's intercepted letters,

which talked of the invasion of the realm by foreign armies, and his political publications so incensed the English magistrates, that under the semblance of a just cause they rise up in vengeance against us and execute their laws. They exclaim that it is not the concern of religion that busies us, but under that cloak we are meditating politics and practising the ruin of the state.

At the end of the century, an accumulation of anti-Jesuit sentiment broke out into fierce controversy over the governance of the mission and the succession to the English throne. Watson was a leading and enthusiastic participant.

After Allen's death in 1594, the secular clergy hoped for a bishop or, failing that, a vicar apostolic (with episcopal rank in a see *in partibus infidelium*) as their new superior, but, instead, in March 1598 the Holy See appointed George Blackwell as archpriest (with six assistants) having jurisdiction over the secular clergy of England and Scotland. His instructions were to work in close consultation with the Jesuit superior in England. Bitter opposition ensued; many held that:

For an archpriest to have as great and ample, yea, greater, jurisdiction over all the priests of two realms as had all the bishops of those realms when they were catholic, is new and extraordinary.⁹

In any case, Blackwell was thought too close to, even a tool of, the Jesuits. Watson wrote:

All catholics must hereafter depend upon Blackwell, and he upon Garnet, and Garnet upon Parsons, and Parsons upon the Devil, who is the author of all rebellions, treasons, murders, disobedience, and all such designments as this wicked Jesuit hath hitherto designed against her majesty, her safety, her crown, and her life.¹⁰

The differences between the parties at Wisbech broke out again and were only settled when Weston and several of his friends were removed to the Tower. A number of seculars appealed to the pope to reconsider the arrangement (thus becoming known as 'appellants'), but in April 1599 a second Brief confirmed it and everyone, including Watson, submitted. Blackwell, however, demanded 'satisfaction' in addition to contrition from his opponents, whom he termed as schismatics, thus reopening and intensifying the feud. A number of pamphlets or tracts were published by both appellants and Jesuits, including Watson, couched in slanderous and vituperative language. A third Brief of August 1601 again confirmed the appointment, suppressed all publications about the dispute, refused to admit any appeal, and urged mutual charity.

Entirely predictably, the English government, fully aware of the pro-Spanish politics of the Jesuits, exploited the differences by secretly encouraging the appellants. Anthony Rivers said that Richard Bancroft, the Protestant Bishop of London, 'termeth both sides knaves, but the appellants good instruments to serve the State.'¹¹ The bishop held private talks at Fulham Palace with some seculars, Watson among them, and allegedly assisted with the publication of their literature, including Watson's extravagant tirades against Blackwell and the Jesuits. In 1601 he wrote or edited four pamphlets: *Decacordon of Quodlibetical Questions*; *Dialogue between a Secular Priest and a Lay Gentleman*; *A Sparing Discoverie of the English Jesuits* (which

ended with a proposed addition to the Litany: ‘A machinationibus Parsoni libera nos Domine’) and *Important Considerations or A Vindication of Queen Elizabeth from the Charge of Unjust Severity towards Her Roman Catholic Subjects, by Roman Catholics Themselves* in which he went so far as to make the extraordinary claim that Elizabeth’s treatment of the Catholics had been ‘both mild and merciful.’ Written in a tortuous and conceited style, with exaggerated assertions and doubtful accusations, they need not detain us. Persons replied to them with *Briefe Apologie* (1602) and *Manifestation of the Great Folly* (1602), with equal scurrility, heaping on Watson all manner of personal abuse.

The two sides also waged an intelligence war, and the government took the closest interest in their communications. There was no difficulty in getting the word according to the appellants from Bancroft, who was kept directly informed by the priests themselves: William Bishop and Christopher Bagshaw in Paris, and Francis Barnaby at his side in London. Barnaby had always been a sneak, he informed on Catholic prisoners in the Marshalsea and the Clink for one thing, and he would apostatise in due course.¹² Information from the other side was more difficult to come by. An intelligencer abroad reported (apparently to Sir Robert Cecil in October 1601) that the archpriest and his assistants wrote to the pope and protector once each half year, but ‘there is scarce any week but they write to Parsons.’

Their letter passeth by divers conveyances and with such caution, as for my life I could never come to the intercepting of any of them, albeit I have used therein no small vigilance.¹³

Thomas Phelippes, Walsingham’s code-breaker, was more successful. Persons, his chief target, he said,

has notice in 12 or 14 days of all that happens in England. He receives his letters on Wednesday, and on Thursday calls his secretaries — Walpole, Stephens, Smith, and John Wilson — who write continually till midnight on Saturday. They break open any letters they like, but think it a mortal sin if any of theirs are intercepted.¹⁴

At regular intervals over six months, he forwarded letters or abstracts of letters which he had deciphered. The reputation of the Jesuits for intelligence gathering was common knowledge as one ‘W.C.’ (probably William Clark) wrote.

That they intercept all manner of letters is so general an acclamation in foreign countries that it seemeth not to be clean void of verity, though for my own part I cannot say that I have seen them intercept any Card[inal’s], or princes packets. But for experience of this matter, concerning meaner mens letters, many a

score will bear witness with me that it is too usual among them not only in Rome but also in the Low Countries and in England too.

Henry Garnet certainly seems to have had a friend in Bancroft's household who supplied him with copies of documents and kept him well informed on the doings of his clerical adversaries, the appellants. Bancroft was allowed to pass the government's own intelligence on the Jesuits to the seculars.¹⁵

Watson was discharged from Wisbech in September 1601 and a report has him 'going gallantly, in his gold chain and white satin doublet ... contrary to his priest's habit.'¹⁶ He kept in close touch with Bancroft. In April 1602, however, he was back in prison, this time the Clink in Southwark, but it is not clear that he had been arrested. Rivers relates that the Catholic prisoners had made secret arrangements for celebrating Mass, but were surprised by government agents, and asserts that this was prearranged by Watson, who was removed to the King's Bench, but discharged the next day. The episode adds to the suspicion that Watson was a government agent, employed to spy on the Catholics in the several prisons he was placed in. If he was under arrest, his return to Wisbech might reasonably have been expected.

Following persistent opposition, the appellants succeeded, with the help of the French ambassador, in gaining the pope's ear, and on 5 October 1602, a new Brief, the fourth on the matter, settled the question by limiting Blackwell's jurisdiction, forbidding him, for the sake of peace, to communicate with Jesuit superiors and prohibiting all publications 'in any manner connected with the present controversy.' The appellants, however, failed to secure a bishop, or a ban on priests engaging in political affairs, or an instruction that every Catholic should be bound to disclose any designs against the queen or state of which they became aware (which they had asked for primarily to restrain Jesuits).¹⁷

Neither side got all its own way, hence no-one was really satisfied. Elizabeth was also disappointed at the outcome and on 5 November 1602 she issued a proclamation banishing all Catholic missionaries. In response, the appellants drew up a Protestation of Allegiance which was signed by thirteen of the leading secular clergy and Catholic laymen on 3 January, 1603 – the very day that the queen was seized with her last illness, and it is doubtful that she ever saw it. Anyway, the Protestation only put in writing the longstanding assurances of loyalty that the English Catholics had always given (even from the scaffold) to the Elizabethan state though not to its religion, but it represented the ultimate rejection of Jesuit political ideology which was most evident on the question of the royal succession.

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English Catholics long regarded Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, the senior surviving legitimate descendant of Henry VII as Elizabeth's rightful heir. In

1573 the papal nuncio in Spain Niccolo Ormaneto had suggested that the English Catholics would accept Don John of Austria as her consort if they could be persuaded to marry. It was suggested that Don John, victor over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, sail to England, dethrone Elizabeth, liberate Mary and marry her. He was attracted by the prospect of becoming King of England and Pope Gregory XIII urged him 'not to lose so excellent an opportunity to chastise that wicked woman, and therewithal to gain a realm so noble and important.'¹⁸ The Dutch Revolt intervened to engage him instead.

