Durham University

Durham E-Theses

From Jacobite to Radical : the Catholics of North East England, 1688-1850.

Leopold Gooch

How to cite:

Gooch, Leopold (1989) From Jacobite to Radical : the Catholics of North East England, 1688-1850. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1422/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

Abstract

Leopold Gooch

From Jacobite to Radical: the Catholics of North East England, 1688-1850

(Ph.D., 1989)

The era of the Vicars Apostolic, from 1688 to 1850, was an age of radical change and enduring achievement for the Catholics of north east England.

The creation of the Northern Vicariate in 1688 engendered a spirit of confidence among the lay gentry and the clergy which inspired a revival of the mission such that, by 1730, a network of permanent mission-stations had been established across the region albeit under seigneurial rule. Disharmony between priests and patrons became endemic, however, towards the end of the century. Missioners, impatient with their subordination to the gentry, demanded greater autonomy. At the same time, and despite its limited resources, the Church opened a number of chapels in the towns. In those ways, the Vicar Apostolic gained control of the mission and facilitated progress towards the restoration of full and ordinary episcopal government in 1850.

The Catholics formed a small, widely dispersed and inconspicuous part of the region's population in the eighteenth century. They were to be found in all classes and situations, and they were fully integrated socially and economically. The poverty of the Catholic gentry has been greatly exaggerated. Their security was not undermined by the Jacobite risings. Most Catholic families limited their involvement to a minimum, and dropped their Jacobitism after 1715. Thereafter they became vigorous campaigners for their emancipation. After 1800 the northern Catholics overwhelmingly supported the Whigs; the long debate over Catholic Emancipation made Radicals of many.

The Catholic population did not increase until the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Natural population growth and immigration, coupled with the effects of emancipation and industrialisation, changed the economic, sociological and ecclesiastical character of the northern Catholics from that of an English, largely rural and gentry-dominated, recusant body to that of a predominantly urban, industrialised, part-Irish, working class Church.

FROM JACOBITE TO RADICAL:

THE CATHOLICS OF NORTH EAST ENGLAND, 1688-1850

by

Leopold Gooch

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the

Department of Theology, University of Durham

1989



1 2 JAN 1990

Table of Contents

Abstract	Page 1
Title page	2
Table of Contents	3
List of Maps, Illustrations, Tables and Figures	4-5
General Notes and List of Abbreviations	5-6
Declaration	7
Introduction	9
Part I, The Laity	
Chapter 1, The Jacobite Period, 1688-1750.	15
Chapter 2, The Period of Emancipation, 1750-1850.	66
Part II, The Mission and Missioners	
Chapter 1, The Mission in the North East.	86
Chapter 2, Priests and Patrons	170
Part III, Catholic Emancipation in North East Politics, 1800-1850	
Chapter 1, Popery as a Politico-theological Problem.	216
Chapter 2, Emancipation as an Election Issue.	239
Conclusion	279
Notes and References	285
Bibliography	318

List of Maps, Illustrations, Tables and Figures

Maps	Page
1. The Anglican Dioceses, 1541-1834.	8
2. The Roman Catholic Districts, 1688-1840.	8
3. Catholic Land Values, 1715-1720.	55
4. Roman Catholics in Northumberland and Durham, 1851.	81
5. The Roman Catholic Mission in the North East, 1730.	85
6. The Roman Catholic Mission in the North East, 1850.	165

Illustrations

Mrs Elizabeth Riddell, Henry Swinburne.	20
The 3rd Earl of Derwentwater; Dilston Hall.	24
Lord William Widdrington (IV); Peregrine Widdrington; Widdrington Castle.	26
George Collingwood; Collingwood House.	35
Callaly Castle: The Park; The Drawing Room.	63
Swinburn Castle; Capheaton Hall.	95
Hexham, St. Mary; Bellingham, St. Oswald.	100
Netherwitton Hall; Hesleyside; Felton Park.	103
Thropton, All Saints; Biddleston Hall Chapel; Dilston Hall Chapel.	106
The First Catholic Chapel in Alnwick; Catholic Chapel, Newcastle upon Tyne; Newcastle, St. Mary.	119
North Shields, St. Cuthbert; Morpeth, St. Robert of Newminster.	122
Durham: St. Cuthbert; House of the Vicars Apostolic.	125a
Birtley, St. Joseph; Sunderland, St. Mary; Stella, Sts. Mary & Thomas Aquinas.	131
Bishop Auckland, St. Wilfrid; Pontop Hall.	145
Hartlepool: Prissick Street Chapel; St. Mary.	149
Stockton: The Old Chapel; St. Mary.	153
Darlington: First Mass Centre; St. Augustine.	156
James Worswick; Charles Larkin; Thomas Crowe; Frenchman's Row.	182
Three interiors: Newcastle, St. Andrew; Croxdale Hall Chapel; Dilston Hall Chapel.	187
Bishop Shute Barrington; The Rev. John Lingard.	222

Tables

1. Papist Estates in Northumberland and Durham, 1717.	56
2. Catholic Population of North East England, 1705-1814.	67
3. Residential Density of Catholic Families in North East England, 1774.	71
4. Geographical Mobility of Adult Catholics of North East England, 1767.	73
5. Marriages in which only one Partner was Roman Catholic: North East England, 1767.	76

6. Occupations of North East Catholics in 1767 Compared with National Distribution in 1801. 78

7. Classification and Tenure of Mission Stations in North East England, 1688-1850. 159

8. Roman Catholic Churches Erected in North East England in the Period of Relief and Emancipation. 166

9. Roman Catholic Voting Pattern in the General Election of 1826, in the Constituency of Northumberland. 260

Figures

1. Geographical Mobility of Northumbrian Catholic Adults, 1767. 74

2. Age and Sex Structure of the North Eastern Catholics, 1767. 75

3. Number of Roman Catholic Missions in North East England, 1688-1850. 159

General Notes

1. All dates are given in the Old Style, with the year beginning on 1st January rather than 26th March.

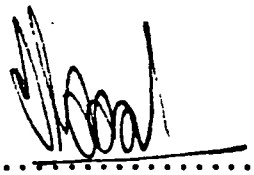
2. The original spelling and punctuation of quotations has been modernised, where it is not significant. Similarly, conventional contractions have been expanded silently.

3. All printed works were published in London unless otherwise stated.

List of Abbreviations

AA	Archaeologia Aeliana (Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne)
CM	Catholic Magazine
CRS	Catholic Record Society: Records Series
DCLHSB	Durham County Local History Society Bulletin
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
DRO	Durham Record Office
DUJ	Durham University Journal
EHR	English Historical Review
GEC	V. Gibbs, et al., The Complete Peerage by G.E.C. (13 vols., London, 1910-59).
GPL	Gateshead Public Library
HMC	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: Calendars.
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
LDA	Leeds Diocesan Archives
NC	Northern Cross
NCC	Northern Catholic Calendar
NCH	Northern Catholic History
NCoH	Northumberland County History (15 vols., Newcastle upon Tyne, 1893-1940).
NRO	Northumberland Record Office
NYCRO	North Yorkshire County Record Office
OP	Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OSB	Order of St. Benedict (Benedictines)
PD	T.C. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates (1803-29).
PSAN	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne
RCD	Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle (in NRO).
RH	Recusant History
SCH	Studies in Church History
SHS	Publications of the Scottish History Society
SJ	Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
SS	Publications of the Surtees Society
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
UCM	Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts
UM	Ushaw Magazine
VCH	Victoria County History
WND	Duke of Wellington, Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G., 1819-32 (8 vols., 1867-80).
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Records Series

I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

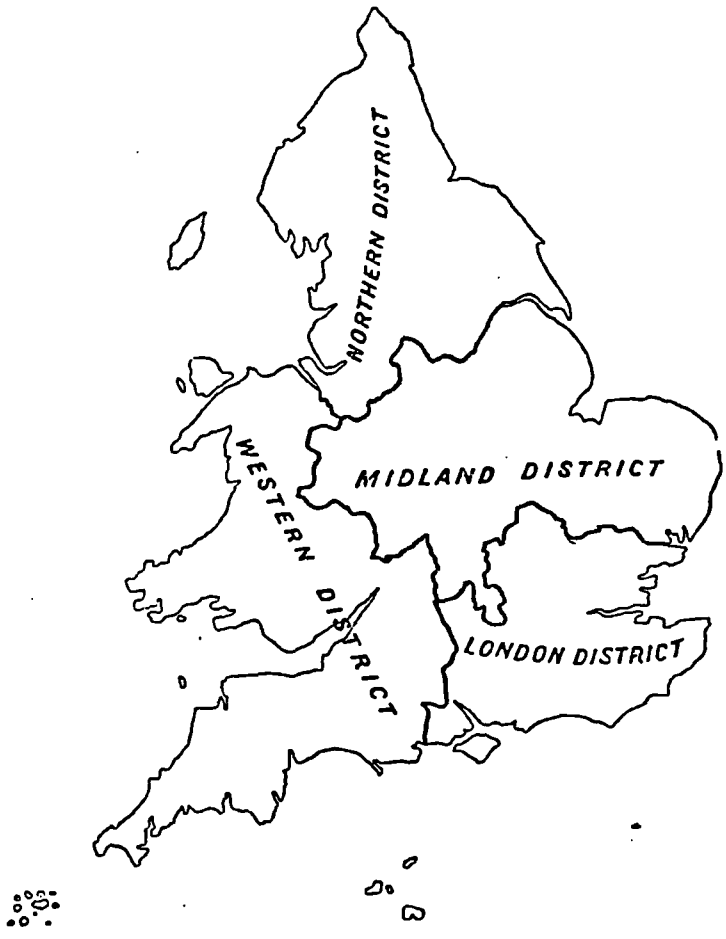


Signed .....

Date 3rd April, 1989 .....



Map 1: The Anglican Dioceses 1541--1834



Map 2: The Roman Catholic Districts 1688-1840

Introduction

This study examines aspects of the ecclesiastical, political and social life of the Roman Catholics of north east England from 1688 to 1851. This is the least studied period in the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism; attention has focussed on the 'Age of Martyrs' of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or on the 'Second Spring' of the nineteenth century. The intervening period, unaccountably, has been found less sensational, yet it is marked by important ecclesiastical developments; major political crises relating to Roman Catholicism occurred; and the socio-political characteristics of the English Catholic body underwent substantial change. Those events amounted to a radical transformation in the organisation and outlook of the northern Catholics.

The creation in 1688 of an ecclesiastical hierarchy appropriate to a missionary country, the Vicariate Apostolic, marks the foundation of modern English Catholicism. John Leyburne was appointed Vicar Apostolic of England in 1685 and he divided the country into four Districts (Northern, Midland, Western and London), placing each under a Vicar General. It quickly became apparent that the task of episcopal government could not be conducted efficiently by one man and, in 1688, at the request of king and bishop, the Holy See appointed a Vicar Apostolic to each District. That arrangement continued until 1840 when the number of Districts was doubled. The end of the church's missionary status and its return to government by bishops in ordinary occurred in 1850.[1]

Many Catholic gentry families claim that they never lost the faith and that they supported priests throughout the post-Reformation era. However, without disputing those claims, it has to be said that little is known of the operation of the mission before about 1660, except that priests were harboured by a number of families, but the terms and duration of their tenures are not always known. It is only with the appointment of the Vicars Apostolic that formal arrangements for pastoral care were instituted. Something of a revival then ensued and a wide-ranging distribution of chapels was established in a remarkably short space of time.

Notwithstanding its formal structure, it would be false to describe

the church in the north east during the eighteenth century as a centrally managed operation. The mission comprised a group of semi-autonomous components, only loosely linked organisationally. Much of what follows will show that it was not until late in the period that the Vicars Apostolic were able to exercise full episcopal jurisdiction. Until the Relief Acts, the English Catholic mission mainly operated out of the mansion houses of the gentry, clandestinely at first, but less covertly as the century went on. Thus for some two hundred years the disposition of the Catholic mission was largely determined by the willingness of its gentry to house priests and finance chapels. Necessary as those arrangements undoubtedly were, the mission under seigneurial rule was beset by financial instability, insecurity of tenure and personal animosity. Indeed, antagonism between patron and priest is found in the history of every northern chaplaincy; it will be shown to have both disrupted operations and inhibited development.[2]

Moreover, the seigneurial system would prove unable to adapt to the economic, demographic and political changes of the late eighteenth century. If the clergy were to be free to operate in the towns where pastoral needs had become imperative, then the missionary organisation would have to change, but, having dominated the mission for so long, the gentry were reluctant to surrender control which a shift from the estates to the towns entailed. The process of change was therefore both long and bruising. A major theme to be developed here, then, is the transition from clerical dependence to independence, from a rural to an urban apostolate, and a return to open worship in unconcealed public churches.

The supporters of King James II and his heirs were active in promoting a restoration of the Stuarts for over half a century after the 1688 revolution. The succession of King George I was challenged, belatedly, in the Jacobite Rising of 1715; in England that was entirely a rising of the Northumbrians, among whom Catholics predominated. The number of myths which have built up around both the event and the participants seems to have discouraged historians from giving the Fifteen in Northumberland the attention it deserves, for it is usually dismissed in a paragraph or two. The campaign of 1715 lies outside the scope of this study, but a consideration of the phenomenon of Jacobitism among the Northumbrian Catholics is important, not only to show that the influence of Jacobitism in the region was less clear-cut than has been supposed, but also to clarify the effects of the Fifteen on the Catholic population of the north, which have also been misread.[3]

An uneasy, not to say fearful, interest in the English Catholics possessed the authorities throughout the eighteenth century, and a large number of official enquiries were made about them at the order of parliament or the Bishop of Durham. These surveys yield a considerable amount of new information and provide the statistical basis from which a sociological profile of the northern Catholics can be constructed at this important point in their history, the end of the recusant era.

The demise of activist Jacobitism did not leave the English Catholics without a political cause. The question of their own emancipation was a hotly contested proposal for about fifty years after 1780. If an English Protestant wanted to suggest that the Catholics should be emancipated, he would take care to point out that he did so in spite of his horror at the abominations of Rome. If he was against emancipation, he would make it clear nonetheless that some of his best friends were Catholics. He might, of course, have been one of the few who had no reservations at all on the matter, supporting either emancipation unconditionally, or, more likely, the reintroduction of recusancy and its attendant penalties, primarily the gallows.

Only ten sessions passed between 1800 and 1829 without the Catholic Question coming before parliament, and ten bills for full or partial relief were introduced before emancipation was finally enacted.[4] The Catholic Question played a prominent part in six of the eight cabinet changes in the same period.[5] Furthermore, the success of the Catholic campaign inspired the Reform movement, the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League. Catholic Emancipation, then, 'was of fundamental importance in British and Irish history. It marks the transformation of the politics of the old order into the politics of the new'.[6] The early nineteenth century was a period when a number of northcountrymen became prominent in national politics, and some of their writings on emancipation became standard tracts in the debate. The Catholics themselves had by this time become self-confident and assertive, and they were increasingly prominent on the hustings pressing their case. When they cast their votes in the 1826 general election (in anticipation of their enfranchisement) it would be seen that the long and acrimonious campaign had radicalised many of them; that radicalism was maintained after emancipation.

Local history has been described by Jonathan Clarke as a fully-fledged academic genre, and its practitioners as having a distinct school of thought.[7] However, local historical work often lacks a wider view. At the same time, large-scale national studies often mask important differences between one part of the country and another, for England

was not an homogenous sociological unit. There has been a tendency to write the history of English Catholicism in national terms (with an occasional gesture towards the pre-eminence of Lancashire) without distinguishing major regional differences. A notable exception is Edward Norman who, in his work on the church in the nineteenth century, omits regional history which, as he rightly observes, 'because of its quite different emphases and issues, is best left for separate treatment'.[8] The regional approach adopted here, then, in a synthesis of archival research, statistical analysis and anecdotal evidence from mission histories, avoids the merely parochial without running the risk of misleading generalisation.

The north east is usually agreed to be a cohesive region, encompassed as it is on three sides by substantial physical and psychological boundaries. Only in the south is the border less palpable, although no doubt a Yorkshireman would have no hesitation in speaking of the river Tees as the northern limit of civilised life. The term 'north east' is used to distinguish the area from the 'Diocese of Durham' or 'the counties of Northumberland and Durham', neither of which would be exact. The diocese included Alston in Cumberland and Craike in Yorkshire but excluded Hexham and its shire. Berwick and its shire lie outside Northumberland. However, Berwick and Hexham figure in the Catholic life of north east England and cannot sensibly be left out of it. Furthermore, while the north east formed only the eastern part of the Roman Catholic Vicariate of the Northern District, which comprised all England between the Humber and the Tweed, it is usually distinguished from Yorkshire and the western part (the clergy, for example, had separate 'benevolent societies'). Hence, the area covered here is that between the Tweed and the Tees and east of the Pennines, including Berwick.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the radical changes in both the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church in the north east and in the composition and outlook of the northern Catholic body in the century and a half after 1688. Secondly, the study is intended as a contribution to what Edward Norman has described as the 'relatively undeveloped condition' of English Catholic regional studies.[9] Indeed, surprisingly little work of this kind has been completed. Aveling's four volumes on Yorkshire, Williams on Wiltshire, Rowlands on Staffordshire and Kinoulty on West Sussex are all important; and two substantial studies of Catholicism in major northern cities, Champ on Birmingham and Connolly on Manchester and Salford must also be mentioned.[10] These all

show that the Catholic community lived and worked free from harassment and enjoyed both social and economic security. This study therefore extends that field of study. But it also has a third purpose. John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850 (1975)* has been a considerable influence on recent Catholic historiography. Certain conclusions drawn in that work, however, are misleading because they are based on a panoramic view of English Catholicism, whereas a regional perspective would have yielded a better definition of the changes taking place.

Bossy's thesis is that 'the history of the post-Reformation Catholic community in England is not to be envisaged as a process of continuous decline reaching its nadir in the eighteenth century', as most earlier commentators believed.[11] That 'traditional' school of Catholic history regarded the interval between the Reformation and the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 as a dark age in which the English Catholics languished in a condition, as Cardinal Manning put it, 'not of suspended animation only, but of organic dissolution'. The Oxford Movement and the Restoration of the Hierarchy came to be seen almost 'as the re-founding of the Church in England after a period of stagnation, or even virtual death'. Newman, in his sermon 'The Second Spring', spoke of the 'Resurrection of the Church' at this time. Bossy, however, views the recusant period as one in which 'a patient and continuous process of construction from small beginnings in which the eighteenth century represents a phase of modest progress and of careful preparation for the future' took place.[12]

In general, this study corroborates Bossy's analysis, but with certain important modifications. He argues that in 1770 the Catholic community had some three-quarters of a century of modest growth behind it and that it was expanding not contracting.[13] That is not true of the north east. If by expansion he refers to population, then Bossy overestimates growth between 1770 and, roughly, 1820. Moreover, since he uses data drawn from eight Northumberland parishes, it is appropriate to review his statistical method here in the light of the new evidence alluded to above, for it affects his national total, and hence brings into question his overall theory of continuous growth.[14] If by expansion Bossy refers to missionary development (i.e., the number of permanent mission stations open), then he underestimates the development achieved in the north east. Finally, Bossy talks of 'the Irish deluge beginning about 1790'.[15] Once again that is a deceptive generalisation. Detailed work on the north east dates the flood of Irish immigrants into the

region to the late eighteen-thirties and forties. In short, Bossy, in common with several others, misdates and misattributes key developments in the revival of post-Reformation English Catholicism, at least insofar as the north east is concerned.[16]

A key aim of this study, therefore, is to stress the belief that the Catholic history of England cannot be drawn from an unqualified series of aggregates (whether of priests, chapels or Irishmen) which convey an impression of uniform national progress or a lack of it. At the same time, it is not necessary to restrict the field of vision to such an extent that important and coherent trends are obscured; the regional approach best suits that aim.

Three topics will be dealt with only briefly. Firstly, the Irish immigration, which came towards the end of this study's timescale, has been chronicled extensively elsewhere.[17] Secondly, the establishment of Ushaw College in 1808, though obviously important in its own right, falls outside the scope of this discussion, and its history has already been written.[18] Lastly, notwithstanding their role as local ecclesiastical superior, the importance of the Vicars Apostolic in the day to day life of the mission can be exaggerated; they had little influence, even on Church affairs, before 1790, when the mission was dominated by the gentry. They were poor correspondents and few of their personal papers survive. In the case of William Gibson, whose episcopate lasted thirty one years, most of what has survived is, in any case, illegible. Furthermore, the monumental seven volume work of Monsignor Bernard Ward remains the authority on the Vicars Apostolic in the period between 1781 and 1850.[19] Hence, except for purely local church politics in connection with the 1791 Catholic Relief Act, the Vicars Apostolic will not be systematically treated here.

Part I, The Laity

Chapter 1, The Jacobite Period, 1688-1750

There were at least sixteen head-counts of the Roman Catholics of north east England between 1688 and 1851, making this religious group the one about which we should know most during the period. However, much of this information was not coherent; that is, it was not all conducted using the same social, geographical or ecclesiastical criteria, nor was it all compiled by the same authority. Moreover, not all the material collected has survived. Anglican parishes did not correspond with Catholic missionary areas, and Anglican dioceses were not coincident with Catholic vicariates. Some counted all Papists, others communicants only, others heads of households. Roman Catholic estimates of their own number later in the century only gave communicants, and in one case the Vicar Apostolic got the number of missions in County Durham wrong by fifty per cent. Paradoxically, then, Anglican records are more thorough than those left by the Catholics themselves.[1]

The results of eight surveys which were conducted by Anglican parochial authorities using the same criteria have survived in substantial quantities and can be treated as a coherent series. These are the parochial Returns of Papists made in 1705, 1767 and 1780 as part of national surveys made at the direction of the House of Lords,[2] and those made at the Episcopal Visitations of the Diocese of Durham in 1732, 1774, 1792, 1810 and 1814. Notwithstanding the large quantity of information gathered on all these occasions, there is no evidence that any of it was ever used at the time in any systematic way.[3] It will be used here, however, as the basis for a sociological examination of the Catholics of north east England.

Two other major surveys will be included although they had a more restricted purpose. The registration of recusant estates introduced as a result of the failure of the Jacobite Rising in 1715, yielded a great deal of detailed information about the social and economic condition of the English Catholics which would not have been recorded otherwise. Uniquely, the registers of the Catholics of Northumberland and Durham have been printed but not hitherto analysed in detail.[4] The other survey which may be included as the last in the series is the National Census

of Religious Worship of 1851. Although it has serious shortcomings it cannot be ignored entirely. This chapter will deal with the data collected in 1705, 1718 and 1732, leaving the later material to be examined in the following chapter.

*

In 1705, the House of Lords, alarmed at the apparent spread and growth of Popery, ordered a census of the English Catholics. The returns from this survey named and gave the social status or occupation of about four hundred and fifty Catholics in Northumberland and twice that number in County Durham. Unfortunately only about half of the Northumberland Anglican parishes in which Catholic groups are known to have existed are represented among the surviving returns. The absence of returns from, for example, Alwinton, Ancroft, Bellingham, Corbridge, Chollerton, Ellingham and Rothbury accounts for the very low Northumberland total. Moreover, the returns from Hexhamshire went to York, not Durham, and those parishes accounted for about one hundred and seventy Catholics, who must be added to the Northumberland total. A sensible number for the whole geographical county would be 1,100.

The power and influence of the Catholics was evidently of greater interest than mere numbers or religious practice, for the 1705 survey was entirely concerned with the 'qualities, estates and abodes' of the Papists, rather than with the arrangements made for their spiritual welfare. There is no reference in any Northumberland return to priests or chapels. There was, however, some anxiety that Papists might have had the presentation of Anglican livings in their gift, and information on that point was specifically required. The concern proved to be unjustified because only three parishes in the diocese reported Catholic patrons; the Vicar of Hurworth said that John Jenison 'pretends to an alternate right of presenting to this parsonage'; and the Vicars of Bywell St. Andrew and Slaley (adjacent parishes in Tynedale) reported the same Catholic patron but neither knew his name, only that he was one 'of the family of the Thorntons'.[5] The Earl of Derwentwater owned the tithes of Hartburn, worth £100 a year.

The richest Northumberland Papists were Lord Widdrington of Widdrington Castle with £4,000 a year, and Edward Horsley Widdrington of Longhorsley Tower (aged twelve) with about £2,000 a year, held in trust by his mother. George Collingwood of Eslington Hall, John Clavering of Callaly Castle and William Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange each had about £800 a year. Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton Hall, John Thornton of Netherwitton Hall and William Errington of Beaufront Castle had £500

a year each, and about another dozen individuals had yearly incomes of between £10 and £100. The rest had no estates to speak of and most of them earned a living on the land in one way or another. Large numbers of farmers, husbandmen and herdsmen are listed; similarly, cottagers, millers and agricultural day-labourers were to be found in most rural parishes. The professions were represented by one or two attorneys, physicians and a handful of stewards, agents or factors of gentry estates. The Tyneside industrial parishes listed wrights of various kinds and coalminers. Finally, servants and labourers appear in all parishes; one or two individuals received parish alms and there was one Catholic prisoner in Newcastle. The Northumberland Catholics, then, were to be found at all social levels and in all situations.

The Northumberland Catholics did not predominate in any one parish, although it was reported from Whittingham that 'most' of the inhabitants of the village of Callaly were Papists. The Catholics were few on the ground and widely dispersed. The Vicar of Ingram remarked ruefully, 'I wish the dissenters were as soon numbered'. However, concern might have been aroused if complete sets of parochial returns from York and Durham had been collated to reveal the concentration of upwards of three hundred and fifty Catholics in Tynedale. Eyebrows might also have been raised had it been noticed that the wives of the Governor and the Clerk of Tynemouth Castle (guarding the entrance to the Tyne) were Papists. Apart from that, however, there was nothing in the returns to give the magistracy concern. The loss of several returns obviously detracts from the overall value of the survey, but it seems clear that the Northumberland Catholics could not be regarded as a particularly wealthy or influential part of the population, nor were they a threat to civil order. The Vicar of Chatton reported the few Papists in his parish as behaving 'themselves very civilly, with a mighty reservedness'. The Northumberland returns, then, convey an impression of Catholicism sustained, for the most part, by minor gentry largely for their own and their dependents benefit.

The situation in County Durham was somewhat diferent and better documented, though not comprehensively so. Celia Fiennes, on a visit to Durham city in 1697, noted that there were 'many Papists in the town, popishly affected and daily increase'.[6] Her impression was confirmed in 1705, firstly by the Returns of Papists, of which most of the Anglican parishes containing Catholic groups have survived. Secondly, there is the following important piece of evidence compiled by James Mickleton in 1705:[7]

Popish Chapells within 7 miles of ye Bpp. of Durham Palace.

1. At Sr Nic. Tempests seat at Stanley.
2. Richd Smith Esqr at Esh
3. Mr Jo Johnson at Brandon
4. Mr Mic Johnson at Twizell
5. Mr Ra. Mare in Gillygate Durham. Mr Rivers ye priest there perverted Tho Nicholson, Mr Markingdale & others lately.
6. Mr Rowells in Durham & a School taught there.
7. Mr Pudsey in Durham
8. Jo Forcer Esqr House in Durham
9. Hen. Grey Esqr at Sunderland Bridge
10. Gerrard Salvin Esqr at Croxdale where 20 familys almost all ye inhabitants of that parish are lately perverted
11. Mr Jo Hildridge at B. Midlam - & a public School or Seminary there, in ye Bps manor House. 26 boys taught openly. Several Children lately baptized there publickly
12. At Mr Nich. Kennetts at Coxhoe, where many of ye neighbourhood are perverted, particularly one Jacksons Daughter very lately whom he has taken into his Family, & Mr Thompson ye parish Minister dayly converseth at that house, & with ye popish Clergy. Mr Kennet lately carryed his Niece to a Monastery in France, & was at ye Court of St Germans & returned into England without a License from ye Secretary of State.
13. At Jo Winters or Mr Forcers at Kellow where many are perverted dayly
14. At Mr Ra. Salvins at Tuddo
15. At Mr Suttons at Cowndon
16. At Tho Conyers Esqr house at Layton
17. At Mr Lambs at Hetton on ye Hill & many more, in ye late Scotch plot Capt Murray & others named in ye proclamation concealed by ye papists at & near Durham & great resort of strangers to them.

Their priests appear publickly.
The popish gentlemen have weekly meetings with many of ye Justices of peace at Hallywell & Sedgefield.
Divers popish Children lately sent from this County to ye Seminarys beyond seas as Mr Forcers Daughter Mr Lambs Daughter & divers others carryed over by Mr Ashman ye priest.
There is not the least notice taken at ye Bps late visitation of these matters altho' they are notorious & publick.
These people are more countenanced & favoured publickly than ye protestant Dissenters. And Mr Archdeacon of Durham was publickly slighted and affronted for taking notice of them & endeavouring to Suppress ye Schools & Chappels & Discouraging their perverting of protestants.
There is now a Building at Durham a noble Structure said to be for Madam Ratcliffe but really designed for a Nunnery (as at York) for entertainment of young Ladys of that perswasion.
The Jesuits have a great Fund or Sum of money in that County.
There are dayly Considerable Sums collected & gathered by that party & their Agents for what ends are unknown.

Since Mickleton's paper is largely concerned with Catholic chapels, it will be discussed fully in that context later. For the moment we may note the details in his report of the apparent restoration of Catholic life in Durham some fifteen years after the Protestant revolution of 1688. Mickleton complained about the way in which the Catholics practised their religion in an open, not to say brazen, manner; priests

appeared publicly and fraternised with their Anglican counterparts. (A list of ten priests in County Durham compiled in 1692 showed that six of them had been in place for eight or more years, and only two of them were newly-arrived.[8]) The Catholic gentry were on the best of terms with the magistrates and were busily converting their tenants, travelling about freely and collecting money to build schools and chapels. As Mickleton indignantly made clear, not the slightest notice was taken of the penal laws, by either Catholic or Protestant, and the Archdeacon had been reproved (Mickleton does not say by whom) for trying to apply the law more stringently.

The laxity in dealing with Popery in and about the cathedral city apparently even ran counter to the bishop's recent visitation. However, there was probably sufficient ambiguity over Bishop Nathaniel Crewe's attitude to Roman Catholicism for the Durham Catholics to presume on his sympathy. Crewe had been translated from Oxford in 1673, a promotion due not least to his friendship with James, Duke of York, whom Crewe had married to Mary of Modena. With the accession of James to the throne, Crewe's influence reached a peak and he became a confidante of the king. He entertained Bishop Leyburne in Durham Castle during the latter's confirmation tour of 1687, but he contrived to be out of the way in November 1688, and so he was omitted from the Act of Oblivion after the revolution. Crewe took the oath to William and Mary but he was distrusted on all sides as 'first a Puritan, then a Papist, and at last an Orangian'. His example as an episcopal Vicar of Bray was followed by most of the Durham diocesan clergy. Denis Granville, Dean of Durham, went into exile at St. Germain; a mere handful of the lesser clergy were deprived as non-jurors. John Cock lost the rectory of Gateshead, and Ralph Grey, Curate of All Saints, Newcastle, 'went into France and changed his religion', but they were exceptional. On the other hand, statistics of deprivation do not tell the full story, for the Tory, non-juring Jacobitism of the north east was notorious around the end of the seventeenth century. Many clergymen subscribed to the oaths only after a long and agonised consideration. John March, Vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, only signed after the Mayor had threatened 'that his salary will be stopped unless he pray for K. William and Q. Mary by name'. William Richards, Vicar of St. Andrew, Newcastle, died a notorious non-juror in 1705. One of his parishioners was the well known Jacobite Member of Parliament, Sir William Blackett.Mickleton noted the Jacobite connections of the Durham gentry; in 1703 Lord Lovat found the city full of gentry Catholics who were very faithful to James III. When Lovat showed them the king's picture 'they all fell down upon their knees and



SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS P.R.A. 1723-1792

Portrait of Mrs Elizabeth Riddell



Henry Swinburne (1743-1803) was the youngest brother of Sir John Swinburne of Capheaton and lived at Hamsterly, Co. Durham. This portrait and a companion portrait of his wife Martha, also of 1779 and now in Fonmon Castle, Glamorgan, were painted in Rome by the most fashionable Italian portrait painter of the day, Pompeo Girolamo Batoni. Batoni's portraits of English ladies and gentlemen are to be found in many country houses, brought home from their Grand Tours of Europe, such tours of the artistic centres of Europe being an essential part of an 18th century upper-class education.

kissed him and prayed for him'.[9] It seems, then, that the pervasive Jacobitism of the north east emboldened the Durham Catholics to bank on the probable disinclination of Bishop Crewe to insist on a rigorous persecution of a religious minority with which he had some sympathy and remote connection.[10]

Whatever the reason, the Catholics of County Durham were not constrained from practising their religion publicly, and that probably accounts for the relatively large number listed in the 1705 returns; 960 are registered, but it is likely that there were about 1,200 Catholics in the county when omissions are taken into account. The Durham gentry were much less wealthy than those of Northumberland. Ralph Salvin of Tudhoe, James Shaftoe of Tanfield, John Jenison of Walworth Castle and Marmaduke Witham of Preston-upon-Tees had around £200 a year. Mrs. Blakiston of Tanfield and John Jenison of Hurworth had £100 a year each, and there were twenty others with reported yearly incomes of between £10 and £100 each. The remainder were poor. As in Northumberland, the Catholics of Durham were to be found at all levels of society and in all occupations. The Catholic community included a goldsmith, a tobacconist, a schoolmaster, a music teacher and the wife of a Yorkshire rector in addition to its normal complement of butchers, shoemakers, carpenters and innkeepers. Master mariners and merchants worked out of Sunderland on the Wear, and pitmen, sinkers and staithmen worked in the collieries on the south bank of the Tyne.

It is clear from the material that has survived from this period that the Catholics of north east England enjoyed a large measure of toleration and social integration at all levels. The Catholic gentry were not ostracised from county society. Like anyone else, they hunted, went to London and Bath in season and attended race meetings; they did the Grand Tour, had their portraits painted, maintained large establishments and kept up with the fashions. The births, marriages and deaths of the Catholics, as well as their accidents, financial affairs and travels were reported in the newspapers and noted in many private diaries in common with similar occurrences relating to Protestant gentry families. Intermarriage with Anglicans was not infrequent; non-Catholic trustees were not hard to find and the social deference due to men of property was not lacking. Catholics were on good terms with many of the Anglican clergy, they had the right of presentation to one or two Anglican livings and they were normally buried with their ancestors in the aisles, chancels and choirs of their parish churches. (In Whittingham parish church the front pews on either side of the aisle are marked C for Callaly Castle and E for Eslington Hall.)[11]

Anti-Catholicism was expressed only occasionally. Mickleton has been cited and he, no doubt, reflected the private opinion of others among the Anglican diocesan clergy. The Vicar of Horton reported in 1705 that there were no Papists in his parish to his 'great comfort and satisfaction'. Ambrose Crowley was compelled to move his ironworks from Sunderland to Ryton in 1690 because 'many of his workmen were foreigners and Catholics, and they did not altogether meet with a friendly reception', but that was in the unsettled period after the revolution.[12]

The small Catholic population of the north east was widespread, confident and possessed of a capacity for growth. Bishop Leyburn had confirmed 2,727 people in the two northern counties in 1687;[13] in 1705 there were about 2,500 Catholics. That decline can be attributed to the post-revolution anti-Catholic reaction, but it was not a catastrophic fall, nor was it one that could not be reversed given a period of tranquillity. As the demand from the House of Lords for a census indicated, and as the results showed, that was what seemed to be happening. Moreover, that tranquillity was not substantially disturbed by the two Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745.

*

Much of the fervour of the Jacobite Rising of 1715 in England showed itself in Northumberland, and more especially among the county's Catholic population. There are, however, certain persistent myths about Northumbrian Catholic Jacobitism that need to be scotched.[14] It has been said of the Fifteen that[15]

> nearly the whole of the Catholic gentry of Northumberland, true to their political traditions and steadfast adherence to their hereditary faith, took a prominent action in the movement, for which several of the heads of our leading families, the very cream of our Northumbrian gentry, forfeited not only their estates, but their lives.

That was penned by a self-acknowledged Jacobite enthusiast in 1894, and has come to be accepted without question.

Another frequently cited study (of 1952) explained that the 'Jacobite Fifteen was due, in no small degree, to the desperate poverty of the northern Catholic gentry'.[16] Following a similar theme, the Catholic gentry has been described more recently as 'threatened by financial ruin (and) whose Jacobitism was thus "over-determined" by having both a religious and economic base'. From which it is concluded:[17]

> As a result of the failure of the 1715 rising, the Catholic gentry of the north-east was a doomed species .. By 1745 this social group had virtually disappeared. The failure of the '15 led to a sensational decline in the Catholic gentry.

There is no justification for any of those sweeping generalisations.

When the contribution of northern Catholic families to the Jacobite cause is examined in detail it becomes clear that support for the Fifteen was by no means as extensive as is supposed, nor were the consequences of their participation so devastating as is made out.

To the Jacobite strategists, the north east offered several advantages for insurgency operations in 1715. It was the most suitable location for a landing in England from which to effect a conjunction with the Scots. The region was thought well-affected to the cause; a number of landed gentlemen and industrialists were expected to lead a pro-Jacobite force, to be made up of their own employees, colliers, keelmen and lead-miners. This was a particularly potent threat, for the capture of Newcastle and its port would give the Chevalier control over London's fuel supplies at the start of winter and[18]

> very probably create the utmost confusion amongst the inhabitants which might have turned greatly to his advantage (and) made him absolute master of all Northumberland and the county of Durham.

The adhesion of Catholic Lancashire would then lead to a swift and decisive hold on the whole of northern England. It was for similar reasons that Newcastle was considered as an appropriate landing place in almost every Jacobite invasion plan from 1692 to 1759.[19]

Jacobite affairs in the north east in 1715 were to be managed by four prominent individuals; two Tory members of parliament, Sir William Blackett and Thomas Forster, and two Catholics, the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord William Widdrington. Forster, a thirty two year old bachelor and member for Northumberland since 1710, was a committed Jacobite who had been in correspondence with the conspirators in London and on the continent for many months. Forster was expected to mobilise the rural Anglican gentry. (Forster was the nephew of Bishop Crewe who remained in London throughout 1715 and who made no comment on the rising in his diocese until 9th November, by which time the rebels had left the palatinate.) Sir William Blackett was a twenty six year old bachelor, a wealthy Tyneside coal-owner and member for Newcastle. He was expected to bring the business and political establishment of Newcastle over. In the event Blackett declined to become involved and he stayed in hiding while the rising was in progress.[20]

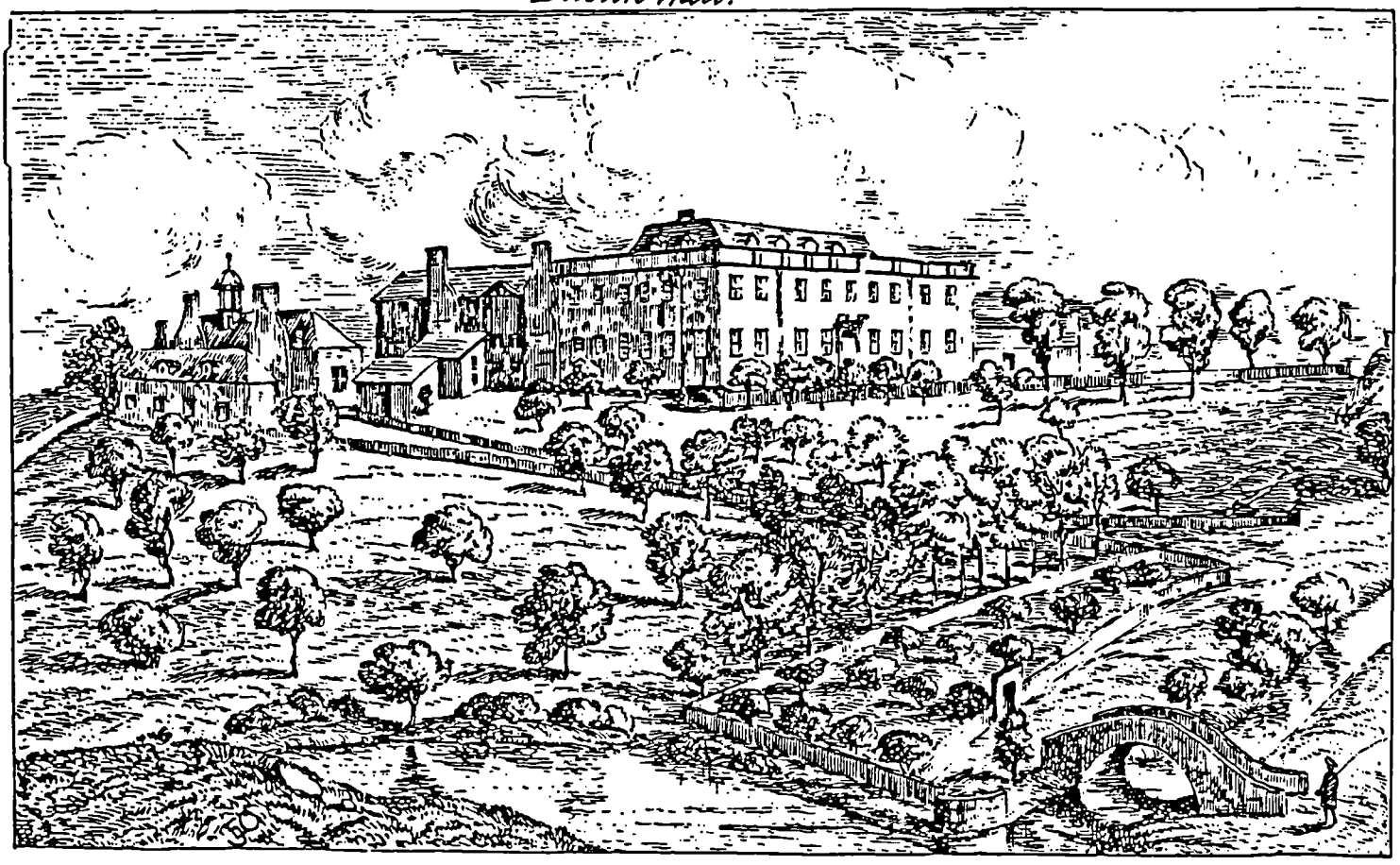
James Radcliffe, third Earl of Derwentater, was the principal Roman Catholic involved. He was another wealthy industrialist with extensive lead-mining interests on Alston Moor. More pertinently, however, he had particularly close Stuart connections. His grandfather had been created an earl following the marriage of his eldest son to Mary Tudor, an illegitimate daughter of Charles II in 1687. Dilston Hall, in Tynedale near



G Kneller pinxt

EARL OF DERWENTWATER.

Dilston Hall.



Corbridge, the family seat, became a Jacobite centre after the 1688 revolution. It was reported, for example, that a body of seventy to eighty armed horsemen held frequent meetings there. The first earl refused to take the oaths of allegiance in 1690. The second earl sent his sons James and Francis to the court at St. Germain en Laye outside Paris as companions for; and to be brought up with Prince James their cousin at the request of the prince's mother. The prince was the same age as James Radcliffe who succeeded as third earl in 1705.[21]

Derwentwater applied for and was granted a licence to return to England in December 1709 to take over the direction of his estates. He was then twenty years of age. Within eighteen months of his return he married Anna Maria Webb, an heiress of Dorset and Gloucestershire whom he had known since her childhood at Paris and St. Germain and whose father was an ardent Jacobite. Derwentwater's involvement in Jacobite politics began immediately upon his arrival. In the spring of 1710, on a visit to his Cumberland estates, he joined the rather prosaically named 'The Mayor and Corporation of the Ancient Borough of Walton le Dale', an organisation which met in the Unicorn Inn outside Preston with all the ludicrous trappings of a secret society and drinking club. That was a cover, however, for all the members were both Catholics and active Jacobites. Derwentwater's younger brother Charles also returned to England, and he was in the north in the summer of 1712.[22]

The other leading Northumbrian Catholic conspirator was William, fourth Baron Widdrington. It has been said that after 1688 the pattern of Jacobitism in the Widdrington family was mild, hardly at all, and wildly militant. The third baron was appointed Governor of Berwick and Holy Island in 1686, but he was dismissed in 1688 and he went abroad and stayed on the continent, 'moving in a coach round France pretending to be a tourist' to avoid arrest as a Jacobite activist. It was presumably during his absence in 1691 that the French landed on the Northumberland coast and sacked Widdrington Castle. They apologised later, explaining that they had not known it was a Catholic house. Edward Widdrington was killed at the Boyne in 1690.[23]

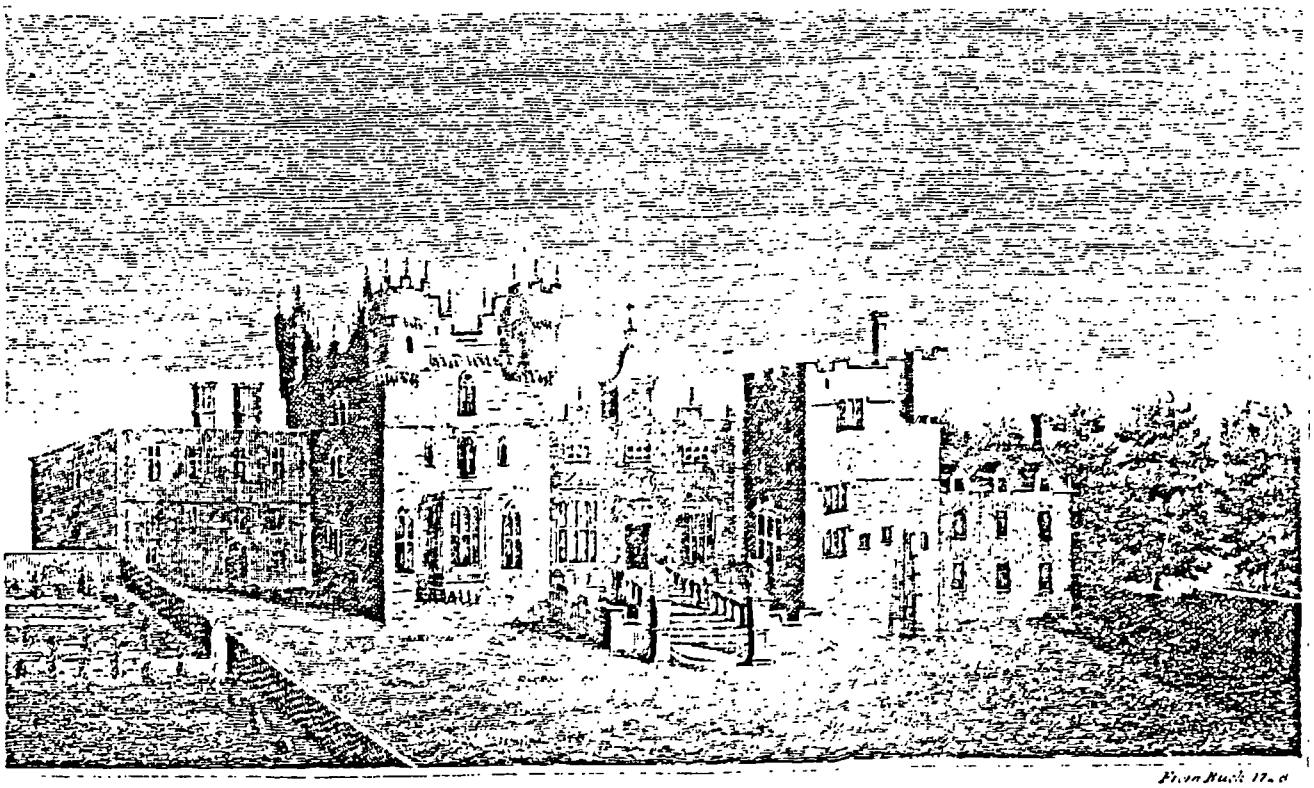
William, the fourth baron, was head of the militant Jacobite generation of the family, and second in importance to Derwentwater in local Catholic circles, though, at forty, twice the earl's age. Like the earl, Widdrington had been educated in France and was well known at St. Germain. Widdrington lived chiefly at Stella in north west Durham, a coal-mining property acquired through his marriage to Jane Tempest in 1700. He had the reputation of 'a careless temper, greatly attached to all





THE HON. PEREGRINE WIDDRINGTON.

Lord William Widdrington (4th Baron)



WIDDRINGTON CASTLE.

country diversions and cherished for his hospitable character'. The Rev. Robert Patten (the turncoat historian of the Fifteen) was not impressed by Widdrington and said of him [24]

> he was wonderfully esteemed at home by all the gentlemen of the county, and it had been happy for him, and so we thought it would have been better for us if he had stayed at home.

Patten thought Widdrington had too much influence over Forster and was unfit for military command. However, Widdrington was not, and did not pretend to be a professional soldier, and he always took advice from the Irish Catholic, Colonel Henry Oxburgh, who was. But then, Patten thought little of Oxburgh either, whom he described as 'better at his beads and prayers than his business as a soldier, and we all thought him fitter for a priest than a field-officer'. Widdrington was widowed in 1714 and he was left with three sons and five daughters, all of whom were too young to engage in the Fifteen. He was, however, supported by his two younger brothers Peregrine and Charles.[25]

Blackett 'had in his service a great number of colliers and keelmen', and it was hoped that he would bring them in to take Newcastle and Tynemouth Castle. Similarly, the influence of Widdrington and Derwentwater over the large number of colliers and lead-miners they employed was greatly feared by the government. Indeed, there was considerable disquiet in government circles over the political loyalty of English industrial workers at this time. That anxiety was exacerbated by acute labour troubles with the Tyneside keelmen after 1707 which had culminated in a major strike in 1710. The Protestant Jacobite John Crowley, owner of ironworks at Winlaton (on the Widdrington and near the Derwentwater estates) was detained in London in 1715 for questioning, but he was released after a few days. Of Derwentwater it was said that there

> was no doubt that he might have brought far greater numbers of men into the field than he did; the great estate he possessed, the money he could command, his interest among the gentlemen and, which is above all, his being so well beloved as he was, could not have failed to have procured him many hundreds of followers more than he had, if he had thought fit; for his concerns in the lead-mines in Alston Moor are very considerable, where several hundreds of men are employed under him, and get their bread from him, whom there is no doubt he might easily have engaged.

It turned out that these fears were groundless; as mostly Dissenters and Presbyterians, the ironworkers and leadminers were impervious to Jacobitism, Anglican or Catholic, and their employers well knew it would be futile to try to engage them in the rising. The twenty four year old Londoner John Crowley, who had succeeded to the family business in Durham only two years before, was unlikely to have had much of a personal following in the north; moreover, his own arrest no doubt had the

required deterrent effect on him. Blackett probably withdrew when he became aware that his keelmen were bent on defending Newcastle against the Jacobites.[26]

The Northumbrian Jacobite rebels were all drawn from the gentry and the squirearchy, together with their immediate dependents, and they were predominantly Roman Catholic. Although it is inexact to say, as one contemporary did, that they went out with 'only three Protestants with them which were Mr Forster, Mr Carr of Eschill & Mr Fenwick of Bywell', the participation of the high-church party did not materialise as promised. Derwentwater expressed disgust with his 'neighbour Tories as Will. Fenwick, Tate, Green & Allgood', who he described as 'Rogues in Disguise that promised to join us, and animated us to rise with them' but did not themselves turn out. Derwentwater also said he had been brought into the rising 'on assurance that many of his relations and acquaintance would appear' with him and in that he was more fortunate. Now, although the Catholic gentry of Northumberland in any case formed a tightly-knit group, there was nonetheless a remarkable degree of consanguinity and affinity among the rebels. A tie of kinship bound almost every Catholic to the other, Northumbrian or Lancastrian, and that network even extended into the High Church party (Forster, for example, was distantly related to the earl). The great Catholic cousinage also had extensive social connections, as might be expected. Derwentwater was very fond of field sports, and he did a great deal of hunting and shooting with the young Catholic gentlemen of the county. In February 1710 it was reported that Derwentwater intended 'to be at Capheaton upon Saturday and then upon Tuesday at Witton and so for Widdrington'. In the few letters of his to survive, he refers familiarly to Jack Thornton, Tom Errington, Jacky Swinburne and others of the Catholic elite with whom he regularly coursed, attended race meetings, exchanged visits and dined. These same men would join him in the Fifteen.[27]

The youth of the Catholic rebels is significant. The majority of those involved were neither the heads of their families or eldest sons and heirs. It may be going too far to say that some families offered only token support, but several certainly seem to have limited their participation in the Fifteen to members of their families who had least to lose, except of course their lives. Sir William Swinburne was perhaps Derwentwater's closest friend but he did not allow that intimacy to affect his decision to remain at home. Furthermore, he prudently sent his seventeen-year old heir, John, abroad with his priest-tutor Dom Philip Farnworth, OSB.[28]

William Errington, Derwentwater's neighbour, would not risk losing

the Beaufront estates to which he had succeeded only two years before. He was a member of the Merchant's Company of Newcastle and the owner of coal mines at Fenham. Errington was probably the most indebted of all the Northumbrian Catholics; his estate brought £936 a year but it was encumbered with almost £10,000 in liabilities. William's younger brother Thomas, who had returned to England at the accession of James II and had become a member of the coal-owning Hostmen's Company, was chief steward of the Derwentwater estate, but only a reluctant rebel. Patten believed that he 'would not have engaged in this rebellion had not the many obligations he lay under to the earl of Derwentwater prevailed with him'. On the eve of the rising Derwentwater visited Errington at Beaufront. They walked together to a hilltop overlooking Dilston, and Errington tried to dissuade the earl from rising by indicating what the earl would lose by his rebellion, but the earl replied that it was too late.[29]

Edward Charlton of the Bower shared Errington's fears, and he did not go out. Knowing that his two sons William and Edward were deeply involved, he took the additional precaution of conveying his estates in trust to the Protestant Ralph Brandling of Newham for the benefit of his grandson on the very day the Northumbrians rose. John Clavering of Callaly, who was married to Anne, daughter of Lord Widdrington, would not allow his eldest son Ralph, twenty years of age, to join him in arms. William Sanderson of Healey went out but his older brother George stayed at home 'to ensure the preservation of the family acres'. Unusually, Edward Riddell of Swinburne Castle allowed Thomas, his twenty-year old heir, to go out; and while Thomas Gibson of Stonecroft Farm stayed at home, he too permitted his son George to join Derwentwater. George would later plead in mitigation that he had been forced by the 'partisans of the Stuarts' to join and that having escaped from them he was forcibly brought back.[30]

While these families confined their contribution to a minimum, some did not bother to offer even that. The Charltons of Hesleyside, for example, were conspicuously absent, though some of their relations did go out. According to William Cotesworth, the leading Whig in the region, William Charlton had [31]

> for some political reasons conformed tho' he to do him justice makes but a very faint show of it. But I have reason to believe he is still as much an enemy to our establishment as ever.

Nonetheless, Charlton was not out in the Fifteen, and he became High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1722 notwithstanding Cotesworth's suspicions. The remainder of the family were Catholics but Edward, who was an adult, did not go out either. Edward Horsley Widdrington, twenty years

old, of Felton and Longhorsley, refused the oaths in 1715 but he did not go out, although the rebel horses were stabled at Felton Park for a time.[32]

Another notable absentee family was Selby of Biddlestone. It has been said that Ephraim Selby, who appears on one list of rebels, was the head of the family. The only Ephraim to appear in the pedigree was born in 1632 and, if still alive, he would have been eighty seven years old in 1715 and an unlikely, not say ineffective, rebel. In fact, the head of the family at that time was the thirty four-year old Thomas William Selby who was married to the Yorkshirewoman Barbara Percehay, and they lived in York. He had succeeded his father in 1709 and the Biddlestone estates were valued at a comfortable £1,600 a year. He had mortgages of £4,200, debts of £1,162 and an annuity of £240 charged on the estate. It is unlikely, therefore, that Selby would have joined the rebellion for financial reasons, even if he had been resident in the county. The only Catholic adult male Selby in Northumberland at the time was William of South Earle, an unfortunate individual who was forcibly conscripted by the rebels at Wooler.[33]

No Haggerston was out in the Fifteen. Sir Thomas had died in 1710; he had lost his eldest son in Ireland and his second son predeceased him. The baronetcy therefore passed to his grandson Carnaby, seventeen years old in 1715, who was abroad on the Grand Tour with his priest-tutor John Thornton, SJ, from 1710 to 1719. His uncle Edward, forty eight years of age, could have been out but he was not, although he had refused the oaths on 14th October. He was presumably helping to look after his nephew's affairs at Haggerston Castle (an estate worth around £1,350 a year) as well as guarding his own interests. He bought the Ellingham Hall estate (worth £800 a year) for £3,796 in 1698 and he had rebuilt the mansion by 1703. He registered debts of almost £6,000 in 1717 but he declined to join the rebellion, notwithstanding his friendship with Thomas Forster, who was a trustee of his will.[34]

With one doubtful exception, no Northumberland gentleman required his chaplain to join him in the rebellion, and no priest in the north east appears to have volunteered, much to the disappointment of the Chevalier. (The English Catholic collegians on the continent were all enthusiastic but non-combatant Jacobites.) The northern vicariate was sede vacante between 1711 and 1716, and so no episcopal influence, one way or another, was brought to bear locally on the clergy. A more persuasive factor perhaps was the arrest of Dom Joseph Wilson, OSB, chaplain at Stella Hall, who was taken to Durham Gaol bound and with his feet tied under the horse's belly. However, Patten's list of prisoners incl-

udes a Henry Widdrington, who is described elsewhere as a Quartermaster. No other Henry appears in the main pedigree at this time except the Hon. and Rev. Henry Widdrington, SJ, uncle of Lord Widdrington, who was chaplain at Callaly Castle (Lady Anne Clavering was his sister). If he was the rebel it is remarkable that he is nowhere described as a priest since he would be known as such among the rebels. It is hard to imagine that Patten would have suppressed the fact. The advantage the government could have gained from having a Jesuit rebel would have been too valuable to pass up. Widdrington's brother, the Hon. and Rev. Robert Widdrington, also a Jesuit, was chaplain at Widdrington Castle, and as likely a rebel, but there is no mention of him at all in connection with the Fifteen. George Collingwood's brother Thomas was the Jesuit chaplain at Biddlestone Hall, but he too took no part. Furthermore, there is no record of the Catholic rebels attending Mass in Northumberland, but whether that was as a matter of policy, an omission in the records or because of the absence of a priest, is not known. The Protestant rebels did attend their parish churches, and three clergymen were attached to the rebel force.[35]

The river Tyne was the southern frontier of activist Jacobitism, for no gentleman of Durham was out in the Fifteen. Yet, Bishop Crewe and the Members of Parliament John Eden, Thomas Conyers and George Baker were Tories and Jacobite suspects. The Durham Catholic gentry had many family and social ties with their co-religionists in Northumberland. They had, moreover, expressed considerable fervour for the Stuart cause a little over ten years before. In 1703, the Jacobite Simon Frazer, Lord Lovat, returned from St. Germain to Britain to gather intelligence for Prince James and the French king, Louis XIV, about the willingness of the people to support a rising. Lovat stayed in Durham several days on his way north to Scotland, and he found that 'the town was full of good Catholics of the gentry of the country, who were very faithful to the King his master':[36]

> Some days after, they made an assembly of all the Catholic gentlemen of that country; and after they had been some time together, they sent four of their number to my lord Lovat, to entreat him to inform the Queen that all the Catholics in the North of England, who were very numerous and powerful, were ready to venture their lives and fortunes for the King, whenever his banners should be displayed in that country.

On his return journey in September Lovat again visited Durham and stayed 'some days with the King's friends, who confirmed what they had said before he went to Scotland'. When it came to it in 1715, however, no such commitment was forthcoming from the Durham Catholics.

Gerard Salvin, sixty one years old and married to Mary Clavering of Callaly, was sympathetic to 'ye good old cause'. In February 1715 he was summoned to appear before the Quarter Sessions 'to answer such matters and things as shall be objected against him'. That summons, let alone his age, was sufficient to keep him at home. Indeed, so far from being a rebel, Salvin, together with his fellow Catholic Thomas Maire, provided volunteers for service in the militia raised by the Lord Lieutenant for the defence of the county. Gerard's son Bryan, aged thirty nine, was a more likely rebel but he was betrothed to Anne Haggerston (whom he married in May 1716), and he was not about to prejudice his prospects; his older sister Mary was married to Edward Haggerston of Ellingham.[37]

Ralph Salvin of Tudhoe might also have been out. He had married Barbara Browne, daughter of Henry, Viscount Montagu, Secretary of State to James II at St. Germain; her sister was said to have persuaded George Collingwood, her husband, to join the rising. Salvin was in close touch with the Northumbrian Catholics, with whom he seems to have been popular. In 1713 Collingwood wrote to him after having enjoyed[38]

> a fortnight at Widdrington where some of us always toasted your health and all diversions and everything went forwards with so much ease and freedom that certainly my Lord is one of the best noblemen in the world.

In January 1715 Collingwood was at Callaly Castle to celebrate Clavering's birthday, and the company drank Salvin's health 'and all other friends in your parts. My Lord Widdrington told me here he drank the best wine with you and stayed at Tudhoe till three o clock in the morning and was very merry'. Notwithstanding these close ties, Widdrington would have found Salvin unsympathetic to rebellion, for the Salvins were never zealots. Indeed, Ralph Salvin appears to have developed reclusive tendencies. His wife and mother both died in 1709, and his father two years later. In 1719 he was advised by his lawyer:[39]

> I would desire you not to immure yourself within the walls of Tudhoe. Melancholy comes fast enough without courting, and a man may be a good Christian without living in a cloister or cell.

Ralph Brandling owned collieries at Jesmond, Gosforth and Felling (the latter mortgaged for £3,400). He was married to Anne Legh of Middleton in the West Riding where he had lived since 1697. He was presumed to be a potential rebel, even at the age of fifty three, for he was imprisoned in York Castle 'on account of religion' in 1715. Charles Brandling of Woodhouse in Northumberland, forty years old, had lapsed from Catholicism and he was not disposed to represent the family among the rebels. Sir Richard Smythe, the wealthy landowner of Esh, an estate to

which he had succeeded only in the previous year, was an absentee landlord, and he remained absent in 1715.[40]

None of the lesser Durham gentry took part either. Nicholas Kennett of Coxhoe would certainly have been out but he died in May 1715. His visit to St. Germain in 1705 and his later contacts with the expatriate Catholic Jacobites led to the marriage of his daughter Mary to William Mackenzie, fifth Earl and second Marquis of Seaforth, a leading Scottish Jacobite rebel of the Fifteen. However, Nicholas died just before the rising leaving debts of £2,800 and £7,200 in outstanding mortgages. His widow was hard put to keep Coxhoe after the attainder of her son in law. The Durham Catholic families of Forcer, Maire, Jenison, Meaburn and Witham are all absent from the Jacobite roll of honour. Even Albert Silvertop, Widdrington's steward at Stella, contrived to be 'incognito' in 1715, choosing neither the pro-Jacobite stand of his employer or the anti-Jacobite stance of his employees, the colliers and keelmen. He was not, however, so out of touch with the coal trade as to allow the competition to take advantage of his sudden desire for anonymity. Henry Liddell, thwarted in some of his dealings, had wrongly 'concluded that Silvertop had been so engaged with his friends in October last that he would not have been able to show his head, but he is a cunning crafty blade'. Joseph Dunn, a colleague, and also a Widdrington coal agent, was not so circumspect as Silvertop, for he was later described as 'so useful in the late rebellion', though in what capacity is not known'.[41]

Exceptionally, the North Yorkshireman William Tunstall of Wycliffe, who was related to the first Earl of Derwentwater, was out and he was made Paymaster General and Quartermaster General of the rebel forces. One other Yorkshireman was out, Walter Tancred of Brampton and Aldborough, who was described by Patten as 'a companion to the Lord Widdrington in all his country diversions'.[42] Sir Marmaduke Constable, first cousin and intimate companion of Derwentwater, could not go out. He was fifty nine years old and was placed under house arrest having refused the oaths; he was then imprisoned at Hull, then in York, and was not released until late in 1716. He was known as the 'Catholic Maecenas of his age' and he was undoubtedly one of the principal financial backers of the English Jacobites.[43]

Others in Yorkshire who could have been expected to join the rebels, given their Northumbrian connections, include Sir Henry Lawson, aged fifty two, and son John, aged twenty five, later the third baronet, but neither did. Sir Henry had estates valued at around £350 a year at Cramlington and Byker. There were two unwrought collieries at Byker. These

properties were mortgaged for £1,000, as part of his son's marriage settlement, and he had a debt of £1,300. Here was another Catholic coal-owner who did not choose rebellion to improve his lot.[44] It is clear, then, that some northern Catholic families were hostile to the rising; others offered minimal support, a few kept out of the way, and one or two individuals were prevented from taking part by the authorities.

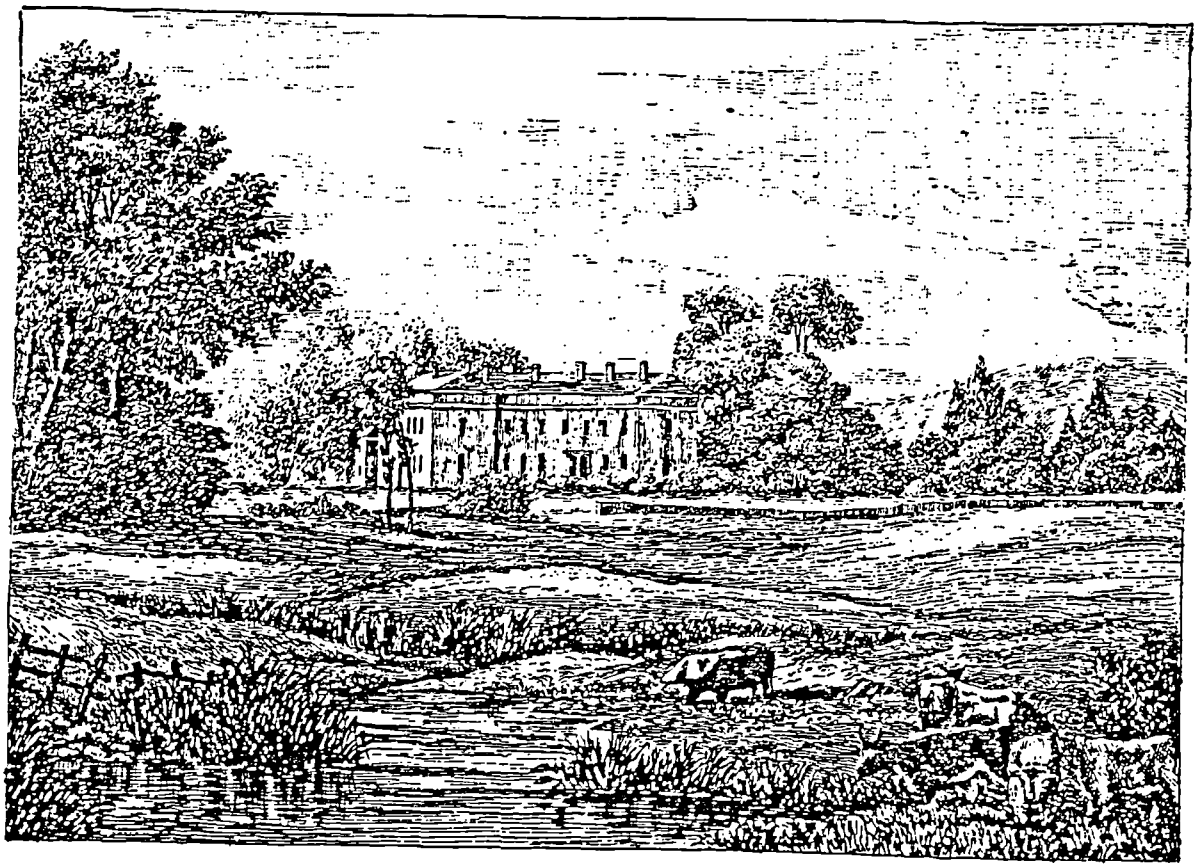
There was, of course, a large number of Catholic rebels. Patten lists 74 English noblemen and gentlemen, and 83 'followers or servants', taken prisoner at Preston. There were in addition some three hundred or more 'private prisoners', that is, rank and file, making in all 466 English rebel captives. Patten's list of the principals omits ten men known from other sources to have been engaged, and includes one whom he confused with someone else; the true total of rebel gentry is therefore 83. These comprised 7 Irishmen, 18 from north west England, 47 from the north east (including 2 Yorkshiremen) and 11 from elsewhere or whose county of origin is not known. Almost two thirds (57) of them can be identified as Catholics, over half (30) of whom were Northumbrians. Representing over a third of the whole, then, the Northumbrian Catholics formed the largest single group of English rebels.[45]

Thomas Forster was chosen as general officer in command, not 'from any attribute of great ability or military knowledge', but simply because he was a Protestant, and because it was thought that popular animosity would be aroused if a Catholic was placed in command. However, Peregrine Widdrington was appointed as Forster's aide de camp; Colonel Henry Oxburgh became Forster's Chief of Staff; Charles Widdrington had command of the reserves; and William Tunstall was made Paymaster and Quartermaster General; all four were Catholics.[46]

The rebel force was formed into five troops, two of which were made up of Catholics (the others were of English Protestants and Scottish borderers). Derwentwater's Troop was commanded by his brother Charles Radcliffe, twenty two years old and without military experience. Patten described him as 'young and bold, but too forward. He has a great deal of courage which wants a few years and a better cause to improve it'. The second captain of this troop was the more experienced John Shaftoe, a half-pay officer, and not a Catholic. Widdrington's Troop was commanded by Thomas Errington of Beaufront, fifty five years old and 'formerly an officer in the French service where he had got the reputation of a good soldier' and 'a gallant gentleman of great natural abilities'. It is not known who the second captain of this troop was, but Lancelot Ord, whom Patten describes as a captain, or Charles Widdrington, may have held the post.[47]



George Collingwood



ESLINGTON HOUSE,

The remainder of the gentlemen could not be given formal appointments and they formed a band of unattached volunteers. Ralph Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange who was eighteen years of age was the youngest. He had just come into his inheritance at the death of his father William shortly before the rising. The estate was valued at £600 a year and Widdrington had debts amounting to £1,900; his mother's jointure of £400 a year and his sisters' fortunes of £3,000 were also charged to the estate. Thomas Riddell of Swinburne Castle was aged twenty and he had 'a little before the rebellion come from the College beyond the Seas'. John Shafto had also lately returned from the continent where he had been serving as a page to the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel. Shafto was said to be 'a most violent bigot to his faith'. He, and his mother Elizabeth (nee Riddell) persuaded his father William Shafto, a lapsed Catholic to go out. John Talbot of Cartington, 'a brave young gentleman' was also out. He was the grandson of Sir Edward and Lady Mary Charlton (nee Widdrington). Talbot's estate was worth £421 a year, and it was mortgaged for £1,000. Sir William Swinburne did not go out but his two younger brothers Edward and James did; and two of Sir William's young sisters acted as despatch riders while the rebel army was in Northumberland. John Thornton of 'a good estate' at Netherwitton was out; he was a cousin of Sir William Swinburne and aged twenty eight or nine.[48]

Patten stated that Richard Ord was out 'with two brothers of Weetwood, one died'. He seems to have conflated two families. William Ord, aged twenty five, farmed the small estate of Sturton Grange near Warkworth. He and his younger brother Richard were out; indeed, they may have been unable to refuse because the rebel army was encamped in their locality for six days. Lancelot Ord of Weetwood, in the parish of Chatton, was also out. He had three brothers: 'John Ord, who was executed in the rebellion; Mungo (Edmund) Ord, who died in the same rebellion; and Francis Ord, who was kept in prison until set free by the Act of Indemnity'. None of them was mentioned by Patten.[49]

George Gibson, aged about thirty four and married to Mary Bradshaigh, a Lancashirewoman, was also out. So was George Collingwood of Eslington, thirty years old and said to be 'a very pious gentleman and well-beloved in his country'. His father had died earlier in 1715 and George was the new owner of an estate worth about £900 a year. He had married Catherine Browne, daughter of Viscount Montagu, and it was only at her insistence that he is said to have joined the rebels.[50] William Sanderson of Healey, Bywell St. Peter, who was married to Elizabeth Charlton of Hesleyside, and described as having many valuable and en-

dearing accomplishments, was also out. His son George would marry Elizabeth Widdrington of Cheeseburn Grange in 1725.[51]

Both Catholic branches of the Clavering family were out. John of Callaly, fifty six years of age, was married to Lady Anne, daughter of the second Lord Widdrington. Lady Sarah Cowper (nee Clavering of Chopwell) who regarded John Clavering as the 'chief of my father's house', said that 'a desperate fortune had drove him from home in hopes to have repaired it'. John did not himself say whether he went out from conviction or in desperation, although he did have debts of some £5,700 at the time, and Callaly Castle was in the hands of his creditors. His cousins, the brothers William and John Clavering of Berrington were also out. William had married Anne Widdrington of Longhorsley in 1706. (It is sometimes assumed that he died in action during the Fifteen, but his name appears on the list of those taken at Preston. Since he was not among those taken to London for trial, it seems he was dead by 10th December 1715.) John Hunter, a 'reputedly very rich' farmer of High Houses, Callaly, who refused the oaths was also out with Clavering.[52]

Philip Hodgson was a member of the Merchant's Company of Newcastle from 1700 and joint lessee of Brandling's Jesmond colliery. He was one of ten senior coal-owners to sign the first Regulation of the Tyneside coal trade in 1708 (the forerunner of the Grand Alliance, a cartel which dominated the industry for most of the century). Hodgson married Anne Swinburne of Tone Hall in 1693, and his daughter helped her cousins as a despatch rider during the Fifteen.[53] Lancelot Errington was the master of a brigantine which plied out of Newcastle. He managed to take Holy Island for the rebels by a ruse, but he was swiftly dislodged by a detachment of the Berwick garrison. Errington escaped from Berwick gaol and eventually got away to France.[54]

William ('Bowrie') Charlton of the Bower and his brother Edward were incorrigible Tynedale scoundrels and throwbacks to their family's reiving past, and they became enthusiastic rebels. Edward, a 'doctor of Physick' in Hexham, was described as 'lately turned Papist, having married one of that church'. His wife was Elizabeth, the well-jointured widow of Edward Errington of Walwick Grange, and they had been married but six months. Bowrie was a bachelor, an ardent Jacobite and notorious horse-dealer. It was said that he cheated and abused his customers and that he was one whom it would be unwise to cross because of his violent temper. He had killed his Catholic neighbour Henry Widdrington of Buteland in a duel arising out of a quarrel at Bellingham Races in 1709 and he had to lie low for a time with his friend Nicholas Leadbitter. The

magistrates chose not to proceed against him but Widdrington's widow was not prepared to let the matter rest and she laid a charge of wilful murder. The case was dismissed and Charlton subsequently obtained a royal pardon. Mrs Widdrington therefore buried her husband alongside the Charlton pew in Bellingham parish church to ensure that every time he attended Charlton would be reminded of his foul deed. That was bound to fail, however, since, as a Catholic, 'Bowrie never troubled the church much with his presence', and we may reasonably suppose that remorse was not, in any case, one of his qualities.[55]

*

It has been said that the British government 'exacted a terrible vengeance from those who took part in the Fifteen'. In fact, the consequences of the rebellion for the Northumbrian Catholics were hardly punitive. Only Derwentwater, Collingwood and Ord were executed. The beheading of Derwentwater was inevitable given his close connection with the royal Stuarts as well as his leadership of the English rebels. His brother, Charles Radcliffe, 'having little to urge in his defence', can have had few hopes of saving his life. He was tried and found guilty of high treason in May 1716. However, his execution was twice deferred, and in December he escaped from Newgate, supposedly at the connivance of guards who had been heavily bribed, and he got away to France where he presently married a rich and titled widow, the Countess of Newburgh, and he assumed the title of Count of Derwentwater.[56]

Collingwood might well have been spared notwithstanding his remote connections with the Jacobite court had he been well enough to travel to London for trial with the other rebels of the better class. Inopportunely, he was seized with gout and taken instead to Liverpool where he was tried and condemned. When his wife tried to obtain a reprieve for him, a friend told her, 'I think you are mad when you talk of saving your husband's life. Don't you know you will have £500 p.a. jointure if he is hanged and that you won't have a groat if he is saved'. Her response is not known, but Collingwood was executed on 25th February 1716; other Northumbrian gentry rebels were not arraigned in London until May. John and Mungo Ord were killed at Preston; William Clavering, Edward Swinburne and George Gibson were the only other north-eastern Catholics to lose their lives, and they died in prison.

The overwhelming majority of rebels were pardoned, even those who had escaped from prison and had been outlawed, though many of them prudently fled abroad and kept out of the way for two years or more. They were not necessarily better off in doing that, for many of them

fell into dire straits. In May 1718 Bowrie Charlton and Lancelot Errington were informed that they could no longer receive subsistence from Jacobite funds. They vigorously protested at this, observing that they would 'have to go home and to be hanged or to starve here' (in Dunkirk). One or two of the Northumbrian fugitives maintained an activist outlook and offered their services as secret agents and emissaries. John Talbot informed a Jacobite courier in August 1718 that[58]

> he had a friend he durst answer for who had a ship of 100 tons, splits new and a good sailer, who had offered her to him for the King's service ..... None is to know what she is to be employed on but Mr Talbot ..... The ship shall still trade as if she belonged to Mr Gough. If you should have use for her to go to the King of Sweden's or the King of Spain's countries, we can put Mr Errington into her, who is acquainted with those coasts and who surprised Holy Island.