After Mary's execution in 1587, Watson wrote excluding all foreign claims to the throne, Scottish included, but he changed his mind and backed Mary's son, James Charles Stuart (b. 1566) the Scottish king, as the undoubted successor. He fell silent when this proved unwelcome at court, and he always dodged the issue while Elizabeth lived. Lady Arabella Stuart (b. 1575), an English-born cousin of King James, also directly descended from Henry VII, was also in the line of succession and had her supporters. The Jesuits, however, pressed the case of the Spanish infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia (b. 1566), ruler of the Spanish Netherlands. She was a legitimate descendant of John of Gaunt, unlike the Tudors, and her father had been king of England as husband of Queen Mary I. Her husband, Albert VII, archduke of Austria, also claimed descent from John of Gaunt. (He was cardinal-archbishop of Toledo and had had to be laicised in 1599 so as to marry the infanta.) Persons argued that, as a Catholic and with her ancestry, she should be preferred.¹⁹ The Jesuits also had in mind that, as Sir Francis Englefield told King Philip in September 1596,

Without the support and troops of Spain it is scarcely probable that the catholic religion will ever be restored and established [in England]. Even the seminaries, powerful as they are in preparing men's minds for a change, must fail to complete their object without the aid of temporal force.²⁰

It is highly unlikely, of course, that the pro-Spanish party had much support in England after the Armada of 1588. Indeed, in 1597 when a second Armada was proposed, the Spanish government was given to understand that

his catholic majesty hath for him in England no heretic, and for the catholics he hath only those who depend upon the direction of the jesuits who are few ... and so the greater part are for the king of Scotland his succession unto that kingdom.²¹

Watson, of course, opposed a Spaniard in principle, even a Spanish Lancastrian, and countered that James had long given assurances that he would extend toleration to the English Catholics. Watson heard that a book had been published promoting a French claim to the throne which was

thought to have been written by English secular priests in France, he

made a motion to my lord of London for mine own going over to Paris, to hear and see how things went; as, having the chief dealing for all matters both here and there, on the appellants' behalf, I thought I could do my prince and country more service therein, in sifting out the truth of that or any other matter of faction, than any other could. And my lord was very willing, and said I should go when I would ... and, when I had learned the truth, come home through Scotland, and inform his majesty of what I knew.²²

He did not go, presumably because of James's unchallenged accession, but it is yet another example of Watson working for the government.

When Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, Watson raced up to Scotland to assure James of the loyalty of the English Catholics. Clearly, he was unaware that the pope had sent a Brief to the nuncio in Flanders, addressed to the English clergy and laity, to the effect that no-one should consent to any successor to Elizabeth, 'whensoever that wretched woman should depart this life, however near in blood, who would not submit himself to the apostolical see.' When she did die, however, both the pope and the Jesuit Father General reversed policy and did their best to prevent any opposition to the crowns of Scotland and England being united in King James VI & I. Garnet threw the Brief into the fire.²³ On his return from Scotland, Watson boasted to all and sundry that he had outwitted the Jesuits over the succession and had obtained a pledge of religious toleration from the new king. He was not to know that after the audience James had remarked that since the protestants had proclaimed him king of England 'we's not need the papists now' and his pledge was bogus.

James left Edinburgh on 5 April and moved south at a leisurely pace, being lavishly entertained at various houses, including Lumley Castle in Durham, where John, Lord Lumley, so bored him with an exhaustive and exhausting account of his lineage that the king was moved to remark, 'Oh mon, gang nae further. I maun digest the knowledge I hae gained this day, for I didna ken Adam's other name was Lumley.'²⁴ James cannot have helped but notice that pictures of Adam and Eve were hanging in the house and it would have come as no surprise to find that Lumley had in fact not only traced his lineage to Adam, but had even gone one step beyond to DEUS – which is not usually done, even by the most devout genealogist.

James arrived in the capital on 7 May, nine days after Elizabeth's funeral, by which time it had emerged that there would be no change in religious policy after all, and the recusant fines would not be waived as expected. Watson was outraged: 'the resolution of James to exact the fines was regarded by him almost in the light of a personal insult.'²⁵ Watson expressed

his indignation and discussed what could be done with Sir Griffin Markham who was aggrieved because, on becoming a Catholic some nine or ten years before Elizabeth's death, he was banished from court.²⁶ In a seemingly inconsequential remark, Markham said that it was usual in Scotland for an aggrieved group, thinking the king was being misled by evil or misguided counsellors, to seize and confine him until he accepted the truth and remedied their grievances.

Watson was inspired; believing that the king's duplicity justified it, he decided to adopt Scottish practice and devise a plot to kidnap the king and force him to honour his word.²⁷ He also determined to do it as soon as possible, certainly before the coronation and the opening of parliament while, as he persuaded Markham, James was 'not an actual but a political king'²⁸ and the duty of homage and allegiance to him was less compelling than to a crowned and anointed sovereign. The implication, of course, was that James could be deposed if he did not cooperate. It followed, moreover, that the ill-disposed ministers would be dismissed and English Catholics taken into government to ensure that their rights were upheld. Watson would be created an archbishop and appointed Lord Chancellor, Markham Earl Marshal, and nominations to a number of other positions were made.²⁹

Watson's fellow Catholic conspirators included William Clark, of Walsall, a priest who went onto the English mission in April 1592; he was an appellant and an active opponent of Blackwell who had suspended him from the priesthood. He became friends with Watson in the Clink and had only just returned from his banishment of March 1603. He would tour the country to get his brethren to urge their people to march on London. Then there were the laymen Sir Edward Parham, a belligerent Somerset Catholic, and Anthony Copley, both of whom, like Markham (a cavalry officer), had military experience. Copley had left England in 1582 and spent time in Rouen, in Rome at the English college, and in the Low Countries where he entered Spanish service. In 1590 he returned to England without permission, and was put in the Tower. On 6 January 1591 he wrote to Sir William Waad praying for pardon and employment. He was freed and gave information on the English exiles. He was taken into custody several times during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign and used as an informer on Catholic prisoners. He wrote two pamphlets on the side of the seculars in the archpriest controversy, works which doubtless impressed Watson and led to his acceptance into the conspiracy, despite his having been in Spanish employ. He was described in 1592 by Topcliffe as a 'bravo' and 'the most desperate youth that liveth ... Copley did shoot a gentleman the last summer, and in Horsham church threw his dagger at the parish clerk' – he was 'one upon whom I have good grounds to have watchful eyes.'³⁰

Watson's plot is usually known as the Bye Plot, to distinguish it from the

Main Plot (a concurrent but separate Protestant conspiracy), Watson became aware of the Main Plot and even mooted combining the two – the Bye was timed for June, the Main for July.³¹ It is also known as the Surprising Treason, referring to Watson's unexpected and shocking about-face against James whom he had so staunchly supported against all-comers as Elizabeth's successor, but it can apply just as well to the way the plot was to be carried out.

Copley, whose advice Watson relied on, was insistent for it to be clear that

The use of all this action was meant in general for the freedom of catholic religion throughout the realm; not in suppression of the protestant, but to stand and abide in paragon with it; and that without blood, as near as might be.

Similarly, when informing the clergy, Watson and Clarke carefully emphasised that the plan was not treasonable, for the king's life would not be in danger and that it was intended only to keep him cloistered until he responded favourably to their petition asking to be allowed to live as free-born subjects with liberty of conscience or else banished or granted some remote place to live in.

Watson shared his plans with the Puritans who were also seeking religious toleration although, in truth, they intended regime change. Thomas, Lord Grey, their leader, promised to join, as did George Brooke, a prebendary of York, who had become disgruntled when the mastership of a hospital promised him by Elizabeth was given by James to one Arthur Lake. Brooke's brother, Henry, Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, was the instigator of the Main Plot which sought to replace James with Lady Arabella Stuart.

Earlier, in April, hoping for a reconciliation with the Jesuits, Watson and Markham conferred with Gerard, Holtby, and Darcy, but nothing came of it. In late May or early June, however, Markham told John Gerard of the plot. Gerard was alarmed and declined to become involved, instead he informed his superior, Henry Garnet, and Blackwell, the official head of the English Catholic secular clergy. He also got a Scots Catholic courtier to tell the king. Blackwell, Garnet and Gerard all independently hastened to inform the government. It has been supposed that their knowledge of the plot gave them the opportunity of avenging their setback in the archpriest affair, but Copley and Watson said the Jesuits were only interested in the success of a plot of their own which was being planned at that moment. Gerard's stated motivation was the fear of reprisals on the Catholics. Be that as it may, since so many people knew of the plot, it would be astonishing if the government had not come to hear of it without having to be told directly by Catholic informants.³²

Copley advised that the action take place on a solemn day in court, the better for the conspirators to go unnoticed. (It was agreed that to be easily known to each other, they should 'wear stockings either of yellow or blue.') It was therefore decided to attend a reception at Greenwich Palace on Friday 24 June, the feast-day of St John the Baptist, and a 'collar day' when around three hundred courtiers would be present in full ceremonial regalia, including personal arms. Watson and a few others would burst in on the king 'at night, or the next night after, about ten or eleven o'clock' under the pretence of seeking an audience to present a petition, and abduct him. James would be taken up-river to the Tower of London which would have been secured earlier,³³ but if that failed, he would be taken to Dover Castle of which Lord Cobham was governor. Copley thought two hundred of their men dotted around the palace would be enough to deal with any opposition, Markham wanted four hundred. Watson was confident of having many more.