Lancelot Ord escaped from prison and fled abroad. Shortly afterwards he sold his estates and subsisted on an annuity from his sister. He lived in Boulogne under the alias of George Morton and offered his services to the Jacobite court as a courier and as a spy in the French channel ports. There is a vague reference in the Stuart Papers to 'the behaviour of that fool, Ord, at St. Omers', so perhaps his services were not as valuable as he imagined. Ord never returned to England, and he died in Boulogne in 1734. However, most of the fugitives, including Bowrie Charlton, Lancelot Errington, William Sanderson, John Talbot and Ralph Widdrington, reappeared at home in Northumberland after a decent interval and were left in peace. Exceptionally, Thomas Lawes, a yeoman of Hexham, was brought before the justices as an escaped prisoner but he was discharged on the testimony of his neighbours as an honest, quiet and peaceable man. The tenants of Thomas Errington of Beaufront were penalised for their supposed support of the squire but, significantly, it was done in his absence. There are no other examples of vengeful behaviour.[59]

Thomas Errington and John Clavering were the only Northumbrian Catholics named as confederates of the seven lords in the Bill of Impeachment, but they too were let off. Henry Liddell watched the prisoners arrive in London on 10th December 1715, and he told William Cotesworth that his 'Bensham landlord Clavering looked pretty pitifully'. Clavering would soon cheer up because his family used its influence to obtain his release. Lady Cowper, wife of the Lord Chancellor and Lady in Waiting to the Princess of Wales, was in high favour with the king. Patten tersely observed, John Clavering 'by the interest of my Lord Chancellor's Lady, who is his kinswoman, had a noli prosequi'. She was also said to have

gained a reprieve for Widdrington, who was her cousin.[60]

If the government was disposed to spare the lives of the rebels, it was not of a mind to forego the alternative penalties of attainder, forfeiture and transportation. Widdrington was alone in collecting all three (almost, one feels, as a quid pro quo for the commutation of his death sentence). He was to be banished to Carolina, but he had that changed to Maryland; he was later delivered even from that, but his barony was extinguished and his estates forfeited. Over seven hundred of the rank and file rebels were transported to America, but impoverishment through the sequestration and forfeiture of property was seen as the appropriate punishment to impose on the rebel gentry. The government hoped that this would be an expeditious and effective way of dealing with the matter; 'the Roman Catholic Interest in those Northern Counties must be entirely ruined', was how it was put a little later on.[61]

Accordingly, an act was passed by parliament in 1716 making the estates of persons convicted of high treason before 1st June 1716 forfeit, and vested in the crown; they were to be disposed of by a Forfeited Estates Commission. Entailed and matrimonial estates were exempt, but estates given to superstitious uses were to be forfeited; and if one was not disclosed but discovered by an agent of the Commissioners, a reward of a quarter of the value of the estate would be allowed to the discoverer. Furthermore, parliament held the British Catholics as a whole responsible for the rebellion and a second act was passed which ordered all Catholic landowners to register their real estates and all income arising out of landed property so that they could be assessed for a contribution 'to all such extraordinary expenses as are, or shall be brought upon this Kingdom by their treachery'.[62]

At first some Catholics did not appreciate how serious the government was, and they rather expected the acts to be held over their heads in terrorem, and indeed it was not until 1717 that the Commissioners got to work. The Catholics then realised that the government was in earnest and they began to take evasive action and to adopt delaying tactics. The act severely tested the ingenuity of Catholic families determined to protect their ancestral estates which were their only source of income and the preservation of which was of paramount importance. It was feared at St. Germain that 'the wives and children of Northumberland and Lancashire gentlemen will undoubtedly be reduced to the last extremity as soon as the seizures are made'. The Commissioners should not have been surprised, therefore, to find themselves involved in many time-consuming investigations as the Catholics strived to thwart them.[63]

The Collingwood estate, for example, was forfeited, but in May 1717

George Collingwood's sixty year old uncle John registered it as his own in an attempt to show that he held Eslington under strict entail. Since George could only forfeit his life interest, John argued, Eslington was immune from forfeiture because George was now dead. It was worth trying because the estate brought £860 a year, but the Commissioners would not hear of it, and they put it up for sale. It was acquired by Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth for the bargain price of £21,131 in 1719.[64]

In April 1716 the Radcliffe family took out a suit to show that the Derwentwater estates (comprising 3,545 acres worth £93,000, and with an annual rental value of £6,372) were entailed and had therefore passed to John Radcliffe, the third earl's heir. The issue was decided in their favour in February 1719, and the family recovered the property. John was, however, a sickly boy aged six, and if he died before coming of age and without male issue, the estate would revert to the crown because the third earl's next successor was Charles Radcliffe, and he was debarred from inheriting because he had been out in the Fifteen. The reversionary interest of the Derwentwater estates could, therefore, be of some value as a speculative investment, and the Commissioners did in fact sell it for £1,060. For the time being, however, the estates were back in Radcliffe hands, although the family ceased to live in the north.[65]

George Gibson's widow claimed the estate of Low Hall which had been given to him by his father Thomas at the time of his marriage but was still in his father's possession at the time of George's death. The Commissioners ruled in 1719 that the property would be forfeited at the death of Thomas Gibson, notwithstanding the prior death of his rebel son George. Thomas tried to circumvent that decision by rewriting his will and bequeathing the forfeited estate to his grandson George (1711-41) who would succeed to the remainder of the estates. The revised will was deemed to be inoperative, however, and Low Hall was sold to John Aynsley the Hexham lawyer in 1720 for £360. Aynsley had been the Thornton family's solicitor, but he was careful to explain to the Commissioners that he had 'always hated the Popish Principles and all the adherents of the Pretender'. Catherine Thornton thereafter gave her business to the Catholic lawyer George Errington, of Gray's Inn. Edward Ward, the Swinburne family's solicitor also took great care to explain to the Commissioners that although he had acted for the family for many years, he was not to be taken as a Jacobite or a popish sympathiser.[66]

The estates of Edward Swinburne, worth £305 a year, were forfeited and sold in 1719 for £6,800. His mother, Lady Mary, protested that a part of the estate in fact belonged to her son John, now the third baronet, who was 'at the time of the late rebellion and for three years

afterwards a minor and beyond the seas'. She asked for the estate to be restored but it was not. James Swinburne must have been under age in 1715 for he did not suffer forfeiture. His plea of insanity was rejected at his trial but later on he was removed from prison into the custody of a doctor in Hatton Garden from whom he subsequently absconded. James Swinburne died in 1728 having become 'pensive and melancholy', which, some said, was an 'hereditary distemper'.[67]

In March 1718 William Cotesworth remarked that there were 'several estates concealed belonging to people that were in the rebellion'. He decided not to do anything about it because his services during the rising had not been rewarded. He was, of course, correct for most Catholics had taken great care to make their estates immune from forfeiture. The chaplain explained the precautionary measures taken at Stonecroft: 'by night and day I exposed myself to danger when I saved and carried away their household goods'. A number of properties were conveyed to James Gibson of Whittingham, a Protestant and yeoman who 'right royally redeemed his trusts and returned the estates to their owners in much better condition than when they had been surrendered to his care'. Doctor Edward Charlton had his estates nicely tied up in his wife's name and only held them in trust. William Ord's estate at Sturton Grange was mortgaged for £1,500, and there was an additional charge on it of £600 for the fortunes of his younger brothers and sisters. Furthermore, the estate was in the possession of his mother under the terms of her jointure. A similar situation obtained in the case of John Clavering's property at Berrington. The estate, worth £160 a year, was mortgaged to his brothers in law William and John Lambton for £600. The property was also charged with £500 as his deceased brother's fortune (which was owed to his son William), and a similar sum was owed for his sister's portion; she was in possession. It is suspiciously like a stratagem that Callaly Castle was in the hands of John Clavering's Catholic creditors and would have been therefore immune from forfeiture, even if Clavering had been prosecuted.[68]

The Commissioners were generally sympathetic to the (authentic) claims of widows, children and single ladies. The Ladies Elizabeth and Catherine Radcliffe had their claims for annuities upheld although, perhaps unknown to the Commissioners, they were nuns at St. Monica's convent in Louvain. Widdrington was able to get an act of parliament passed to relieve the financial distress of his children. William Shaftoe, an Anglican, forfeited an estate worth £714 a year, but his Catholic wife retained her jointure of £150 a year out of it. However, a mortgage of £2,000 owing to Mr Howard of Lambspring, a Benedictine, 'discovered' by

Edward Shaftoe, a Protestant kinsman, was disallowed by the Commissioners because it was settled for superstitious uses. The Riddells of Swinburne Castle also had a fright because of the informer Shaftoe.[69]

In 1720 Shaftoe informed the Commissioners (thereby gaining the 'displeasure and malice of all my friends and relations') that Derwentwater held a mortgage of £4,000 on the Riddell's estate which had been made by Thomas Riddell and the first earl in 1707. Actually, the sum was £3,000 and the mortgage had been declared in Edward Swinburne's register of 1717, although it was lumped in with other debts, and the names of those involved were not mentioned. The mortgage now provided Lady Mary Radcliffe with an independent income and she too registered it in 1717. The Commissioners were interested in this transaction because of their earlier defeat in the Derwentwater estate and they sent for Riddell to explain matters. On 23rd March 1722, Lady Derwentwater was told by Thomas Errington, her agent in Northumberland that

> Mr Edward Riddell of Swinburne Castle died last Tuesday, which is a melancholy death to that family for his eldest son was in the misfortune with the other gentlemen and I am afraid the whole estate is in a dangerous way, my Lady Mary Radcliffe of Durham is three thousand pounds deep there.

However, Lady Mary died in November that year and it seems that the debt lapsed. When the Swinburne estate was next registered, in 1754, it had the same value it had in 1717 and there were no encumbrances.[70]

Thomas Errington's estate at Hallington and Whittington, valued at £320 a year, was forfeited, but the capital of his wife's jointure of £2,000 was secured, as were debts and mortgages totalling £3,750 claimed by his creditors. However, William Errington died in 1726 and Thomas succeeded to that estate, valued at £1,325 a year. The two forfeited properties were entailed and were back with the family at Thomas's death in 1748. The families of young rebels who had not reached the age of majority, such as Ralph Widdrington, Thomas Riddell, John Talbot and John Shaftoe, were not penalised for the rebellion of their offspring. Philip Hodgson ('ye most dejected' of the prisoners in London) disappeared from the coal trade and died in 1730/1, but no action seems to have been taken against him or against William Sanderson.[71]

Neither Charles or Peregrine Widdrington lost anything, except that they were kept in prison until 1717 where Peregrine contracted spotted fever. Charles seems to have left the country on his release and he died at St. Omers in 1756, but the later events of Peregrine's life held greater interest for the gossip-mongers. Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk, married Mary Sherburne of the ultra-Jacobite family of Stonyhurst. She left him because he 'truckled to the usurper' by attending George I's coronation. At the duke's death in 1732 she went to live at Chiswick

where she fell in love with Peregrine Widdrington, 'whose political principles at any rate were sound, if he had no others to speak of'. He was her distant kinsman; she was forty, he was one year older, and they caused scandal by living together without benefit of clergy. Bishop Challoner remonstrated with them, but they took no notice. After some time, her chaplain, the Jesuit Thomas Lawson, felt obliged to ask the duchess to declare a marriage or to separate from Widdrington, whereupon she threw the priest out. Peregrine died in 1749 and he was buried at Mytton where the duchess erected a magnificent memorial to him, but without revealing on it whether he had been her husband.[72]

The Catholic families who lost most through forfeiture, though not everything, were the four wealthiest: Derwentwater, Collingwood, Thornton and Widdrington. The Derwentwater estates seemed safe after their recovery. Charles Radcliffe married in 1724 and his son James was born the following year; a second boy appeared in 1727. There were therefore two legitimate heirs to the estate if the sickly John Radcliffe died. That eventuality occurred in 1731 when John was eighteen years old and unmarried. The government was not prepared, however, to allow the son of a leading rebel to gain possession of such a valuable estate, and it immediately passed an act of parliament to prevent the sons of Charles Radcliffe from inheriting the Derwentwater estates. The sale of the reversionary interest still prevented the estates passing to the crown and a parliamentary committee was set up to investigate that sale. It concluded that the transaction had been irregular and annulled it. The Derwentwater estates (now valued at some £9,000 a year) were at last safely under Treasury control. In 1735 an act was passed to provide that the revenue of the estates was to be devoted to the completion of the Seamen's Hospital at Greenwich and to the maintenance of the seamen in it thereafter. Nonetheless, the various entailed annuities and encumbrances on the estate were to be honoured. Substantial sums of money were later allowed from the estate to relieve the poverty of the earl's family.[73]

The fraudulent attempt by the Collingwoods to hold on to their Eslington estates was unsuccessful but, undaunted by that failure, Collingwood's widow alleged the ignorance or negligence of the lawyer who had drawn up her marriage settlement, and applied in 1724 for a grant out of the purchase money for the payment of her debts and the maintenance of herself and her children; parliament sanctioned a payment of £6,000. She and her two brothers (priests) took the opportunity to get a ruling from the Commissioners that her jointure and their annuities were payable out of the Eslington estate purchase money.[74]

An elaborate series of transactions took place to disguise the fact that his family was the ultimate buyer of John Thornton's forfeited estate of Netherwitton. On 28th January 1720, the estate was sold by the Commissioners to Robert Stoddart of London for £13,100. On 3rd February Stoddart sold it to John Wicker for £13,205; the next day Wicker assigned the estate to Kenneth Mackenzie for £13,520. Mackenzie was a Warwickshire friend of the Thorntons and on 1st February he had covenanted with them to sell the estate to Thomas Thornton (John's son) for £10,520. On 3rd March Mackenzie issued a letter of attorney to John Thornton allowing him to administer the estate. A mortgage of £10,000 was then raised and Thomas Thornton found the balance of £520. The property was back in Thornton hands, albeitly somewhat expensively; but then, the income from the farms on it must have been such as to justify the expense and the trouble to recover it. Furthermore, this is an example of a Catholic family perfectly willing to take out a mortgage (and able to raise one), showing that such transactions were commonplace and do not indicate desperate poverty.[75]

The northern estates of Lord Widdrington were sold for approximately £64,000, and I have shown elsewhere that his agents, Albert Silvertop and Joseph Dunn, took extraordinary measures to thwart the purchasers, William Cotesworth and Joseph Banks, from exploiting the Durham estates. In 1733 a petition was presented to the House of Commons by a Colonel Bladen for grants from the sale to relieve his financial distress. 'Many members spoke in his favour', and Widdrington got £12,000. That was quite sufficient to allow him to enjoy his retirement at Nunnington Hall in Ryedale in the North Riding, the home of his second wife, Catherine Graham, daughter of Richard Graham, Viscount Preston. They had been sweethearts in their youth and had remained friends after his marriage to Jane Tempest. Miss Graham was in London when the Jacobite lords were brought from the north in 1715, and she suffered severe shock when she saw Widdrington among the prisoners. On her recovery, she successfully pleaded for his life; they married and lived at Nunnington. He was later described by someone who saw him at Bath as 'an infirm sort of gentleman and a perfect valetudinarian'. He continued to be addressed as 'My Lord' and he was usually alluded to as Marquis Widdrington by his Catholic friends. His son Henry Francis styled himself Lord Widdrington after his father's death in 1743 notwithstanding the attainder. Catherine erected an impressive funerary monument (designed by James Gibbs) to her husband in Nunnington church.[76]

Catholics routinely managed their affairs so as to protect their

estates from confiscation, and few were lost as a result of the Fifteen, and it is clear that the penalties suffered by the participants in the rising failed to ruin 'the Roman Catholic Interest' in the northern counties as had been intended. The majority of rebel estates were entailed and therefore immune from permanent forfeiture, and anyway most of the rebels had taken precautionary measures to secure their properties in the short term. In most cases, prison charges and the legal costs of making safe their estates in court were the full extent of their loss. The retribution inflicted on the principals, however, was another matter. Derwentwater's execution was inevitable but his family was permitted to hold on to his estates (if only temporarily). Widdrington was fortunate to save his life but he could hardly have expected to keep his fortune as well. Collingwood was doubly ill-fated in losing both his life and his property, but he was the only one to lose everything. All the other rebels managed, through subterfuge or by sheer effrontery, to salvage enough to go on almost as before. Indeed, there were continuing fears of another rising in the north east in the three years after 1715.

*

In April 1716 Prince James was told that 'the game may be begun once more in the north'; the people were still 'thoroughly inclined' and were said to 'wish another opportunity'. John Crowley offered to finance a new rebellion:

> Mr Crawley the son of Sir Ambrose (but this ought not to be mentioned) has 20,000L. ready & laid apart for the King, whenever he is ready to undertake anything (in) England.

In September 1717 Charles Slaughter (of the Forfeited Estates Commission) wrote from Newcastle of 'this rebellious, insulting country: they perfectly bully with threats of another rebellion and that speedily'. In October, the Rev. John Tomlinson observed that the authorities were 'afraid yet of the Pretender and that people may revolt if he comes again'. In April 1718 John Horsley of Wooler told George Liddell that he could depend on there being 'another rebellion and worse than the first'. Nothing came of these conjectures; the Nineteen was confined to the north of Scotland and there is no evidence that the Northumbrians were involved in any way.[77]

Hughes remarks that the 'luxury of Jacobitism evaporated in the north east after 1718', and he may well be right; however, there are a number of examples of Catholic political activity in the Tory interest, and the northern Tories were assumed to be Jacobite sympathisers. In 1721 Prince James was sent a list of prominent individuals who would come out in the event of a rising. The list included Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and the Durham M.P.s Sir John Eden and George Baker.[78] In the

Durham City by-election of 1729, Henry Lambton, the defeated candidate, complained that the Mayor, Robert Wharton, had admitted 'a great number' of Papists to vote for his Tory opponent, John Shafto. Seventeen Papists who took the Oaths of Supremacy and Abjuration, and six others who were unsworn, voted for Shafto as did twenty three other objectionable persons, thus ensuring Shafto's election with a majority of twenty four. Ralph Gowland commented[79]

> the Tories had no other refuge for their security than to spirit up the Papists to perjure themselves and renounce the Pope's supremacy, for which undoubtedly they must have had secret indulgences or must receive Absolution by the priest.

Two weeks later, after Wharton had decided to allow the by-election result to stand, Gowland wrote,[80]

> Its certain unless a new law be made or the Popish votes are rejected that they have it in their power in any future election to give the decision thereof in their favour, having above 50 votes on that side (Tory) for the city, and perhaps 200 for the County - the consequence is apparent.

The rising of 1745 evinced little interest among Northumbrian Catholics, the single most important group of English rebels in the Fifteen. Prince Charles proposed to advance into England and take Newcastle, but his council chose the route through Carlisle, arguing the unlikelihood of any material support in Northumberland. Yet the authorities in Newcastle uncovered a plot to raise men, money and ammunition for Charles, and the ringleaders were found to be mostly keelmen. Bishop Chandler reported that a 'descent on Blyth' was under consideration by the French and General Wade was reluctant to move troops out of Newcastle because the keelmen could not be trusted, and there were about twenty thousand of them.[81]

Whatever the true extent of Jacobite support in the region, it was never called upon. Newcastle was sealed and fully garrisoned in a timely manner. Suspected spies were arrested, and some priests were taken up, including one at Darlington who was carrying a letter which was misinterpreted as referring to the Stuarts. As was usual at such critical moments, Papists were prohibited from travelling beyond five miles from their homes, they were invited yet again to subscribe to the oaths, and their arms and horses were confiscated. Most Catholics acquiesced in these proceedings, although one or two petitioned for an animal to be returned for domestic use. Ralph Brandling did complain, but he was sharply reminded that he 'ought to have been grateful that he had not been sent to York Castle'.[82]

It turned out that the Northumbrian Catholics were even less keen

to help the Young Pretender than their fathers and grandfathers had been to assist the Old Pretender, although they were prepared to refuse the oaths and make donations. On 23rd November 1745 the arrest was reported from Newcastle of[83]

> a Roman Catholic (a substantial farmer's son) of Northumberland, who was returning to the rebels at Carlisle with about 120 guineas sealed up in a purse, sent to the rebels from a Papist gentleman in this county, and from what he hath discovered you may depend this underhand assistance is made them by most of the Roman Catholics that are able in the kingdom.

That is another unlikely generalisation, although Horace Walpole gladly made use of the incident to show that 'the Roman Catholics, who have pretended to be so quiet', were not to be trusted.[84]

In 1743 Prince Charles had been sent a list of English lords and county gentlemen expected to declare for a Stuart restoration in the event of an invasion. There were some two hundred and sixty men on that list, only twenty four of whom were Roman Catholics (and one of them was a minor). Not a single Catholic was listed for the counties of Cheshire, Durham Lancaster or Westmorland. Of the two sympathisers in Cumberland, one was the Northumbrian Sir Carnaby Haggerston III. There were five other Northumbrians: Sir Walter Blackett and John Fenwick, both Tory M.P.s, and the Catholics, Sir John Swinburne, Charles Radcliffe and Henry Francis Widdrington. Of those, only Radcliffe took to arms in the Forty-five. In fact, the Widdringtons suffered agonies of apprehension that they might be thought rebels.[85]

Lady Anne Widdrington wrote in September from Stella Hall in Ryton asking for George Bowes' protection for her 'little man', Lord Henry Francis Widdrington who, she said, would never be concerned in the 'troubles'. All the horses and arms at Stella were handed over to Bowes, the Lord Lieutenant, in October. However, one night late in November, Blyde, the butler, disappeared and it was supposed that he had gone to join the rebels. Widdrington immediately apologised to Bowes for his servant's behaviour, especially as Blyde had known that [86]

> it may lay me under suspicions upon account of the times, when he knew particularly how scrupulous I had been in taking every step necessary and advisable in order to remove any distrust of me ... I was more obliged than other people to be strict in this point since my father had received several concessions from the governments both in this and the last reign.

Widdrington said that Blyde had only recently been taken on at Stella, and that he was probably just a disgruntled servant. That explanation seems to have been accepted. However, an Andrew Blyde was among the Jacobites taken prisoner at Carlisle. It may have been that he had gone to Stella hoping that Widdrington would join the rebellion but left when

it became clear that he would not. Bishop Chandler had reminded Bowes in October that 'Winlaton should be well watched and from thence to Ryton on both sides of the river'; this was still untrustworthy Catholic territory. Another Catholic coal-owner in that locality who might have been watched was George Silvertop, but he had gone to London before the rebellion broke out and he was not expected back until peace returned.[87]

Other examples of the discretion shown by the northern Catholics in 1745 can be given. Bryan Salvin of Croxdale and William Maire, missioner in Old Elvet, Durham, promised in writing 'without any evasion to give no disturbance whatsoever to His Majesty King George and his government, nor any assistance to his enemies'. Maire's utter DISINCLINATION to any measures against the government' was reported to Bowes in November. At the instigation of their more cautious friends and relations, Bowrie Charlton and Alan, son of Philip Hodgson, were locked up to keep them out of mischief. However, Hodgson's sister is said to have disguised herself as a gingerbread wench to follow the English army to gain intelligence for the rebels.[88]

The Forty-five was over in England by the end of the year and few from the north east were involved. A dozen or so men described as 'of Northumberland' appear in the lists of Jacobite prisoners, most of whom were tenant farmers of the Duke of Somerset from around Alnwick. The county history says that 'only two gentlemen (Mr Sanderson and Mr Taylor) joined' the rising from Northumberland. Taylor is otherwise unknown, but John Sanderson was a colliery overseer; their religion is not given.[89]

Notwithstanding the general reluctance of their co-religionists to be engaged, there were two prominent Northumbrian Catholics out in the Forty-five. William, Edward and John Clavering were the sons of William, the rebel of the Fifteen. John made his will on the eve of the Forty-five but there is no indication that this was a preliminary to his taking arms which, in any case, he did not. Edward, the second son, joined Richard Towneley's Manchester Regiment and was taken prisoner when it surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland at Carlisle on 30th December. He was imprisoned in York Castle, and while awaiting trial he married the widow Elizabeth Grant, a 'brown, thin sempstress' from Banff, also a rebel. Clavering was tried at the beginning of October 1716; he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to death. As in 1715, the family sought to make the most of its connection with the Cowpers. On 15th October, William Clavering wrote to the second Earl Cowper, son of the Lord Chancellor, 'to beg either a pardon, transportation or a reprieve for him as you think proper', and Cowper agreed to do what he could. Even Protestant kinsmen lobbied on Edward's behalf, not that Spencer Cowper, Dean of

Durham, was very helpful. He told his brother the earl on 7th November that the Bowes and Liddells had

> been very solicitous to save their rebel cousin. They applied to me to try to do what you have done, but I thought the thing so much out of sight I would not attempt it, but declined being concerned. I have communicated to them what hopes you had of succeeding, with which they seemed very much obliged. Not that one of them cares sixpence about him, but the disgrazzio hurts their pride.

The dean's lack of interest did not matter because on the same day William Clavering wrote to the Lord Chancellor to say 'I was honoured with the favour of your Lordship's most kind letter two days before I received the melancholy account of my poor misfortunate brother'. A reprieve had been granted but it had arrived in York too late; Edward Clavering had been executed on 1st November. The dean wrote to his brother Lord Cowper ten days later:

> We had yesterday the news that our rebel cousin Clavering was hanged with the rest notwithstanding your kind interposition, the repreive coming a few hours too late. By what his relations say of him here, he is no great loss, he having been half a mad-man as well as a whole rebel.

In 1747 Clavering's widow was transported along with several other rebels to the West Indies.[90]

The other prominent north eastern Catholic involved in the Forty-five was Charles Radcliffe. He had returned secretly to England in 1733 and again in 1735. On the latter occasion he stayed two years during which time he seems to have paid an extended visit to Dilston. He eventually left to take up a commission in a French regiment which would assist Prince Charles in the Forty-five. He appears, however, to have undertaken an espionage mission on the Lancashire coast near Southport. He was caught and imprisoned, but he escaped and rejoined the rebels. In November 1745 he and his twenty year old son James were captured onboard a French privateer in the North Sea bound for Montrose with stores, men and ammunition for the Jacobite army. They were put into the Tower of London; James Radcliffe was shortly paroled, but his father was put on trial in November 1746 for his treason in 1715. After a certain amount of legal wrangling over his identity and nationality, he was condemned and he was beheaded on Tower Hill on 8th December 1746.[91]

One other death in 1746 marked the end of militant Northumbrian Catholic Jacobitism - that of Lancelot Errington, the old seaman who had taken Holy Island in 1715. He returned to England when all was quiet some time after 1718. For many years he kept the Salutation Inn at the head of the Flesh Market in Newcastle which was frequented by Jacobite and Catholic gentlemen. He retired after the Forty-five and died of grief over Culloden.[92]

*

It remains to examine the effect of activist Jacobitism on the operation of the mission in the north east. Since the majority of mission stations at this time were in the houses of the gentry, the participation of the gentry in the risings was bound to have an impact on pastoral arrangements. Thus, the mission that had flourished in Eslington Hall since the 1660s was lost as a result of the Fifteen, and the chaplain moved to Ellingham Hall. The chapel at Dilston Hall dated from 1616 and had been served continuously by secular priests; it too closed and the priest moved into Hexham in 1720. Lord Widdrington maintained a Jesuit priest at Widdrington Castle in the early years of the eighteenth century but the forfeiture of the estate led to the removal of the priest in 1720.[93]

Pastorally, the damage caused by the Fifteen in Northumberland was not catastrophic, and only the loss of Widdrington Castle can be said to have had disruptive consequences; the Catholic household of forty six was reduced to four Catholic families in 1736. The Eslington congregation switched to Callaly Castle, a mile or so to the north; and the Dilston Catholics gathered for a time in Dilston House, Corbridge, the home of a Derwentwater steward, Mr Busby, but they were reduced to seven by 1730. The Dominican chaplain at Stonecroft Farm, home of the Gibsons, (who 'was forced to be absent for a while') and the Benedictine chaplain at Stella Hall were soon back at their posts. The chaplain at Netherwitton Hall who no doubt feared for the security of his post, was relieved when the property was recovered by the Thorntons. Although three Catholic houses were lost, in missionary terms the Fifteen caused no more than a temporary dislocation in Northumberland; priests resumed their work after a brief interval and the mission continued as before, largely in the seclusion of the country houses under the old management. The outlaw Ralph Widdrington returned to England around 1718 and reopened the chapel at Cheeseburn Grange as if he had been merely absent on holiday. Three years later two missions were opened in Hexham by the ex-chaplains of gentlemen who had been out in the Fifteen.[94]

The number and whereabouts of the north eastern Catholics were investigated at the Episcopal Visitation of Bishop Edward Chandler in 1732. Out of the eighty Anglican parishes in Northumberland only ten are missing from the surviving collection of returns, and six of those are of parishes having no history of Roman Catholicism. The short-fall in the overall count is only about 175 Catholics. In County Durham, however, twenty of the seventy returns are missing, and half relate to parishes having a significant Catholic population. The resulting short-fall there is some 500 Catholics. In addition, there were 105 Catholics in Hexham-

shire in 1735. However, the 1743 figure for Hexhamshire was 285, and it seems that the earlier report under-estimated the Catholic population by almost one hundred. Taking those omissions into account the visitation showed that there were some 3,800 Catholics in the region. Even by comparison with the seriously deficient 1705 returns, the Catholic population had clearly increased; the Fifteen had had no perceptible effect on distribution, and the Catholic community was to be found generally in the same locations as at the beginning of the century.[95]

The Fifteen passed Durham by, but not so the Forty-five. Notwithstanding the lack of interest shown by the Catholics on this occasion; a number of public chapels and houses in the county were sacked by the mob in 1746. The mission in Sunerland had been established twenty years before with an endowment of £400 bequeathed by the Rev. Francis Hodgson and it seems to have been well set up and to have enjoyed considerable success. On 22nd January about three hundred men, mostly sailors and apprentices, armed with pistols and cutlasses, and with drums beating and colours flying[96]

> went about ten o'clock in the morning to the papist Masshouse in the town where they found several people at prayers and a couple to be married, who, with Mr Hankin their priest, all fled out, upon which the sailors immediately pulled down their Altar, Crucifix, together with all the seats, the priest's robes, all their books, the furniture and every individual thing in the room and burnt them in a fire in the street made for that purpose; and also a large library of books and papers belonging to the priest.

The mob proceeded to visit Catholic houses in the locality, extorting protection money from one, plundering another and demolishing a third. They threatened to pay the Catholics of Durham a visit. The Duke of Cumberland happened to be passing through the region at the time and he gave instructions to the military commanders in Newcastle to help the magistrates to restore order. Officially, then, it seems that the Catholics were to be given protection; certainly Mr Salvin and the Rev. Maire, the secular missioner in Durham, felt able to ask for the Bishop of Durham's assistance, presumably with a confident expectation that it would be forthcoming. Nonetheless, the Jesuit chapel in Old Elvet was attacked, windows were broken and the priest's house was plundered.[97]

A week later, at about one o'clock in the morning of 26th January, the mob 'set a mission house, with a Popish chapel in it, on fire' in Gateshead and proceeded to Newcastle and attacked the secular chapel in The Nuns later that day. Somewhat surprisingly, a notice appeared in the Newcastle Journal of 1st February signed by the Town Clerk, offering a reward of £50 for information leading to the arrest of the 'disorderly persons' who had broken into the house and 'took away or destroyed

several goods and other things'. The culprits, however, were never found. Six months later the mob attacked Hardwick Hall precipitating the flight of the chaplain and the death of Francis Maire, the squire, two days later. The firing of Catholic chapels was seen by some as unfair: 'There has been too much of it, from the mob thinking the people of that profession encouraged rebellion'.[98]

Obviously, the northern mission was disrupted by these attacks, but it recovered fairly quickly, though not entirely. The chapels at Durham and Hardwick reopened immediately, but both Gateshead House and the property in Sunderland were beyond repair. Gateshead's Jesuit took refuge with the Brandlings of Felling Hall briefly before moving into Newcastle to open a new chapel. So, although the Catholics of Gateshead were to be without a resident priest for the next century, they could attend Mass in a chapel just across the river Tyne, of which their erstwhile pastor was in charge. The congregation of Sunderland were not so fortunate; their priest moved to Witton Shields, and Sunderland became a supply mission for the next twenty years, attended by John Bamber, the Maire's chaplain in Gilesgate.[99]

Thus the first Jacobite rising had greatest effect on the mission in Northumberland, and the second did most damage in Durham, but neither had disastrous consequences. Both episodes did show, however, that the Catholics had to exercise great discretion if they were to be left alone. Prominent chapels in particular were at risk and could be attacked with impunity. All Catholic mission buildings erected in the latter half of the eighteenth century were located in remote places. The new town chapels in Sunderland, Stockton, Darlington and Newcastle were hidden in backyard outbuildings and were devoid of any specifically ecclesiastical architectural features. It is perhaps no coincidence that when, in 1746, Dom Anthony Raffa took over as missioner in Chester le Street, he gladly accepted the offer of a piece of land in the secluded village of Birtley (mid-way between Chester le Street and Gateshead), and quickly moved the mission there.

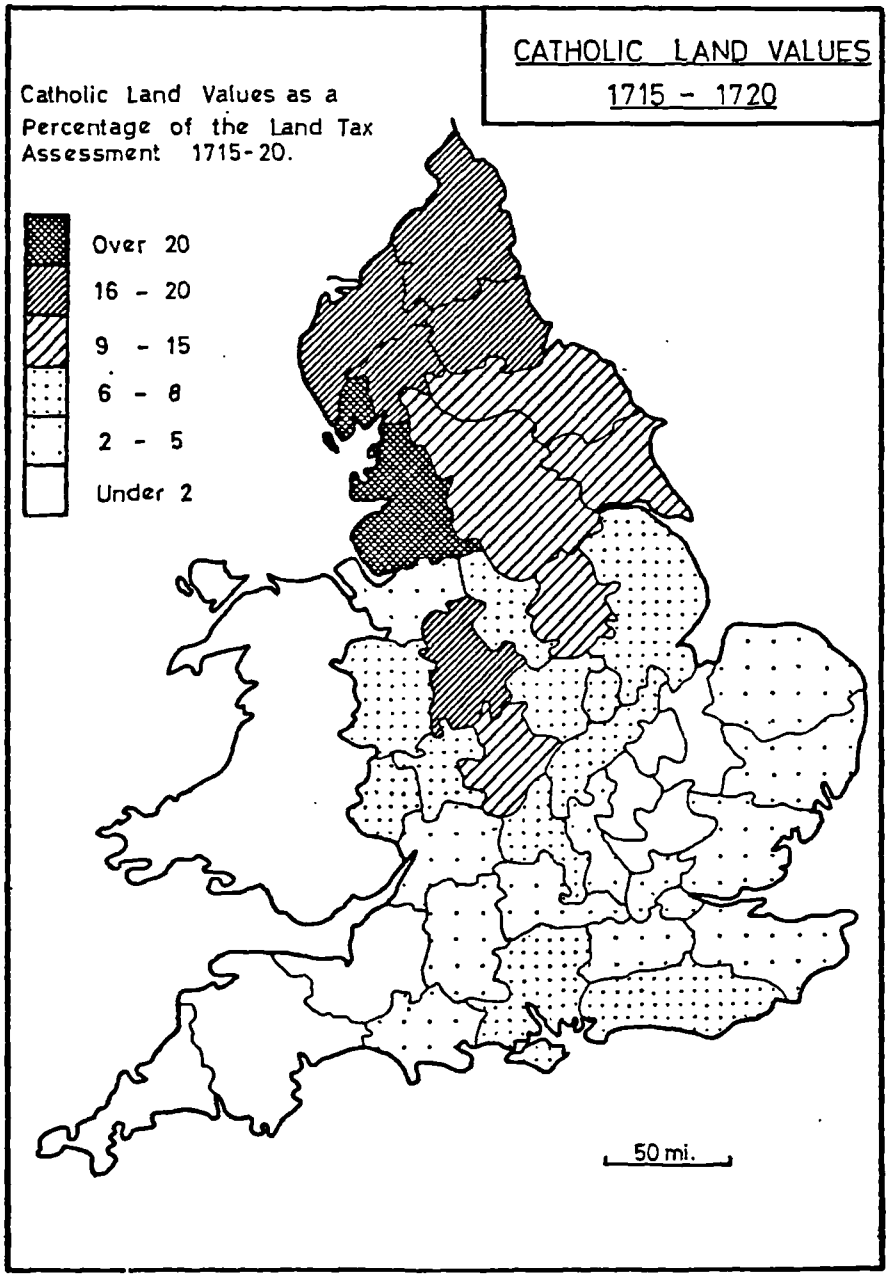
*

The registers compiled under the second act of parliament passed in 1716 in retribution on the Catholics (that is, the act ordering the registration of all Papist estates and income arising out of landed property), provide an invaluable record of the financial affairs of the Catholic gentry of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, the lack of comparable data for Protestant gentry families should not lead the historian to suppose that the economic situation revealed in these registers was peculiar to the Catholic gentry; this is particularly true in relat-

ion to debt. The registers do not give the capital value of a property, only the annual income an owner got from it. To reduce the net amount of their annual income, and so mitigate their liability to any new tax, proprietors included all the outgoings and encumbrances to which an estate was subject. All commitments entailing land or farm-rents and mortgages undertaken for the benefit of other (usually female) members of the family were invariably recorded, but this practice has given rise to suggestions that the northern Catholics were greatly impoverished at this time. The cumulative effect of a long process of decline as a result of recusancy was bound to show up in some cases, but this should not be exaggerated. It may even be that the Catholics were typical in the dispositions they made. It has, for example, been shown that the mortgaging of property by the gentry in the eighteenth century to raise the capital sums needed for dowries was a perfectly normal practice, just as jointures were normally secured by farm-rents. The declaration of such transactions in these registers should occasion no surprise, then, although clearly the Catholics hoped that these obligations would be deducted from income for tax purposes.[100]

It must also be borne in mind that the registers were compiled after the Fifteen and the fact that some of the rebel families were shown to be heavily in debt may, in some cases at least, be due to the expenses they incurred in supporting the rising and in extricating themselves afterwards. Many individuals spent up to a year in a prison managed along private enterprise lines. Lord Nairn noted in his diary, 'Gave to lawyers and bitches during that time £1,500'. Prisoners in the Tower contracted with the Deputy Lieutenant for their subsistence at so much a week. In 1747 he estimated expenditure on a prisoner 'for ten months diet &c., 400Li.' Lord Widdrington was compelled to sell some medieval manuscripts which he had inherited from his father in law to Lord Harley between 1720 and 1731. There is no way of ascertaining the need for a mortgage, or the reason for a debt, except when it is admitted in a register. A debt incurred in support of the Stuarts was no more likely to be acknowledged than a sum given to superstitious uses. Finally, just as rebel families resorted to subterfuge to save their estates, non-rebel Catholic families exaggerated their poverty to avoid increased taxation. Thus while the registration of liabilities has successfully misled historians, the Commissioners to Enquire into the Estates of Certain Traitors and Popish Recusants were not fooled, for all attempts to reduce the net income of an estate were ignored by them, and the lists published in 1719 gave the gross income of each individual.[101]

Map 3



Reproduced from J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971), Map 14, p.277.

Although the majority complied with the law, the act was not popular, for the Catholics were reluctant to reveal the value of their estates to rival land- and coal-owners (who, as magistrates, would have access to the registers), let alone to the scrutiny of government officials who were to assess their properties for additional taxation. Ralph Salvin considered ignoring the act, and only grudgingly accepted his lawyer's advice to register. Initially, some thirty individuals with very small properties, who perhaps hoped to remain unnoticed, did not comply but they had all registered by 1725. The Silvertops, however, evaded the act by placing all their property in trust with Protestants and never did register.[102]

Table 1: Papist Estates in Northumberland and Durham, 1717

		Number of estates having a gross annual income of					
		Unsp.	£1-50	£51-100	£101-500	£501-1,000	£1,000-2,000
94	Gentlemen	2	28	12	37	12	3
58	Ladies	1	29	10	14	2	2
26	Yeomen	1	23	2			
8	Priests		5	2	1		
13	Tradesmen	2	10	1			
30	Unregistered		29	1			
229	Total Persons:	6	124	28	52	14	5
	Value:		£3,487			£29,454	

The national total of all income enjoyed by the landowning Papists revealed by the act was £375,000, and the north eastern counties were among the top ten on the list, which was headed by Buckinghamshire at £57,997. The Catholics of the North Riding of Yorkshire had property valued at £21,150 a year and those in Northumberland and Durham £32,941 (see Table 1 and map opposite). About ten per cent of the Catholic population of the north east were property owners comprehended by the act, and two thirds of them had estates valued at £100 a year or less. These were mostly minor gentry families, farming on their own account or deriving an income from farm-rents. About a quarter were living on their jointures; the priests were all annuitants. Some fifty individuals had a yearly income of between £100 and £500, and twenty others received up to £2,000 a year. Again, about a quarter of this group were ladies living on their portions and jointures, including the two Radcliffe nuns in Louvain. The wealthiest person listed was their niece, the widowed

Countess of Derwentwater, who registered her jointure of £2,000 secured on properties at Dilston and Lanchester.[103]

It is clear from even a cursory examination of these registers that, notwithstanding their position in the national league table, the Catholics of the north east were not possessed of great wealth, though they were by no means poverty-stricken. The majority were living quietly on small agricultural estates and had taken no part in the Fifteen. Further, a close reading of the registers reveals a less precarious financial situation than the families would have had the registrars believe. For example, William Errington of Beaufront got nothing from his colliery outside Newcastle which he described as 'drowned and unlet'. There was a recession in the coal trade, however, and half a dozen of the wealthier Catholics had coal mines which were 'unwrought'; many Protestant coal-owners were, no doubt, in the same position, but it was a temporary one. Similarly, the impression deliberately fostered by the Catholics that they were in dire straits because of debt is not borne out in their registers. William Errington had mortgages of £5,200, but £3,000 had been paid off; Edward Riddell of Swinburne Castle listed outgoings on annuities, portions, mortgage repayments, interest and debts of £10,000, but he had a yearly income of £1,000, not including coal royalties (which, since they could not be accurately calculated were cheerfully glossed over or omitted from the registers by Catholic coal-owners). Edward Haggerston listed debts of some £6,000 but he too was in receipt of £1,000 a year; and Edward Horsley Widdrington of Longhorsley and Felton registered a yearly income of £1,187 and debts of £3,605. None of these gentlemen was even remotely near destitution.[104]

John Clavering of Callaly Castle, the rebel, listed debts of £5,700 which it appears he was unable to carry on a yearly income of £840, but others were carrying larger debts on a similar income. Callaly Castle had been improved in 1676 and again in 1707; the park was enclosed and extensive walled gardens and other ornamentations were completed in 1704. Such major undertakings were expensive, of course, but it is somewhat suspicious nevertheless that in 1717 the castle was in the hands of Clavering's creditors who were, as it happens, two local Catholic tenant farmers, Roger Snardon and Andrew Pringle, yet back in his family's possession five years later. Ralph Clavering began another series of alterations to the castle in 1727; his son Ralph began a major rebuilding programme in 1748, and a chapel was added in 1750. Clearly, the Claverings were not in the 'pitiable condition' imagined by some, notwithstanding their participaton in the Fifteen.[105]

In the same way, the Haggerstons managed their affairs with considerably more skill in the eighteenth than in the preceding century. The family had adhered to Roman Catholicism and the royalist cause throughout the seventeenth century and had suffered the usual consequences. The first baronet had his estates sequestered under the Commonwealth; the second, whose 'bigoted zeal to the Catholic cause' was well-known, was imprisoned in 1689 and he lost his eldest son in Ireland fighting for the Stuart king. These experiences did not drive the family from their faith, but the Jacobite cause was quietly dropped. Sir Thomas (II) was freed in 1691 and he began to rebuild the family fortune. (Haggerston Castle had been severely damaged by fire in 1687 when £6,000 worth of damage was done and a fine library lost.) Sir Carnaby (III) kept well clear of all Jacobite intrigue and maintained the recovery, becoming by far the wealthiest Catholic in the region. In 1719 he registered estates worth £2,202 a year in farm-rents and he was unencumbered by debt. The Haggerston estates were the principal source of dairy produce for the markets of Berwick and they steadily increased in value. When Sir Thomas (IV) registered in 1757 the estates were worth £2,861, and in 1778 when Sir Carnaby (V) registered at his succession, they were valued at £5,450 a year.[106]

Whereas the Claverings and Haggerstons had sufficiently large estates with which to withstand the financial penalties attendant on recusancy, and even to undertake a massive modernisation of their property, other families with smaller estates were unable to accumulate enough resources to keep going, especially when there were large numbers of children. The decline of the last major Catholic family in south Durham is typical of some minor landowners who appear in the registers.

Walworth Castle and its estate of over one thousand acres, four miles to the north west of Darlington in the parish of Heighington, was acquired in 1579 by Thomas Jenison; his son William succeeded to the estate, but his line came to an end in three Jesuit priests, and the castle passed to William's younger brother John (I). He was a church papist but his wife Mary, nee Gerard, kept a priest and was presented for recusancy. In 1611 the Walworth estate passed to John (II). An accumulation of some £700 in recusancy fines, the forfeiture of two thirds of the estate and '£130 p.a. rent charges, his children and other dependants numerous, and his net income of £46 p.a.' forced him to sell his life interest in the estate, for which he got £3,000 in 1638. John (III) was 'a heretic along with his wife, apparently for vain affection', which is one way of describing the effect upon an eldest son of the

impoverishment of his father for religion. His second wife brought him back to Catholicism in 1666 and he succeeded to the estates two years later. At his death in 1681 the estate was divided between the half-brothers Robert, of John's first marriage, and John (IV) of the second. However, Robert, whose moiety included the castle and was known as High Walworth, was in considerable debt, and he was shortly compelled to sell out to a Protestant kinsman, Sir Ralph Jenison of Newcastle. John (IV)'s estate, Low Walworth, was valued at £262 in 1717, but he too was burdened with debt. In 1729 he leased the estate to raise an income for his son and dowries for his three daughters. He died in 1739 and his successor John (V) died in 1759 leaving four sons and a daughter. The eldest son was a Jesuit priest and he disclaimed his inheritance by deed for a consideration of £800 (and £500 to pay off his father's debts). Augustine, the next in line, was also a Jesuit and he too was compensated for renouncing the estate. The third son was also a Jesuit priest and so the Low Walworth estate passed to Francis Jenison, the father of nine sons and seven daughters. The estate was evidently unable to support such a large family and from 1766 Francis began to sell off parts of the property. In 1775 he sold what was left and went abroad to enter the service of the Elector of the Rhine Palatinate.[107]

The majority of Papists fell between the extremes of Haggerston and Jenison, and there is no reason to suppose that they were all struggling to make a living, or that they were economically segregated. A comparison of the 1705 Returns of Papists with the 1717 registers does not reveal any marked tendency for Catholic land-owners to rent only to their co-religionists. Clearly, many tenants would be Catholics in the heavily Catholic enclaves such as Eslington, Netherwitton, and Callaly in Northumberland and Croxdale in Durham. Most of the Clavering farms were tenanted by Catholics and in 1736 '4 parts and half of six parts of the land belonged to Papists' in Biddlestone. Salvin farms in the immediate vicinity of Tudhoe Hall were all let to Catholics but those further afield were not. On the other hand, the Thorntons of Netherwitton would 'let no land to any unless they revolt to Popery' in the 1680s. But, in general, the Catholic population was not sufficiently well off to afford to lease farms, and the major land-owners could not confine their leases to fellow-Catholics. It is unlikely that they felt it necessary in any case, for they were not afraid to put their estates into Protestant trusteeship, nor did they find any difficulty in raising loans when they needed them.[108]

*

This chapter, then, has disposed of a number of myths about Northumbrian Catholic Jacobitism. Firstly, that 'nearly the whole of the Catholic gentry of Northumberland' rebelled in 1715 and that, as a consequence, they suffered 'a sensational decline'. The histories of the northern Catholic families show that most Catholics stayed at home; that even the most fervent Jacobites were cautious about rebellion; and that no family was extinguished as a result of the rising. Descendants of all the rebels can be traced into the nineteenth century. The extinction of a few Catholic names was not due to the consequences of activist Jacobitism but to the failure of the male line or ruination through extravagance or the mismanagement of property. Moreover,[109]

> a double revolution was in progress in the first half of the eighteenth century - the disappearance of the old gentry on the one hand and the rise of a new ruling class on the other.

Catholic families were caught up in that natural process of social change; their Jacobitism was marginal to it.

Secondly, there is the question of the motivation of the Catholics participating in the Fifteen, which is usually attributed to some form of 'economic Jacobitism'. The idea that 'the desperate plight of the debt-ridden or bankrupt northern gentry' drove them into rebellion is based on a misreading of their estate registers, and does not take into account the perennial indebtedness of all gentry families, and the perfectly normal way in which estates were mortgaged and entailed to provide dowries, portions, and so on. As recusants, the Catholic gentry were always at greater financial risk than any other religious group and they had long been accustomed to concealing their affairs from prying eyes. That expertise was never more necessary than in the years following the Fifteen and, as we have seen, they coped admirably. It is impossible to identify a single family which was entirely ruined for their rebellion, although the leaders were heavily penalised. A close examination of their estate registers leads to the conclusion that the financial condition of most northern Catholics (rebel or not) was a great deal healthier than has been supposed hitherto.[110]

There is a much more straightforward explanation for the participation of the Northumbrian Catholics in the Fifteen. The Catholic rebels were fervently Tory and Jacobite, of course, and they were united by the shared experience of recusancy, but they were also young men for whom personal loyalty was as persuasive a motive as political or religious principle. It has been noted how close the ties of kinship and friendship between the rebels were and it is clear that 'local endogamy reinforced Jacobite fervour'. Derwentwater claimed that he had been brought into the conspiracy by his friends and relations; in reality, it

was he that brought them in, and he had been recruiting for the rising from the day he returned to England. He himself became involved out of personal loyalty to Prince James whose cousin he was and whose companion he had been in his childhood and youth. On the scaffold, Derwentwater said of James, 'Him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy'.[111]

In the same way, the majority of northern Catholic rebels went out in 1715 to fulfill a personal obligation towards Derwentwater as a relative or friend, or in deference to him as the senior Catholic in the region. He assured them that large numbers of high-Church Tories would join, and he would, no doubt, also have given them to understand that it was to be a national rising. It may also have been that, as young and leisured sporting men, thoughts of adventure and military glory were closer to their hearts than rational estimates of their prospects.

The older Catholics had no illusions about the risks involved or of the chances of success, and hardly any of them went out. The Fifteen did not appeal to prudent fathers calculating the future prospects of their families. For them the primary consideration was the protection of their properties and limited financial resources, already depleted after a century of recusancy. Responsibility for what was left of their ancestral inheritance engendered a wariness about engaging in something as hazardous as insurrection when their religion was already synonymous with treason under the penal law. A family might be represented in the Jacobite army, but only by someone who would not endanger the preservation of the estates. That is precisely why the forfeitures, with one or two outstanding exceptions, left Catholic families in possession of their estates, and why hardly a family was beggared for its Jacobitism.[112]

To strip the Fifteen of myths is not to devalue a serious episode in the history of Northumbrian Catholicism. The rising had an important purpose and the participants were in earnest. The Northumbrian Catholic rebels acted out of a sense of honour, duty and loyalty to their Prince and to his cousin, their friend, the Earl of Derwentwater. Their political and religious allegiance merged naturally and imperceptibly with their clannish devotion to family and friends. However else the rebels are described, they cannot be characterised as 'a desperate faction'.

For the Catholics of north east England, the failure of the Fifteen brought militant Jacobitism to an end; for them the Forty-five was an irrelevance - the last vestige of a cause lost thirty years before. Catholic Jacobitism, where it did persist, was reduced once more to prayers after Mass and dignified contempt for the Hanoverians. In 1746 the Duke of Cumberland passed through Felton on his way to subjugate the

Scots; Edward Widdrington, whose family had suffered a great deal for the Catholic religion and for the Stuarts (though not, admittedly, as Jacobites),[113]

> caused the contents of his well-stored cellar to be carted to the street of the village, where he regaled the different corps as they advanced, with bread, beef and beer. His Royal Highness in passing through experienced his hospitality, and at parting expressed his satisfaction at such distinguished liberality. Mr Widdrington replied that he wished well to his illustrious family and detested internal commotions, as neither plenty nor pleasure could be enjoyed independent of peace.

It is, of course, always as well to indulge passing armies; on the other hand, Sir Carnaby Haggerston was less craven. He hid his horses so that they could not be commandeered by the army and, although he sent his coach to convey the duke from Belford to Berwick, he instructed his coachman to overturn the vehicle on the way.[114]

These incidents illustrate the pragmatic approach adopted by the overwhelming majority of English Catholics in the middle of the eighteenth century. Their loyalty had been tested on two occasions and it was clear that the Protestant monarchy was safe, from a Catholic assault at least. Henceforth, the small Catholic population could not be (nor did it wish to be) regarded as an effective subversive force, although it fully intended to remain an influential political group. The Tory M.P. Lancelot Allgood had alienated many northern Catholics and fellow-Tories by his active resistance to the Forty-five, but they returned to his side in the general election of 1748. How the Catholics 'interest themselves for him and do all they can', it was remarked by a Whig during the campaign.[115]

In a futile gesture, for by then hardly anyone in England had any sympathy for him whatever his religion, Prince Charles visited London in 1750 and became a Protestant. Catholics, at any rate, were brought to realise that for him religion was a political tool, and much of their remaining Jacobite fervour evaporated. The denial of royal honours to 'Charles III' after the death of his father 'James III' in December 1766, and the recognition of King George III of England by the Papacy, meant that the Stuarts were no longer a dynastic threat, however remote, and hence they ceased to be a factor in English politics.[116]

Hardly a Catholic refused to take the oath required by the Relief Act of 1778, and the standard practice of offering prayers

> for the preservation of our banished but still lawful Sovereign N., our King, and his royal issue: And the long and humbly desired and wished for restoration of his Sacred Person, and conservation of the Royal family

then lapsed. In June that year, the Vicars Apostolic issued instructions



Callaly Castle, c. 1820



THE DRAWING ROOM

CALLALY CASTLE

about prayers for George III. Bishop Walton published rubrics for the mention of the de facto sovereign in the Canon of the Mass and in an addition to the Post-Communion prayer, notwithstanding his status as a heretic. When these prayers were first introduced in Hexham, both Misses Charlton (natural daughters of Bowrie Charlton) rose on the instant King George's name was uttered and left the chapel; they continued to do so all their lives. Theirs was an exceptional reaction, however; the demise of the Stuarts was treated with indifference by the generality of Catholics. Indeed, they could now assert their undivided allegiance to the Hanoverians and concentrate on the domestic problem of their emancipation without having to cast glances towards Rome, fearful of what a Pretender might be saying or doing to further his own cause but hinder their own.[117]

Catholic Jacobitism now had a sentimental or antiquarian interest only. In 1757 the Claverings redesigned the drawing room of Callaly Castle. Two plaster medallions high on the wall depicted George II and George III in ridiculous fancy dress. The medallions in the places of honour on either side of the fireplace were left blank for portraits of the Pretenders to be inserted when the Stuarts were restored. To this day a portrait of 'King James III' hangs in Capheaton Hall. Gentlemen collected Jacobite memorabilia and sported oak garlands and white roses on Stuart holidays, when the traditional toasts would be drunk and Jacobite ballads sung long into the night. In the light of day, however, from being predominantly Tory in 1715, almost to a man the Northumbrian Catholics had become Whigs by the end of the century. Barbara Charlton remarked that the old Jacobites of Northumberland were greatly scandalised to see Sir John Swinburne and Doctor Fenwick (both apostate Catholics and therefore 'renegades') riding about calling each other Citizen Swinburne and Citizen Fenwick at the time of the French Revolution. The Salvins of Croxdale were in Paris during the Revolution and were reported to be 'violent democrats'.[118]

It should be noted in conclusion that some descendants of Catholic families in the nineteenth century maintained spurious claims about the devotion of their forebears to the Stuarts. Barbara Charlton, for one, talks of 'cockering up the Pretender' as one reason why the Hesleyside estate was brought to the verge of ruin in the late eighteenth century. No Hesleyside Charlton took part in either Jacobite rising. Sir John Swinburne (III), who apostatised from Catholicism to become a member of parliament, made the ridiculous claim that his ancestors 'had given their blood like water and their lands like dust for the Stuarts'.

Finally, it may also be appropriate to dispose of a literary myth, so to speak. Much of Walter Scott's Jacobite novel Rob Roy (1817) is set in Northumberland. The novel largely deals with the Osbaldistone family, whose seat Osbaldistone Hall is closely modelled on Biddlestone Hall, the home of the Selby family. However, the realism with which Scott usually evoked the Jacobite scene failed in this case because there are no historical grounds whatsoever for Scott to associate this Catholic house with activist Northumbrian Jacobitism.[119]

Part I, The Laity

Chapter 2, The Period of Emancipation, 1750-1850

By far the most important census of the Catholic population in the period was that of 1767, taken, like that of 1705, in response to fears about the spread of Popery. The returns from the Diocese of Durham in 1767 can be complemented with those from a similar enquiry made in 1780 and with those taken in four Episcopal Visitations carried out between 1774 and 1814. Before examining this material, however, one or two preliminary remarks on its credibility as a primary source are required. For, although English social history of the period is based largely on parochial records, those records are not always regarded as authoritative by all historians of English Catholicism. The 1767 figures have been 'corrected' by some commentators to take account of the poor 'conditions of eighteenth century statistical enquiry'. To compensate for supposed inefficiency, the absence of a few returns and some errors and omissions in others, it has become customary for historians to add as much as fifteen per cent to the stated population. In the case of the Diocese of Durham this is wholly unjustified.[1]

The Anglican parish was the basic administrative unit of civil as well as of ecclesiastical government, and the parochial authorities were required to know who everyone was - the pauper, shopkeeper, land-owner, and so on - because the collection of tithes and poor rates, for example, depended on that knowledge. In the same way it was the ecclesiastical and civic duty of vicars and curates to know who the Catholics and Dissenters were, and they would be no less efficient in counting them than they would in collecting church revenues. If there had been any difficulty, they could have followed the example of the Vicar of Ryton who wrote to the Rev. Thomas Eyre, the Catholic priest at Stella, asking him for the information, 'tonight if possible'.[2] Furthermore, almost half the parishes in County Durham contained around one hundred families, and only one sixth contained more than five hundred families. With such small parochial populations to survey, the authorities would indeed have had to be inefficient not to have known who was who. The majority of Durham parishes missing from the 1767 list of returns had no history of

Table 2: Catholic Population of North East England, 1705-1814.

	1705	1732	1767	1774	1780	1792	1810/4
a. County totals:							
County Durham	958	1658	2723	2700	2426	1998	1678
Northumberland	446	1324	2165	2331	2241	1895	1861
Hexhamshire	172	105	318		200		233
Recorded total:	1576	3087	5206	5031	4867	3893	3772
b. Estimated total:	2558	3858	5206	5281	4867	4108	3772
c. Totals from parishes for which a complete series of returns exists:	1279	1887	2597	2534	2459	1990	1498
d. Totals from selected urban parishes:							
Alnwick	9nw	8f	70	17f	93	60	40
Berwick	0	2f	12	1f	13	35	60
Durham City (6 parishes)	64	314	420	87f	336	198	150
Morpeth	13		86	few	77	60	50
Sunderland (3 parishes)	14	2f	113	10f	174	180	68
e. Totals from selected rural parishes:							
Felton	28	10f	76	15f	75	76	111
Kirkwhelpington	4	14f	89	12f	106	10f	some
Lanchester	35	135	284	71f	276	313	320
Ryton	183		447	100f	334	359	400
Whittingham	56	42f	199	39f	257	194	136

Notes:

f - familes.
nw - no women listed.
Gaps indicate missing returns.

Sources: Parliamentary and Episcopal Visitation Returns for the Dioceseof Durham. For Hexhamshire see CRS Vol. 32 (1706); YAS Vol. 75 (1735) The Rosary Vol. 14, No. 6 (1811); D. Milburn, A History of Ushaw College (1964), 90n4 (1781); Parliamentary Returns of Papists, 1767, Diocese of York.

Roman Catholicism, as was confirmed in succeeding Episcopal Visitations. In any case, the bundle of returns was endorsed by a diocesan official: 'There are no Papists or reputed Papists in such of the parishes within the Diocese of Durham as are not mentioned herein'. Finally, a number of returns made in 1705 undoubtedly omitted children, women and servants, but the overwhelming majority of returns in and after 1767 included all Catholics, whatever their age and social standing.

In short, there is no reason to doubt the reliability of this material. As a whole it defines the demographic, economic and social character of the Roman Catholics of the north east in the half century or so leading to their emancipation. Except on rare occasions, there is no reason to amend the stated figures or to distrust the information that the returns contain. Furthermore, the Episcopal Visitation returns often include additional notes to supplement or explain the raw statistics. These remarks provide a valuable commentary on the day to day operation of the mission not otherwise available.[3]

The Anglican returns therefore form the basis of this chapter. The 1810 and 1814 returns are almost identical and they have been combined in the tables. Similarly, some Episcopal Visitation returns referred to families rather than to persons, and some gave both; the parliamentary returns always listed individuals. The dual reporting was sufficiently widespread to show that the average size of a family was four persons; that figure is used throughout, and the tables list the total number of individuals. The chapter will close with a brief treatment of the Irish immigration and the Census of Religious Worship of 1851, which mark the close of the period covered in the study.

*

Population Trend

The series of returns under analysis shows that the Catholic population of the north east rose significantly in the first half of the eighteenth century, but then fell back so that at the end of the war in 1814/5 they numbered about the same as they had a century before (Table 2).[4] Although the returns of 1705 are seriously deficient, they are not entirely useless. The estimated total number of Catholics is obtained by comparison with later years. That is, the number of Catholics in parishes for which there is a complete series of returns from 1705 to 1814 represents about half the total on each occasion. The figure from those parishes in 1705 was 1,279 which, if it conforms to the pattern, gives a total of 2,558 Catholics, or 1.2% of the whole population.[5] The total population of the two north eastern counties in the 1760s was about 235,000, of which the Catholics represented 2%. that was to be the larg-

est proportion achieved in the period; in 1811 the region's population was 350,000 and the Catholics represented only 1% of that total.

The absolute and relative decline of the Roman Catholic population is not easy to explain, given that its social characteristics were similar to that of the population in general and that its potential for natural growth could not have been better, as will be seen. Yet the decine undoubtedly occurred, and it was noted in a number of the visitation returns. The returns from Lamesley, Whickham, Newcastle St. Andrew, Newcastle St. Ann, Darlington, Stamfordham and Sunderland all noted a fall in the Catholic population. In 1810 the Curate of Belford observed that the children of the half dozen Catholics were beginning to attend the established church, and in 1814 the Vicar of Chollerton remarked on the same development.[6] The Vicar of Sockburn rejoiced that he had only one Catholic woman of eighty in his parish, while 'at the last Visitation holden by Bishop Thurlow there were two Popish families'. In 1810, the Rector of Simonburn expressed his delight at having 'converted one large family to the Communion of our Church'. In 1774 he had been pleased to report that there was 'no Mass-house, thank God, in the parish'. In Warkworth, one of the two Catholic inhabitants often attended the parish church. In 1810, the Curate of Kyloe and Lowick anticipated gains:

> Mr Clavering of Berrington having sold his Estate lately, they will soon disappear in that quarter and as the Haggerstone family do not scruple to take a good Tenant from among the Protestants, they are I think upon the decrease in both parishes.

Similarly, the Curate of Netherwitton remarked in 1774 that

> a Protestant Gentleman having about 2 years ago married one of the coheiresses of the Principal Roman Catholic family, the P. Priest has been sent out of the Chapelry and that Interest is now on the decline and some converts have been made.

In Kirkwhelpington it was noted in 1792 that since Sir John Swinburne became a member of the Church of England, Catholic numbers had fallen each year.

From these examples, it can be seen that contributory factors in the decline of the Catholic population included isolation, a lack of pastoral care or the closure of a chapel. Areas which tended to maintain their Catholic populations were those sizeable rural Catholic enclaves with a relatively settled community. In Ryton and Lanchester, where the church was visible and strong, and where the Catholic population was long-established, numbers held up. Where the Catholic population was less settled, for example, in those, usually urban, areas in which people were more mobile, or where there was a small Catholic presence in a remote parish, or where the church was inconspicuous, Catholic numbers fell. In Darlington there was a small but well-established Catholic

Catholic community, but there was only a monthly supply mission until 1824; the Catholic population fell by 70%, yet over half the Catholics were aged under thirty in 1767 and could have been expected to reproduce themselves. Similarly, a large rural Catholic community could be decimated if the Catholic patron lapsed from Catholicism and closed the mission down, as happened at Capheaton and Felling. There were exceptions to the general pattern; for example, a small urban group of Catholics could prosper given a new chapel and an active missioner, which was the case at Berwick towards the end of the century, and at North Shields some years later.

The few and ageing priests had to be content to minister to existing Catholics, and in the towns and remoter areas they were fighting a losing battle. They were unable to visit regularly those Catholics living in the widely scattered and out-of-the-way farmsteads and hamlets of the region. Yet the maintenance of the faith depended on such support because religious practice is very difficult to sustain in isolation. It is easy to understand how a solitary, remotely-placed family would leave the church in one or two generations without the encouragement to persevere. In Bothal in 1792 the Catholics were 'an old man and his wife and their son and his wife but the children of the latter have been baptised in the Church' (i.e., of England).

Despite the best efforts of individual priests, who undoubtedly worked hard, it seems that the mission was ineffective in counteracting a decline in overall numbers. To some extent, war and the demographic change associated with industrial development served to hinder the growth of the small Catholic body. However, Methodism did proliferate in the same period, even though Methodists were fewer and less widespread than the Catholics in 1767. This suggests that the legal disabilities and political uncertainties relating to Catholicism were a factor. It was certainly not a time for zealous evangelism, living as the Catholics were in a sort of limbo between toleration and emancipation. An evangelising policy would have been seen by many Protestants as provocative, just as many Catholic lay gentlemen would have considered it inopportune for their chaplains to be seen casting around for converts in their localities. Even after the first stage of relief had been achieved, the Gordon Riots would remind Catholics not to over-reach themselves, and the ill-tempered parliamentary debate on the Catholic Question would continue for a further fifty years. Protestant England would prove reluctant to grant formal and civil political liberty to Papists despite having welcomed numbers of exiled French priests and the expatriate English Catholics after the French Revolution. In those circumstances,

the reluctance of the Catholics to proselytise is understandable, but it did nonetheless contribute to the lack of growth. There is little evidence of converts, except through marriage. The Vicar of Esh remarked in 1792 that Catholic 'numbers have not increased except by the ordinary methods of population rise'.

Distribution and Density

In general, the small Catholic population was widely dispersed throughout the region. Almost 90% of Anglican parishes reported Catholic inhabitancy at one time or another. However, there were some populous parishes, mostly in the remote western uplands, which had no Catholic residents at all, and Stanhope in Weardale with a population of 5,000 is the best example. In 1814, the Rector of Falstone (with 147 families) observed, 'The Idea or Meaning of Popery is, I believe, not in the least comprehended in this Chapelry'. There was also a number of parishes in which there had been no Catholics resident for many years. The Rector of Kirkhaugh could not recall one Papist inhabitant in thirty years, and in 1792 the Curate of Carham (200 families) said it was 'a rarity to see one' in the parish; there had been five in 1780. The Vicar of Ilderton knew that there had been no Catholics resident in the parish between 1764 and 1810.

Table 3: Residential Density of Catholic Families in North East England, 1774. (Selected Parishes).

	Total number of families	Number of RC families	Percentage of RC families
County Durham parishes:			
Croxdale	100	50	50%
Merrington	53	11	20%
Ryton	600	100	16%
Lanchester	593	77	13%
Durham City (6 parishes)	1,000	100	10%
Northumberland parishes:			
Netherwitton	110	24	22%
Ancroft cum Kyloe	274	42	15%
Whittingham	242	39	16%
Lowick	297	10	3.3%
Newcastle upon Tyne (4 parishes)	5,285	84	1.6%
Total in County Durham	25,000	600	2.4%
Northumberland	27,131	518	1.9%

(Source: 1774 Durham Episcopal Visitation Return).

The principal, and unsurprising, feature of the distribution of the Catholics in the north east was that the largest groups were to be found in the vicinity of the Catholic missions. As we shall see, a mission station was generally established by a country gentleman on his estate and the nucleus of the congregation was formed from the members of the household and estate workers. The geographical range of the mission quickly expanded so that some were attended from considerable distances by people unconnected with the patron. Before a resident missioner was appointed at Berwick, for example, the Catholics travelled to Haggerston Castle for Sunday Mass, a tiring round trip of over twelve miles. Alternatively, of course, the missioner could do the travelling; in 1805 the Berwick missioner said he had 'walked no less than 1,000 miles' on missionary duty in the previous year.[7] That was exceptional, for most Catholics lived within range of a chapel. Nonetheless, the widespread distribution of the Catholic population necessarily involved substantial amounts of walking or riding if those in the remoter areas practised their faith regularly.

Normally, the Episcopal Visitation questionnaire enquired about the number of individual Catholics in the parishes, but in 1774 it asked for the number of families. Since it also asked for the total number families in the parish, a direct measurement of residential density can be calculated for the Catholic population (Table 3). However, the average size of the Anglican parish in the north at this time was over ten thousand acres, and so the parish is not always the most useful geographical unit by which to illustrate the residential density of the population, although that is how the information was collected.[8] Thus in 1750 the Catholic chaplains at Haggerston Castle and Berrington Hall reported that a total of some 230 people of all ages attended one or other of the two chapels. That figure was corroborated in 1767, allowing for growth, when the four parishes of Ancroft, Belford, Holy Island and Lowick returned 256 Catholics (56 families in 1774). The two principal returns came from Lowick and the chapelry of Kyloe in Ancroft. The villages of Kyloe and nearby Fenwick (where there was a Catholic school) belonged to the Haggerstons, as did Lowick, two and a half miles to the west. Haggerston and Berrington (which belonged to the Claverings) lay about three miles to the north. Virtually all the Catholics of the area lived in those five villages, and so the geographical spread and residential density of the Catholic population is distorted when taking the parish as the base unit of measurement. Six percent of the families of Hartburn parish were Catholic, but if the village and chapelry of Netherwitton is taken separately (as it usually was) then the distribution of Catholic

families is seen to be more concentrated, for it amounts to 22% of the chapelry's population. In the same way, most of the Catholic families in the parish of Whittingham lived in settlements close to Callaly Castle. Such concentrations are to be attributed to the presence of Catholic gentry houses and chapels: the Thorntons at Netherwitton, Salvins at Croxdale, Smythe in Esh (Lanchester), Silvertop in Stella (Ryton), and so on. Although in no parish did the Catholics form a majority of inhabitants, a few villages associated with Catholic gentry estates did have relatively large Catholic communities; apart from those enclaves, the remainder of the Catholic population was distributed thinly. None of the towns of the region, except Durham, had a large Catholic community. The Catholic body, then, was not a conspicuous component of the region's population.

Geographical Mobility

In 1767 parish officials were asked to state how long the Catholics had been resident in their present domiciles. Clearly, the overwhelming majority of children under fifteen years of age were living where they had been born, or had moved with their parents, and that group, which is about a third of the whole, can be excluded from any analysis of free geographical mobility.

Table 4: Geographical Mobility of Adult Catholics of North East England, 1767.

	Percentage of adults resident in their present parishes	
	under 10 years	Since birth or over 20 years.
County Durham (10% unknown)	33%	44%
Northumberland (17% unknown)	28&	47%
Selected parishes:		
Alnwick	65%	19%
Croxdale	22%	68%
Durham City (6 parishes)	42%	43%
Ellingham	43%	39%
Kyloe & Lowick	14%	78%
Lanchester	35%	45%
Newcastle upon Tyne (4 parishes)	60%	21%
Ryton	14%	69%
Sunderland (3 parishes)	50%	17%
Whittingham	26%	63%

(Source: Returns of Papists, 1767, Diocese of Durham.)

Table 4 shows that just under half the Catholic adults in each county were living in their native parishes, and about a third had moved into their present localities within the previous ten years. Although the rural Catholics were considerably more settled than those in the urban areas, that was not invariably the case; the Catholics of Ellingham and Lanchester were as likely to be newcomers as long-term residents. A close analysis indicates that the geographical mobility of the northern Catholics was governed largely by economic circumstances rather than by religious consideratons. Agriculture had long been, and would remain for for some time, the staple industry in such places as Croxdale, Kyloe and Whittingham, just as coal-mining had a long history in Ryton. The population of those parishes was therefore unlikely to change markedly. The towns, on the other hand, were fast-growing industrial and commercial centres which had a relatively mobile and young population (half the Catholics of Newcastle and two thirds of those in Alnwick were under thirty years of age).

Figure 1: Geographical Mobility of Northumbrian Catholic Adults, 1767

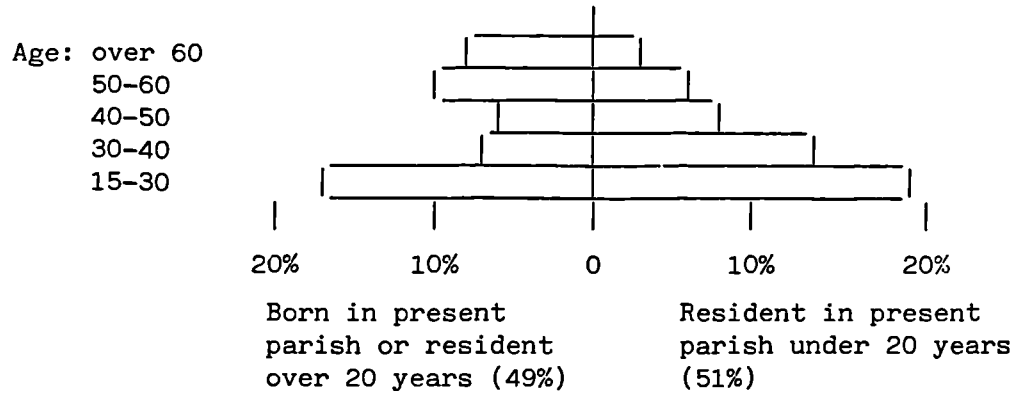


Figure 1 shows, not surprisingly, that the young were the most mobile and the old were the most settled groups in society. On reaching working (or marriageable) age, individuals moved away from their native parishes if suitable opportunities did not occur locally. A readiness to move about was maintained throughout a working life, but as people got older, they became less likely to move. Commonplace as this conclusion is, it does at least indicate that the pattern of geographical mobility exhibited by the Catholics of the north east was similar to that which might be expected of any economically-active population. There is nothing to indicate that there was any largescale movement into the Catholic strongholds, nor were the Catholics constrained or inhibited from moving into new localities to seek work or a spouse.

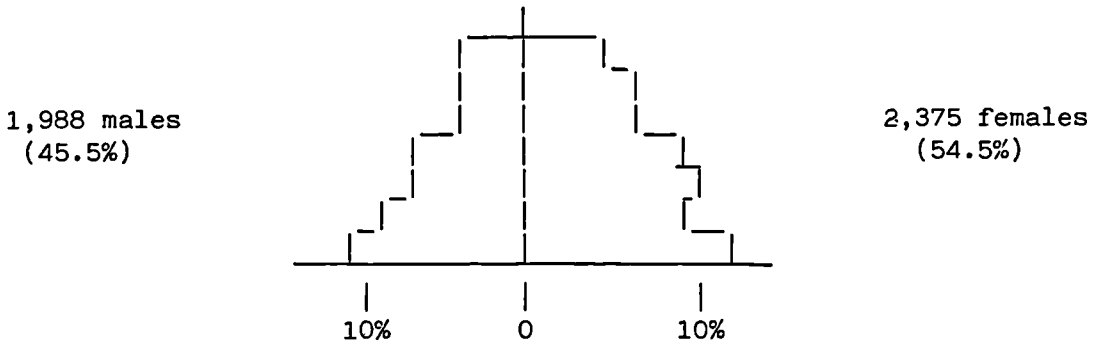
However, religious practice is at greatest risk when a population

is mobile or when social change is taking place.[9] A family moving from a rural area into an urban centre has to be able to reconnect with the Church after moving. If the Church's organisation is weak or inconspicuous, or if regular religious services are not maintained, the chances are that the family will be lost. Obviously a number of migrants did reconnect, but there was no overall increase in the urban Catholic population until the 1820s at the earliest, yet it was into the towns that the population had been moving since late in the previous century. Hence, leakage as the result of migration was another factor contributing to the decline in overall Catholic numbers.[10]

Age and Sex Structure

The age and sex of 90% of the north eastern Catholics in 1767 is known, and Figure 2 shows that the age pattern was pyramidal and that the sexes were in rough balance. About 40% were aged between twenty and forty, and it is from this group that natural increase was to be expected. Since the composition of the Catholic population was clearly suited to growth, the decline in numbers over the next half century cannot be attributed to a lack of fecundity or a shortage of suitable Catholic mates in the same age group. The structure of the Catholic population of the north east was remarkably similar to that of the nation as a whole, as computed in 1750 and 1815.[11]

Figure 2: Age and Sex Structure of the North Eastern Catholics in 1767.



Marital Patterns

The 1767 returns give the marital status of 94% of the Catholics of the region. Children up to the age of fifteen years (the age at which the majority seem to have become economically active) represent a third of the whole. 30% were single men and women; 5% were widows or widowers; and 30% were married. The large number of single people indicates that Catholics followed the national practice for a first marriage to take place in the middle to late twenties. Of major significance for present

purposes, however, is the extent to which Catholics married within their own church, or sought a spouse without regard to ecclesiastical affiliation.

Table 5: Marriages in which only one partner was R.C: North East England, 1767.

County Durham	44%	Northumberland	45%
Lanchester	26%	Netherwitton	17%
Croxdale	28%	Ellingham	42%
Ryton	44%	Newcastle (4 parishes)	42%
Durham City (6 parishes)	50%	Alnwick	65%
Sunderland (3 parishes)	57%	Longhorsley	84%

(Sample: 916 married couples, i.e., all those listed as being married).

Table 5 shows that just over half of all marriages were between Catholics and hence the remainder were apparently 'mixed'. Mixed marriages are difficult to identify with certainty since the returning officer may not have intended to imply one, whereas one may be inferred from the way the entry is written. In Durham there was 'the wife and daughter of a Mr Hanby a Plumber'. The presumption is that Mr Hanby was not a Catholic. Also in Durham there was 'Mr Walton a teacher of the French language and his infant son'. Is it justified to assume this to be a mixed marriage because the wife is not mentioned? Mr Walton may have been a widower, or perhaps the vicar did not think to mention the wife, assuming it to be obvious. There are some difficulties, then, but these are mostly to do with a minority of cases in which the husband is Catholic but the wife is (apparently) not.

In the north east, mixed marriages were almost as common as those between Roman Catholics. As perhaps was to be expected, the highest incidence of mixed marriages occurred in the towns, but no other correlation can be established. The number of mixed marriages was relatively high in such Catholic strongholds as Croxdale and Ellingham. In the parish of Netherwitton where the large Catholic population was well established, only 17% of marriages were mixed, but in Longhorsley which also had a relatively large and settled Catholic community, only 16% of marriages were between Catholics. In the small and less settled Catholic population of Newcastle, over half the marriages were between Catholics.

This pattern was not uncommon. The Rev. Joseph Berington noted that mixed marriages were 'now very usual' in the south, and in 1803 the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District reported an increase in mixed marriages as well as a decline in attendance at the sacraments and a

general relaxation of the barriers between Catholics and Protestants.[12] The implications of a generally high incidence of mixed marriages are twofold. Firstly, it suggests that since the choice of marriage partner was not restricted to their co-religionists, the Catholics were securely based in society, and were neither insular or ostracised. Secondly the growth in the Catholic population would be affected, and the outcome of a mixed marriage was various. In 1792 the Vicar of Lanchester said

> During a residence of 13 years in the parish there have been four instances of Protestants marrying Papists and turning to their Communion whilst I have only got one from them in a similar instance.

In Norton that year one wife was 'perverted to Popery on her marriage. The two sisters of the husband came over to the Communion of Our Church on their marriages'. In 1801 there was a large family in Wolsingham in which the father and sons were Catholic while the wife and daughters were Anglican; in Long Houghton the opposite was the case. In Ellingham in 1810 it was reported that

> The wives and daughters of two other farmers are Papists: but the fathers and sons of the established church. Several instances of the same kind occur among the Cottagers and married servants of Mr Haggerston, and one or two where the husband is a Roman Catholic and the wife of the established church. I am not aware of any persons having lately been perverted to Popery in this parish. Where however the parents of any new born child, dependent on the Haggerston family are of different persuasions as above mentioned, the children are mostly baptized by the Roman Catholic priest.

In Warkworth in 1792 a farmer called Thomas Wilson, 'being the son of Protestant parents' married a Catholic and since then he appeared 'to be a Papist as he has had his son baptized by a popish priest'. This was a constant theme in the reports about the northern Catholics. In 1732 the Vicar of Gainford expressed great irritation with the Catholics in his parish who, among other things, were 'wont to be marryed by a Popish Priest without Banns or License'. He sought his bishop's advice on another matter:

> When a Papist (of Piercebridge) chances to marry a Protestant the Papist for the most part causes the children to be baptized by a Popish Priest and to be brought up in his own religion. The Vicar of Gainford to prevent the mischief lastmentioned has several times required the partys to observe this Rule, viz: That the boys should follow the Religion of the father and the girls that of the mother. But the Papists will not keep to the Rule.

He then gave an example and went to complain about another stratagem of the Papists:

> Francis Jakes a poor man of the said town was lately seduced to the Roman Catholic Religion probably by some of the family at Cliff the seat of a Roman Catholic gentleman near Piercebridge in Yorkshire. That the said Jakes sends two of his children to be brought up Papists on consideration (as the report is) of their being taught to read and write gratis.

He concluded with the plea for advice on how to 'restrain the aforesaid practices tending to increase the Popish party' in his parish. It is not known whether the bishop came to the vicar's assistance; probably not, because Mr Witham and his chaplain at Cliffe Hall continued as before. These examples show that a mixed marriage could result in apostasy, recruitment, or have no effect on religious affiliations. Since Catholic numbers fell in the period, however, it seems as if losses through marriage outnumbered gains.

Socio-economic Status

The survey conducted in the aftermath of the 1715 Jacobite Rising showed that there were three more or less distinct groups in the Roman Catholic populaton of the north east. The majority (90%) were ordinary folk without any capital resources to speak of. Then there was a small group (7%) of tradesmen, lesser gentry and farmers, in possession of property such as houses, shops and smallholdings, which brought them an income of under £100 a year. Finally, there was a tiny group (3%) of wealthy individuals comprising gentry land-owners and annuitants (mostly widows). That socio-economic structure was not dissimilar to that of the population as a whole. The English social pyramid, though steep in terms of income, was very flat above the base. The number of people holding a social rank was very small, and most of the population, Catholic or not, were propertyless labourers.[13]

The returns made on the northern Catholics later in the century show that their socio-economic structure had not changed by the time of the Relief Acts. One of the questions in the 1767 parliamentary survey referred to the occpations of the Catholics, and the replies show that they could be found in most, if not all, occupations available in the region. But it must be asked if they were under- or over-represented in any particular occupation. This can only be ascertained in a general way because of the absence of directly comparable material. Table 6 summarises the available data.

Table 6: Occupations of the North East Catholics in 1767 compared with National Distribution in 1801

	Percentage of population engaged	
	Britain	R.C.s in the North East
Agriculture, fishing, forestry	36%	16%
Manufacturing, mining, building	30%	47%
Trade and transport	11%	6%
Domestic and personal	11%	24%
Professional, public service & gentry	12%	7%

(Sources: 1767 Returns of Papists, Diocese of Durham; 1810 National Census.)

It can be seen that the region's Catholics were predominantly of what has come to be known as the working class and that they were under-represented in the professional and commercial classes, and in agriculture. Their absence from the professions is explicable in terms of the pernal laws which excluded them, and the reduced number in agriculture and commerce was no doubt because those were capital-intensive occupations. It is striking how often the Anglican clergy referred to the Catholics as 'chiefly of low rank', 'mostly servants, mechanics and labourers', 'none of them of any Note', 'plebeians', 'not persons of much condition in life', or 'common people'. Those subjective observations are confirmed in Table 6; the Catholic priest Joseph Berington, who gave an account of the English Catholics in 1780, held a similar view:[14]

> The inferior orders are little distinguishable from the corresponding classes of their Protestant neighbours. Here the broad features of distinction almost disappear - industry, association, necessity, obliterate the characteristic traits. Generally speaking, they are farmers, shop-keepers, artisans and labourers.

(By farmers, Berington clearly meant yeomen and husbandmen.)

The overwhelming impression given by the parliamentary and visitational returns is, firstly, that the northern Catholics lived in an open society. There is no evidence of a Catholic ghetto, nor was there a Catholic sub-culture, except perhaps among the tiny group of lay gentry who for the most part married within their own small circle and took their leisure in the same kind of company. Secondly, it is clear that Roman Catholics were allowed to live and work in peace, on condition that they kept their religion to themselves and did not seek to change the ecclesiastical status quo, and that was a situation the Catholics were quite prepared to accept, at least until the closing years of the century. Although that compliance precluded expansion, it did at least allow the church to survive and unobtrusively to consolidate its base.