There were ominous signs in the days leading up to the planned action that all was not going well. Watson was 'certified of certainty' that there were warrants out from the privy council for him and others in the conspiracy. Copley feared that with 'the rumour of discovery still more and more coming to our ears' they were as good as undone. And then, Markham reported that he and Grey had conferred several times and that Grey had finally told him he would not take part, for it being

catholic, he feared lest, if the success of it might be prosperous, we would overtop his party, and cut it off, after having made use of it; as we, in the like case, would perhaps deal with you, therefore take your own course by yourself, which I protest unto you I will not hinder, and leave us to ours.

Brooke, Markham added, was 'turned clean from us' to Grey. Furthermore, the promise of one of Watson's brethren that five thousand Catholics would come up from Lancashire had come to naught, and his friends in Wales had said that there was little likelihood of anyone there going up to London either. Watson had asked Copley to bring as many able and resolute men for action as possible from his native country (the location is not given) but when asked how many he had recruited, Copley answered 'not one, for that I knew never a catholic near me of many a mile that were not jesuited.' This evasion suggests that he never intended to do so in the first place, and it merely confirms that he was a double agent. On Thursday, the feast of Corpus Christi, Watson celebrated Mass in his rooms at Temple Bar and Copley received Holy Communion. Late that evening, Markham came in with the final piece of bad news: the court was to move from Greenwich to Windsor the following morning, clearly in full knowledge of the planned action. Having 'given us the slip,' he said, the king would be out of reach and it was all over.

It was not until late Saturday morning, however, that Watson accepted that the plot had failed and told everyone that they could go home. The recriminations began. Watson blamed those who had failed to muster the number of men they had promised. Clarke, 'exceedingly out of heart, for the cross success of his much pains and many miles ridden about this business,' blamed the Jesuits for dissuading Catholics in the country from going up to London. Copley blamed Watson and his brethren for having executed the operation very badly, insisting how much better the Jesuit party would have done it. Markham foolishly taxed the king with irreligion for moving from Greenwich on so high a day as midsummer day. They scattered. Clarke and Watson headed for the west country (Copley gained the impression that Watson would cross to Ireland³⁴) and the others presumably went home.

On 2 July a warrant was issued for Copley's arrest and in his confession ten days later he named the plotters. Brooke was taken to the Tower and arraigned on 15 July; his confession clarified that two separate conspiracies had been active. On 16 July a warrant for Watson's arrest was issued but was not acted on until early August, perhaps because of the celebrations associated with the king's coronation which took place on 25 July (his name day – St James the Great). Watson was arrested on 5 August in a field by the river near Hay-on-Wye, on the Welsh border, and confessed to the plot on 10 August. Clark was taken on 13 August in Worcester. Both were committed to the Tower.

Details of the two plots took some time to disentangle, so legal proceedings did not start until November, by which time the royal court had moved to Wilton House, near Salisbury because of plague in the capital. It was decided to hold the trials in the bishop's residence, Winchester Castle, not far away. Clarke, Markham, Watson, and others, were tried on 15 November. The court reporter commented on their speeches:³⁵ Watson 'spoke very absurdly and deceivingly, without grace, or utterance, or good deliverance; which (added to his foresaid villainy) made him more odious and contemptible to all the hearers.' He wished for 'either violent or civil death (which is banishment), rather than to die of famine and pining imprisonment.' Clarke, '(an excellent nimble-tongued fellow), of good speech, more honest in the carriage of the business, of an excellent wit and memory, boldly, and in well beseeeming terms, uttering his mind, not unwilling to die, but desireth to avoid the imputation of a traitor.' Copley was 'a man of a whining speech, but of a shrewd invention and resolution.' Markham spoke well and pleaded guilty to treason; he asked that 'he might die under the axe, and not by the halter.'

Watson's earlier written statement contained a great deal of irrelevant anti-Jesuit material, and he maintained that his intentions had been misunderstood: the so-called kidnap was in fact a rescue. Furthermore, it was

only because it had been impossible to gain a private audience that he had called for

all catholics out of every shire to repair up to London about midsummer (for I understood the Jesuitical or Spanish treason would break out about that time), and to bring with them of schismatics and others so many as they could make of their friends, or win to give their voice for toleration of religions, on the catholic behalf; and that these all repairing up together (as they might without suspicion, some to the term, others to see our sovereigns, king, and queen, and prince, and princess, others to expect the coronation, and some under one pretence, some under another), they should present themselves before his majesty and honourable council, all with one voice crying out for justice in toleration of the catholic religion.

His absurd claim that he intended nothing more than a mass demonstration was dismissed out of hand. Guilty verdicts of high treason were reached without hesitation (though no overt act had been committed). Sir Edward Parham was the only one to be acquitted. Lord Grey was tried and found guilty by thirty-one of his peers on 18 November. Watson and Clark were executed on 29 November in the market place at Winchester. Sir Dudley Carleton was present and wrote

The two Priests that led the way to the execution, were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke ... thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle.³⁶

Brooke followed on 5 December. On 10 December Grey and Markham were taken to the scaffold, but spared at the last moment in a well-choreographed display of the king's mercy. Grey spent the rest of his life in the Tower. Markham's estates were confiscated and he was banished. Copley was held in prison for nine months until he was formally pardoned on 18 August 1604, having written a full account of the plot. He was banished and was seen in Rome in 1606, after which he disappears. On 22 February 1604 King James issued *A Proclamation commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other Priests to depart the realm* by 19 March.

Despite the welcome he was given at his accession, James faced three conspiracies to get rid of him in the first two years of his reign in England, two of them Catholic (the Watson and Gunpowder plots) but all they did was to show that the English Catholic conspirators over-estimated their support (as they had done in 1569 and always would) and that their internal divisions would prove fatal. Although the long Anglo–Spanish War came to an end with a peace treaty signed in August 1604, freedom of worship for Catholics in England continued to be a major objective of Spanish diplomacy. The refusal of James and his principal minister Robert Cecil (created earl of Salisbury in May 1605) to ease the repression, was a cause of friction for many years and prevented a marital alliance between the two royal houses. As for the unfortunate Watson, he probably went to his execution thinking (like Clark) he would be honoured as one who had suffered and died for the Catholic faith, but, leaving aside doubts of his true loyalty over the years, the fact that his execution had not been *ex odium religionae*, precluded even the briefest consideration of his being included in the Church’s Martyrology.

Notes & References

¹ The letter, endorsed ‘April 1599, A letter from William Watson, a Priest unto Mr. Attorney-General, and in his absence to William Waad,’ is entitled, *A briefe colleccion of the causes moving me never to yeelde to Jesuites though all other sholde, onely in regard of their Machiavelian practises as heere in parte doe ensue*. It is printed at T. G. Law, *The Archpriest Controversy I* (Camden Society, 1896) p. 210 ff.

² R. Parsons, *Manifestation of the great folly and bad spirit of certain calling themselves Secular Priests* 1602, ff. 83–4.

³ T.G. Law, *A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (1889), lxxix

⁴ *Douai Diaries*, pp. 13, 178, 198, 209, 211.

⁵ ‘The rev. John Copley, some time a secular priest and afterwards a clergyman of the church of England, relates that Parsons read publicly to the scholars in the Roman college, and in Copley’s own hearing, a letter, disclosing “the horrible sin of one William, a priest, that had many years lived too familiarly with a tailor’s wife.” The tailor, it was reported, went about the streets of London, pistol in hand, with intent to shoot the sacrilegious adulterer; and this priest, said Parsons, “was an earnest appellant.” Letters of A. Rivers in H. Foley (ed.) *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, (7 vols. 1877–83) I p. 42.

⁶ CSPD 1598–1601, p. 226

⁷ Law, *Sketch*, xlii, xliii. Gray’s daughter Ursula became a Catholic

⁸ He mentioned the exiled earl of Westmoreland (d.1601, Nieuport) and Leonard Dacre (d. 1573, Brussels). Dacre’s gravestone in the church of St. Nicholas styles him Baron

Dacre of Gilsland.

⁹ Law, *Sketch* p. lxvii.

¹⁰ Watson, *A Sparing Discoverie*, p. 70. Shakespeare used several sources when writing *Hamlet*. There is considerable evidence that *A Sparing Discoverie* was one of them since the play has many verbal and other resemblances. Cf. D. Kaula, 'Hamlet' and the 'Sparing Discoverie,' *Shakespeare Survey*, 24, 2007.

¹¹ Foley, i. p. 42.

¹² G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol 1 (1968) for brief annotated biographies of priests.

¹³ Foley, v. 736, from CSPD Eliz., Add., xxxiv. 42.

¹⁴ Law, *Sketch*, cvii. CSPD Eliz., Add., xxxiv. 40.

¹⁵ Law, *Sketch*, xcvi

¹⁶ CSPD Add., 1580–1625, October 1601.

¹⁷ The diary of John Mush, one of the appellants who went to Rome to petition the pope is at T. Fooks, 'Roman Diary 1602' *The Venerable* vol. 12, no. 4, 1946, pp. 291-301.