The Census of Religious Worship, 1851

In theory at least, the counts of the Roman Catholics with which this study has been concerned, were meant to produce a figure for the toal Catholic population of the region. The Census of Religious Worship (taken in conjunction with the routine decennial Census of Population) in 1851 is not therefore comparable since it sought to establish the extent of religious practice, using attendance at Sunday church services as a yardstick. Further, an important aspect of Catholic practice seems to have been ignored in the Census Report of 1853; that report also omitted quantities of useful data. However, the Census was taken at an important turning point in the development of English Catholicism and,

notwithstanding its shortcomings, it does illustrate the radical changes that occurred in the Church at the end of the period covered in this study.[15]

In order to ensure that no churchgoer was left out of the total, the Census took care to obtain the attendance figures for all services held on Sunday 30th March, 1851. A formula was then applied to take account of those present at more than one service. It was assumed that half of those attending church in the afternoon and two thirds of those attending in the evening were likely to have been present in the morning. Now, that method ignores the Catholic church's discipline of the Sunday Mass obligation. Attendance at Sunday School or Vespers is obviously laudable, but it is not an acceptable substitute for attendance at Mass as the fulfillment of the requirements of church membership. Since Mass was not celebrated in any chapel or church in the afternoon or evening in 1851, the application of any formula involving all services to arrive at the number of Catholics practising the fundamental obligation of their religion cannot be valid.[16]

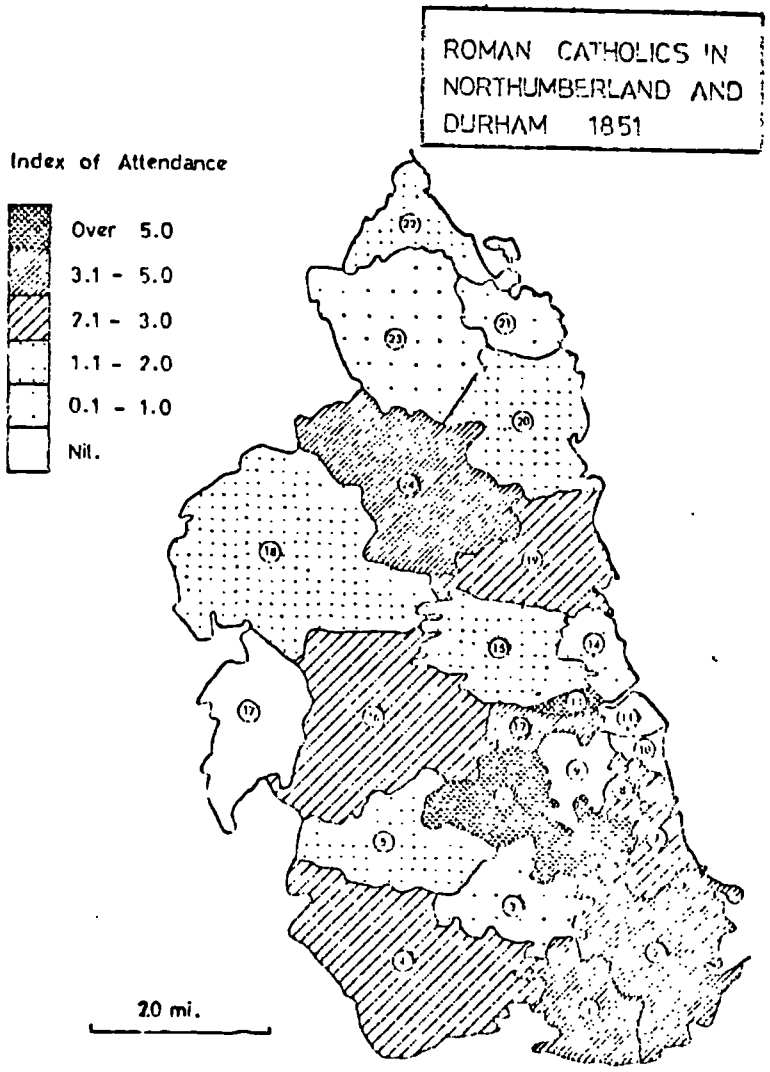
It seems that the authorities were conscious of the dangers they ran by taking one Sunday's figures only, especially as Census Sunday was Easter Day. They therefore asked an additional question about the average number of attendances during preceding months. That information was not, however, used analytically, nor was it published in the Report of the census. Similarly, the census form issued to each church and chapel contained a Remarks column for any additional information which could not be entered elsewhere. Sensible as that was, the information given in that column was not published notwithstanding its explanatory value. Examples of the returns themselves best illustrate the difficulty in using the data gathered in this census.[17]

The Rev. Joseph Cullen of St. Andrew's, Newcastle, gave an attendance figure of 1,389 adults and 300 scholars in the morning, and 604 in the evening. The Rev. Joseph Humble of St. Mary's, Newcastle, returned a total attendance of 1,500 adults and 200 children at morning Mass and 900 at the afternoon service. The Census Report reproduced these figures but it omitted Cullen's remarks:

> There are 10,000 Roman Catholics in Newcastle, 6,000 of whom are served by one Roman Catholic priest attached to this chapel. About 1,000 labourers having families in Ireland attend this chapel.

The Rev. James Buchall's congregation at Cowpen on Census Sunday morning comprised 180 adults and 40 children. He went on to say, 'There are in this congregation about 400 Catholics, including children'. The Rev. Thomas Wilkinson of Wolsingham recorded an attendance of 150 in the

Map 4:



POOR LAW UNIONS

1 Darlington	7 Easington	13 Newcastle	19 Morpeth
2 Stockton	8 Houghton-le-Spring	14 Tynemouth	20 Alnwick
3 Auckland	9 Chester-le-Street	15 Castle Ward	21 Belford
4 Teesdale	10 Sunderland	16 Hexham	22 Berwick-on-Tweed
5 Weardale	11 South Shields	17 Haltwhistle	23 Glendale
6 Durham	12 Gateshead	18 Bellingham	24 Rothbury

Reproduced from J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971), Map 16, p. 280

morning and 40 in the afternoon. His average congregation was 150 but, he added,

> The numbers attending divine service in this congregation cannot be fairly represented in a return of this kind because very many, 1/5 of the men are at work every second Sunday at Mr Francis Attwood's Iron Works and thus are only able to attend on alternate Sundays.

The Rev. William Fletcher of Durham had a congregation of 470 adults and 110 scholars at Mass and 550 at his evening service, but he added the remark that

> According to a census lately taken of Roman Catholics belonging to the congregation of Durham the number is 1,220. The chapel being too small to contain them many do not come to the chapel on Sundays.

These returns need to be treated more considerately than simply being abbreviated and subjected to a standard procedure which makes it difficult to use the Report either as a guide to the number of Roman Catholics, or even for its own limited purpose.

The map opposite illustrates how the raw data of the Census have been used, but its title is misleading and it does not convey useful information. All that can be said safely is that there were some fifteen thousand Catholics at Mass on Easter Sunday in the north east. That figure, taken by itself, would indicate that the practising Catholic population of the region quadrupled between 1814 and 1851. Proportionately, that is 2% of the total population and it is consistent with previous statistics. However, as the Catholic clergy made clear, substantial numbers of Catholics were not attending Mass and that the nominally Catholic population was, therefore, much greater than the Census indicated.

The Status Animarum of the vicariate in 1830 gave the total Catholic population of the two north eastern counties as twenty thousand.[18] In 1850 the total was said to be forty-six thousand. A tenfold increase (from about four thousand in 1814) in less than two generations, which these figures imply, cannot have been achieved by natural growth, even if social conditions and the youth and fecundity of the Catholics had been propitious. The long period of stability following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the passage of Catholic Emancipation, engendered confidence in the future, and baptismal rates at most missions increased after 1815, but not sufficiently to account entirely for the rise in the population. Clearly, then, immigration into the region must have contributed to the growth of the Catholic community in the post-war period.[19]

Irish Immigration

Catholic Irish agricultural labourers began to settle in the north east from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their numbers were

swollen by the emigration which followed the failure of the Irish potato crop in 1821/2, but the opportunities for employment at that time were not such as to attract many emigrants to the north east, and the number of Irish coming into the region was not substantial, even then. In Darlington at the end of the eighteenth century there were about forty Catholics. When St. Augustine's church was built in 1827, it was reported that 'independent of any influx of strangers, and though till the year 1824 they were attended but once a month by a priest from Stockton, the Catholics of Darlington alone amount to about 200 souls'. In 1839, the Catholic Orthodox Journal cited Darlington as an example of a manufacturing town which 'had very few natives of faithful Ireland' in its population. The parliamentary Report on the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, of 1836, made no reference to the north east.[20]

The trickle of Irish immigrants turned into a flood from the late 1830s, however, as a consequence of famine in Ireland. An industrial boom, fuelled by an expansion of the coalfield and the development of the railways, coincided with the famine and drew large numbers of Irish into the region. Most of the immigrants were destitute on arrival and they settled in the poorer quarters of the larger towns or in newly-established townships such as Middlesbrough and Tow Law, taking unskilled labouring jobs in the newer industries which did not have a history of restrictive trade unionism.[21]

In 1840 the Status Animarum gave the total Catholic population of the north east as thirty-five thousand, of which,it has been separately calculated, a quarter (some nine thousand) were Irish. Ten years later, the Irish proportion of the region's Catholic population had increased to two thirds (about thirty-one thousand).[22] The popular notion that the history of Catholicism in England during the nineteenth century is largely a study of the Irish is therefore inaccurate. It was not until about 1850/1 that the indigenous Catholics became a minority in the northern Church.

The arrival of large numbers of Irishmen and women in the last decade of the period covered in this study marked the end of a sociological and ecclesiastical era in the history of Roman Catholicism in the north east. The sociological character of the northern Catholics became radically different from what had gone before. The Catholics had been indistinguishable from the rest of the population and they were represented at all social and economic levels in society, in rough proportion to their overall numbers. Now, they largely comprised a highly conspicuous ethnic group, predominantly of the unskilled working class. The Church entered

a much more demanding period pastorally than it had known before, as it sought to get to grips with the unanticipated influx of the Irish. Several new missions were established on Tyneside and Wearside during the 1840s, and further hectic missonary development took place in the 1850s when immigrant communities were formed in the newly-industrialising areas of south and south-west Durham and south-east Northumberland. That expansion, however, should not be understood as the culmination of the period of Emancipation, but as the beginning of a new era in the history of the Catholic Church in England. It was fortunate, nonetheless, that the Church had enjoyed a period of consolidation in which to build up its resources of priests and chapels; for they served as the springboard for the expansion. The creation and development of the missionary organisation in the north east is the subject of the next two chapters of this study.



Map 5 : The Roman Catholic Mission in the North East, 1730.

Part II, The Mission and Missioners

Chapter 1, The Mission in the North East

Bishop Edward Chandler was the first to give explicit attention to the deployment and progress of the Catholic mission in the Diocese of Durham. In about 1725 he compiled 'A list of the principal Roman Catholic gentlemen in Northumberland and of some others', which, while not of major significance, is interesting in that it is virtually a list of chaplaincies. The location of eleven priests is given; the priest with John Thornton of Netherwitton Hall is listed as 'one Sebourn a busy man' and in Longhorsley, 'Caryn is the priest, middle aged, a weak man, belongs to Mr Widdrington'. The Rev. Farmer, chaplain at Capheaton is also identified but the others are not named. This was by no means a complete survey, no comparable list for County Durham has survived, but it does show that the bishop was more interested in the activity of the Catholic clergy than in the wealth of the Catholic gentry, as previous enquiries had been.[1] The Catholics of the region were served by an extensively distributed ministry; indeed, the bishop had compiled his list when the mission had reached its widest extent. Chapels operated more or less openly, and most Catholics from the North Riding to the Scottish border had regular if not frequent access to the sacraments.

As Bishop Chandler discovered, most missioners were chaplains to the gentry. The fortunes of the mission were therefore bound up with those of the landed gentry, but they did not live in settled circumstances, subject as they were to changes in family expectations as well as political events and economic trends. Further, in an embarrassingly large number of cases, a gentry patron quarrelled with his chaplain, leading in some places to an interruption in pastoral care, or changes in the tenure of a chaplaincy as a secular was dismissed and a regular installed, or *vice versa*. Such tensions seemed inherent in the situation; the overall political context was of smaller importance in determining the progress of the mission than its internal management. Its failures and successes were largely self-generated, and the relationship between patron and chaplain was the key influence on missionary development. With that in mind, this survey of the Catholic mission in the north east begins with Stonecroft Farm in Northumberland , where the experience of the Dominican Peter Thompson provides a model of all that was wrong with

the chaplaincy system.[2]

Northumberland

Stonecroft Farm was a property of some three hundred acres on the Stanegate, six miles north west of Hexham in a remote corner of the parish of Warden.[3] In 1680 the farm was bequeathed by Ursula Mountney to Lord William Widdrington, a kinsman. She charged the estate with a yearly payment of £20 to Ralph Clavering, the purpose of which she explained in the private instructions attached to her will. Considerable acrimony and confusion arose out of her request that Stonecroft

> may always be let to farm to some discreet Catholic qualified to entertain a priest for the help of poor Catholics in Hexham and Warden parishes and other places adjacent; And whereas my dear brother John Widdrington late deceased did by his last will order to appoint that a Dominican or Franciscan priest should be kept at Stonecroft, the which I do hereby order and desire may be performed accordingly if a priest of any such order can conveniently be had; And I do give £20 per annum to the priest that shall serve at Stonecroft for his maintenance.

Although the Dominicans had provided chaplains at Stonecroft for several years, Mrs Mountney preferred Franciscans, and at the retirement of the Dominican William Bertram in 1684 she refused a Dominican replacement and appointed a Franciscan instead.

Mrs Mountney died in 1686 and her chaplain died six months afterwards. The Franciscans immediately sent George Goodyear to take over at Stonecroft, but the Dominicans objected.[4] Ralph Clavering, the trustee of the annuity, convened a meeting at Hesleyside, the outcome of which was that Goodyear would be left in place for a year and that a Dominican would then take over. However, Clavering raised no objection when Widdrington took it upon himself to appoint another Franciscan, Constantine Jackson, to the post when Goodyear's time was up. So things stood until 1693 when Widdrington sold the estate to Thomas Gibson.

Now, the ownership of Callaly Castle changed at the same time, a combination of circumstances that would not normally have any connection. John Clavering, the new owner of Callaly Castle, was, however, married to Anne Widdrington, and she wanted her Jesuit brother to be chaplain at the castle. Clavering therefore dismissed his late father's Dominican chaplain, George Thomas Gibson, brother of the new owner of Stonecroft Farm. Being out of place, naturally he turned to his family and his brother Thomas discharged Jackson, the Franciscan, to make way for him. Jackson immediately complained to the Vicar Apostolic, James Smith, who declined to become involved because, as he said, 'Mr Gibson is master of his own house and may or may not admit Mr Jackson as he pleases'.

An extraordinary situation now developed. The Rev. George Gibson was elderly and infirm, and unable to carry out the full duties of a missioner. In 1696 it appeared he was dying and a petition was addressed to the Vicar Apostolic outlining what had been going on during the three years since Constantine Jackson's removal:

> Father Gibson ever since his entry to his place at Stonecroft hath been very much incapacitated to perform his office by reason of his infirmity of body, that when any of your Petitioners or other neighbouring Catholicks do at any time apply themselves to the said Father gibson (he) alleges his infirmity and doth direct them to apply themselves to the said Father Jackson who ever since Father Gibson's entry to Stonecroft assisted and helpen the Catholicks in the parish of Warden and elsewhere. And the said Father Jackson hath ever since his removal from Stonecroft been destitute of any certain abode or maintenance.
>
> May it please your Good Lordship therefore ..... to grant your Petitioners that our former Spiritual Pastor may succeed the said Father Gibson in the place of Stonecroft.

The petiton was signed by a highly respectable group of Tynedale Catholics, and included such names as Widdrington, Charlton, Errington, Selby and Haggerston, but Bishop Smith was not impressed and he wrote instead to the Franciscan Provincial to have Jackson removed from the area. He was probably more shrewd than callous in acting on this occasion in much the same way as he had acted before, for he would know, as the petitioners might not, that another Gibson had been ordained as a Dominican priest shortly before, and that he would secure his family's patronage, as in fact it turned out.

William Thomas Gibson, OP, arrived at Stonecroft Farm in 1698, and he would have remained there for the rest of his life, except that he had to flee to escape arrest for illegally solemnising a marriage in 1712. Nonetheless, the Dominican tenure of the chaplaincy seemed secure. Peter Thompson, OP, arrived in November 1714. Almost immediately he was caught up in the Jacobite Rising, in which the Gibsons were enthusiastic participants. The rebel George Gibson died before his father, and so the farm escaped forfeiture for his rebellion, and it passed, in 1720, to his son George, who was nine years old, and for whom William Charlton acted as trustee. During George's minority, Stonecroft Farm became the residence of his great uncle Jasper Gibson who married Margaret Leadbitter in October 1720.[5]

The chaplain Peter Thompson did not get on with Jasper Gibson, the effective patron of the chaplaincy, and Thompson declared that he had suffered a great deal at Jasper's hands over many years. The chapel and priest's accommodation were in a farmyard building and Thompson alleged that geese and hens were driven 'promiscuously' under the chapel where they made such a noise that he was much disturbed and could scarce hear

himself speak. Thompson also said that early one Sunday morning in May 1721 before Mass, Gibson 'fell upon me like a hell dog, in the presence of his Protestant servants and others that were come to prayers'. Within a year of the change of ownership, Thompson wrote in his journal, 'after more than usual abuse perceiving I could not live easy at Stonecroft, I went away on 4th October 1721, and left the Gibsons'. It should be said that Jasper Gibson was not anti-clerical; two of his twenty one children became bishops, and two others were priests. Moreover, his wife's family had strong Dominican associations and they provided chaplains at Stonecroft later in the century. At any rate, the farm now became a supply mission, and was attended by Peter Thompson for the following thirteen years. He moved into Hexham where he lodged at 'Mr. Rymer's merchant'.[6]

Franciscan priests had continued to serve in the area after their exclusion from the Stonecroft Farm chaplaincy at the beginning of the century. Jackson died in 1717 and he appears to have been succeeded by Bonaventure Hutchinson, alias Joseph Clark, the name by which he was best known; he was at Swinburne Castle when Peter Thompson left Stonecroft. In 1725 Hutchinson was appointed Preses of Hexham, and that promotion apparently emboldened him to reopen the question of the tenure of the Stonecroft Farm chaplaincy. He would have known of the vacancy and he would have been well aware of the terms of Ursula Mountney's will. It must have seemed to him an ideal opportunity to recover the chaplaincy for his order.[7]

Accordingly, during 1725 Hutchinson held a series of meetings with the trustee, the Vicar Apostolic and others connected with the family and the chaplaincy. After an encouraging conversation with Ralph Clavering (grandson of the original trustee), he appeared to Mr Rymer's house in Hexham early in September and announced that Clavering had conferred the chaplaincy on him and that he would leave Swinburne Castle for the farm at Martinmas. Thompson immediately arranged to see Clavering. The latter explained that all he had told Clark was that he would listen to both sides of the argument. A meeting of all interested parties was convened a week later in the Newcastle offices of the Catholic lawyer John Hankin. Clavering settled the matter once and for all by declaring for the Dominicans. There the matter rested, and in 1734 a resident Dominican chaplain was appointed since Thompson, then sixty years old and ill, was unable to travel regularly out to the farm. The Franciscans registered their continued interest in the chaplaincy, but no notice was taken.[8]

Dominican priests served at Stonecroft Farm throughout the century, although, in what would become the usual practice, in later years the priest lived in his own cottage on the estate. This chaplaincy came to

an end in 1815 when the Gibson family fell on hard times. George Gibson (1770-1834) had mortgaged the farm for £5,000 at the beginning of the nineteenth century but he could not redeem the mortgage and he sold the property to his kinsman Jasper Gibson of Newburgh Lodge. He too got into financial difficulties and his affairs were put into the hands of trustees. The first economy was to dispense with the chaplain, and from 1816 the chapel was served from the Dominican chapel in Hexham. That was not sufficient to save the farm, however, and six years later the trustees sold it for £6,805. The new owner, John Todd, was a Protestant and he refused to pay the rent-charges to the priest in accordance with the Mountney will. Nicholas Leadbitter, a Catholic lawyer of Hexham in whom the fund had been vested in trust, took the case to the Court of Chancery in September 1831. The Master of the Rolls decided that under the old law the bequest was void because it was intended for superstitious uses; but under existing law it could be termed a charitable gift. The rents should therefore be handed over together with any arrears. This fund was later transferred to the mission in Hexham.

So ended the Stonecroft Farm mission. Thenceforth, the congregation of the chaplaincy, which numbered around fifty for much of its existence, travelled to Hexham for Mass. In 1828 it was reported that there were 'few Dissenters and fewer Catholics' in the parish of Warden.[9]

The history of the Stonecroft Farm chaplaincy is important in that it exemplifies in one case all the disadvantages of the chaplaincy system. It shows the difficulties that could arise over badly drafted wills and when patrons became involved in politics. It shows that the power of the lay patron over the chaplain was supreme, and that security of tenure of a chaplaincy depended entirely on goodwill and on the solvency of the patron. Finally, it showed that when clerical rivalries arose, and particularly when the regular orders were involved, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic was limited. Indeed, he was effectively impotent in chaplaincy matters, yet the majority of his priests were chaplains. The Stonecroft Farm case is perhaps exceptional, but in the course of the eighteenth century one or more circumstances of a similar kind arose in almost every chaplaincy in the north east.

*

Tynedale was the most important centre of recusancy in the region during the penal era. A large number of Catholics lived in Hexham and thereabouts, and they supported priests more or less continuously. Except for the city of York, Hexham was the strongest centre of Catholicism in the Diocese of York. Bishop Leyburne confirmed 481 people at Dilston in 1687; but at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the pastoral

situation was not encouraging. William Gascoigne, a secular priest, had died in 1690 and a Franciscan mission closed in 1706 at the death of its patron, Benoni Carr, an attorney and Bailiff of Hexham. In May 1715 an appeal was addressed to the Vicar Apostolic and to the local gentry:[10]

> We the Catholic Inhabitants of this town and other adjacent neighbours haveing for too long experienced the sad want and necessity of a priest to remain in this place; Do now as much as in us lies and express our utmost endeavours for encouraging the constant abode of some worthy person - and at the same time humbly implore the charitable assistance of all well disposed Christians for the said end.

The petition was badly timed, for the year of the Jacobite Rising was not the best time to recruit a priest for such a conspicuous post, only a mile or so west of Dilston Hall. It was only after, and as a consequence of, the Fifteen that Hexham got its missioner, indeed, it got two.

The first was Peter Thompson, the Dominican who opened a chapel in Hexham after his departure from Stonecroft Farm. Anne Brandling of Middleton Hall, near Leeds, whose own chaplain was a Dominican, bought a house and field on Battle Hill in Hexham for the mission. To safeguard the property she merged it with the estate of William 'Bowrie' Charlton the Jacobite rebel and ruffian. Thompson must have feared that his new patron was going to be no more congenial than his last, but he had no trouble. The second priest came from Dilston Hall. The Countess of Derwentwater went abroad in 1721 and her chaplain, John Girlington, closed the chapel and moved into Hexham where he 'had his chapel in a house of Mr Thomas Jefferson, tanner, facing the tan pits at Cockshaw Bridge End'.

The Catholic population of Hexhamshire grew to around two hundred and fifty by mid-century. The Episcopal Visitation of 1743 showed that there were 63 families Catholic families, most of which were living in the township of Hexham. In 1735 there had been 105 individuals. The secular chapel at Cockshaw was served by George Gibson for some twenty years from 1757. He was the eldest son of Jasper Gibson of Stonecroft Farm, and he immediately set out to make his mark when he arrived in the town aged thirty. Firstly, he established a wool-spinning factory to provide work for the poor children of Hexham. Then he set about building a new chapel.[11]

Lawrence Hall, a husbandman, had died in 1750 leaving the residue of his estate to the mission. Thomas Riddell of Swinburne and John Gibson of Great Whittington invested the bequest for ten years and bought 'two Burgesses and a little close or garden' behind the existing chapel at Cockshaw. They also 'laid out in repairing the said house and fitting up the commodious chapel there the further sum of £120, making together £360'. Hall's bequest did not cover the whole cost, as Gibson's brother

later made clear:[12]

> My brother spent above £100 upon the house and chapel out of his own pocket. Kirsopp said that the chapel had been built by the contribution of Gentlemen. This I know to be false in great measure. Someindeed did open their purses but my brother was a bad beggar and there happened to be no profusion of a liberal spirit upon the Earth in those days.

That was to be a continual theme in the clerical correspondence of the period. The gentry were no longer to be relied upon as the principal benefactors of the misson; priests themselves, and the tradesmen, artisans and lower orders generally, such as Jefferson and Hall of Hexham, were to provide most of the funds for mission development in the future.

The location of the new chapel in Cockshaw was consonant with the need for discretion still necessary in the middle of the eighteenth century in the towns. The chapel, in a converted malt kiln, was approached through an archway off the street and down a side lane. The chapel was enlarged and improved as time went by. A description of it in 1823 said it was 'neatly fitted up and well seated with a small gallery at the south end. Above the altar is a fine painting of the Crucifixion'.[13]

The Dominican chapel on Battle Hill was served for most of the period by locally-born priests, for example, Nicholas Leadbitter (1754-62) and Jasper Leadbitter who took over in 1782 and was in charge for forty five years. The old building was no longer watertight at the end of the century and a new house and chapel became necessary. Ralph Riddell, acting as trustee, used a legacy of £100 left by John Shaftoe, to buy land and a house in Hencotes on the outskirts of the town. After the necessary alterations, the new mission was opened in December 1797. The chapel was on the upper storey and ran the full length of the house, occupying over one thousand square feet, and it was said to seat around two hundred and fifty people. Despite having an organ gallery and choir, this was hardly an ambitious project for a post-Relief Act chapel. Many other priests in the north east were considerably more adventurous at the turn of the nineteenth century.

In 1822, Jasper Leadbitter ('of venerable appearance and primitive simplicity of manner') was seventy two years of age and overdue for retirement. There was no possibility of finding a Dominican successor; the Province had been devastated by the loss of its college at Bornhem in the 1790s, and since then no Dominican novices had come forward. In 1817 the Dominican Province could muster only nine priests, five of whom were too old for active work, and one of them was Jasper Leadbitter. As it happened, it was the seventy year old secular missioner, Matthew Sharp, who died first. He was buried in the old Lady Chapel of Hexham Abbey in December 1826. Hexham was about to experience the ardent missionary zeal of

a young, newly-ordained priest, anxious to reanimate the mission in the town which had coasted along under the benign care of the two ageing priests for the previous twenty years.

Michael Singleton, thirty five years of age and fresh from the seminary at Lisbon, arrived in Hexham in April 1826 to assist Matthew Sharp, who died at the end of that year. Within nine months an agreement was reached in which Jasper Leadbitter was to retire and the two chapels were to be amalgamated under Singleton on the premises of the Dominican chapel, with the stipulation that either a secular or a Dominican priest might hold the incumbency.[14] The chapel at Cockshaw was sold for £600, and an appeal was issued for subscriptions towards a new chapel to seat six hundred people:[15]

> Till last year there were in this town two Catholic chapels, but such have been our losses that these cannot any longer be supported and though the wrecks of both properties have been united, the strictest economy will be requisite for one priest to support himself and his servant. The old chapel has for many years threatened to bury its congregation in its ruins, and that which is called the new one is so circumscribed in its dimensions that it will neither admit of enlargement nor accommodate more than half the present members many of whom come from a distance of seven miles, and some from a distance of twenty miles.

A building committee was formed from among the congregation to raise funds and to plan the new church. About one thousand pounds was collected locally and Singleton was able to lay the foundation stone in April 1828, almost two years to the day of his arrival. This was to be no hole-in-the-corner establishment but was to have a frontage on to the main east-west road running through the town, and Ignatius Bonomi was invited to design it. However, his plans were shortly returned with a note to the effect that it had been 'determined to carry into execution the plan originally furnished by Mr Singleton'. Bonomi's reaction to Singleton's effrontery is not known, but it was reported in November 1828 that the[16]

> bell tower of the new Catholic chapel, then building at Hexham, fell with a tremendous crash, which did considerable damage. Fortunately no lives were lost as it occurred during the workmen's dinner hour. No blame was attached to the builder, Mr. William Oliver, of Durham, as the part that fell was under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Singleton, a difference having taken place between Mr. Oliver and the committee.

The collapse of the bell tower delayed the completion of the project, and, no doubt, the builders and the committee were greatly relieved that Mr Singleton spent most of 1829 travelling the country (and Ireland) soliciting funds. This was the common practice at that time. Indeed, the inconvenience caused to colleagues and congregations by a priest's absence on a begging tour, led to the formation of the Catholic Missionary

Society which collected weekly contributions from all congregations for local church development. The new church in Hexham, dedicated to St. Mary, was opened by the Vicar Apostolic in 1830. Three months earlier the old Dominican Jasper Leadbitter died, 'in an attitude of prayer', at the age of eighty one. Mr. Singleton then turned his energies towards building a school, and that was completed in 1832 at a cost of £400.[17]

*

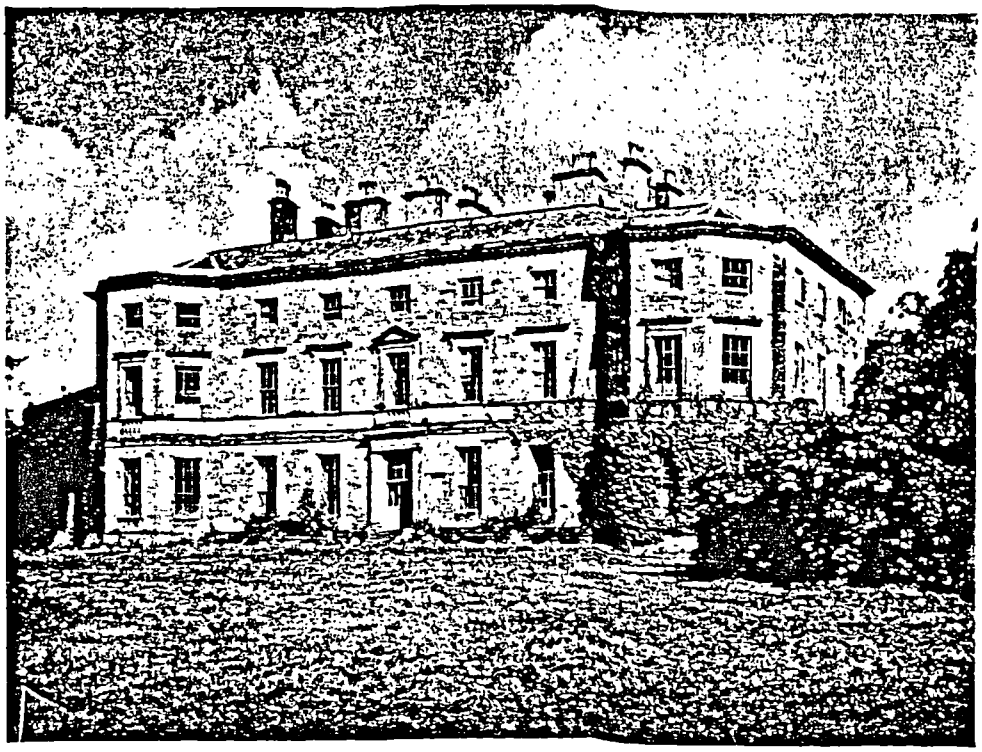
In his appeal of 1828, Michael Singleton had mentioned that more than half his congregation came from a distance of seven to twenty miles away. Some would have been in the old Dilston Hall congregation, some from the Stonecroft Farm area, and others would have been from two other recently defunct Tynedale missions, Beaufront Castle and Capheaton Hall. Beaufront Castle was in the Hexhamshire parish of St. John Lee, and the Errington family had maintained priests there from 1685, although there is no complete list of incumbents. John Errington, a bachelor and the last of his line, became Provincial Grandmaster of the Freemasons in 1776. Three years later, Henry Swinburn wrote:[18]

> I dined at Beaufront with Mr Errington who is as cracked as ever man was. I wonder he is still allowed to be at large and to see company. He has the mania of fancying he has been created Duke of Hexham. He has erected a pillar in his grounds with ducal arms, supporters and coronet, on Stagshaw bank; a most public station as it is the rendezvous of an annual fair. A foreign title is his idea for a foreign crown is over his door.

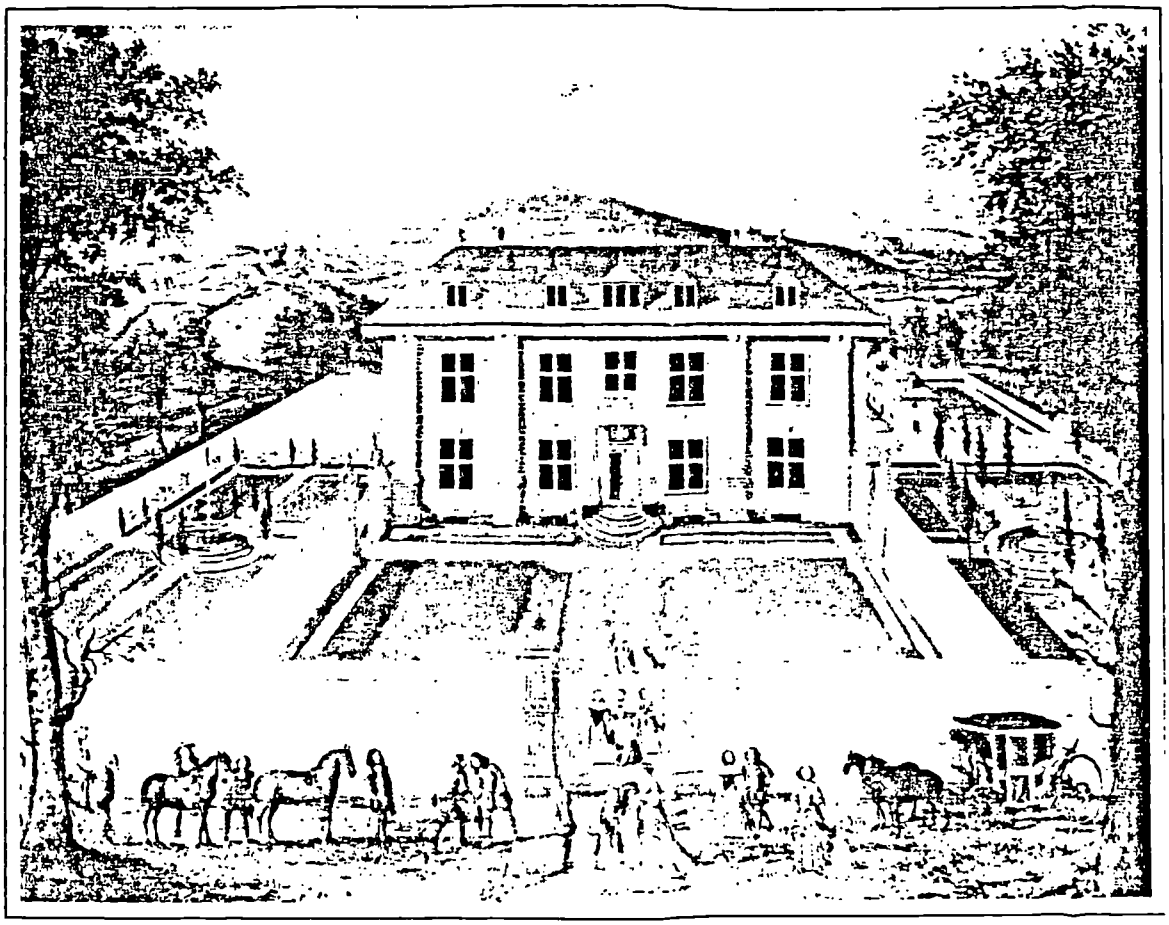
When Errington wrote to the king requesting confirmation of his dukedom, a Commission of Lunacy was appointed to take over his affairs, and the Beaufront estate was sold in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1778 Errington had wanted to build a Gothic chapel with a bell, and he strongly objected to his chaplain's desire for independence in missionary affairs. These matters lapsed with Errington's illness, and the residential mission closed in 1795, when the registers stop upon the retirement of the last Benedictine chaplain, Richard Simpson. Thereafter, the chaplain at Swinburne Castle said Mass for a declining number of ex-Beaufront Castle Catholics in a private house in Corbridge, two miles to the sough east. Alternatively, they travelled the few miles into Hexham.

*

Capheaton Hall was rebuilt, 'in a style of provincial baroque', by Sir John Swinburne in 1670, presumably to accommodate his growing family - his wife Isabella (nee Lawson) gave birth to twenty four children in all. People thronged around her carriage to gaze at and prod the mother of so many babies. Sir John, 'the auld carle of Capheaton', had been rewarded with a baronetcy at the Restoration for his services to Charles I in the Civil War. The Vicar of Kirkwhelpington's return of Papists of



Swinburn Castle



Capheaton Hall, circa 1674.

1705 was one of those that simply gave the name of the local Catholic squire and the value of his estate, which, as near as he could 'compute by the Booke of Rates is about 228lb. per. ann.' Sir John maintained a Benedictine mission, with a chapel in Capheaton Hall, for a congregation of family, servants and tenants. In 1725 there were 'about 50 hearers', by 1750 there were around seventy five.[19]

Sir Edward Swinburne (V) (1733-86) was a wine merchant of Bordeaux, and the Governor of that town described him as 'Edw. Swinburne du Northumberland fils cadet du baronnet John Swinburne d'une famille catholique et zelee pour les Stuarts'. It was also said of Sir Edward that he 'did not practise his religion but kept the faith'. He was closely involved with the Catholic Committee which negotiated the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, and he rebuilt the chapel at Capheaton in 1759, the congregation of which rose to 106 in 1780. The vicars apostolic always included the hall in their confirmation tours. It seems that he ceased to practise his religion only at the end of his life. He moved the chaplain out of the mansion into the village and instructed the priest not to visit the chapel unless specifically asked. Swinburne's apostasy was no doubt the cue for his son's.[20]

Sir John Swinburne (VI) was born at Bordeaux in 1762. He was educated in France and he became the friend of Mirabeau and Wilkes. Swinburne had never left France until he succeeded to the baronetcy at the age of twenty five. He immediately renounced his Catholicism and conformed to the Anglican church; he closed the mission at Capheaton and Dom Andrew Ryding, the chaplain, was dismissed. In July 1786 he wrote:

> It is absurd to sacrifice my consideration in my own country, my prospects in life, to condemn myself to eternal insignificance and oblivion for Tenets I did not believe and Ceremonies I never practised.

The Rev. Henry Rutter, chaplain at Minsteracres, said that Swinburne had renounced 'the errors of Popery with a view, as it is believed, of sitting in parliament for this county; for there is a vacancy by the death of the Duke of Northumberland'. Swinburne had married Emilia Bennet, a niece of the duke. Swinburne hoped to succeed his kinsman Lord Percy as member for Northumberland when the latter was elevated to the dukedom. However, Charles (afterwards Earl) Grey took the seat and Swinburne had to wait until 1788 before the duke could get him into the Commons as a member for Launceston, Cornwall. Swinburne turned out to be a radical; he was described by his grandson Algernon, the poet, as 'one of the most extreme politicians' of his day.[21]

In 1792 the Vicar of Kirkwhelpington reported that the chaplain at Cheeseburn Grange occasionally visited Capheaton but that the number of Catholics was 'declining' every year'. Later the Hexham missioner also

visited the small group of Catholics, 'all of inferior rank' in Capheaton. In 1814 there was a Catholic schoolmistress in the village who taught 'a few children but it is not known that she instructs them in the religious tenets peculiar to her church'.