¹⁸ A. Kenny, 'From Hospice to College' II & III, *The Venerable*, 20/1 1960, p. 2, 20/2, 1961, pp. 91/2

¹⁹ Persons's book on the English succession was intended to be read aloud in the refectory of the English College in Rome. The student Jasper Lobb, flatly refused.

²⁰ Foley, vol. III, p. 49.

²¹ M.A. Tierney (ed.), *Dodd's Church History of England from the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688* (1839 et seq), vol. I, xvii.

²² *Ibid.*, vol. IV Appendix, xxiv, note

²³ But not before he had shown them to Catesby and Thomas Winter, and they in turn had let them be seen by Percy. Catesby argued 'if it was lawful by force of the pope's briefs to have kept the king out, it was as lawful now to put him out when he had declared himself the enemy of catholics.' Law, *Sketch*, cxviii. cxxiii, note 1.

²⁴ HMC *Salisbury* XVI, p. 376; Hutchinson, *Durham* II, p. 408.

²⁵ S. Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 109.

²⁶ D. Markham, *A History of the Markham Family* 1854, pp.100-3. Sir Griffin's brother Robert is said to have been a spy, and it seems that the family was divided. Cecil was told that Sir Griffin had been heard to 'earnestly pray in the presence of many that he might see his father, mother and brother, hanged drawn and quartered. He abused her Majesty's council and especially the Lord Treasurer & Sir R. Cecil with deadly threatenings.' He 'hoped ere long to see revenge for the Catholic blood shed in England'. Quoted at A. Kenny, 'The Inglorious Revolution 1594-1597', *The Venerable* 17/3 1955, p.150, n.52.)

²⁷ It is sufficient to outline the plot without incessant footnotes from three documents by the participants themselves, printed in Tierney op. cit, vol. iv, (1841), Appendix 1: 'Copley's Declaration to the Lords of the Council, 14 July 1603;' 'Watson to the Lords of the Council, 9 August 1603;' 'The Voluntary Declaration of William Watson, 10 August 1603.'

²⁸ *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials &c.* (1809), Vol. 2, cols. 63ff.

²⁹ The earls of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, unknown to themselves, were to be created marquesses or dukes. The Tower of London, the fort of Berwick, and some castles were to be handed over to Catholics but maintained at the king's expense.

³⁰ J. Strype, *Annals &c.*, vol. iv.

³¹ *CSPD* 1603–10, pp. 34–8; BM Add. MS. 6177, f. 265.

³² Details of the plot were also revealed by the Yorkshire secular priest Francis Barnaby, who had been in the Clink with Clark and Watson, and was Bancroft's main contact with the appellants. Incidentally, when the plot became known, Bancroft carefully distanced himself from Watson, claiming he had not seen him since before the queen's death.

³³ 'For the taking of the Tower, they should place their ambuscade round about the Tower by ten in a company; and the night wherein this purpose should be attempted, Sir Griffin Markham should have bidden himself to supper to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and he would have taken occasion to stay; at whose coming forth, the ambushes should rush in, and by this means they purposed to have entered the Tower of London, and so by arms to have beaten down the warders if they resisted. Old M.S. in Bodleian Library.' Cf. Markham 101.

³⁴ Markham and Watson intended making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem after all was settled.

³⁵ *Cobbett's State Trials*, *loc.cit.*

³⁶ Earl of Hardwicke, *Miscellaneous State Papers: From 1501 to 1726* (1778) 1, 387.

THE BAR CONVENT AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN YORK

Sr Patricia Harriss, cj

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Bar Convent (which had been doing its best to become known as St Mary's, from the time the 'Ladies at the Bar' had become free to acknowledge their true identity) had been providing Catholic education for girls for well over a century. Very soon after their clandestine arrival in 1686 they began to take boarders, first from the north of England, but through the eighteenth century also from Scotland, the south of England and, by the 1770s, France and Belgium. There are well-known Catholic names, including Vavasour, Winter, Tempest, Constable, Fairfax, Salvin, on the early lists of pupils. As the nineteenth century went on, there were many from Ireland, some from Spain and Portugal, a fair number from English families in India, some from the East and West Indies, Ceylon, Martinique, Jamaica, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Canada, Chile, and at least one each from Australia and St Petersburg.

Numbers over the years averaged thirty-eight to forty, sometimes fewer, occasionally more. There was no fixed system of term-time and holidays, and the Young Ladies, as they came to be called, are noted as entering or leaving the school at various ages and stages. They were always of mixed ages, some arriving in late teens, perhaps for a kind of 'finishing' experience, others very young. Generations of pupils stayed in school for their entire education, but with the arrival of the railways, holidays could be taken at home. 1876 was evidently exceptional, as the diary for 19 August notes that

All the Young Ladies are away for the holidays, a circumstance without parallel since the foundation of the house in 1686.

But this was not the beginning of a new era: in subsequent years there were pupils who stayed in school for the whole summer.

Other events were held according to circumstances. Usually there was a day in July called the 'Exhibition', which seems to have been an occasion for musical and dramatic performances. But in 1887 we read

No Exhibition this year. Too many children left the school in 1886; the 17 newcomers are little ones.

The unpredictable variety of ages must have called for flexibility in the organisation of teaching-groups, as the Young Ladies learned the skills of reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography, including 'the use of globes', religion, needlework, and various languages, including Latin and French, German and Italian. They were expected to learn to read, speak and write modern languages fluently – the content of what is now known as the 'antique library', containing the books acquired for community and school

until the mid-nineteenth century, is evidence that books in French, particularly, were both numerous and well-used. They also learned drawing, singing, piano, and dancing – accomplishments expected of young ladies at that time.

From some time in the 1690s there had also been the Day School, sometimes called ‘the Poor School’, which provided basic education for local girls. Very little is said about it; like everything to do with the activities of ‘the Ladies at the Bar’ in early times, it evidently kept a low profile. But it must have been well-used, as new premises – the area from the end of the Georgian façade to the corner of Nunnery Lane, which is obviously of a later period – were built for it in 1845. The basic structure was a large lower room and a large upper room, now the two levels of the Living Heritage Exhibition – the staircase connecting the two dates only from the 1980s when the first version of the museum was opened. The school also had two smaller upper rooms, which have now become part of the Bed and BreakfaSt While the school was functioning, access was via the back door from Nunnery Lane, a very small entrance-area, and a small winding staircase to the upper rooms, which still exists but leads only to an office.

When the diary-entries about the Day School begin, in the 1860s, it is clear that school arrangements were governed by what was happening in the religious community. Very often there is a note that there was no school on particular days, sometimes several at a time, because of some community event – deaths of sisters (in 1873 three days for one sister, a week for another) ceremonies like professions or jubilees (four days in 1874) and retreats. Work in the building could cause extra closures: in January 1870 school began a week late, because of ‘ventilation having to be put up.’ And there were what sound like impromptu holidays to please the children:

1891, June, Gala Week. Children had a Friday half-holiday as they wanted to go to the Gala field to see the Parachute come down.

There are also references to ‘small attendance’ because of local events, like the Foresters’ Gala and the Regatta, or because of new possibilities for working people: ‘very small school owing to cheap trips for railway workers and their families.’

We also begin to hear about government inspections, examinations by the ecclesiastical inspector, official forms to be filled in, including one from ‘York Educational Committee’ asking for the names of children absent for reasons other than illness, ‘examens’ conducted exactly in accordance with the Government code of 1878, ‘which proved a good teSt’ Lay teachers begin to be involved, by 1887; early in the twentieth century outside examinations like those of the College of Preceptors and the Incorporated Society of Musicians, and the Oxford Local Examinations, begin to be taken.

The most significant development affecting the Day School, however, was the gradual arrival of parish schools in the city: St George's in 1851, St Wilfrid's in 1875, English Martyrs in 1885. The first change came with the introduction of fees in the school, which had hitherto been free, on the insistence of Provost Render, the senior priest in the city. The aim was to induce parents to send children to the parish school instead of to the St Mary's (Bar) Day School. The fees sound modest – in 1850, threepence or twopence a week, when St George's School was about to begin. But it was against what the sisters had always intended, which was that the school should be free so that any child could attend. A note in the Day School diary says

some of the Better class of children were withdrawn when the change was made, parents looking on it as lowering the position of the school.'

Worse was to come in 1875, when the same Provost Render, now parish priest of St Wilfrid's and starting a parish school, insisted on fees of eight to ten shillings a quarter, raised the following year to twelve shillings. His idea was that the convent school should be for middle-class children, so that all the poorer parents would send their children to the parish school. There was a long correspondence between the Provost and Mother Juliana Martin, then superior at the Bar, through July and August 1875. A compromise was finally reached, and on 6 September the school reopened for twenty-one children, three of whom were Protestants.

In 1874 there had been an average monthly attendance of about fifty-five; in summer 1875 from sixty to seventy-two. From then on, the numbers fluctuate; in 1882 the new parish of English Martyrs began to plan its school, and

Canon [Edward] Goldie took formal possession of all the poor parochial children who will shortly be transferred to the Government Mission School.

At that point the Day School kept the Middle School for Girls, twenty-eight of them, and fifteen infants until the English Martyrs Infants' School was ready in March 1885. From then on there was no official Infants' School; some younger children came (boys aged five to seven only), but 'the school was to be considered one.' The fees were twelve shillings a quarter for children in the first and second classes; ten shillings for all others 'no matter how young.' Siblings each received a reduction of two shillings a quarter. The arrival of local parish schools had changed the situation of the Bar Convent Day School completely, and it would average no more than forty to fifty children from then onwards. Plainly the future no longer lay with private all-age schools, or indeed with small boarding schools for Young Ladies. But how the two Bar Convent schools joined into one Grammar School after World War 1 is

another story.

The other part of the nineteenth-century story, an important part, concerns the Bar Convent community's work with the parish schools. St George's parish, which came into existence through the arrival of large numbers of poor Irish immigrants, driven from their homeland by the famine in the 1840s, was the first to start a school, in 1850. The sisters were there from the beginning. They had obviously thought carefully about it, judging from a document which still exists, 'Statement of the terms on which the community of St Mary's Convent would give their services to St George's School.' They would give their services free, but expected transport to and from school to be provided gratis; the school should be provided with what is necessary to carry it on credibly and induce the children to attend, and precautions should be taken to keep out smoke and damp and 'remove nuisances'; someone should be appointed as responsible for these matters, and be able to give prompt attention to them; pens, ink and so on were to be provided. The priests should undertake to support the nuns' authority regarding the children, cooperate with them for the children's good, and try to ensure 'constant and punctual attendance.' Experience would show to what extent these desirable conditions could be achieved. They promised that the community would give £10 per year for books and prizes – and, indeed, Mother Angela Brown, Superior when the mission started, gave generous help to the new school, providing books and other teaching requisites, ventilators, window blinds, desks for the infants' school, and an annual grant of £10 for four years towards free dinners for about forty poor children in a separate department called 'The Charity School.' She also paid the whole cost of providing a private entrance from the school playground to the church; and clothes were given annually for the poorest children.

Poverty had a great influence on the school, beginning with the state in which some of the first children were when they arrived on the first day, in January 1852. The account, written some fourteen years later, says

only 2 out of 50-60 girls from 8 to 13 years old could spell a few words of three letters. These same children were the only possessors of shoes or bonnets; the others were enveloped from head to foot in their mothers' old gowns, or in a large shawl ... Very few or none of the whole assembly had even any pretensions to cleanliness; their hair nearly stood on end or was so matted as to defy the power of brush or comb... they appeared not to comprehend what was said, and had no notion of control. Favourite seats on which they shelved themselves if the sister's eye was withdrawn for a minute was the large projecting chimney-piece, while their feet hung dangling over the fire. Others seated themselves on the stone fenders around the fire, as close to it as they could thrust themselves ... Others perched

themselves in Turkish posture on the writing desks – no idea of sitting on a form or stool.

There is a tradition in the Bar Convent that when the first two sisters arrived in the room there was no possibility of making themselves heard, so one, who had a beautiful singing voice, began to sing, and gradually the children sat quietly and listened, and were ready to do what the teachers wanted. The account previously quoted simply continues

As words were unavailing the influence of music was tried and proved most effectual. The Sister taught them a hymn to the Blessed Virgin, and they seemed completely softened. They were then well exercised in marching to time, and in less than a week they were models of order. Moral improvement has been gradual and satisfactory. Now there are several daughters of those first pupils – so far, without exception, a credit to their parents.

Those particular children were in the ‘Charity School’. The upper or principal room was given to the ‘more respectable’ children of the Walmgate locality, together with some transferred from St Mary’s Convent Day School at the request of Provost Render. It was not a success, and in 1854 former pupils were allowed to return to St Mary’s, the children from the Charity School downstairs joined the upper room group, and the downstairs room was for infants.

However – another effect of poverty – very few children stayed at school after they were nine years old. They were then needed to look after younger children at home while parents did what paid work might be available. Apparently in 1866 a Catholic crèche opened for children too young for the infants’ school but were able to walk, to free older brothers and sisters to go to their own schools. But every year, from July till November, children in Standard IV and above would be absent either working in the fields with their parents when intensive field-work was needed, or looking after younger ones at home. That was the only time when regular work was sure to be available. Poverty also affected school-work: we read that in May 1869 Standard IV were examined, and writing was poor, because of the lack of copy-books and several desks needing repair, so that the children were not able to use them. The need for more desks is a frequent comment. In the same year the comment on Standard III is that writing on slates is excellent, on paper very bad, as many were without copy-books till last month. The previous year on the Superior’s feast all the children who could write, wrote letters to her. It was the first time they had written on paper, but there were no blots.

In many ways, then, the situation was difficult. It is estimated that only little over a half of parish children even enrolled in the school. Yet numbers kept up – the school journal for March 1863 says that three hundred children,

including infants, took part in a procession for the wedding-day of the Prince of Wales; in August 1864, 267 children passed exams, and in general numbers were in the 260/300 range. In April 1868 there were 323 at the Ecclesiastical Examination by Provost Render, and about 370 children from St George's enrolled in a 'Crusade for Pius IX' in October 1870. Progress was made, examinations were passed; in March 1870 an inspector's report described the Girls' School as 'thoroughly efficient.' But there were bad moments too: in 1868 failure in Arithmetic at the school inspection caused a ten percent reduction in the Government grant, calculated on the numbers of passes in the three R's, so a claim of £131.9.10d was reduced to £124.9.0.

A notable feature of St George's was the number of pupil-teachers, girls who had passed through the school as pupils and stayed on to be instructed in teaching, in regular classes each week, and to practise it. They were carefully monitored, and those who were successful would go on to a training-college to take a full course and gain a qualification. Eventually there were usually about ten of these pupil-teachers, some of whom were outstandingly good. In 1863 Rev. Mother Juliana Martin examined the pupil teachers and found them 'most satisfactory'; two received a £20 stipend for their year's work, went to Liverpool to be examined at Our Lady's Training School as Queen's Scholars, passed their exams and left York for their two-year course of studies. Some were exceptionally good at discipline: in 1866 about one hundred and fifty children, including some infants, went to the Grand National Exhibition, held in York that year, in procession, 'under the sole care of Miss Emily Hattersley, pupil teacher'. In 1870 she left to enter the Sisters of Mercy in Oldham; the previous year another outstanding pupil teacher, then assistant teacher, Miss Lewins, left to become a novice in Rathfarnham. She is described as 'an upright character, with a talent for teaching.' Altogether, in the years when the Bar Convent sisters were at St George's, eighteen former pupil teachers became religious in different congregations, mostly in England, including some who entered at the Bar, and four who went to Stroud to become Dominicans, but some, including Cecilia Hattersley, Emily's sister, even with Loreto in Calcutta. Not all were so exemplary: in October 1870

the Pupil Teachers' results show great lack of diligence in preparing, and serious want of attention in retaining what they have been taught. Younger ones are also slack in punctuality.

And some, though they did their best, simply had no gift for teaching and lacked the power to interest children, so that the class had to be taken on by 'the mistress'.

Nevertheless, girls from the school began to be in demand as employees. In May 1869 Miss Gertrude Hattersley became governess in the Earl of Gainsborough's family, and in September the Hon. Albert Stourton and his

wife called to ask for ‘a really good girl’ to be recommended as under-nurse of their two infant children. He was interested in the appearance and discipline of the school, but was also struck by the obvious poverty of the infants. Told that they often didn’t have enough food, he promised to help, while his wife promised to help girls who were likely to make good servants. The following month he sent £12 to buy food for the hungry infants, and promised more to follow. Evidently posts were found for girls; in 1871 there were requests from France for two more nursery governesses brought up in St George’s School, thanks to the ‘exemplary conduct’ of one already there. A note in the Bar Convent house diary in 1870 notes about St George’s that since 1852 ‘About 40 Young Persons have become Teachers, either in Schools or as private Governesses.’

Sadly, the work of the sisters in St George’s was to come to a sudden end, with a letter to Mother Juliana on 7 June 1874 from Fr Michael Fryer, the new priest at St George’s, announcing his intention to put boys and girls together and have only two departments, Infants and Upper level. She answered that the rule followed by the sisters did not permit them to educate boys, so that they would have to withdraw. This they did on Friday 3 July, and Miss Elms, the new head, began on the Monday following.