*

Cheeseburn Grange had been a Catholic house in Elizabethan times, but the estate had passed to the Puritan lawyer, Member of Parliament and Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Widdrington in 1630. He bequeathed the property in 1663 to his brother Henry, an ardent Royalist and Papist. He presumably kept priests, but named chaplains cannot be identified until Ralph Widdrington reopened the chaplaincy around 1718, when he returned from the continent after his self-imposed exile after the Fifteen. The Franciscan Bonaventure Hutchinson was said to be 'much at Cheeseburn Grange' around 1722, but the Jesuits took the chaplaincy over five years later and they remained until the death of Ralph Widdrington in 1752. He died without issue and left the estate to his nephew Ralph Riddell, brother of Thomas Riddell, squire of Swinburne, Felton and Longhorsley.[22]

The chaplaincy at the Grange was discontinued at the change of ownership, probably because the new squire did not live permanently in the house, and the chapel was served by by neighbouring priests for the next twenty years. In 1775 the Dominicans reinstituted a residential mission, but the order could not provide priests after 1792, and the post was taken by the Franciscans until 1815, and then by seculars. The Catholic population of Stamfordham numbered no more than fifty during the eighteenth century, and in 1792 they were described as 'chiefly servants or dependents of Mr Ralph Riddell who has a considerable estate'. The house was rebuilt in 1813 by John Dobson for Ralph Riddell(1771-1831) and a Gothic chapel was added at the same time (coincident with the change to secular chaplains). In 1828, in a parochial population of 1,827, 'Of Catholics, with the worthy Mr Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange at their head, there are 70'. In 1830 there was a congregation of 140.[23]

*

The Charltons of Hesleyside Hall, near Bellingham, maintained Benedictine chaplains for a small congregation of family, servants and tenants throughout the penal era. That loyalty was endangered in the late eighteenth century, 'for what with the penal laws, cockering up the Pretender, ancestral extravagance and, alas!, the undying vice of drink, the estate was on the verge of ruin'. William Charlton came into possession of the estate in 1770 and began to spend a great deal of money on

improvements including the landscaping of the gardens by Capability Brown in 1776. Two years later the 'inebriate and hardly responsible Squire of Heslyside' married Margaret Fenwick, and in a very short time she 'grasped the intricacies and the entanglement of the estate's affairs' and immediately set about their recovery.[24] One of the first economies was the closure of the domestic chapel in 1781 and the saving of the chaplain's salary.

The mission moved into Tone Hall, a Hodgson house some six miles away, which had shared the Benedictine chaplain since 1767. The arrangement had been that the Hesleyside incumbent would receive

> £20 a year, the use of the garden, fireing and grass for his horse. From Mrs Charlton of Reedsmouth £6 yearly. From Mrs Hodgson of Tone 5 guineas yearly. Reedsmouth and Tone to have each prayers one Sunday in the month and half the holydays. The rest at Hesleyside.

At that time the congregation at Hesleyside numbered fifteen, though in 1780 it had grown to 53. Tone Hall came into the possession of William Sanderson in 1784 and he assumed the name of Hodgson. Tone Hall was closed in 1793 because of Hodgson's insolvency, and he went abroad (and died at Calais in 1820).[25] The mission was therefore moved into the village of Bellingham, close by Hesleyside Hall, the missioner, Dom John Sharrock then being under the patronage of the Sandhoe Charltons. He, no doubt, thought he was doing the right thing since Mrs Charlton had closed the domestic chapel. In any case, the hall was about to undergo extensive renovation. Nonetheless, Mrs Charlton was not pleased at this display of independence, nor of the priest's recourse to her relations, but matters were left as they were until the death of the squire in 1797 when Mrs Charlton sent the Benedictine packing. An income of £60 a year was settled instead on the Carmelite William Clarkson and he served at Bellingham between 1798 and 1803.

The new squire, having reached his majority and taken over the estates, reinstated the Benedictines. The renovations to the hall were completed in 1808 and the mission was centred on the domestic chapel at Hesleyside for the next thirty years, but the priest continued to live in the village to guard against any future difficulty the missioner might have with the family.[26] The Vicar of Simondburn, in his return of 1810, was pleased to say:

> Thank God there is no Popish school or Seminary in my parish. I hope the number of Papists does not increase with us: and I am happy that I have converted one large family to the Communion of our Church.

In 1814 there were no more than twenty Catholics in the parish, and perhaps two families in the chapelry of Bellingham; there had been a congregation of around eighty in 1780. It was reported in 1828 that out of

a parochial population of nine hundred, there were 'two or three Roman Catholic families'. That was clearly a reference to gentry families only rather than the total, for the Catholic population had begun to grow.[27]

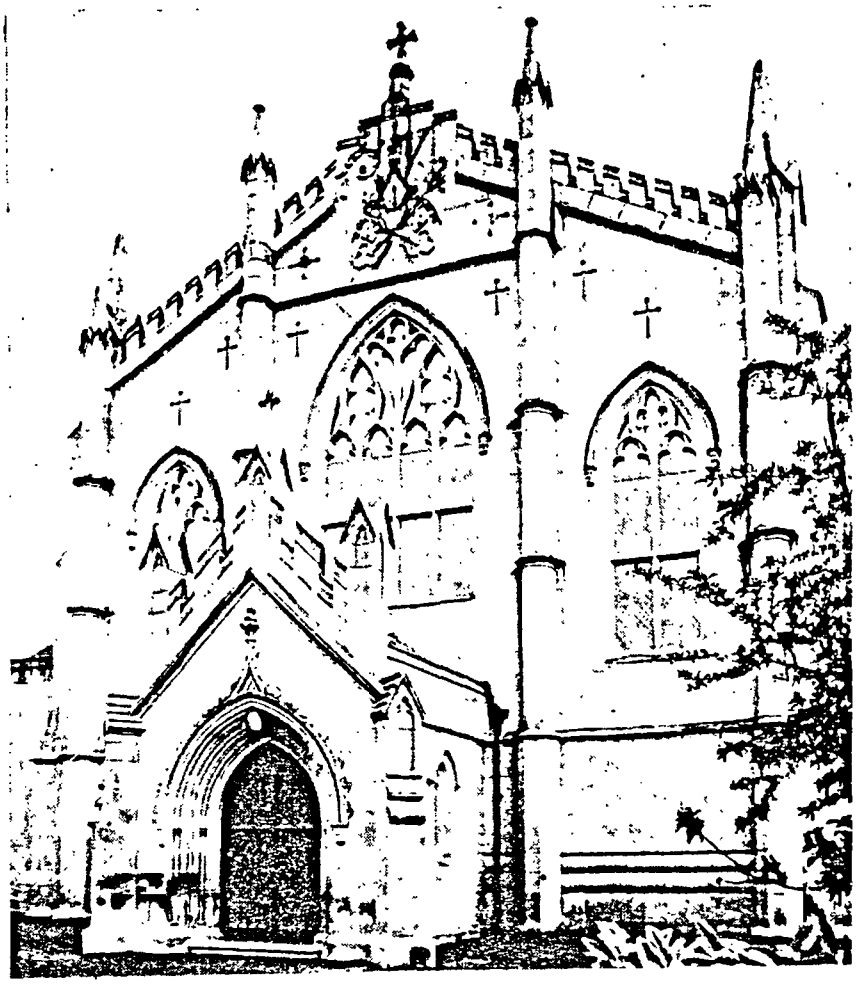
The Benedictines withdrew from this mission in 1832, and it was taken over by the seculars. The Rev. Nicholas Brown, chaplain from 1834, wished to move the chapel out of Hesleyside into the village of Bellingham, and he proposed to build a new church.[28] In March 1838 the Hesleyside family agreed to the plan (Mrs Charlton had to persuade her husband, who only reluctantly gave in). Edward Charlton would give an acre of land, £300 towards the building costs, and provide the incumbent's salary of £60 a year. The land was situated exactly half way between the village of Bellingham and Hesleyside Hall, a reminder to all concerned of whose expense and for whose convenience the church was to be built.

Brown thought the church would cost £1,000; Charlton of Sandhoe and the Vicar Apostolic would each match the Charlton of Hesleyside's contribution of £300, and the balance could be made up from local donations. Brown was delighted to tell Bishop Briggs that[29]

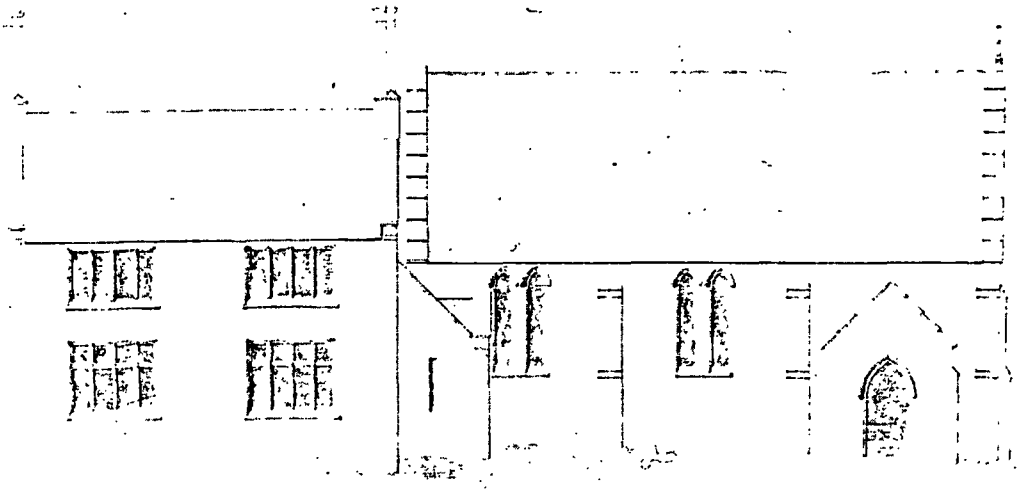
> The Charltons here are desirous of having the chapel finished during the summer. If Mr Charlton could afford it, I feel convinced he would erect the chapel at his own expense, such is their enthusiasm but especially that of Mrs Charlton.

However, the Charltons of Sandhoe recollected that the old chapel in the village was still standing. They gave Brown permission to make what he could 'of the old premises at Bellingham and the furniture therein', and reduced their contribution to the new church to £50. Brown was left in an embarrassing position, for the old village property was practically worthless, and it was certainly insufficient security on which to raise a mortgage, and he would have to borrow £350 to make up the short-fall in funds. Furthermore, the church, designed by Bonomi in the lancet style, and dedicated to St. Oswald, cost £225 more than Brown had anticipated. In response to Bishop Briggs's enquiry about the financial state of affairs after the church's opening in 1839, Brown said that £288 was outstanding and 'As to the Question "Whence I expect to obtain the means of paying off what yet remains to be unpaid?", I do not know'. Mrs Charlton came to the priest's assistance by donating £100 in annual instalments of £10.[30]

Brown's problems were increased when William Charlton told him that he would only provide half his salary, and that Charlton of Sandhoe was obliged to pay the other half, and bickering over the matter went on until 1874. In May 1838, moreover, Jasper Gibson, the Hexham lawyer, drew up the Articles of Agreement, which Brown looked over before send-



Hexham, St. Mary 1830



St. Oswald's R.C. Church and presbytery, Bellingham. 1839

(I. Bonomi's drawing)

ing them on to the bishop for approval. He objected to the sixth clause which gave the Charltons the sole right of presentation to the living. Brown urged the necessity of the bishop possessing unfettered powers of appointing priests. The Charltons agreed, but wished to ensure that no priest would be appointed who 'would make himself obnoxious to the family'; the clause was amended to that effect. The next generation of Charltons was more accommodating; Francis Charlton, third son of William, and County Surveyor of Northumberland, provided a school in 1849 at his own expense. However, Mr Brown ran off with the schoolmistress, Mrs Drury, in 1852.[31]

*

Swinburne Castle, a manor house of 1660 built on the site of an old castle, was bought from Lord Widdrington by Thomas Riddell in 1678, and it became the principal residence of his family. The Riddells maintained Benedictine chaplains there for most of the eighteenth century. In 1760 Thomas Riddell married Elizabeth, heiress of Edward Horsley Widdrington of Felton Park and Longhorsley. Edward died in 1762 and the new squire took up residence at Felton. The mission at Swinburne was closed for ten years while the mansion was completely rebuilt. There were ten or twelve Catholic families in the parish of Chollerton in 1792, and that number remained static; in 1810 it was reported that the congregation comprised 'some Cottagers in the two adjoining villages belonging to R. Riddell, Esq. but little or no alteration in numbers'. The report of 1814 was: 'No particular alterations except a small number of the young persons have lately come to church ... The Protestants and Papists are taught in the same schools'. St. Mary's church was built a few hundred yards away from the castle in 1841.[32]

*

Edward Horsley Widdrington inherited the Longhorsley estate in 1690, and he continued with the Jesuit chaplaincy at Longhorsley Tower, which can be traced to 1678.[33] He built Felton Park in 1732, and the domestic chapel was served from Longhorsley Tower - an extension of the mission without an increase in the number of clerical posts. In her will of 1730, Elizabeth Widdrington left money for the support of a Jesuit 'in the parish of Horsley', and he was required to serve a small congregation in Morpeth as well. This busy post was occupied in 1750 by Joseph Howe, SJ, and he reported a total of 125 Catholics attending the three chapels. Howe died in 1792, aged eighty one. The Riddells had a tradition of Benedictine chaplains at the patrimonial home in Swinburne, and a monk was appointed here too. Riddell went further; he split the missions of Felton Park and Longhorsley Tower and placed a priest at each. Strangely,

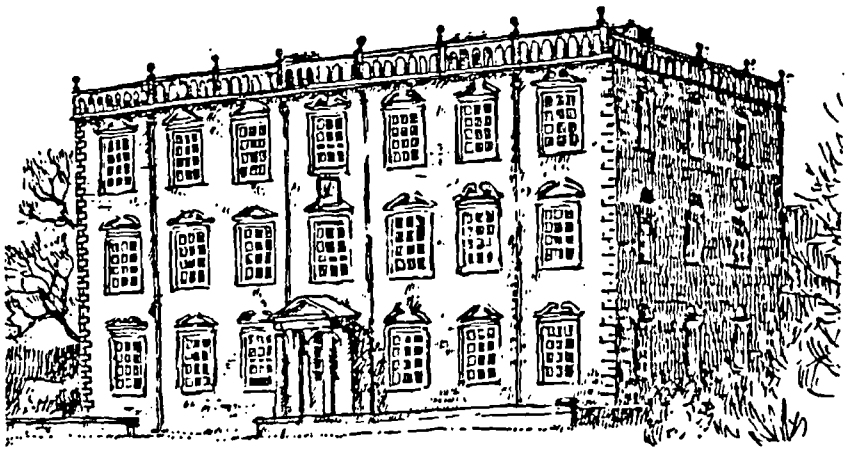
for a family with such strong Catholic antecedents, Thomas Riddell was not so devoted to his faith to allow it to interfere with a local scheme he obviously cherished. In 1788 Riddell applied for a market day to be held at Felton. It would have been allowed, it seems, on condition 'that he would change his religion from Catholic to Protestant. He was willing but Mrs Riddell made an objection, so (it) was at an end'. Thomas Riddell built St. Mary's church at Felton in 1857; he had also funded St. Mary's at Swinburne.[34]

In 1793, Mrs Riddell bequeathed a new endowment of £600 for the support of the mission at Longhorsley, and two years later Dom Dunstan Sharrock became missioner. He died at Longhorsley in 1831 and the mission was taken over by the seculars, preumably to facilitate its amalgamation with the adjacent, almost defunct, mission at Witton Shields (q.v.), which took place in 1833. This reorganisation did not please the patron, Thomas Riddell, for in April 1834 the Rev. Nicholas Brown told the Vicar Apostolic that Riddell had refused to pay his salary. When Brown challenged Riddell about the endowment made in 1793, he was reminded that it could be considered as intended 'for superstitious purposes and illegal'. However, Brown was confident that Riddell could be cajoled into honouring the bequest, but that was not the end of his difficulties for his plan to build a new church was sabotaged by Riddell.[35]

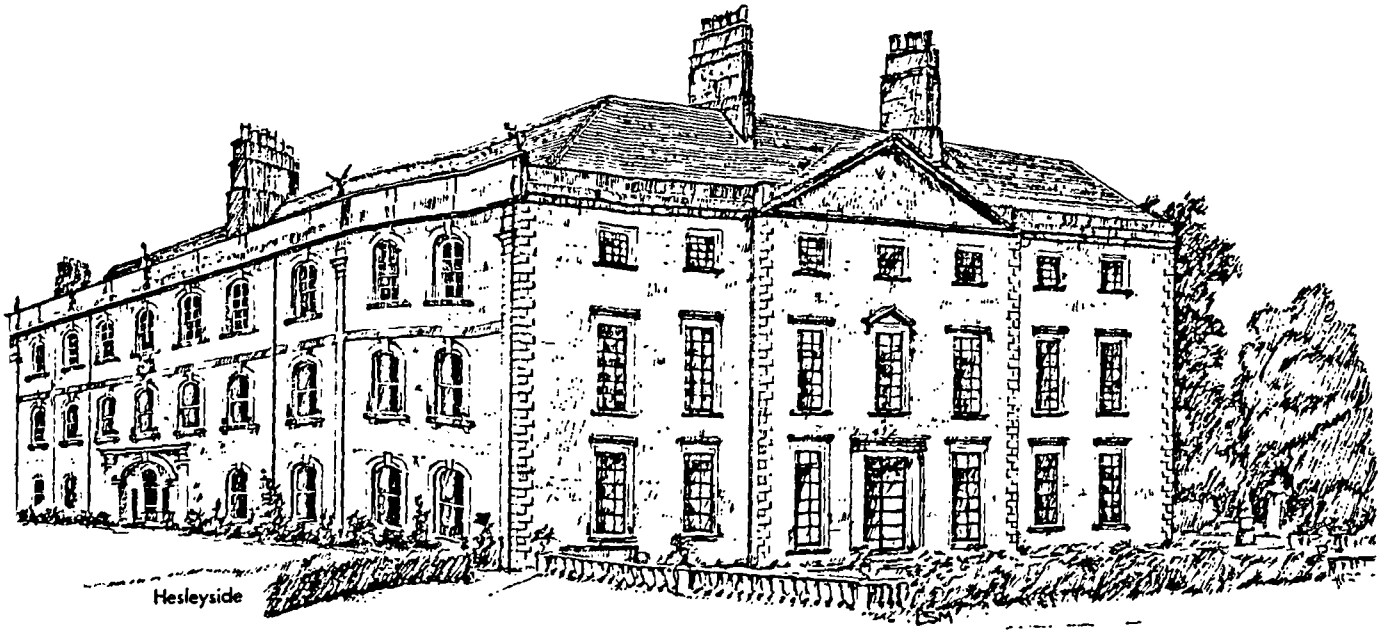
Riddell would not agree to Brown's proposal unless he was given the sole right of presentation to the living; even then he 'could neither give nor sell the estate, being entailed, and of course the chapel would become the property of the family' if it was built on Riddell's estate, as was intended. He emphasised his position two years later when the Vicar Apostolic moved Brown (to Hesleyside and into a similar situation) without consulting Riddell. The latter told Bishop Briggs that in future his permission would be required 'for a new priest to occupy the house and land on the same condition as the last incumbent'. Matters seem to have been resolved only after Briggs had been translated to the Yorkshire District, perhaps at the intervention of a younger brother, William Riddell, who was then the missioner in Newcastle. A new church, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, was built in 1841.[36]

*

Until 1779, the Longhorsley missioner served in Morpeth, where there was a chapel in the house in Buller's Green belonging to Robert Widdrington. In 1748, the property passed to his niece Elizabeth Hewit and his nephew Widdrington Bourne. The Vicar of Morpeth reported to the Bishop of Durham that Bourne was a Popish schoolmaster who had a great



NETHERWITTON HALL



Hesleyside



Felton Park

number of scholars and who 'brought them on' extremely well. The number of Catholics in Morpeth increased during the eighteenth century; in 1725 there were 'about 30 hearers', and in 1792 'between 50 and 60 - chiefly tradesmen'. Clearly, the supply mission from Longhorsley was insufficient to meet the needs of such a sizeable and growing congregation, and the Riddells decided to rectify the situation.[37]

Lady Mary Haggerston (nee Silvertop), who died in 1773, bequeathed £300 for the support of a priest in Morpeth, and that sum was increased to £400 by her husband Sir Thomas, who died in 1777. A further endowment came from the estate of Basil Forcer, which had been left in 1774 for such charitable purposes as his executors saw fit. Thomas Riddell, a trustee of these funds, persuaded his fellow-executors to unite both bequests and to establish a permanent misson in Morpeth. Accordingly, in 1779 an old house in Oldgate was bought and converted into St. Bede's chapel and presbytery at a cost of £1,537. The mission was handed over to the Benedictines with an endowment of £1,200. The capital was entrusted to Sir John Lawson, but at his death, in 1811, the fund could not be traced in his papers. Sir Henry, his successor, made good half the loss from his own resources, and obtained the remainder from an estate of a surgeon of York who died in 1814, for which Lawson acted as executor. Sir Henry's efforts to repair the financial damage may have had something to do with the fact that at that time the Morpeth missioner was his kinsman Dom Henry Lawson.[38]

The parochial return of 1792 mentioned 'a school for the education of young girls - taught by two Ladies Roman Catholics to which children of Protestant parents are admitted'. The school had closed by 1810, but whether that was because of there being no teachers, or due to a lack of funds does not emerge. After Catholic Emancipation in 1829, the Catholic community in Morpeth grew rapidly to an estimated total of almost three hundred in 1850. A new church, costing £2,000 and dedicated to St Robert of Newminster (a twelfth century abbot of a local Cistercian abbey) was opened that year, and a school was built at the same time, costing £331.

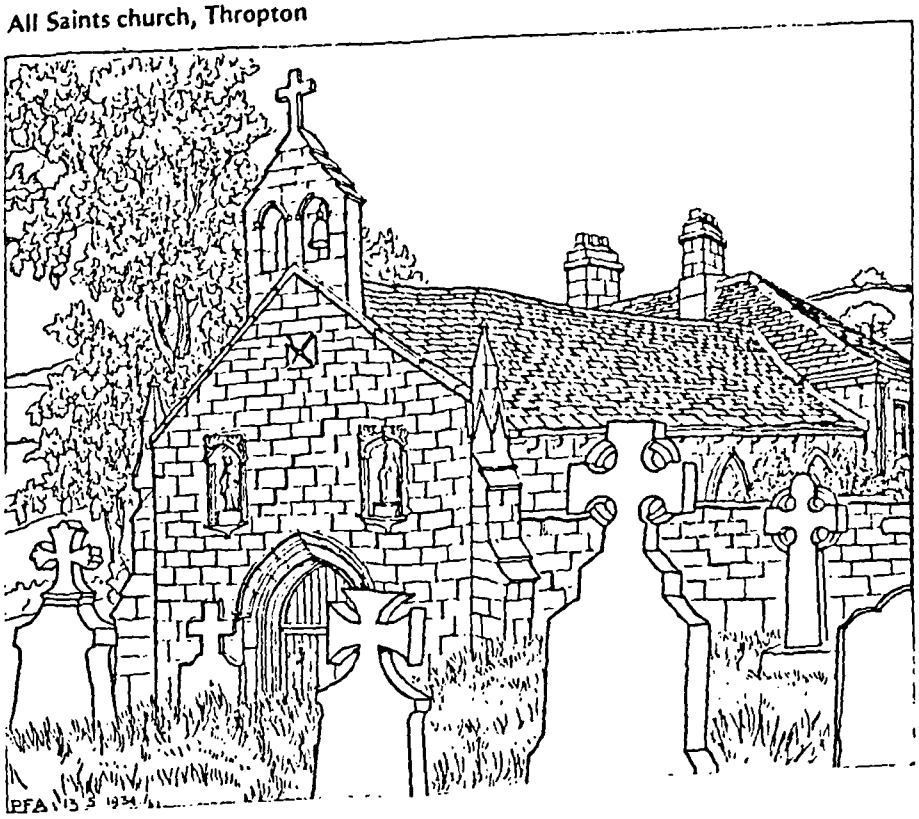
*

There had been a chapel in Netherwitton Hall since the Restoration, and the Thornton family maintained a secular priest. In 1680 there were seventy Papists in the parish and the only school in the locality was taught by a Catholic. As has been seen, the estate and mission survived the Fifteen, and the Catholic community here flourished. In 1736 the whole population of the parish was fifty four families, of which thirty five, or two thirds, were Roman Catholic. Bishop Chandler estimated the congregation at 'about 60', by which he probably meant adults.[39]

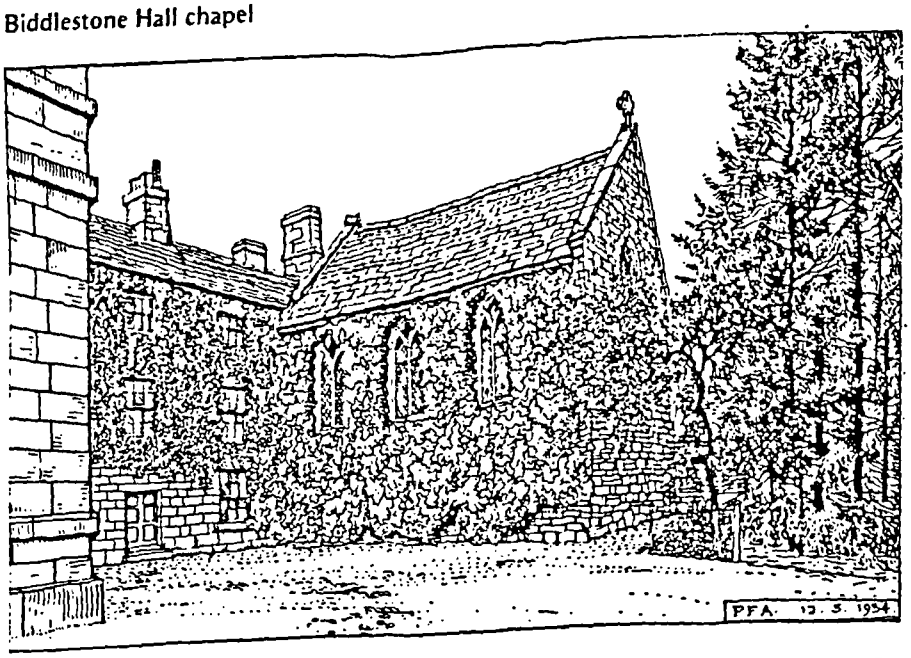
The fund of £400 to support the priest came from a bequest made in 1711 by Isabella Thornton, a nun. The Alnwick-born John Cotes came as chaplain in 1737 and he remained for fifty seven years, during which time he witnessed the slow disintegration of his mission station. John Thornton (the rebel) died in 1742, his eldest son Thomas pre-deceased him in 1740. The estate therefore passed to his next son James, who died five years later. The estate was then divided between his two daughters, Margaret and Mary, an arrangement which was disputed by Catherine, daughter of Thomas Thornton and her husband William Salvin. They dragged Margaret and Mary through the courts in an attempt to eject them from their father's estate, but their case was not upheld. The dispute was compromised in 1769 at the Newcastle Assizes, when the defendants agreed to pay Salvin one third of the value of the estate (less £6,000 which he had already received as his wife's dowry) and he got £12,504. The settlement was confirmed by act of parliament.[40]

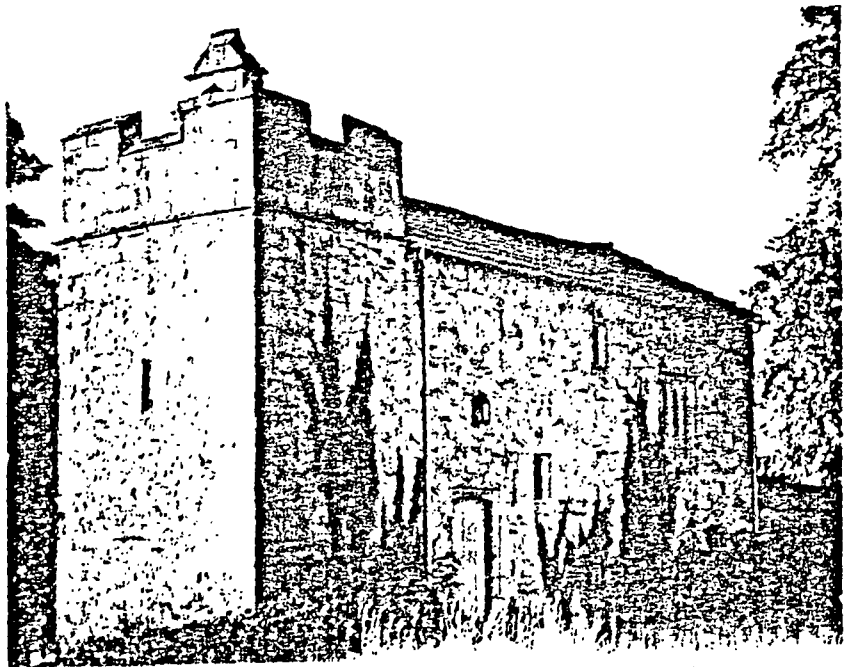
Margaret Thornton married Walter Trevelyan in 1772 and they took over the Netherwitton estate. He was a staunch Methodist and the priest was required to remove himself and his chapel out of Netherwitton Hall and into an old Thornton tower-house in Witton Shields, about a mile and a half distant. The Episcopal Visitation return of 1774 remarked on the effect of that move: 'that Interest is now on the decline and some converts have been made'. The Rev. Mr Cotes was not altogether cowed, for in 1780 and 1792 the local vicar complained about Protestant children being baptised and given a free education by him. His death in 1794, however, heralded the end of this mission, although there were rumours that Trevelyan's heir might become a Catholic, to 'the great vexation of his father who, during his stay with him this summer has had two clergymen in his house to dissuade the young man from such a resolution'. The Vicar Apostolic, William Gibson, called on Trevelyan, but the conversion did not take place; instead he became 'a red-hot Methodistical preacher', and shortly afterwards Trevelyan closed the chapel.[41] Thomas Witham, his brother in law, tried to reverse that decision because it would be 'a hardship upon those poor people who had settled in the neighbourhood as in a place where in all probability a priest would always be maintained'. Trevelyan was unmoved. Firstly, he knew of no fund for the maintenance of a priest and, secondly, 'the very few Roman Catholics (for no one can call them a congregation with propriety) legally settled here may go to Longhorsley', as he himself was obliged to to do attend his own church. The congregation at Witton Shields/Netherwitton, which had numbered one hundred in 1767 and seventy in 1792 continued to decline; a report of 1827 said 'few Catholics are now remaining here'. The mission was served

All Saints church, Thropton



Biddlestone Hall chapel





Dilston Chapel, built in the 17th century by Sir Francis Radcliffe

from Thropton until 1828; thereafter the remaining twenty Catholics attended the chapel at Longhorsley, with which the Witton Shields mission merged in 1833.[42]

*

The mission at Thropton, two miles west of Rothbury in the Coquet valley, had its origins at Cartington Castle, two miles to the north, which had been a Widdrington chaplaincy in the seventeenth century; Bishop Leyburne confirmed 143 people there in 1687. The fabric of the castle was in considerable disrepair, and concern for its future led Clare Ord, daughter of Roger Widdrington (the last of that line) to move the mission into the village of Thropton. With monies left by Mrs Ord and Roger Mitford, a priest, Thropton Hall was bought in 1701/2 and a public chapel, dedicated to All Saints was built in the grounds. In 1736 there were 18 Catholic families (numbering, apparently, 178 persons, which is surely a mistake for 78, since there were only 64 in 1767). In 1774 there were 19 Catholic families out of 529 in Thropton, and the missioner was described as 'one Luke Potts, a sober, quiet, inoffensive man'. As well he might be, for he had been imprisoned at York in 1746, following the Jacobite rising, and he was, no doubt, happy to spend the rest of his days quietly in the depths of rural Northumberland. By 1792 there were one hundred Catholics, and the house and chapel were rebuilt in 1811; the latter was a 'discreet, simple and unassuming' building which was enlarged in 1842. The mission at Thropton was unique in having only four pastors between its creation and Catholic Emancipation in 1829. It was presumably due to these long tenures that the number in the congregation was maintained during the period.[43]

*

The Selby family had held Biddlestone Hall since the reign of Edward I, and they remained Catholic throughout the penal era. The first named chaplain was Thomas Collingwood, SJ, who was here in 1701. In 1736 the congregation was reported to number 28, and in 1750 the new chaplain, William Newton, SJ, thought his 'customers as near as I can guess' were 'about 50 or 60'. That was an under-estimate, because in 1767 there were nearly three times that number. His uncertainty was understandable because the mission area was extensive and the post had been vacant for three years. However, there were seven chaplains at Biddlestone Hall in the first half of the century and such discontinuities in pastoral care no doubt had adverse efects on the congregation.[44]

Dom John Naylor arrived as chaplain in 1767, but it is not clear why the Jesuits were succeeded by Benedictine chaplains. At that time, 'Mr Selby allow(ed) the incumbent £40 a year, the use of his garden and a cow, and feeding for one horse'. Naylor remained for fifty four years,

apparently unaffected by the insolvency of the patron, Thomas Selby, who left the country 'being much in debt, and the servants all discharged' in 1784. Selby died three years later, aged seventy eight, and he was buried in the parish churcyard. His heir, Thomas, rebuilt the hall in 1790, and an old tower adjacent to the house was converted into a small church. The congregation numbered around one hundred for much of the period after 1767. In 1837 it was said to comprise 82 communicants and 10 converts, 'all of a humble class'. In 1841, probably coincident with the coming of age of a new patron, a secular chaplain was appointed, and he remained at the hall for forty five years.[45]

*

Named Jesuit chaplains can be placed at Callaly Castle, the seat of the Catholic Claverings from the reign of James II, although in 1677 it was reported that 'Mr Collingwood and Mr Clavering of Callile are seducing Papists and keep priests. There are also many other Papists and sectaries'. Ralph Peter Clavering completed his education at Douai in July 1747, and he was only twenty years old when he succeeded to the Callaly estates (worth about £1,000 a year) on the death of his father Ralph in April the following year. He immediately embarked on a major re-building of the castle and, in 1750, a new and spacious chapel in the classical style was opened; this was the only chapel to be built at this time without regard to Protestant susceptibilities.[46]

The Jesuit chaplain from 1752 was Joseph Pleasington, but he was retired in 1774 at the age of fifty nine, having grown weak and 'zealously crazy'. He had objected to Mrs Clavering riding on a Sunday. After two brief Jesuit incumbencies, the seculars took over in 1781. The demise of the Jesuits and the consequent change in tenure required a revision of the formal terms of the chaplaincy. In 1780 Clavering settled a trust fund, which provided the chaplain with a yearly salary of £50, or £20 if the priest was boarded and fed by the family. Clavering also stipulated that the family was to have the power to change the chaplain whenever they pleased, with the concurrence of the Vicar Apostolic.[47]

Clavering had become so indebted after thirty years of building, that in 1784 he was forced to flee abroad. Henry Rutter remarked that Clavering had gone to Liege, leaving 'his affairs in the greatest confusion'. However, the trustees of the estate were able to bring the creditors to a settlement and thus save the estate, but economies were required. Nicholas Clavering, the secular missioner in Old Elvet, Durham, was Ralph's brother, and he moved up to Callaly to take over the mission and to act as the caretaker of his brother's estate; Thomas Storey, the chaplain, was then dismissed. Rutter was not wholly convinced that the

the fifty six year old priest would be able 'to manage both the temporal and spiritual affairs at Callaly', which were 'an undertaking too great for him in the opinion of some who are well acquainted with him'. Clavering seems to have taken the task in his stride, notwithstanding his own reservations on the dual role he had to fulfill. The squire died at St. Omers in 1787, aged sixty, and the estates passed to his son John Aloysius, who was twenty two years old, but it was five years before Nicholas Clavering was prepared to hand over the estate to him.[48]

At the end of May 1796, James Peters, chaplain to Mrs Biddulph at Midhurst in Sussex, was told he was to be replaced by an acquaintance of hers. He wrote to Bishop Douglas saying that he wished to be placed in an independent mission rather than another chaplaincy. However, he was offered the vacancy at Callaly Castle. After asking Clavering's terms he declined the post, the northern climate being so bad. The secular priest Thomas Stout was therefore sent north from St. George's, Southwark, but he was at Callaly for under a year before moving across to Thropton. It was then rumoured that Clavering was considering taking a Benedictine chaplain. Stout queried this with Clavering and was told that since Clavering needed a chaplain, 'he would have a regular if no secular was available'. Stout therefore urged the bishop's secretary, Thomas Eyre, to do all he could 'to please the squire'. Within the month a newly-ordained Lancashireman, Thomas Gillow, was appointed to Callaly, despite the pleas of his cousin James Worswick to relieve him of the burgeoning mission at North Shields.[49]

An Anglican return of 1828 gave the number of Catholics in the parish as one hundred, most of whom lived in Whittingham, 'their stronghold'. The congregation at the castle had fallen by about one hundred and fifty since 1780, and it seems as if the Catholic community did not recover entirely from the difficulties encountered by the Claverings at the end of the eighteenth century. Certainly, with only ten per cent of the population, the Catholics were no longer the dominant group in the parish. John Aloysius Clavering died without issue in 1826, and the estate passed to his half-brother John Edward (son of Ralph Peter and his third wife). Mrs Clavering dismissed the chaplain within a year for reasons which are not clear. She also quarrelled with the Rev. Andrew Macartney in 1837. He counter-attacked by carving out a small cave on the side of Callaly Crag to which he could retreat for some peace and quiet; he did not have the use of it for long, however, for he was replaced within the year.[50]

*

'Many Papists and schismaticks' were reported in Alnwick shortly after the Restoration, but it is not known where they assembled for Mass. From the early years of the eighteenth century, the chaplain at Callaly Castle said Mass in a house in Bondgate Without, next to the Plough Inn. In 1750, Mary Butler (a relative of the Ord family of Sturton Grange, near Warkworth), bequeathed tithes in Tweedmouth and Ancroft, worth £1,200, for the support of a Jesuit priest in Sturton Grange, or in some convenient place in the neighbourhood. Sir Henry Lawson, the principal trustee, and the Rev. John Walshe, the local Jesuit Superior, agreed that the priest should be stationed in Alnwick, six miles from Sturton Grange, and where there already was a Catholic congregation under Jesuit auspices. However, two objections were raised by the family. A Protestant half-sister of Mary Butler threatened to go to law to nullify the bequest since it was intended for 'superstitious uses'; she was bought off with an annuity of £10, arranged by John Maire, the Catholic lawyer of Gray's Inn. William Ord then claimed that the priest should reside in the Grange and not in Alnwick; he, too, was induced to take an annuity of of £10 in lieu (which he relinquished in 1757 for a lump sum of £120). Only then could the bequest be executed; the tithes were sold and the capital was invested with Ralph Clavering to produce £48 a year. Sir Henry Lawson wrote to Walshe, 'all I beg and desire in consideration of the trouble I have had in this jumbled affair is that I may have a zealous and prudent man and one that will do his duty and not a very young man'. The forty year old John Parker was shortly afterwards appointed as the first resident Jesuit in Alnwick. In 1757 Clavering bought a house in Bailiffgate, in trust for the Society, and Parker took up residence and opened a chapel in it which, with several alterations, served until 1835.[51]

The congregation remained around seventy to one hundred strong for most of the eighteenth century, but it began to decline thereafter. Nonetheless, the chapel was completely rebuilt in 1796 and extended in 1809. The return of the following year said that there were 'some' Papists in Alnwick, a chapel and a small Catholic dame school. The Vicar also noted that there was 'a stipend of £60 per annum and a house for the priest who must be of a particular Order, of which I understand there are very few in England. The last Popish priest here was of the Howard family'. If the reference to the Howard family was meant to impress the Bishop of Durham it was mistaken, for the priest was using an alias; he was truly Francis Holme, a Lancashireman of minor gentry origins. His predecessor, however, was William Strickland, a member of

the old Catholic family, Strickland of Sizergh Castle; he was a friend of the Duke of Northumberland.[52]

The salary of the missioner in Alnwick was £70 a year in the 1770s, and Strickland said that he did 'not conceive that any man can live there with tolerable comfort upon less'. In 1802 he told the Jesuit William Warrilow that he doubted if any secular priest would find Alnwick 'a very desirable place'. The return of 1814 said that the congregation had fallen to 'nearly 40 chiefly of low rank, except two widows who are lately come to reside here and a linen and woollen draper. They have made no converts here.' The school had closed.[53]

In 1832, John Fishwick, a newly-ordained priest in the restored Society of Jesus, was appointed to Alnwick and, like many zealous young priests entering upon their first incumbency, he immediately decided on a rebuilding programme. The old chapel and house were razed and four years after his arrival the local newspapers announced:

> A new Roman Catholic chapel dedicated to the Virgin was opened at Alnwick when Mass was performed by the Rev. G. Fisher assisted by the choirs of Newcastle and North Shields. The chapel is a handsome Gothic building designed by J. Green Junior of Newcastle.