In 1875, when it was known that there would be schools at St Wilfrid’s, Mother Juliana wrote to Dr. Render, explaining that it was part of the community’s mission to serve the poor in the city, and indicating a willingness to help. He had, however, already heard what had happened at St George’s, and engaged the Sisters of Charity of St Paul. The only impact of the new parish school on the Bar community, as we have seen, was through Dr Render’s attempt to turn their Day School into a school for middle-class children only, by insisting on fees that the poorer families would not be able to afford.

The story of the Bar’s involvement with the school at English Martyrs is completely different. It was the Bar community that became interested in devotion to the English Martyrs, and in December 1881 made an offer to Bishop Robert Cornthwaite of a portion of its property rent-free for a year if he would form a mission in their honour. He accepted, and asked the sisters to take on the Poor Schools that would be attached to the mission. They agreed, and during the vacation they spent considerable time working for the new project. Arrangements proceeded apace and the story is told in detail in the house-diary. In January the community celebrated the bishop’s feast and made offerings for the church-to-be of the English Martyrs. On 6 February the first Mass was said in the temporary church by Canon Goldie, the priest appointed to the new mission. The following week some of the Young Lady boarders attended the English Martyrs Mass, as there was no Mass from the Bar chaplain. The sisters did not go, which is a sharp reminder of the way that

the community had become enclosed since earlier in the century: it was with special leave from the bishop that the community paid a visit to the Blessed Sacrament in the new church on 6 March. The new English Martyrs schools opened, with a secular mistress until the sisters were able to take over. Twenty-four children left the Bar Day School for the new school, and the Day School reopened as Middle School only. On 20 March the community and children, 112 persons in all, went in procession through the garden to English Martyrs for Benediction given by the bishop. In April 1883 the bishop was in York to plan for the building of English Martyrs' Church. It was on February 15 1885 that a new building was opened on Blossom Street for English Martyrs' School (Boys' entrance on Blossom Street, Girls' on the Crescent, and separate playgrounds.) There was to be an infants' school adjoining, and the whole complex would cater for five hundred children: the Upper Room would be used as a temporary church. In April school began, with forty-one infants from St Mary's and five others. Sr Christina Gaynor, at that time the only certificated teacher available, was in charge. In May there were school exams – and Young Ladies, Day School and English Martyrs were 'all excellent'. Sadly, Sr Christina, who had already spent over twenty-two years in St George's, fell ill in October, and Sr Walburga Goldie, Canon Edward's sister, took on the school for a time. But by February 1889 it had become obvious that Sr Christina would have to withdraw permanently, and there was no other certificated teacher, so the school had to be handed over to lay staff. In May Sr Christina died; a photograph of her, with a petition for prayer, was hung in the English Martyrs' Infants' School. There is no evidence of further Bar Convent involvement in teaching at English Martyrs during the nineteenth century, and very early in the twentieth century the preoccupation was more and more with Secondary development – but by 1935 Sr Vincent Jordan was Head, until she died in April 1942, one of the five victims of the bomb on the Bar Convent. Sister Andrew Creaghan then became Head, the last in the Blossom Street building and the first in the new school on Hamilton Drive.

THE CHURCH OF THE NEW LITURGY

Abbé Grégoire Celier, FSSPX

The Second Vatican Council, which met sixty years ago, is receiving active world-wide historical study. The impact of the Council's liturgical reforms on Catholic church architecture arising out of post-conciliar ecclesiology has long been the subject of debate and Abbé Celier's article reprinted here is a useful contribution to that work. He has gathered a wide range of observations by specialist liturgists published in the twenty years after 1965 to illustrate the new thinking and the significance it had for church-building, not only at that time, but, very importantly, for the long term. Being a French priest, his references, naturally, are mostly taken from the work of his fellow countrymen, but they have universal application. The article was originally published in the March 2024 issue of 'Lettre à nos frères prêtres' under the title 'L'Église de la Nouvelle Liturgie' and is republished in translation with the kind permission of the author. The original format is preserved.

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Introduction

Liturgical reform was one of the most important elements of the developments following the Second Vatican Council, if not the most significant. A quote from Paul VI, on January 13, 1965, among many other possible ones, opportunely reminds us of this: *'The new religious pedagogy which the present liturgical renewal seeks to establish is grafted in, and almost taking the role of a central engine, in the great movement, inscribed in the constitutional principles of the Church of God, and made easier and more urgent by the progress of human culture [...]'*

It is therefore a good idea, then, to look back at this liturgical reform, to gain a better understanding of its foundations, implications and results. We propose to do so here through the lens of the church building. The question of how the liturgy resulting from the Council is incorporated into churches built before the Council is particularly timely for assessing the changes brought about by the reform. To this end, we have drawn on the reflections and remarks of the best liturgical specialists writing in the wake of Vatican II. They will enable us to identify the problems that arose as the new liturgical forms began to be celebrated, and to grasp in turn what the post-conciliar liturgical reform intends to put before our minds. As these texts were published during the two decades (1965-1985) when the liturgical reform was being implemented, they are written in the present or future tense rather than the past.

The Relationship of Form and Content

These authors begin by pointing out that a church, or any other building for that matter, reflects through its architecture the vision of those who built it. Built for a certain liturgy, a certain ceremonial, a certain theology, it necessarily expresses these values. Through its layout, it creates a particular climate, favourable to the execution of the form of religious expression that presided over its conception. Consequently, *'it would be nonsense to take an interest in liturgy without worrying about the layout of the places where it takes place. For there is a profound affinity between the space designed according to art, and the liturgy that unfolds there'* (E. Vauthier, 'L'aménagement des églises', *Esprit et Vie - L'Ami du clergé* 27, July 5, 1984, p. 393).

By its very nature, a building is a stable object that stands the test of time. *'A building does not change like a rite* (Guy Oury, 'L'aménagement des églises - Un aspect du renouveau liturgique', *L'Ami du clergé* 6, February 10, 1966, p. 89). It thus carries the character of a particular period of the Church's life into a time when, perhaps, the Church's life has changed profoundly, which can cause a dissonance between form and content. In the wake of Vatican II, precisely because of the rapid and radical ritual (and theological) evolution, a new liturgy had been deployed in architectural spaces built according to other canons and for other uses. For *'most of our places of worship were conceived and built centuries ago, sometimes for needs different from our own'* ('Simple dialogue à propos de l'espace liturgique', *Communautés et Liturgies* 6, Nov.-Dec. 1978, p. 545). Older buildings therefore proved more or less unsuited to the new norms of Christian celebration. From this point of view, *'a two-fold question arises: how to use the places of worship as they have been left to us, and how to design new ones more adapted to our urban way of life and to the situation of the Church today'* ("Simple dialogue à propos de l'espace liturgique", *Communities and Liturgies* 6, Nov.-Dec. 1978, p. 546).

The Church Building Furnishes A Certain Sense of God

From the outset, the question was: *'How can we ensure that today's liturgy unfolds as well as possible in a setting designed for the liturgy of other eras?'* ("Le congrès d'art sacré d'Avignon", *Notes de pastorale liturgique* 137, December 1978, p. 63). For, as Father [Yves] Congar noted of St Peter's in Rome (though his remark applies equally to other churches), *'a whole ecclesiology is already inscribed in the layout of the place'* (Yves Congar, *Vatican II. Le concile au jour le jour, première session*, Cerf-Plon, 1963, p. 23).

Father [Jean-Yves] Quéllec explains very clearly what is at stake: *'The*

external configuration of a building, the distribution and organization of its internal spaces, the style of the objects found within it, already form a more or less clear image of the God we encounter there. (...) The way we occupy the space of our churches, the way we arrange the furniture, the way we furnish the sanctuary, and the way we choose a cross, an icon or an altar, all have the implication that we are referring, whether consciously or unconsciously, to various imageries of the divine. It has frequently been pointed out that the image of Christ in the Eucharist is quite different depending on whether the altar resembles a simple table or a monumental tomb. (...) It should be noted that, in most cases, there was no opportunity to make choices revealing a spirituality: the church was received, almost as is, from those who designed and organized it. It should also be noted that, just as frequently, there is a sort of gap between the religious sensibilities and ideas of contemporaries and those that presided over the construction of a building' (Jean-Yves Quellec, 'Le Dieu de nos églises', Communautés et Liturgies 4, September 1981, p. 275 and 278).

For example, *'the altarpieces of the 17th century, designed, as the Council of Trent requested, for adoration, represent a certain vision of faith. Today we have a different idea of the Real Presence' (Philippe Boitel, 'Une église peut-elle être un musée?', Informations catholiques internationales 402, February 15, 1972, p. 5). 'Since the time of the Counter-Reformation, the tabernacle has often been linked to the main altar, with which it appeared as the vital centre of the building. But the current renewal of liturgical celebration, by restoring the proper value of each moment of the celebration, has put the spotlight back on the Lord's other modes of presence' ('Vêtements, objets, espaces liturgiques', Notes de pastorale liturgique 105, August 1973, p. 26).*

Two Models of Church, Two Different Theologies

'The first vision of the Church, that of the pre-Vatican II period, corresponds, by way of example, to a church architecture in which the sanctuary is disproportionately enormous, well separated from the laity, dominating all of the faithful, an insignificant body (in the truest sense of the word) with an exaggerated head. The theology of Vatican II, on the other hand, corresponds to an architecture in which the sanctuary and nave are integrated seamlessly into a harmonious whole' (Lucien Deiss, Les ministères et les services dans la célébration liturgique, éditions du Levain, 1981, p. 8).

Sacred architecture *'must present an image of the Church that is fully consistent with that which the liturgy, for its part, strives to convey' (Roger Béraudy, Introduction to Espace sacré et architecture moderne, Cerf, 1971,*

p. 7). For this reason, *'not even the layout of places of worship has not been affected by [the liturgical] renewal'* (Charles Wackenheim, *Entre la routine et la magie, la messe*, Centurion, 1982, p. 23).

Liturgical Reform Implies Changes to the Church Building

The only conceivable solution was to redefine the arrangement of the objects, and to reorganize the architectural space. However, this conversion was difficult, given the building's characteristic inertia. *'Since Vatican II, preaching and Eucharistic celebrations, for example, do not require quite the same movements as before'* (*'Le congrès d'art sacré d'Avignon'*, *Notes de pastorale liturgique* 137, December 1978, p. 64). *'Since the liturgical reform has led to changes in the arrangement of [liturgical] space, we must realize that these changes are not without challenges, especially when they occur in buildings designed according to a different logic. For example, today we occupy places in this space where it was never intended that words be spoken. As such we do violence to the place. The violated architecture no longer resonates with the assembly. It can only do so - it can only respond - if we keep ourselves in the right place'* (Paul Roland, *'Libre propos sur l'espace liturgique'*, *Communautés et Liturgies* 4, September 1981, p. 296).

Changes Bring Challenges

'The problem of converting traditional churches is not a simple one, nor is it easy to solve. The shape of our old churches does not immediately lend itself to the changes desired by the Council' (Jean Huvelle, *'Réforme liturgique et aménagement des églises'*, *Revue diocésaine de Tournai*, 1965, p. 236). For example, *'once the new altar has been installed [facing the people], it will be necessary to consider removing, moving or otherwise disposing of the old altar. Such an operation cannot be carried out without the advice of a competent architect. Church architecture has often been designed with the altar at the back of the sanctuary in mind. Changing the altar not only modifies the furnishings, but also transforms the architectural lines'* (Thierry Maertens and Robert Gantoy, *La nouvelle célébration liturgique et ses implications*, Publications de Saint-André-Biblica, 1965, p. 57).

'Churches don't lend themselves easily to uses other than those for which they were originally designed: in most of them, the building was designed "length-wise" for assemblies. For some time now, the layout of churches has been changing: they are designed for "width-wise" assemblies, where people can see each other, hear each other and communicate. Sometimes we can arrange an old church in this way: it's always difficult' (*'Bâtir une célébration'*, *Célébrer* 151, April 1981, p. 14). *'It is quite certain that our*

beautiful elongated churches, filled with a forest of pillars, are more conducive to solitary prayer than to the gathering of people; the new churches, on the contrary, prevent us from isolating ourselves (Henri Denis, *L'esprit de la réforme liturgique*, Société nouvelle des imprimeries de la Loire Républicaine, 1965, p. 27).

The Status Quo Ante Not Feasible

As the celebration according to the new liturgical norms depended on an architectural environment suited to it, it was not possible to leave things as they were. Indeed, Father [Joseph] Gélineau notes *'the all too obvious difficulty encountered in trying to inscribe post-Vatican II liturgy in spaces and volumes designed for a very different type of liturgy'* (Joseph Gélineau, *Demain la liturgie*, Cerf, 1976, p. 29). But these liturgists would not give up: *'It should also be emphasized that priests are invited to continue fitting their churches according to the requirements of the [new] liturgy. In particular, they are advised to place the Blessed Sacrament in a chapel separate from the main vessel of the church, and to give a new place to treasures of sacred art if they need to be removed from their present location'* (*'L'instruction sur le culte eucharistique montre que la mise en œuvre de la réforme est fermement poursuivie'*, *Informations catholiques internationales* 290, June 15 1967, p. 8). It was therefore necessary to consider modifying the layout of churches, wherever necessary and possible, to adapt them to the new liturgy. It should be noted that, from the outset, some layouts were deemed more favourable than others. *'A semicircular church, where everyone can see each other and feel connected, certainly allows for better implementation of the post-conciliar reform than an elongated nave built according to other aesthetic and religious canons'* (Jean-Claude Crivelli, *Des assemblées qui célèbrent : une pratique des signes du salut*, Commission suisse de liturgie, 1980, p. 11).

The Necessary Changes

But since this [semi-circular arrangement] was often not the case, they needed to think about *'transforming the interior layout of churches throughout the world, with a view to renewing the celebration of the Eucharist'* (Pierre Jounel, *'Le missel de Paul VI'*, *La Maison Dieu* 103, 3rd quarter 1970, p. 32). The altar had to face the people, an ambo had to be set up, the tabernacle had to be relocated, and the seating had to be changed. *'This spirit pushes us even further: the choice of pews rather than chairs (to avoid the turning movements and noise they entail), the elimination of kneelers (the faithful remaining standing or seated during the liturgical action)'* (Thierry Maertens and Robert Gantoy, *La nouvelle célébration*

liturgique et ses implications, Publications de Saint-André-Biblica, 1965, p. 21).

In short, the general layout of the *domus ecclesiae* needed to be reconsidered. *'The severe prescription with regard to minor altars [i.e., their removal] applies a fortiori to the many devotional objects that still so often dot the walls and columns of our churches: the Stations of the Cross, statues, indiscreet confessionals, etc. If they have a place in the interior of churches, they must be removed. If they have their place in chapels separated from the main space of the church, they disperse the assembly when the latter, in the Eucharist, is called upon to give a sign of unity'* (Thierry Maertens and Robert Gantoy, *La nouvelle célébration liturgique et ses implications*, Publications de Saint-André-Biblica, 1965, p. 21). *'Churches, in fact, even when listed, are only secondarily museums. First and foremost, they fulfill a specific religious function. So it's only natural that their layout and furnishings should meet the needs of the liturgy, and particularly the liturgy of the moment. However, the latter implies new ways of gathering; it requires truly transitory furniture; it leads to the abandonment of the use of certain liturgical objects; by grouping parishes together, it leaves churches unused. All this has important practical consequences, and it has to be recognized that old churches do not always lend themselves to the desired adaptations'* (Philippe Boitel, 'Une église peut-elle être un musée?', *Informations catholiques internationales* 402, February 15 1972, p. 4). *'The reform requires new creations: the layout of churches, with the altar turned towards the faithful, the place where the Word of God is celebrated, the celebrant's seat, the Blessed Sacrament chapel, a new conception of the confessional'* (Interview with Cardinal Knox, *La Documentation catholique* 1674, April 20, 1975, p. 368).

Modifications of Churches To Express a New Ecclesiology

'In modifying the rite, will the reform also involve a new conception of the structure of our churches? Yes, and in different ways. Firstly, by insisting on the communal meaning of the Mass as an assembly of the people of God, the reform requires that everyone be able to follow the rite taking place at the altar. On the one hand, therefore, it aims to eliminate all screens (columns, pillars, etc.) that prevent a clear view of the altar, something made possible today by the evolution of architectural techniques. On the other hand, it puts the altar back to the centre, not geometrically, but ideally, and prefers it to be decisively and rightly turned towards the people. In addition, by emphasizing the role of the congregation, the reform makes it necessary to find suitable locations for the celebrant, his ministers, readers, ambo, etc. For the same reason, it reduces the space required for the altar. For the

same reason, it reduces the number of minor altars, which are detrimental to the unity of the congregation, and simplifies the ornaments that used to overwhelm the altar' (Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro, 'Nouvelle étape de la réforme liturgique: le pourquoi du comment', Informations catholiques internationales 235, March 1, 1965, p. 26).

This need for architectural redesign should come as no surprise, for if the external form influences the content, the content must in turn react to the external form. *'The post-conciliar Church is undergoing profound change, and it is only natural that the church-building should suffer the effects'* (Philippe Boitel, 'Quelles églises pour demain?', Informations catholiques internationales 388, July 15 1971, p. 22). Indeed, *'the liturgical reform imposes on many a new layout for places of worship'* ('Dimanche et mission pastorale dans un monde paganisé', Notes de pastorale liturgique 57, August 1965, p. 10). That the renewal of the liturgy *'should have an impact on places of worship, and that these should find themselves partially unsuited as a result of the evolution undergone within the liturgy, no one should be surprised. Insofar as sacred actions have been modified, insofar as the emphasis has been placed on a more total participation of the faithful, buildings built in other times and with a different outlook will also have to be adapted to suit their new purpose'* (Guy Oury, 'L'aménagement des églises - Un aspect du renouveau liturgique', L'Ami du clergé 6, February 10 1966, p. 89).