St. Mary's church had cost some £2,100, threequarters of which had been raised locally. The congregation quadrupled in the first half of the nineteenth century, and in 1855 a two-classroom school was bought from a dissenting sect for £450. In the following year the mission was handed over to the secular clergy.[54]

*

There had been a secular priest at Haggerston Castle around 1660, but from 1688 the resident chaplain was always a Jesuit. Two of Sir Thomas Haggerston's sons became Jesuit priests, and another became a Franciscan. In 1710, Lady Jane Haggerston (nee Carnaby), widow of Sir Thomas, bequeathed £340 to maintain a Jesuit priest in Northumberland or North Durham, and the first recipient was John Thornton who entered the household in 1711. He does not appear to have been a very active missioner. In 1736 there were some fifty Catholic families in the area; in 1750 Thornton reported only 110 'customers to shop', which represented about half the potential attendance. Sir Marmaduke Constable had said in 1742 that 'Thornton has grown old and his high spirits quite extinguished'.[55]

The 1767 Returns of Papists from the parishes in the north eastern corner of Northumberland listed 236 Catholics, and this increase can be attributed to the evangelism of Charles Hanne, SJ, chaplain at Haggerston for forty years from 1758. Michael Tidyman, a secular priest, went to Haggerston in 1790, initially to assist, but then to take over from

the aged Jesuit (who retired and died in Ellingham Hall in 1799, aged eighty eight). The priests were provided with a new and furnished house in the village by Sir Carnaby Haggerston, who 'annexed to it an annual income of £90'. The congregation numbered around two hundred at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a slight decline which was noted in the return of 1810 from Kyloe, which also remarked on the impending closure of the mission in Berrington Hall (q.v.), and the effect that would have on the Catholic population: 'they will soon disappear in that quarter, and as the Haggerstone family do not scruple to take a good Tenant from among the Protestants, they are I think upon the decrease in both parishes'. The intense concern of the Anglican church with interdenominational education was reflected in further comments from Kyloe:

> There is no regular Popish school in either parish, but in the town of Fenwick there is a school kept by a Papist but most of the scholars are Dissenters; and upon conversing with him, I find he hears the children of three different Catechisms, that of the Church of England, Dr. Watts, and of his own communion, honestly enough (I believe) confining the children to that of their own church.

The vicar, however, was not going to run any further risk and he 'got a young man of the Church of England to commence a school in Kyloe to whom I give every encouragement'.

Sir Carnaby Haggerston (V), who died in 1831, was the last in the male line. His daughter Mary married Sir Thomas Massey Stanley, Bt., and they lived at the castle and maintained a chaplain, although there were the usual difficulties. In 1834 the chaplain was summarily dismissed (without consultation with the Vicar Apostolic) because he rarely visited his flock or preached; he regularly spent half the day in bed and drank so much that he was often seen to fall off his horse. The bishop was advised that an older and more experienced priest was needed because Lady Stanley dominated the chaplain to such an extent that he only said Mass when she told him to. Ten years later, his coadjutor bishop told Bishop Mostyn that the Rev. Mr Smith had expressed an 'anxious desire' to leave Haggerston, and if the bishop agreed to let him leave, 'he would take all the blame on himself'. The cause of the disagreement is not explained, but Bishop Riddell's suggestion about a replacement might be read as an implicit criticism of Smith. Riddell proposed to appoint Joseph Cullen who

> would suit Lady Stanley very well, he is quiet, and would not interfere where he has no business; he has been on the mission some little time and therefore has some experience which Her Ladyship likes.

She died in 1857 and the Haggerston estate was sold to Protestants the following year.[56]

*

Edward Haggerston, sixth son of Sir Thomas (II), bought the estate of Ellingham Hall in 1698-9, created a chapel in the west wing, and instituted a Jesuit chaplaincy, the first incumbent of which was his elder brother John. Haggerston single-handedly created a Catholic community at Ellingham. There were 31 Catholic families there in 1736, and in 1767 the Anglican vicar remarked after naming ahundred or so Catholics:

> John Barton is yet living in the village of Ellingham who remembers when the late Edward Haggerston Esq. purchased the Estate, at which time, he says, there was not one Papist in the parish, but now, all the persons as yet mentioned are tenants or sub-tenants to the present Edwd. Haggerston Esq.

Only four of the 108 Catholics listed were not tenant-farmers or in some other way dependents of the Haggerstons, although there is no evidence that the squire made Catholicism mandatory, and it should be noted that there were five hundred Protestant families in the parish.[57]

In 1750 the chaplain was William Pemberton, SJ, who was pastor of a congregation of about one hundred people, a number that remained fairly constant for the remainder of the century. Pemberton spent all his priestly life in the service of the Haggerstons. He accompanied his pupil William on the Grand Tour between 1742 and 1745, before settling down as chaplain in Northumberland. He did not seem altogether satisfied with the financial terms of the post:

> My salary from Factory £30, and from my landlord a field valued at £8 per annum. No helps unless a little beef or the like from Haggerston or the tenants, which Latter I repay with interest.

Sir Carnaby Haggerston (III) died in 1756 (and a memorial to him was placed in the parish church), and the Ellingham estate passed to his youngest son Edward. In the 1792 return it was reported that

> Edward Haggerston Esq. and his wife are the only Papists of Distinction in my Parish: four substantial farmers are of the same persuasion and a few Cottagers. They have a place in my parish where they assemble for Divine Worship which place is a Chapel within the dwelling-house of the aforesaid Edward Haggerston Esq. A Popish Priest doth reside within the aforesaid Edward Haggerston Esq.'s House who is known by the name of Mr. Joy. There is one Popish school in my Parish kept by a Woman.

Mr Joy died unexpectedly in 1798 aged fifty six, and he was succeeded by William Meynell, SJ. The squire was by this time an old man and, fearing for the future of the Jesuit mission, made his will and settled £140 for the support of the missioner. He died two years later, 'much respected and a model of piety'. His nephew Thomas Haggerston succeeded to the estate; his wife was Winifred Charlton, whose family at Sandhoe had normally supported Benedictine priests. Inevitably, then, the Jesuit was replaced by a monk. For the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the chaplaincy at Ellingham was filled by Benedictines, Jesuits or sec-

ulars, depending on the availability of priests, but the post became a permanent secular chaplaincy thereafter. In the normal course of events, the Vicar Apostolic wished to move the chaplain in 1828, but Haggerston at first found it 'impossible for me to consent'. Eventually, however, he did accept the proposed change and told the bishop, 'The mission is an easy one', and if the new chaplain 'will only not be on too familiar terms with the servants, I can conceive he may be happy and contented'. The outgoing chaplain, Robert Albot, thought he had 'never met a gentleman of so unkind a temper' as Thomas Haggerston.[58]

*

The origins of the Berwick mission can also be attributed to the Haggerstons. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, William (second son of Sir Thomas (II)) and his wife Anne went to Berwick to live in the Haggerston's town house. They took with them his brother Francis, a Franciscan, as domestic chaplain. By 1710 Sir Thomas, William and Francis were all dead and Anne Haggerston returned to the castle, where she died in 1740. She left money to the Society of Jesus 'with the obligation of serving Berwick unless otherwise apply'd in urgent necessity'. The Jesuit account-books for 1749 show that two guineas were paid to Francis Digges, SJ, for 'assisting at Berwick', and from then until the end of the century, the chaplain at Haggerston Castle or Berrington Hall supplied in the town.[59]

The tiny indigenous congregation in Berwick, numbering twelve in 1767, was swollen by the garrison at the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars. In 1792 the congregation of around thirty five was served by exiled French priests under the supervision of Michael Tidyman, the chaplain at Haggerston. Five years later Tidyman wrote to Thomas Eyre proposing to buy property for the mission in the town. 'The French priests', he said, 'by residing there for a considerable time have partly done away with the prejudice that otherwise might have impeded so good a work'. Tidyman took a short lease on an old Assembly Room in 1798, but after a year he bought 'a new house built within these last nine years and used at present for a printing office' for £350. William Hurst went to Berwick as missoner in 1803 and he found a congregation of some seventy very poor people struggling to support the priest. The mission house was practically bare, the income 'too uncertain to be relied upon', and the priest was unable to keep himself or his servant. Tidyman went up from Haggerston to find Hurst 'quite bewildered and absent(minded) in his parochial functions'. Though Hurst liked Berwick, he was unable to cope with the difficulties and he left within a year. Philip Besnier, a French exiled

priest, took over and he made strenuous efforts to serve the Catholics in Berwick and in the villages on the Scottish border. In 1805 he said 'during the last 12 months I have walked no less than a 1000 miles' on missionary work.[60]

The return of 1810 gave the Catholic congregation as 'about 60' and that M. Besnier taught in school. M. Menard, another French priest, kept a boarding school, to which both Protestant and Catholic children were admitted. Besnier died later in 1810, and there seemed little likelihood of attracting a residential missioner to so poor a position, and so in 1811 a petition was presented to the Vicar Apostolic by the representatives of forty seven local families and forty privates and their families of the Aberdeenshire Militia, then in the garrison. The individual who collected the signatures illustrated the problem of not having a resident priest in Berwick. Although the road had been improved,[61]

> he and his family on their return frm Haggerston the other Sunday were fatigued to such a degree that they were actually obliged to go to bed instead of taking their dinner ..... for want of more practical means of assembling on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation we fear our number has already greatly reduced and will still more rapidly decline ..... several of the Catholic Laity in this neighbourhood say they would willingly contribute a guinea a year each.. 20 such subscribers or more might be immediately procured.

The Vicar Apostolic could not appoint a resident missioner at that time, but the chaplain at Berrington visited the town weekly from 1812.

The eighty year old Scottish Benedictine William Pepper went to Berwick as missoner in 1816. He found nothing in the house except an old chest of drawers, two chairs, a mirror, a basin stand and a broken table. He had to spend £40 on furnishing the house and he was obliged 'to live very sparingly indeed'. Pepper was succeeded by the first English resident secular missioner, William Birdsall, in 1824. He decided to build a church, but it took him five years to collect the money. The 'plain and small' church, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, was opened in June 1829.[63]

Birdsall died suddenly, and intestate, in 1838. When his papers were sorted out, it emerged that he had left debts of £2,000. (Thomas Parker, chaplain at Ellingham, had warned the bishop about Birdsall's financial condition the previous year.) The immediate problem was to settle with Birdsall's brother who, as heir-at-law, claimed the property. The contents of the house were sold and they raised £400, which satisfied Mr Birdsall, and the bishop could turn to the greater difficulty of settling with Birdsall's other creditor. The cause of the late priest's situation was that some years before he had bought a cottage and a small garden next to the Catholic chapel 'for £400, which is more than it is

worth but it was purchased at the time to prevent it being bought by some Moravians or Methodists who wished to have it to build a Chapel upon the property, which would have been an immense nuisance to our Chapel'. Birdsall had been paying £31 a year for the cottage, and he got that by mortgaging the chapel and house. In order to redeem the mortgage, then, the whole property, chapel, house and cottage, would have to be sold. It was valued at £1,500 and put on the market. The Rev. Joseph Orrell offered to pay £1,400 for it out of his own pocket, but Bishop Briggs would not hear of it. He had decided on a scheme to drive the price down and then buy the property himself. In May 1838 he told the new incumbent, Henry Sharples, to leave the presbytery and live with neighbours, and to neglect the property. Sharples told the bishop that he felt 'ashamed and almost disgraced by being forced to hang upon my neighbours for a living', but he did what he was told. In August he reported to Briggs that he had done all he could to 'conceal your intention of buying the property'. In January, when the property presumably looked its worst, Sharples made an offer of £1,000 for it, but there was a counter-offer of £1,125. The priest's next offer of £1,150 was sufficient to secure the property, and the mission in Berwick was saved. Sharples had found the whole business distasteful and he concluded that his position in the town was untenable; he asked to be moved, and he was.[64]

*

In 1662 it was reported that in Berrington Hall, 'Masses are openly and publicly said and warning given to the people to come thereto'. However, a permanent chaplaincy was not established here by the Claverings until 1721. The American-born Jesuit, Francis Digges was the chaplain in 1750, and he reported 'about 120 customers that go through all kinds of business'. William Clavering died in 1789, aged eighty two, leaving less than £600, one third of which had been bequeathed by his aunt Margaret to maintain the chaplain. When Digges died two years later, the residential chaplaincy was allowed to lapse, and the mission was served from Haggerston Castle for fourteen years. The new squire, Edward Clavering, was something of a spendthrift, despite his impoverished inheritance, and he had so over-reached himself in rebuilding the mansion that from 1807 parts of the estate had to be sold off. He died in 1816 and the estate was dissolved. The congregation merged with that at Haggerston.[65]

*

The Silvertop family was responsible for the creation of two missions in Northumberland. That at Minsteracres will be dealt with in the next chapter, but the other, at Wooler, will be covered here. George Silvertop's widow Jane (nee Selby) returned to her native place of Earle

near Wooler in 1792,taking with her Thomas Eyre as chaplain. She bought a house, known as St. Ninian's, the top floor of which became the chapel and priest's accommodaton. Eyre left the following year, and Mrs Silvertop took in four French exiled priests, and appointed Mr. R.N. Gilbert as missioner. Richard Whalley, a seventy-year old Franciscan priest, was reported in Wooler from 1805, but in 1808 he was considered unable 'to perform the necessary duties of a missionary'. Mrs Silvertop was seventy six years old in 1808 and she became anxious to bequeath money for the support of 'an able priest equal to the cure of souls and the instruction of youth'; she also wished to leave St. Ninian's to the vicariate. Bishop Gibson and Thomas Eyre thought the house too expensive to maintain and suggested to her that if she intended to leave any money for missionary purposes, it would be better to provide for 'some other place where it would have been more beneficial, but to this she would never consent'. At her death in 1810, she left the house and £2,000 to the mission. However, Whalley died two years later and the mission ceased to be residential. The house was leased and the missioners at Ellingham Hall, Callaly Castle or Berwick attended the small Catholic congregation of twenty (in 1814).[66]

*

In 1700, Newcastle upon Tyne was the fourth largest town in England and 'the great Emporium of all in the Northern Parts'. Roman Catholicism had flourished in the town since the Restoration, but it was not until the 1680s that what was expected to be a permanent missionary organisation was established. From 1681 the Jesuits kept a 'spacious chapel and well-frequented school' in the back buildings of the White Hart Inn. At about the same time a secular priest was appointed chaplain to the Radcliffe household in Newgate Street. The world changed abruptly in 1688, and the Jesuit mission was hastily transferred to the privacy of Gateshead House, belonging to the Riddells, on the south side of the river. The secular chapel remained open under the protection of the Radcliffes, but it too closed as a consequence of the Fifteen; the missioner then rented a house in The Nuns. The Returns of Papists for 1705 listed some fifty Catholics in the town, and in 1736 there were eighty five.[67]

The sacking of the chapels in Gateshead and Newcastle after the Forty-five led to a redisposition of the Tyneside mission. The Gateshead mission was not reopened and the Jesuit moved into Newcastle late in 1746 and rented a house in The Close, in which he opened a chapel. He was clearly well-established when he made his report in Jubilee year, 1750. Of some two hundred and fifty Catholics in the town, the Rev. John Walsh, SJ, claimed that two hundred attended his chapel. He had also gained about thirty converts 'and four or five in a hopeful way'. His

success in such a short time was exceptional; of the other Jesuits in the county, only Joseph Howe reported as many as ten conversions, the others made only one or two. Walsh's report also said that the Jubilee devotions were attended by all the Newcastle Catholics; and that several members of the other congregation had transferred to him.[68]

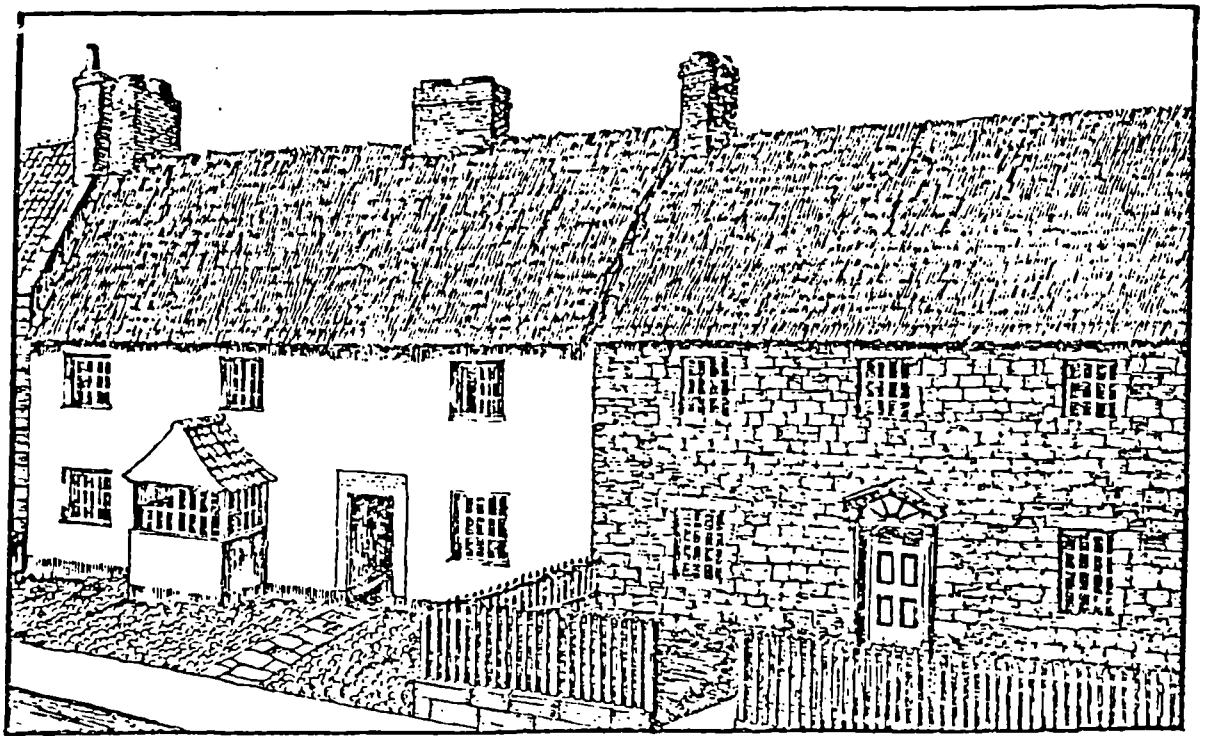
The Rev. Thomas Gibson, who had been the secular missioner since 1716/7, moved back into the Radcliffe mansion in 1746. The house was then occupied by Mary Silvertop, and Gibson was, in effect, her chaplain until she died in 1756. The secular clergy then bought the house, and it remained in use until 1798, much of the time with Charles Cordell as the resident missioner. The secular mission did not prosper, and this was partly because as a quasi-public chapel in a less-populated area of the town it did not attracted as much support as the wholly independent Jesuit chapel in the heavily inhabited riverside area. The number of baptisms recorded by Cordell was very low, and the Anglican returns do not record any growth in the Catholic population. In 1774 the Vicar of All Saints believed there had been no increase, and in 1792 he gave it as his opinion that the Catholics were 'a declining sect'. The Vicar of St. Andrews at the same time reckoned the Catholic population had 'rather decreased than increased'. Cordell died in 1791 but, as Henry Rutter remarked,[69]

> His death will not be so severely felt at Newcastle as he had been for some time past unable to do any duty. As Newcastle is one of the most important places in these Northern parts, I hope it will be supplied by some able person.

It was. James Worswick, a newly-ordained Lancastrian, aged twenty four, arrived in the town to inaugurate a radically different mission.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits had rented premises in the more respectable part of the town shortly after the arrival of the Rev. William Warrilow, SJ, in 1773. At his death in 1807 the Newcastle Chronicle described him as 'much esteemed by a numerous circle of friends for his extensive information, his urbanity as a gentleman and his erudition as a scholar'. John Lingard was not so impressed by Warrilow: 'He lived here at great expense', he said, 'besides other servants he kept a footman and two horses'.[70] The Society of Jesus gave up its mission in Newcastle at this point largely because of a shortage of priests, although such an important town misson would normally be given a high priority. However, by that time James Worswick had been in the town for twelve years and he had come to dominate the mission to an extent that the second chapel was redundant for the time being.

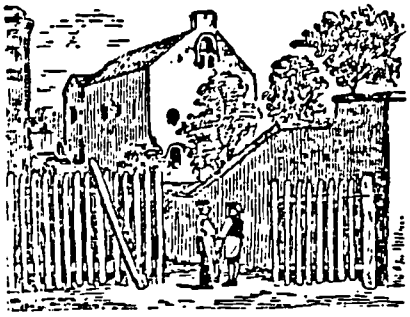
Worswick, the son of an eminent banker of Lancaster, had bought a house with a large garden in the better part of the town and, in 1796,

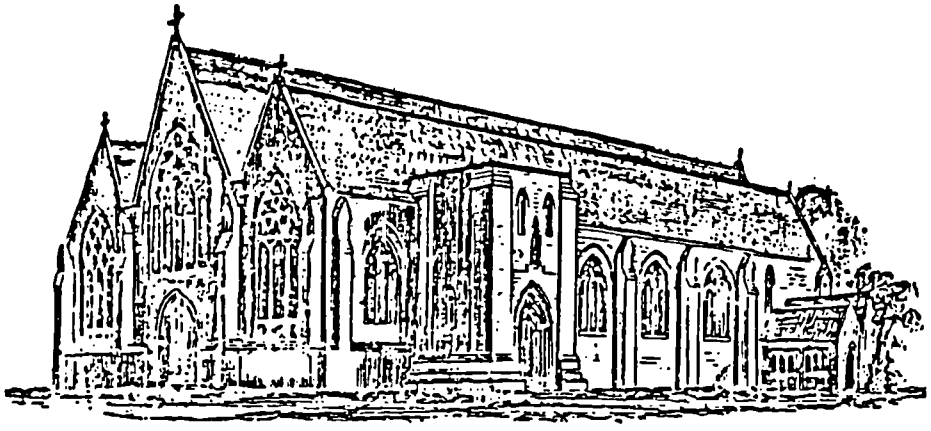


THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHAPEL IN ALNWICK, EARLY 18th CENTURY.

The illustration shows the Plough Inn and the old house belonging to the Cotes family in Bondgate Without, Alnwick, where Mass was said regularly in the first half of the 18th century. The drawing is reproduced from *St. Mary's Church, Alnwick: A Centenary History, by Canon A. Chadwick (1936).*

CATHOLIC CHAPEL
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
Exterior View





ST MARY'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE, 1844

he issued a public appeal for funds to complete the construction of a new chapel:[71]

> It has often been lamented that the Catholic inhabitants of Newcastle are not possessed of a spacious and convenient chapel, suitable to the dignity of the divine worship, and proportioned to the numerous body of Catholics. The two chapels in present use, which are held under a precarious tenure, are inconveniently situated, one of them also entirely excluded from the benefit of daylight, and neither sufficiently capacious to contain the congregations. As all the places in both chapels are appropriated to the inhabitants of Newcastle, it is impossible to accommodate either the numerous Catholics of Shields, and those on the banks of the Tyne, to the amount of four hundred, or the many strangers who are continually passing and repassing through the town, or the several families, not of our persuasion, who have expressed a desire of being admitted into our chapels, and of becoming more immediately acquainted with our religion. To remedy this inconvenience, it has been proposed to erect a chapel on a more extensive plan. For this purpose a situation universally approved of as unexceptional has been purchased. The building is begun, and it is hoped will soon be completed. In the meantime, as the great majority of the Catholics belonging to the congregation are mechanics, or such as earn their bread by working on the river, and are consequently unable to defray the expenses of the building themselves, it has become necessary to solicit the benefactions of those whom the Almighty has placed in easier circumstances ...

Allowing for any exaggeration Worswick had to use, this appeal does help to illustrate the importance of the project, not just for the Catholics of the town itself, but also for those on Tyneside as a whole, and visitors to the regional capital; there was, moreover, a consideration not to be dismissed, that the chapel would be a showpiece to the Protestant population.

The only site available for the chapel was a secluded spot at the far end of the back garden of the priest's house, but what was lost in the location was made up in the 'romantic' Gothic of the church's interior. Some £900 was contributed, and the large brick chapel, dedicated to St. Andrew (in which Anglican parish it was situated), was opened in 1798. Schools were provided in 1800 and the chapel was extended in 1808, to accommodate the congregation of the lately closed Jesuit chapel. Further extensions were required in 1826, when an assistant priest was appointed, and again in 1830, by which time the chapel could hold a thousand people. The Catholic Magazine for October 1829 reported that over four thousand Catholics were under Worswick's pastoral care. In 1833 a new school was built at a cost of £1,500 and it was 'kept warm by a very ingenious apparatus of pipes containing warm water'.[72]

As Worswick had predicted, St. Andrews did become prominent in the ecclesiastical life of Newcastle. All major events at, and visitors to, the church were reported in the newspapers. James Losh, the leading Whig

and Unitarian, often attended; the anniversary of the king's coronation was celebrated in 1831 'with great solemnity' at St. Andrews: 'The Rev. Mr. Worswick preached an eloquent and impressive sermon on the duty and obligation of loving one's country, after which he invoked the blessings of heaven on this beloved country, and its patriotic and reforming sovereign, and the coronation anthem was sung'.[73]

Worswick's missionary labours were fully appreciated by his congregation. In 1830 his old scholars gave him a public dinner and in 1835 he was presented with a bust of himself and a silver tea and coffee service. His last endeavour was to begin the construction of the church of St. Mary, designed by Pugin, to accommodate the growing Catholic population of the town; it was opened in 1844. Worswick did not live to see its completion, for he died in 1843 aged seventy two. He was, however, buried in the chancel of the unfinished church. His obituary in the local newspaper was effusive: 'His liberal expenditure amongst the poor, extensive acquirements and prepossessing manners, made him beloved and respected by all classes'. The Newcastle Town Council named the street in which St. Andrews stood after him.[74]

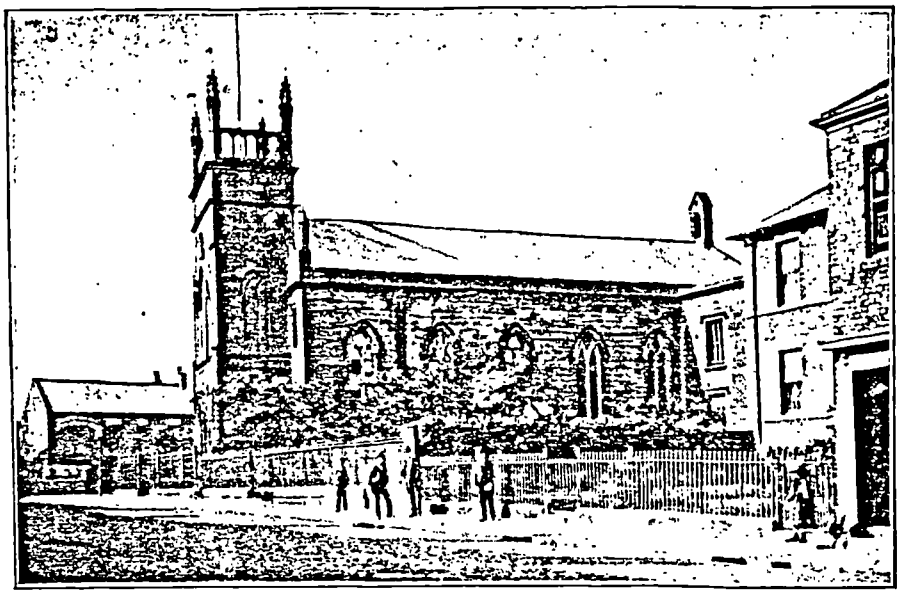
*

In March 1784, Henry Rutter and William Warrilow dined onboard John Silvertop's collier, the Good Luck, at North Shields, which Rutter described as 'the port of Newcastle and consequently a very great trade' was carried on there. He went on, however, to wish that

> there was a good foundation made for a chapel; for there is a rising congregation, which, if properly encouraged, would soon become very numerous. Mr Johnson indeed attends there, but only now and then; for he has business enough on his hands at home, whereas one of the Gentlemen at Newcastle might easily be spared.

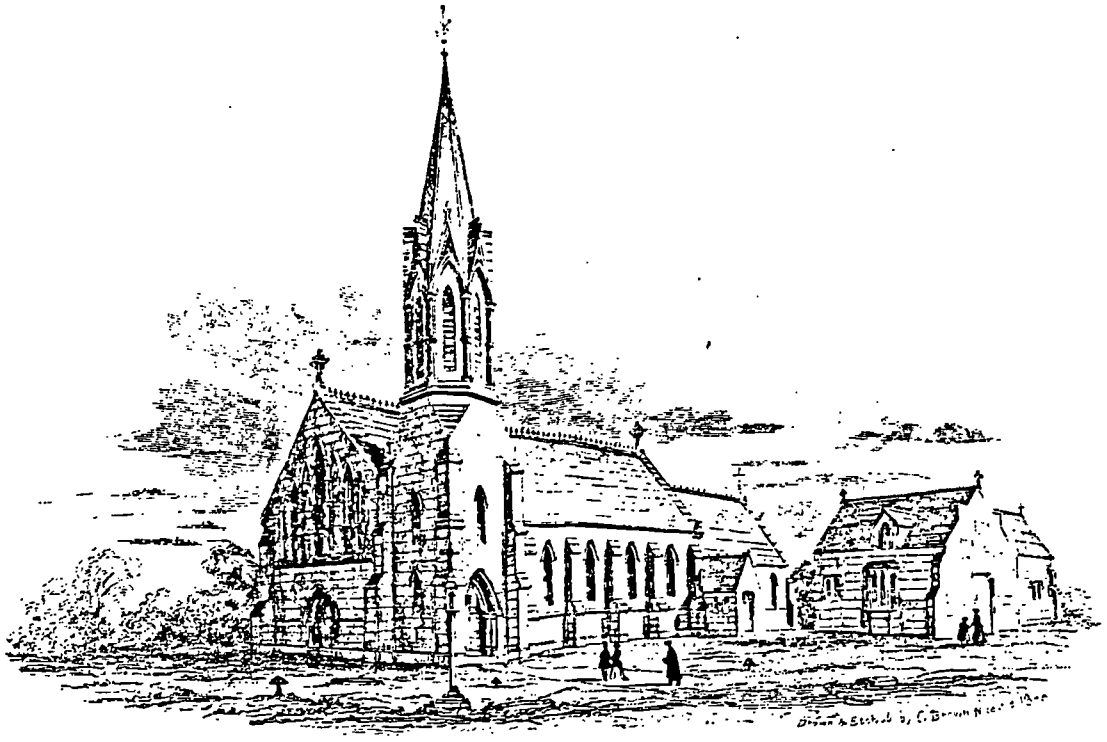
Around 1790 funds were provided for a mission in the locality, firstly by Sir John Lawson, out of the proceeds of a colliery lease, and secondly in a bequest of Bridget Silvertop. A disused Protestant chapel was rented and Mass was regularly said by some French exiled priests, James Worswick or Mr. Johnson, missioner at Pontop Hall. Tynemouth Castle was garrisoned during the war and for some time the mainly Catholic Second Royal Lancashire Militia was quartered there. Tynemouth came into vogue as a resort around this time, and visiting priests said Mass when there by themselves or with their own patrons.[75]

Worswick had long wanted to put the mission in the busy seaport on a regular footing, and he had asked the newly-ordained Thomas Gillow, his cousin, to go there instead of to Callaly Castle in 1797, and Gillow had replied, 'build me a church and then I will come'. Worswick had just finished St. Andrews in Newcastle and took up the challenge, but there was a problem in getting Gillow away from Callaly, for as he said,[76]



ST CUTHBERT'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, NORTH SHIELDS.

Opened June 14, 1821.



✝ CHURCH OF SAINT ROBERT, MORPETH.

1850

> the Bishop will not consent to my removal. He never has upon any one occasion consulted my inclinations or wishes - he seems resolved that I should both live and die under the chilling shade of grizzly Cheviot ..... I have been for some time under a private engagement to Mr. Worswick of Newcastle to go to N. Shields if the Bishop's consent can be obtained. He has long wished to see a new Chapel built at the above place and is now exerting every nerve to raise the necessary funds for the undertaking. But before he took the business in hand he required my consent to become the Incumbent declaring to me that unless I would comply (with the approbation of the Bishop) he would never engage himself in so difficult and troublesome an undertaking.

Worswick persevered, notwithstanding Bishop Gibson's intransigence; he bought land and by 1817 he had collected £1,400 in subscriptions, and work began on a church in North Shields on 'the turnpike road from Tynemouth to Newcastle'. The Catholic Directory for 1818 contained an appeal for money for the chapel, observing that the number of Catholics in the 'town and vicinity amount, independently of foreign Catholic seamen and others, to several hundreds. It is one of the first and most improving seaports in the kingdom'.

The Gothic church ('of some ambition') by the local architect Robert Giles, and designed to accommodate six hundred people, was opened in 1821 by Bishop Thomas Smith; the Rev. Thomas Gillow, recently appointed as the first incumbent, preached at the inaugural Mass. It was only with the death of Bishop Gibson that he gained his release from Callaly Castle, and he was to spend the remainder of his life in North Shields, assisted by his nephew Richard Gillow from 1842.[77]

*

The small port of Blyth was developed during the eighteenth century and it became increasingly important as the coalfield in south east Northumberland was developed in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Catholics in these parts attended the chapel in Morpeth until 1804, when Marlow Sidney, a convert, succeeded to the family estate at Cowpen, near Blyth, and opened a chapel there. His son, Marlow John Sidney, built 'an exceedingly elegant' church, dedicated to St. Cuthbert in 1840 at a cost of £1,623, and a school in 1844.[78]

*

County Durham

The Catholics of County Durham joined congregations in Northumberland or the North Riding as they found it convenient and often necessary to do. Those in the south of the county were able to cross the Tees and attend Mass in Lartington Hall (home of the Maire family), Wycliffe Hall (Tunstall), The Friarage, Yarm (Meynell) or Cliffe Hall, which was the 'mansion house of Mr. Witham who has a priest in his house and a chapel

where Mass is regularly performed and their votarys come several miles round to attend the service'. In the same way, those in the north of the county attended Mass at Minsteracres, Hexham or North Shields. In 1792 the Catholics of Gateshead comprised twelve 'families chiefly mechanicks, artificers and labourers. They assemble(d) for divine worship at a place in Newcastle. In addition there were seventeen Catholic houses on the list compiled by James Mickleton in 1705, and there were another five elsewhere in the county. It seems, then, that the Catholics of County Durham were extremely well-served pastorally. Mickleton, however, greatly exaggerated the situation, although he did omit the important mission at Chester le Street. He did not, for example, distinguish between permanent and supply missions, although the distinction would be lost on a hostile observer. In dealing with the indigenous mission in the county, then, it is appropriate to eliminate those about which Mickleton was mistaken, clarify the status of others, and note those few more which did not survive long.[79]

Nothing further is heard of missionary activity at Brandon, Bishop Middleham, Hetton on the Hill or Twizel. It is clear that these were houses in which Mickleton assumed Mass was being said regularly simply because they were owned by Catholics. He also conflated the houses at Tudhoe, Sunderland Bridge and Croxdale, leading his readers to conclude that a priest was resident in each, whereas one served all three. A similar situation obtained in north west Durham where Stanley Hall, Lintz Hall, Pontop Hall and Hamsterley Hall were all Catholic houses within a short distance of each other served by one, perhaps two priests. Of the other missons listed by Mickleton, four did not flourish. Harbourhouse was a residence of the Forcer family and a Jesuit chaplaincy until 1719 when the eighty-year old chaplain, Ralph Jenison, died. The chaplaincy then lapsed, either because of a shortage of priests or, more likely, because the property had passed into the possession of Basil Forcer, who lived in London. The Kennets of Coxhoe Hall had a secular chaplain from the 1680s, and John Yaxlee was there for forty years from 1691. Nicholas Kennet, the last in the male line, died in 1715, leaving the estate to his daughter Mary, who married the Earl of Seaforth, a Jacobite rebel of the Fifteen. They left the country after the rising, and the chaplaincy was discontinued when Yaxlee died in 1731. The house at Layton, near Sedgefield, continued to receive visiting priests until the Conyers family became extinct in 1748. The Suttons who provided a house-chapel at Coundon, had left the county by mid-century.[80]

*

The hub of the mission in the county lay in the City of Durham. There had been a resident chaplain in the Maire's family house in Gilesgate since the 1680s, perhaps earlier. The house Mickleton listed as Mr. Pudsey's was 44-5 Old Elvet, and it housed the Jesuit mission which had closed in 1688 but was open again by the turn of the century. A secular mission had flourished from the reign of James II at 33 Old Elvet, Mr. Forcer's house. The school in Mr. Rowell's house was also in Old Elvet, and the 'noble structure ... designed for a nunnery' was at the bottom of the street; it belonged to Mary Radcliffe, daughter of the Earl of Derwentwater. The projected convent did not materialise, however, and the Radcliffe chaplaincy ceased shortly afterwards.[81]

The threat of Catholic-Jacobitism was not taken very seriously in the city, for the Catholics were permitted to behave much as they had before the Fifteen. In 1724 Defoe reported the city to be

> full of Catholicks who live peaceably and disturb no body, and no body them. For we being there on a holiday, saw them going as publicly to Mass as the Dissenters did on other days to their meeting-house.

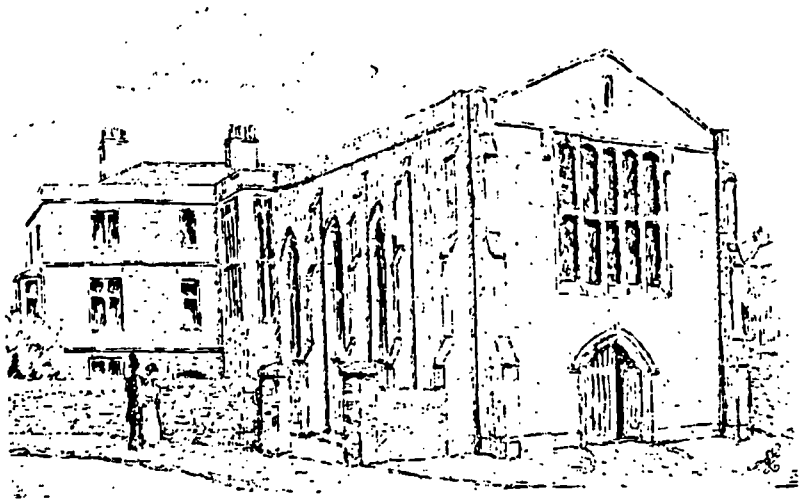
Sufficient confidence was felt in the future for Catholics to rebuild the secular chapel in the following year. Moreover, Bishop Thomas Williams confirmed about two hundred Catholics of the city and its environs in 1729. Three years later there were over three hundred Papists in the city, including 93 children and three priests. The Catholic laity formed a wide cross-section of the city's social and economic structure, and they went about their daily business, accepted by the citizenry, of which they formed an integral part.[82]

As we have seen, the Forty-five led to the sacking of the chapels in the city, but the Catholics were not easily intimidated. In 1750, the Jesuit missoner, Thomas Waterton, reported that his chapel had been repaired, and extended, and that the Jubilee celebrations had been attended by a large and devout congregation:

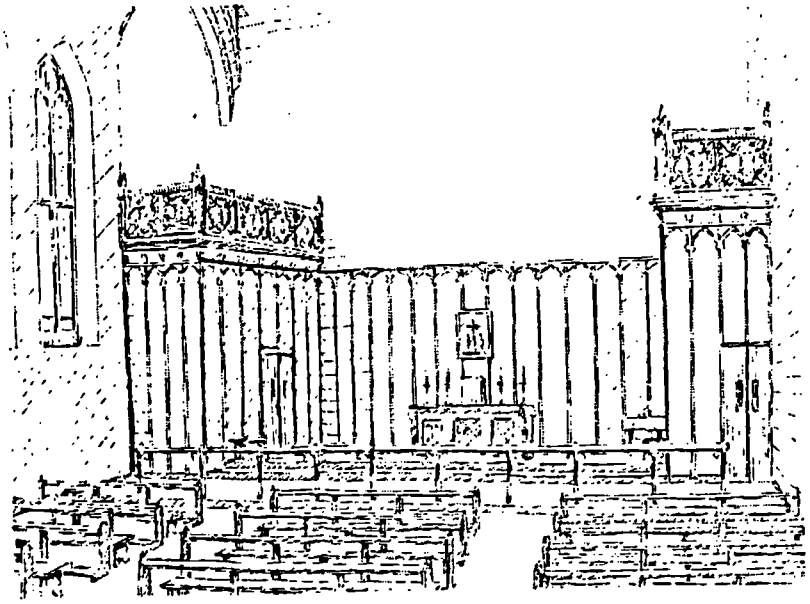
> We had three different times set apart for it, viz. 14 days each during which we had Prayers morning and afternoon with meditations and instructions, and the shop as frequented as of H. days; and many presented themselves for goods who never had come before; almost all changed for the better, many in an extraordinary manner. Out of near 300 that then frequented me I had not above four or five who did not make a genral review of their whole lives and of this number above thirty and odd that of thirty or forty years had been with nobody. Several reconciliations made; several other acts of virtues performed which still show themselves as a more diligent attendance on days of Obl-n both mornings and afternoons, and particularly a monthly application to the Sacts. which I hope as it does at present will continue. In mine near twenty have or will I believe enter the true fold, drawn as I think, in great measure by the edifying comportment of the people on this occasion.