This whole new ecclesiological vision naturally expresses itself in this new structuring of the sacred space. *'It is clear that liturgical reform cannot be limited to a few changes in the content of the texts read by ministers, or in the gestures of the celebrants (...) It transforms the relationship between the celebrant and the faithful. It distributes the respective functions of the celebrant, the ministers, the schola and the people in a way that is new to us, yet profoundly traditional. It follows that it calls for an arrangement of the places of celebration that is quite different from what it has been until now'* (Commission épiscopale de liturgie, 'Le renouveau liturgique et la disposition des églises', Notes de pastorale liturgique 58, October 1965, p. 41, or La liturgie, Documents conciliaires V, Centurion, 1966, p. 201).

The Resulting New Arrangements

The *'construction and layout of churches today can be carried out in the light of a much more complete and elaborate conception of liturgical space'* (Frédéric Debuyst, 'Quelques réflexions au sujet de la construction d'espaces liturgiques,' Communautés et Liturgies 4, September 1981, p. 285). Father Roguet, a shrewd judge, had discerned early on the inevitable result of this particular manifestation of the renewal. *'Certain reforms, which had seemed*

to concern only arrangements of texts and rites, will inevitably modify certain accessories of our churches and even some of their architectural structures (A.M. Roguet, 'Le signe du vin', Notes de pastorale liturgique 66, February 1967, p. 43). This is what everyone would come to understand a little later. *'The liturgical reform aims with all its might at the full and active participation of all the people. For this to be possible, an appropriate architecture is needed. (...) Liturgical renewal and the way in which the Church situates itself in the world call for a new type of architecture'* (F. Agnus, 'Architecture et renouveau liturgique', Notes de pastorale liturgique 76, October 1968, p. 46).

New Church Constructions: Transitory and Provisionary

'The monumental and definitive character of what we build does not lend itself well to the present mobility, noticeable in the Church itself: the problems, often insoluble, posed by the adaptation of old churches to current needs, if only to the new forms of liturgical celebration, are likely to arise, in five or ten years' time, for the churches we have just built (...)' (Pierre Antoine, 'L'église est-elle un lieu sacré?', Études, March 1967, pp. 442-444). *'We must sound a warning. Today's liturgy is in a melting pot; we cannot say what the forms of worship will be in the future. For this reason, we cannot plan churches solely on the basis of today's conception of liturgy, without running the risk of seeing them outdated by the time they are completed. As the liturgical movement advances, new ideas about worship are born (...). In the final analysis, religious buildings must be modern buildings for modern man'* (J. G. Davies, 'La tendance de l'architecture moderne et l'appréciation des édifices religieux', in Espace sacré et architecture moderne, Cerf, 1971, p. 94, 95 and 99). *'This assumes that a religious building is, by vocation, unfinished: not so much perfectible as evolving, available, at least to a certain extent. (...) Should we not be prepared for unforeseeable changes and redesigns within the probable lifespan of our buildings?'* (Denis Aubert, 'De l'église à tout faire à la maison d'église - Expériences à Taizé' in Espace sacré et architecture moderne, Cerf, 1971, p. 110 and 112).

The Church Called to Constant Change

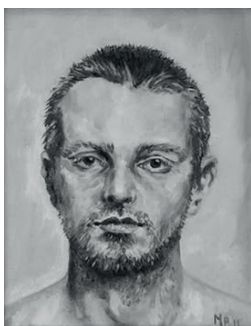
Indeed, *'if the Constitution [on the liturgy] is observed in letter and spirit, the liturgy will no longer risk becoming fixed and immobilized. Like a tree that has strong roots and whose sap is nourishing, it will bear on branches that live and spread, new flowers and new fruits'* (Msgr. H. Jenny, 'Introduction' in La liturgie, Centurion, 1966, p. 41). Cardinal Lercaro, then president of the Consilium was also moving in this same direction in his

message to the artists' symposium held in Cologne on February 28, 1968. *Without a doubt,* he said, *'one thing is quite clear: the architectural structures of churches must change as rapidly as people's living conditions and homes are changing today. Even when building a place of worship, we need to bear in mind the extremely transitory nature of these material structures, whose entire function is one of service to humankind. In this way, we can prevent future generations from being conditioned by churches that we consider avant-garde today, but which they risk seeing as nothing more than outdated edifices. Today, for our part, we experience this conditioning: we feel the difficulty with which the marvellous churches of the past adapt to our religious sensibility, and the force of inertia with which they oppose the indispensable reforms of liturgical action (...). So let us not pretend to build churches for centuries to come, but be content to make modest, functional churches that suit our needs and before which our sons feel free to rethink new ones, abandon them or modify them as their time and religious sensibility suggest'* (Giacomo Lercaro, 'Message to the artists' symposium held in Cologne on February 28, 1968", *La Maison Dieu* 97, 1st trim. 1969, pp. 16-17, or in *Espace sacré et architecture moderne*, Cerf, 1971, pp. 25-26).

This reflection by its president corresponded perfectly with the aims of the Consilium and its secretary, Msgr. [Annibale] Bugnini, as evidenced by the two texts of its official review, on which we shall conclude. *'The work of liturgical reform is not finished and, in the spirit of the Council, must never end. The liturgy, like the Church in its human aspect, is inevitably subject to continual reform, born of ecclesial life, so that the Church is truly adapted to the present time, to today's culture and to the historical moment'* (Anschaire J. Chupungco, "Costituzione conciliare sulla sacra liturgia. 15th anniversario", *Notitiæ* 149, December 1978, p. 580): *'Liturgical reform will continue without limit of time, space, initiative and person, modality and rite, so that the liturgy may remain alive for people of all times and generations'* ('Rinnovamento nell'ordine', *Notitiæ* 61, February 1971, p. 52)

NOTES

The cover picture, *Saint John Boste* by Michael Boe, was commissioned by the Bishop of Lancaster and hangs in the church at Appleby. Michael writes: 'The hill I've painted over his right shoulder is in Dufton, his birthplace. Over his left shoulder is Durham cathedral, the place of his martyrdom.' He also painted a small study for the saint's face before doing the full commission:



John Boste was born in Dufton, Westmorland around 1544, the son of Nicholas Boste, landowner of Dufton and Penrith and Janet Hutton, of Hutton Hall, Penrith. He was educated at Appleby Grammar School and Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. and M.A. and became a Fellow of his college in 1572. He converted to Catholicism in 1576, left England and was ordained a priest at Reims in March 1581 and immediately returned to England, landing in Hartlepool. He worked throughout the north, often accompanied by the layman John Speed, who was martyred in 1594, and was so effective a missionary that Lord Huntingdon called Boste, 'the great stag of the North', and the authorities were desperate to capture him. Boste evaded arrest for ten years but he was betrayed in 1593 by a renegade Catholic. Pursuivants raided the Waterhouse, on the west Durham estate owned by Lady Margaret Neville, eldest daughter of the exiled Earl of Westmorland, a leader of the 1569 Rising of the North, and Boste was discovered in a hide behind the fireplace. He was taken to the Tower of London and racked by Richard Topcliffe. He was returned to Durham and condemned at the Assizes. Boste denied that he was a traitor, saying 'My function is to invade souls, not to meddle in temporal invasions.' Boste was executed with extraordinary brutality at Dryburn on 24 July 1594; he was barely hung before being cut down, drawn and quartered. His limbs were

displayed on the castle walls, and his head posted on a pole on Framwellgate Bridge, but it was removed that night by someone unknown.

John Boste was beatified by Pope Pius XI in 1929 and canonized by Pope Paul VI in 1970. He is one of a group of four known as 'The Durham Martyrs of 1594.' They are: John Speed (4 February), John Boste (24 July), George Swallowell at Darlington (26 July,) and John Ingram at Gateshead (26 July).

*



During penal times, the Catholic Church in England had little opportunity to develop its own repertory of hymns, although there are isolated examples, such as the so-called Postgate Hymn. Blessed Nicholas Postgate (alias Whitmore), one of the last of the Douai Martyrs, was executed in 1679 when he was over eighty years old. Shortly before his death he composed a hymn in York Castle 'which is even now used in the wild moorlands about Ugthorpe.' [*DNB* 1922] This was 'O gracious Lord, O Saviour sweet,' at one time frequently sung in the English Colleges. For the full text see E. Hamilton, *The Priest of the Moors: Reflections on Nicholas Postgate*, 1980, pp. 63f.

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