ST. CUTHBERT'S

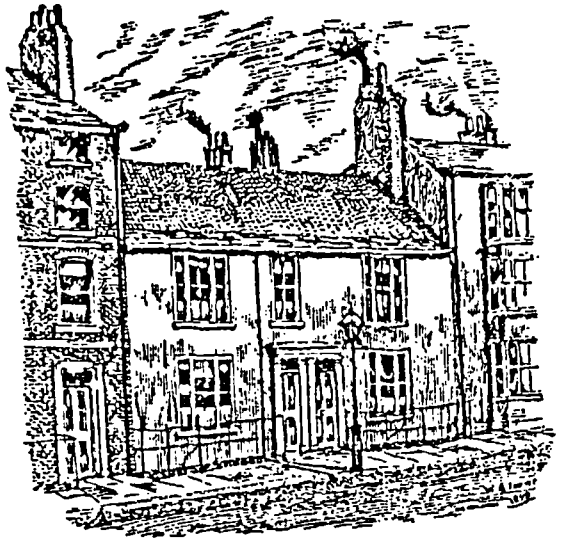
Durham



PROBABLE APPEARANCE OF CHURCH IN 1827



PROBABLE APPEARANCE OF SANCTUARY, 1827



33 Old Elvet

HOUSE OF VICARS APOSTOLIC, DURHAM

Waterton also had a school in Old Elvet, which was recommended by Sir Marmaduke Constable to Sir Carnaby Haggerston in 1740 for its convenience and high standards. In addition, Waterton supplied at Bishop Auckland, attending the forty or so Catholics in that area, for which he received two guineas a year and one guinea to pay the rent of a room.[83]

The Jesuit mission in Durham was evidently flourishing at this time, and it seems to have eclipsed activity at the secular mission. The Rev. William Maire was the secular missioner; he had moved from Gilesgate in 1741 on his appointment as Vicar General of the District. He remained in Old Elvet until 1768. Maire was consecrated as coadjutor to Bishop Francis Petre but, being in poor health, he retired to his family's home, Lartington Hall, where he died the following year aged sixty six. The Gilesgate mission closed that year, partly because it was no longer needed, and partly because a greater need for a priest existed in Sunderland.[84]

The Catholic population of the city fell from over four hundred in 1767 to well under two hundred in the early years of the nineteenth century. There were Catholic dame schools, and so the population was not in absolute decline, but by the beginning of the 1820s, the situation was not encouraging. The Jesuit missioner, Edward Walsh, was eighty years old in 1820 and the secular priest, Thomas Smith, was almost sixty five. Smith had been appointed coadjutor to Bishop William Gibson in 1807 and both sick and ageing bishops lived together in Old Elvet until 1821 when Gibson died aged eighty three. Smith handed the mission over to James Wheeler, chaplain at Clints Hall. He was described as 'more scholar than pastor', and he returned to the more sedate conditions of thechaplaincy in Yorkshire three years later, and was replaced by the much more ebullient William Croskell. Walsh died in 1822 and the Jesuit Provincial decided to close his mission in Durham since the congregation of 'about 100 or a few more' did not justify a second chapel in the city. In any case, he wanted to establish a badly needed mission in Wakefield or Huddersfield.[85]

Bishop Smith took the opportunity of the amalgamation of the two missions, and the arrival of a new and vigourous missioner, to sanction the construction of a new church and presbytery to replace the two old chapels, as well as to provide a suitable establishment for a bishop. In April 1826 work began on St. Cuthbert's church at the top of Old Elvet, to designs by Ignatius Bonomi, and it was opened in May the following year - an event ignored by the local press. With St. Augustine's in Darlington (also by Bonomi and opened in 1827), these two churches signal the architectural emancipation of the post-Reformation Catholic Church

in the north east. New schools were provided in 1832 and again in 1847; by which time the Catholic population of the city was estimated to have reached one thousand.[86]

*

The Benedictines held the mission at Chester le Street, which had been established in 1696 with a fund of £300 given by William Tempest for the benefit of Catholics living around Lumley Castle. The chapel and priest's residence were in a house in the eastern part of the town, possibly in that of 'Widow Tempest', who was one of the 57 named adult Catholics there in the return of 1705. The chapel was attended by a riding missioner or from Lintz Hall until about 1720 when Dom Bertram Edward Bulmer, OSB, took up permanent residence. In 1732 the Episcopal Visitation return said that there were thirty Catholic families in the town. Bulmer died in 1745, and in the following year Dom Anthony Raffa arrived, and he moved the mission out of the town.[87]

The Humble family, coal merchants, presented the mission with a plot of land in the secluded village of Birtley, some two miles to the north of Chester le Street, on which a chapel and presbytery were built by 1751. This move was probably prompted by the sackings of other town chapels at that time; Humble's offer no doubt gave the mission security, but Chester le Street was a more obvious place to be than at Birtley. At any rate, the chapel would have been found convenient by the Catholics of Gateshead and Lamesley, and that was an additional justification for the move. The mission at Birtley received a substantial increase in its funding shortly after its inception, but, in a way which was becoming commonplace, the benefaction almost became an encumbrance.

Ralph Brandling, with his wife Eleanor (both converts), and their two sons Ralph and Charles, set up house in Felling Hall around 1740. The Hall had been abandoned by his uncle, Ralph, when he had gone to live in Middleton Hall, near Leeds, on his marriage to Ann Legh, some forty years before. The Brandlings took a Dominican chaplain but when Ralph Brandling, the elder, died in 1749, the chaplain was dismissed and the Jesuits in Pontop Hall, Durham or Newcastle attended Felling Hall for the next two years. In 1751, Dom Anthony Raffa, OSB, of the Birtley mission, made the acquaintance of Mrs Brandling's two sons, Ralph and Charles, when they were at the Academie Royale at Angers. Ralph died that year, aged twenty one, and Charles returned to Felling with the body, accompanied by Dom Anthony. The Benedictine agreed to stay at Felling Hall pending the appointment of a 'suitable gentleman' as chaplain, but he stipulated that he must be allowed to 'say prayers for my congregation on the first Sunday in each month and attend my people in

all other respects the same as if I was at Birtley'. He clearly wished to avoid being manouevred into the position of full-time resident chaplain, but he had to offer some quid pro quo for the substatial endowment of the mission made by the recently-deceased Ralph Brandling. He had left £500 as

> a pious foundation to the honour and glory of God and the benefit of my soul in favour of the poor Catholicks of the parish of Chester le Street in the County of Bishoprick, namely for the support of a Priest there to pray, help, assist and instruct the people there and bring up their children in the fear of God.

The money was to go to Dom Anthony, and after his death to the Benedictine order; twenty Masses were to be said annually for Ralph's soul; Charles was executor.[88]

A 'suitable gentleman' had not appeared by 1754, but Raffa was keen to move back into Birtley. Charles Brandling came of age that year, and the Benedictine Provincial therefore decided to renegotiate the priest's arrangements. It was immediately made plain that Brandling regarded his brother's endowment as a capital fund for a chaplaincy in Felling Hall, not for the support of the missioner in Birtley, and he stopped paying the priest's stipend, and refused to hand over the capital to the Benedictines. A compromise was reached in which Dom Anthony would live in Birtley, but would say Mass in Felling Hall twice a month, for which he would receive £20 a year. Brandling was not prepared to enter into any longer term agreement which might imply his surrender of the fund's control. On the contrary, after Dom Anthony died, the interest on the endowment would be applied by Brandling for the 'use of a Priest for his own family to attend him when he should think proper'. The Provincial managed to get Brandling to agree that Raffa's successors would be Benedictines, but Brandling would not commit himself on paper to that effect. He did, however, resume payments of the stipend in 1755, and he paid up the arrears; but he did not part with the capital until 1760, two years after Dom Anthony's death. The money was then held in trust by Sir John Swinburne.

This episode signals the subsequent history of the Felling Hall mission. There are no further references to priests officiating in the Hall, although Eleanor Brandling was still resident in 1767. Charles married a Protestant lady in 1756 and he built a new mansion in Gosforth to the north of Newcastle. He did not take a chaplain although he, and six daughters were included in the 1767 return from Gosforth. However,

> About the year 1771 Charles Brandling of Gosforth-hall renounced the Roman Catholic religion and became a Protestant of the Church of England.

He later became High Sheriff of Northumberland and Member of Parliament for Newcastle upon Tyne, without, it has been remarked, 'greatly affecting the course of history'. However, the mission at Birtley survived the intrigues of the Brandlings, and a continuous succession of Benedictine missioners served the chapel, which was attended by a growing congregation 'chiefly composed of persons connected with the collieries'. In 1842 the newly-appointed missioner, Dom James Sheridan, bought a new site on which he built the 'neat Gothic' church, dedicated to St. Joseph, and a house and school, designed by John Dobson, costing £1,500.[89]

*

Houghton le Spring was the most substantial settlement between Durham and Sunderland, and four or five Catholic families lived there during the eighteenth century. In 1804 the lease of St. Helen's Hall in Auckland expired and the Carmelite convent moved into Cocken Hall near Houghton le Spring (of which estate the nuns' patron Sir Henry Lawson was part lessee). The Hall was a beautiful mansion with large gardens overlooking the ruins of Finchale Priory on the opposite side of the river. Notwithstanding this situation, the Hall was difficult to let because it was reputed to be haunted; the nuns therefore got the lease very cheaply. However, when collieries were opened in the area between 1810 and 1820, the annual rent of the Hall was steadily increased, and it became clear to the nuns that they could not go on living there much longer. They therefore bought Cockerton Field House near Darlington, a property with forty acres of land, which became their permanent home in 1830.[90]

Houghton le Spring was described as a place of 'all pervading bigotry' in 1817, but the Catholic community did grow with the opening of the new collieries. When the convent closed, the missioners in Hutton House and Sunderland attended for a short time before James McEvoy was appointed resident missioner in 1832 with a salary of £40 a year. McEvoy rented a house and he opened a mission in a converted Baptist chapel for a congregation of eighty to one hundred people. He also began to collect funds for a new church, and three years later he told the Vicar General,

> our Mission here is assuming an aspect so very imposing and our numbers have so far out-grown our means of accommodation that I have made up my mind to put on a brazen front and try my fortune next summer.

He also said that he had approached the local coal-owners for financial assistance, pointing out that he had over one hundred children to educate; the Protestant schools

> have robbed me of some children - so much so that I undertook 6 months back by way of opposition to pay for the education of a few of the most destitute females, some of whom are orphans. Oh! that some benevolent mortal would just give us one thousand pounds what

an oasis would then spring up in this moral wilderness.

McEvoy's lengthy evaluation went on:

> There are a great number of nominal Catholics in this part of the country who are exceedingly fastidious in their notions of accommodation, and who under more favourable conditions would attend at least occasionally and thus enable me to secure their children. With a new chapel erected on the noble site we have in view, I think I could safely calculate on the regular attendance of 200 Catholics, Sunday after Sunday.

In 1837 Bishop Briggs opened St. Michael's, a two-storey building, to drawings by Bonomi; the upper floor was a chapel with seating for four hundred, and the ground floor became a school-room.[91]

*

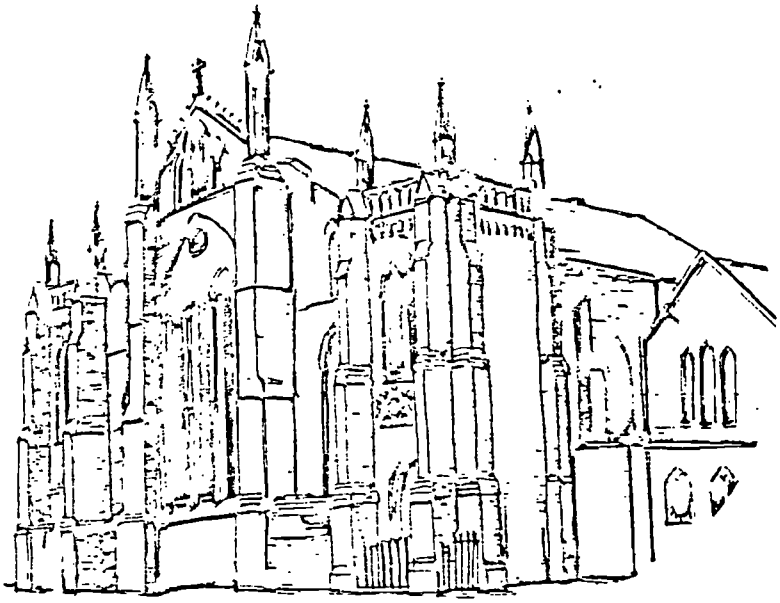
The Catholics of Sunderland were attended by a supply priest from Durham for twenty years after the sacking of their chapel in 1746. The appointment of John Bamber as resident missioner in Sunderland was made possible only by the closure of the Maire's house in Gilesgate, Durham. Mrs Mary Maire, who died in 1751, bequeathed the house to the secular clergy and Bamber, her chaplain, went on living there but as a riding missioner, attending at Darlington, Sunderland and Headlam. Matthew Gibson went as chaplain to (another) Mrs Mary Maire at Headlam in 1768 and, since the Darlington Catholics could be looked after by the priests in Cliffe Hall and Stockton, and given that there were two chapels in the city of Durham, Bamber was free to move to Sunderland. Moreover, in 1768 Nicholas Taylor gave £100 to the mission, the interest on which was to be paid to 'a secular priest who shall be fixed and settled in the town of Sunderland to assist the Catholics of the said town and people adjacent'. That bequest, together with the funds attached to the mission in Gilesgate, which were transferred with the priest, were sufficient to support Bamber in Sunderland, where he was from 1st August 1769.[92]

Bamber rented a house from James Galley, a coal-merchant, in which he opened a chapel for a congregation of around one hundred which grew to 174 in 1780. Galley went bankrupt that year, however, and the house was seized by his creditors and the priest was forced to quit. Ralph Galley, James's son, offered to rent two rooms in his own house to the priest as chapel and vestry; 'though confined and damp, his offer was accepted and presently everything was contrived to be as convenient for the priest and congregation as so small premises were susceptible of'. The priest took lodgings nearby, but no sooner had things been settled than John Bamber died.[93]

In view of his predecessor's experiences and the obviously unsatisfactory arrangements he found, the next missioner, William Fletcher,



Birtley, St. Joseph 1843



Sunderland, St. Mary 1835



Stella, Ss. Mary & Thomas Aquinas 1832

decided to put the mission in Sunderland on a firm footing under the independent control of the vicariate. Land was bought in 1786, and plans for a chapel and house were prepared - 'all plain but good work for the sum of three hundred and fifty pounds'. Before the building was finished, however, the chapel was set on fire, and a reward was offered for information leading to the culprit's conviction. (It was forty years exactly since the last public chapel in Sunderland had been fired.) The workmen themselves were suspected but were exonerated by the magistrates. A William Scott was arraigned at the Durham Assizes, but he too was discharged. The chapel was completed in 1788 and insured for £400, the total building costs had risen to £375. A school was presently added.[94]

The congregation in Sunderland at the end of the eighteenth century numbered one hundred and fifty; in 1832 the Catholic Magazine reckoned on '3 to 400 communicants' consisting of 'persons engaged in the shipping, mechanics, etc.' During the period between the Second Catholic Relief Act and Emancipation, the mission property was enlarged twice (at a cost of £835 plus £300 for an organ) to accommodate this growth in the population. A new missioner arrived in 1829 and he decided that the chapel, 'a neat plain brick building' was too small; it was, moreover, 'in a very retired situation'. Philip Kearney, an Irish, Ushaw-trained priest, therefore proposed to build a large and prominently-sited church. Bonomi was engaged as architect, and land on the principal north-south highway through the town was bought from the Earl of Durham. The local newspaper reported that, when complete, the church would 'stand unrivalled as the finest public building in these towns'. Vindex was prompted to remind the citizens of Sunderland of the errors of Rome, and to deplore the erection of the new church. That was the only objection, however, and St. Mary's church, Bonomi's largest, was completed at a cost of £5,000 in 1835.[95]

Kearney's ambitions for the church in Sunderland were soon justified, for between the opening of St. Mary's and 1851, the Catholic population of the town increased twentyfold. Since the old school was on the same site as the old chapel, it too had to be replaced, and a two-storey school to accommodate three hundred pupils was built next to the church in 1836. Kearney went over to Ireland to persuade Edmund Rice, founder of the Christian Brothers, to provide two teachers in the new school. Rice was reluctant to overstretch his commitments in England, but he eventually agreed.[96]

*

A census of the Catholic population of Felling was undertaken by the clergy of St. Andrew's, Newcastle, in 1840 and it was found that there were some four hundred Catholics there. By the beginning of 1842, William Riddell, assistant priest in Newcastle, had built, at his own expense, a Gothic chapel dedicated to St. Patrick, on land given by a Mr Caley of Saltwell. At first, the mission could not support a resident priest since 'he could not calculate upon raising about £25 a year from members of the congregation, subscriptions, etc.' Riddell therefore attended from Newcastle until 1845; an Irish priest, Anthony McDermott, was then appointed as resident missioner.[97]

*

There were about twenty Catholic families living in Jarrow, South Shields and the vicinity at the end of the eighteenth century, 'none above the rank of tradesmen and including labourers and the lowest mechanics'. Until 1821 they were visited by priests from adjacent missions; thereafter the Catholics on the south bank of the Tyne ferried across to attend Mass in the newly-opened church in North Shields. A Sunday school was opened in South Shields in 1836, staffed at first by volunteers, but its growth led to the appointment of a paid teacher. He began to organise lotteries and social events to raise funds for a chapel. On three occasions, Protestant owners of land refused to sell to the Catholics, but in 1848 a disused chapel of the Bristol Brethren was bought and it opened as St. Bede's Catholic church in the following year. It remained in use for almost thirty years.[98]

*

The proximity of Gateshead to the missions in Newcastle and Birtley saved the expense of providing a chapel in the town for a century after the destruction of the old chapel in 1746. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, some two thousand Catholics were living in Gateshead, and a supply mission from Newcastle was instituted, and it lasted until a resident priest was appointed in the mid-fifties.[99]

*

The Catholics of north west Durham had always been well-provided for with missions at Stella and, later, in Pontop Hall. The Tempest family acquired Stella Hall, in the parish of Ryton, at the Reformation, and there is a tradition that they lived in 'Catholic splendour and loyalty' throughout the penal era. The estate passed to the Widdrington family in 1700 on the marriage of Jane Tempest to William, fourth Baron Widdrington. Dom John Wilson, OSB, was chaplain and he headed the roll of 183 Papists listed in 1705. That return showed that the Catholics

were mostly pitmen working in the Widdrington collieries and living with their families in Stella, Blaydon and Winlaton.[100]

Lady Jane Widdrington, who died in 1714, endowed the mission in Stella Hall with funds to produce a chaplain's salary of £28 a year (the capital was held by the family to ensure control over the appointment). However, for seven years after the death of Dom John Wilson, in 1725, the post was effectively vacant; three Benedictines filled in for a few months at a time but there was no priest at all for four years. The chaplaincy was therefore taken over by the seculars in 1732. Shortly after his accession to the estate in 1748, Henry Francis Widdrington dismissed Thomas Greenwell from the chaplaincy and installed the Jesuit Richard Murphy (alias Turner) in his place. No explanation for this change now exists. Murphy seems to have been an ardent Jacobite, and he may have been out in the Forty-five and now needed an isolated living, and where better than rural Durham (albeit in a house with a history of Jacobite associations)? Whether that was the reason, the appointment was regarded locally as misappropriation, as Murphy himself made clear in his report of 1750:

> Customers to Shop on Days required commonly 170, though few Patients of mine, as most make use of another gentleman maintained by them for years for that purpose.

The congregation had not accepted the removal of the priest who had served them for the past twelve years for one brought in at the will of the landlord, and they had formed a breakaway congregation at Blaydon, supporting Greenwell with their voluntary contributions. The rival congregation was short-lived, however, for Greenwell caught an infection while attending a sick person, and he died after a short illness in 1753. But then in 1775, the estate having passed to Thomas Eyre, Murphy was dismissed to make way for the patron's kinsman, Thomas Eyre, a secular priest. Murphy was 'out of place' in Newcastle for eighteen months before he was appointed chaplain to Lord Arundel in Salisbury.[101]

There were some four hundred and fifty Catholics in the parish of Ryton in 1767, and around four hundred at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Eyre acted as the bishop's secretary and treasurer for much of his time at Stella Hall, and Bishop Matthew Gibson also lived there between 1784 and 1790. The estate changed hands yet again in 1792, when it passed into the possession of the Towneley family. Eyre left to go as chaplain to Mrs Silvertop at Wooler, a move deprecated by his near neighbour, Henry Rutter at Minsteracres, notwithstanding the latter's dependence on the Silvertops:

> I cannot indeed well justify this step in my friend, leaving an old and numerous congregation to bury himself in a desert country where

> there is nothing to do. There are now three considerable congregations adjoining to mine which appear to me not to be sufficiently provided for. Mr Ashmal at Newhouse who is 97 years of age at least has been unable to do duty for a long time. No priest has been fixed at Pontop since Mr Johnson's death. Nor is Stella, as I hear, yet provided with a pastor. For the present indeed Mr Story from Hexham says prayers there and Mr Worswick at Pontop but many things I fear are omitted when priests are not fixed and supply only for a time.

However, Eyre remained at the centre of vicariate affairs (he was now Vicar General) and he kept closely in touch will all developments in the area. He had supplied for a time at Pontop Hall before he went to Wooler and he was back there as resident missioner in 1794. A new missioner for Stella was soon forthcoming. William Hull, despite some misgivings, accepted the appointment in March 1793 and he was there until his retirement in 1830.[102]

The Towneleys leased Stella Hall to Mr Clayton, the Town Clerk of Newcastle in 1793 and, since the use of the chapel was reserved only until Mayday 1794, new premises had to be found. Eyre was writing at this time about building a new chapel and he had obtained £500 for the purpose (some of which had come from the proceeds of a sale of the contents of the Hall). Stella House, belonging to the Silvertops, was vacant and the missioner moved there with some exiled French priests. Silvertop built a new chapel (Eyre's fund was not used) which remained in use for about forty years. Two circumstances made its replacement necessary. Firstly, the chapel lay on the intended track of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway; secondly, the chapel had become inadequate for 'the increasing Catholics' of Stella.[103]

In 1830, then, a new church was proposed. Hull, then approaching his eightieth year, retired, and he was succeeded by the twenty four year old Thomas Edward Witham, nephew of George Silvertop of Minsteracres, and brother of Mrs Emma Dunn (nee Witham) of Hedgefield House, the principal Catholic in the congregation. The well-connected, newly-ordained priest was clearly the best available man to effect the necessary changes in this large and prominent mission. The investment of the Eyre fund had by this time increased the money available to £950, and that was brought up to £1,500 by 'a number of sums contributed by the Catholic and Protestant Ladies and Gentlemen in the neighbourhood', and that was sufficient to begin building the church. The 'neat' church, dedicated to Saints Mary and Thomas Aquinas, designed by a local architect, J. Green to seat three hundred people, was opened in October 1832. A contemporary gazeteer remarked that 'economy in more instances than one seems to have been carried too far in this erection'.[104]

*

A few miles to the south west of Stella there was a Catholic farming and mining community centred on the villages of Tanfield, Hamsterley and Ebchester, in the northern part of the parish of Lanchester. In the early years of the eighteenth century, the Catholics of the area could attend 'Prayers at different gentlemen's houses, where there happened to be a priest'. There was, for example, Stanley Hall, belonging to the Tempests, who supported a Jesuit, or Lintz Hall, owned by the Hodgsons, who had a Benedictine chaplain. Other Catholic houses in the locality included Hamsterley Hall, belonging to the Swinburnes, Pontop Hall (the Meaburnes) and The Brooms (the Smiths). There were about one hundred and fifty Catholics associated with, or dependent on these estates in 1732. Changes in family circumstances, however, led to a reorganisation of the pastoral arrangements. The Benedictine had moved by 1712-3 when Lintz Hall was let after the death of Ralph Hodgson; there were no more chaplains here although there were Hodgsons around until 1773, when Ralph died. His only daughter married Thomas Selby of Biddlestone, and so there was probably no need to engage a second chaplain for this house. There was a Benedictine at 'Mr Swinburne's at Tanfield' between 1750 and 1753, but that is the only evidence of a priest at Hamsterley Hall until the end of the century; it is possible he moved between the halls at Lintz and Hamsterley. Sir Nicholas and Lady Tempest were dead by 1742; their Jesuit chaplain, Joseph Howe, remained at Stanley Hall until 1745 when the chaplaincy lapsed on his transfer to Longhorsley Tower. At mid-century, then, only Pontop Hall remained available as a mission station hereabouts.[105]

Anthony Meaburne bought the manor of Pontop in 1600, and his descendants established themselves as minor coal-owners on this and the Crook Hall estate nearby. The family prospered, notwithstanding the penalties suffered for their recusancy, so that they were able to build the imposing Pontop Hall in 1700. The mansion incorporated a chapel on the top floor. Anthony Meaburne died a bachelor in 1712, aged eighty four, leaving £500 to the Society of Jesus for Mass to be said in the Hall monthly. It is likely that Joseph Howe was the first beneficiary of this fund, coming over from Stanley Hall until his departure in 1745. The estate passed to another Anthony Meaburne; he died in 1732, leaving two adult daughters. Mary, the elder, widow of Thomas Thornton of Netherwitton, married, secondly, Thomas Swinburne, third son of Sir William Swinburne (II) of Capheaton, and carried the estate into that family. They lived at Pontop Hall throughout their married life, and in 1748 they took over the Jesuit chaplaincy previously maintained by the Tempests in Stanley

Hall. The first resident Jesuit was Thomas Leckonby; in 1750 he had '145 customers to shop'. His death in 1778 marked the end of the Jesuit mission and heralded the closure of the Hall as a resident mission station.[106]

The patron, Thomas Swinburne, had died six years before Leckonby, leaving a sixty year old widow and an adult son Thomas Anthony; his wife was Charlotte Spearman, a Protestant. Swinburne kept the chapel open and he accepted a group of repatriated students from Douai College while Crook Hall was got ready for them. However, he (or perhaps his wife) would not have a resident chaplain after the deaths of old Mrs Swinburne in 1786 and James Johnson, the secular priest who succeeded Leckonby, in 1790. The congregation of one hundred and sixty communicants was then, as Rutter lamented, 'destitute of assistance and I fear will remain so for some time, besides another congregation at Shields' which Johnson had attended. However, priests in the area rallied round and divided the work between them. In 1791, then, a combination of circumstances necessitated a review of the missionary arrangements at Pontop. Faced with the effective discontinuation of the chaplaincy, together with the inconvenient location of the chapel on the upper floor of the Hall, and emboldened by the Catholic Relief Act passed that year, it was proposed to create an independent mission.[107]

On behalf of the Vicar Apostolic and John Silvertop, the trustee of the Meaburne fund, Eyre accepted the offer of John Smith of High Brooms to make over to the mission a plot of freehold land of between four and five acres, 'immediately adjoining on to the Pontop Estate; with the view to a house and chapel being built there'. Eyre wrote to several of the Catholic gentry in the locality for their approval of the plan but also to solicit subscriptions towards the new chapel. John Silvertop was prepared to be a trustee of the new mission, to which he subscribed £70, and he agreed to superintend building operations, which were to be carried out by the men of the congregation. Eyre had little hope of receiving a contribution from the Swinburnes of Hamsterley Hall, although he did inform them of the plan, 'to keep them, if possible, in good humour'. This was Henry Swinburne (who married Martha Baker), first cousin to Thomas Anthony Swinburne of Pontop Hall - yet another branch of the Capheaton family. In May 1793 Eyre said he was very happy that they were to have a new chapel in a 'pleasant spot and infinitely more engaging than the ruinous hall'; he also thought the buildings would be completed that year. The construction work proceeded very slowly, however, and it was not until 1796 that the chapel was finished. The priest's housewas not ready but Eyre nonetheless offered it to a group of fifteen exiled French priests who had arrived at North Shields in October that year.

The house was made watertight for them and they lived in it for the next six years.[108]

The French occupation of the new premises made them unavailable for public use, and so the mission remained in Pontop Hall under the direction of priests in Crook Hall and with the assistance of the Frenchmen. The property became available to the mission in December 1802, and John Lingard, Vice President of the seminary in Crook Hall, formally opened the chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, which was described in the local newspaper as 'a small but remarkably neat building'. John Bell was appointed missioner to the congregation of around one hundred. He had been tutor in the Silvertop's household at nearby Minsteracres, and then Prefect of Discipline at Crook Hall. On one occasion in 1807, John Smith had to remonstrate with Bell who had forbidden the congregation to enter his house and stand by the fire in the parlour to discuss politics before Mass, as they were wont to do with Eyre. Bell was taken to task for being so unfeeling to people who needed to be warmed up: 'Nowhere else did such a thing happen'.[109]

A missioner was resident at Brooms until 1819, but none was available after that, and the mission was served from Esh Laude. In 1832 the Catholic Magazine reported that the income of the misson was 'not sufficient to support a pastor'. When still no resident priest had been appointed by 1836, John Smith, elder brother of the recently-deceased Vicar Apostolic Thomas Smith (1763-1831), and son of the founder of the mission, asked that William Fletcher of Esh Laude move to Brooms and serve Esh Laude on a supply basis (i.e., to reverse his existing arrangements). Fletcher did not particularly want to move from Esh to Brooms, and suggested instead that Smith petition for a resident priest at each place since it was almost impossible for one person to give 'the attention necessary to so wide a District'. Apart from Smith's keen personal desire to have a priest living in the mission house which his father had taken such pains to provide, there were other considerations, much the most important of which was the increase in the population due to new industrial development in the Derwent valley.[110]

Smith outlined the situation at the mission in Brooms in a long but interesting letter which is worth quoting extensively as an illustration of the problems facing the northern mission in the expansionary period after Emancipation.[111]

> Mr Fletcher had begun in December 1834 a fortnight Sunday school here which appeared to be doing good. Since then the numbers have increased and on Mr F's last Sunday here I counted 54 children come from the (Communion) rails. From 12 to 13 was the normal number.

> One third at least of the 54 are children of protestant parents, many of whom have not once been in Chapel themselves yet voluntarily send and seem quite pleased that Mr F should teach their children. From that, the Railroad and a new Colliery beginning at Medomsley, the chapel is generally filled and sometimes too crowded so that more room (probably a Gallery) must be provided.
>
> Dr. Briggs spent a day with me last week when I stated the above adding that our case was most extraordinary for whilst the numbers in the great towns were increasing prodigiously, the county congregations had been on the decrease ('in these two counties' deleted) although by the deaths, removals and falling off in fervour of many of our old C. families we were threatened with the fate of our neighbours neighbours till all on a sudden this singular and unlooked for change took place. I concluded by saying that if he cd. conveniently spare a priest it wd. be well as the two were rather much for 1 priest. Dr. B appeared to listen without saying more than that Mr F had told him part: but that he had had petitions for priests from 5 new places and 2 or 3 old ones were to be filled: that he was afraid that neither place had sufficient funds to support a priest and we made out that Brooms at present had £64. 8. 6. and Esh £58. 16. 4. neither of which were sufficient.

Smith decided to try other tactics. He wrote to Briggs pointing out that if action was not taken and the congregation at Brooms did fall, then no priest would be appointed anyway. He would not bequeath money to maintain 'a Pastor where there is no Flock', and he would be forced to move to the vicinity of another chapel. He wrote again a little later to tell the bishop that the chapel had again be completely filled on a Sunday morning, and to make explicit an earlier hint about his support of the mission. Smith wanted to alter his will in favour of 'this mission as well as a little for the College', but he would not do so until a resident priest was appointed to Brooms. 'The uncertainty of life', he added, particularly at his age, made him very desirous of have the will 'amended and executed as soon as possible'. He kept up the pressure; in September 1836 Smith reminded the bishop that a new gallery had been erected and that the chapel had once again been filled to overflowing.[112]

Bishop Briggs informed Smith in December 1836 that he had hoped to appoint a priest to Brooms that Christmas, but the difficulty was the insufficiency of the Brooms fund. Smith's response was that the congregation at Esh was 'very much the same as it had been the last 30 years, consisting 'of old Catholic families', whilst Brooms, 'from a rather declining state has all on a sudden as to numbers in the Chapel, and particularly as to Children at the rails is increased'. He went on: 'it is becoming so fashionable to attend the Chapel that we are never without several of the neighbouring Protestants with all of whom as far as I can learn Mr Fletcher is in high favour. Indeed, his impressive manner of preaching and his clear and copious explication of the Catechism can hardly fail to edify and please them'. He did not say whether they were prepared to contribute the additional funds to keep a priest at Brooms,

which was what the bishop was concerned about. Fletcher moved to to take up residence in Brooms in January 1837, although whether this was due to Smith's pestering, his promise of further endowments, or because it was desirable pastorally, is not clear. There were, however, priests in residence at Brooms thereafter. John Smith altered his will in December that year, to add twenty five acres to his existing bequest of land, the rent of which was to be paid to the priest at Brooms; he died in 1839.[113]

The history of the mission at Brooms in the first half of the nineteenth century illustrates the difficulties faced by the Church in providing effective pastoral care. The adjacent missions of Esh Laude and Brooms, each with a new chapel, were in competition for scarce priests. Esh Laude was an established mission with a settled farming community and a baronet as patron. He controlled the priest's stipend, intended to finance the Esh Laude mission only, which had been established on land donated by him. It took precedence over Brooms, an emergent working-class mission whose patron was a minor coal-owner, albeit brother of the late bishop. The reluctance of Bishop Briggs to accede to Smith's requests, is all the more difficult to understand given that a priest from Ushaw College could have so easily supplied at Esh Laude, thus freeing the missioner to move to the more distant Brooms. At any rate, with only one priest available, the bishop was in an unenviable position; he did come to the right pastoral decision in the end, even if Smith helped him to make up his mind with the promise of a further benefaction.

It is worth recording a further attempt by a layman to influence the appointment of a priest to the mission at Brooms. In May 1841, Mr Silvertop called on Bishop Hogarth urging the settlement of the mission on the Rev. Danson. Silvertop's insensitivity nettled the bishop: he had

> said he understood that the Brooms was vacant and as Mr Danson liked solitude and there was little or nothing to do at Brooms, he thought that would do. I told him that it was not vacant and that there was a great deal to do and that I thought we had no places that would do for Mr D.

Silvertop, Bishop Hogarth concluded, had some 'strange notions of what a missionary should do'.[114]

*

The manor of Esh, five miles west of the city of Durham on the high and bleak moorlands, had belonged to the Smythe family from the middle of the sixteenth century, and they had supported priests in Esh Hall. In 1651, George Smythe granted a ninety-nine-year lease of sixteen acres at Newhouse to the mission, on which a chapel cum priest's house was built. The family provided a stipend of £10 a year, which was increased to £30 in a bequest of John Simpson, the missioner at Newhouse who died

in 1726. This was one of the handful of missions in the region that remained free of interference from the patron, but that was probably only because the family, while retaining possession of their Durham estates, lived in Shropshire after the death of Sir Edward Smythe in 1714.[115]

The Rev. Ferdinando Ashmall was missioner at Newhouse in 1750 and he had about one hundred Catholics in his care, and the lease of the property was renewed for a further term of ninety nine years at that time. Of 66 families living in the chapelry of Esh in 1792, 27 were Catholic. Ashmall was ninety seven years old and he was assisted by John Yates from 1795. Yates found the chapel in a ruinous condition but he could not persuade the old priest to do anything about it. Nor could Thomas Eyre, who told the bishop he had endeavoured to persuade Ashmall

> to remove, but with doubtful success. Have however stopt Mr Shepherd's grounds of complaint respecting the chapel, which indeed is falling in so much that it appears very dangerous to be in it. We have about forty of a ninety nine years lease to come. Sir Ed Smith allows besides about £13 p. ann. also perhaps ten or twelve acres of ground, so we cannot expect him to do much and how to raise money for such a building I know not, it cannot be repaired it must be entirely new built. The buttresses as well as timber seem all to have failed. Yet forty years is not a term to induce us to build upon. I canot have a good heart about this as I have about Stella and Pontop which both will be very snug and comfortable.

Eyre no doubt discussed the problem with Sir Edward and Mr. Taylor, the estate manager, but everyone realised that little could be done until the old priest died, which he did in 1798.[116]

Sir Edward immediately offered to exchange the dilapidated property at Newhouse for Salutation Field at Esh Laude, and the Vicar Apostolic agreed. A new chapel dedicated to St. Michael (the pre-Reformation patron of the Anglican church at Esh Laude) was opened on 1st January 1799. The chapel, 'a neat edifice, plain and simple it its appearance without any pretensions to grandeur and magnificence, and suits well with the nature of the congregation', had no external ecclesiastical features and no windows on the side facing the road. The domestic buildings were added in 1804, and the whole was designed to give the impression of a farmhouse with the usual outbuildings.[117]

According to the visitation return of 1810, 'about two thirds' of the 276 inhabitants of the chapelry of Esh were reputed Papists. That is a marked increase on the figure for 1792. Certainly, a new school had been opened in 1814 to supersede a dame school first reported in 1767; this was also endowed by the Smythes, and Lady Smythe was patroness. Because there was no priest available, the missioner supplied at Brooms, as we have seen, for over fifteen years from 1819, making this mission one of the most demanding in the region. In 1832, the Catholic Magazine

said that in addition to Brooms the missioner at Esh Laude also had in his district, 'the town of Wolsingham, eight miles in an opposite direction, and so on, if need be, to the confines of Westmorland and Cumberland. On the south, to Witton le Wear, &c.' The number of communicants at Esh Laude around this time was one hundred and twenty.[118]

The missioner's life was not made any easier in 1835, as John Smith explained:

> Poor Mr Fletcher has unexpectedly got into an unpleasant business. For many years our neighbouring parsons have been most quiet and friendly with Catholics, but a few months ago a Mr. Chevallier was presented to the Incumbency of Esh and is quite an Ultra-Zealot which he has shown (in) different ways.

The Rev. Temple Chevallier's presentation to the Curacy of Esh was coincident with his appointment as first Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy in the University of Durham, of which he was also Registrar. On his arrival in Esh he immediately reported to Bishop van Mildert that of the population of the chapelry, 255 were Protestants and 377 were Catholics (half the latter were resident in Ushaw College). The principal landowners were Catholics and there was a chapel to which a school was attached. It was important, Chevallier told his diocesan, 'that this growing and permanent influence should be counteracted as much as possible'. He did two things; firstly, he became resident in the chapelry. However, because there was no church property, he had to rent Flass Hall, which belonged, ironically, to Lady Jane Peat, a Catholic. Bishop van Mildert had to increase the income of the curacy by £100 a year to allow Chevallier to build or buy a glebe house. Secondly, Smith said, he opened [119]

> a school in opposition to Sir Edward's and solicited scholars and subscriptions all over the neighbourhood in which he has been so successful as to take away all the Protestants from the Mistress and threatens to take off by his Master some of the more advanced children. Mr F. thought he might not submit without some attempt to oppose his career and instead of the Mistress has engaged a superior Catholic Master from Sedgefield. How this Master's £50 a year is to be made up (as Sir Edward's to the Mistress is only £20) is not yet known.

The outcome of this rivalry does not appear, but it can be assumed that the Smythes came to the rescue.

*

Croxdale is a chapelry in the parish of St. Oswald, Durham, and the ancestral seat of the Salvin family. Priests were resident here from the reign of James II, and they served the three villages of Tudhoe, Sunderland Bridge and Croxdale. William Errington was missioner for some forty years until his death in 1733 and was 'particularly zealous and indefatigable in paying weekly visits to the three villages under his care, preaching, exhorting, instructing, and visiting the sick, etc.' In the

mid-eighteenth century the missioner was James Taylor, a newly-ordained priest who had gone to Croxdale straight from the Venerabile in Rome. However, 'some differences taking place between him and the late Wm. Salvin Esqr he was sent to Marton near Burton Constable. At the request of Wm. Salvin the Rt Rev Bishop Petre ... appointed Rev. Arthur Storey' in his place. Perhaps the zealous young priest had introduced extravagant romanist practices at Croxdale without a proper appreciation of the situation in which the Salvins preferred to operate. As we have seen, the Salvins were a retiring sort of family who had studiously kept clear of all Jacobite intrigues, and they had not offered a son to the priesthood since the early seventeenth century; they would not be amenable to demonstrations of ecclesiastical pomp. At any rate, he was quickly replaced by the Northumbrian Arthur Storey who had completed his priestly 'apprenticeship' at the mission in Singleton in Lancashire. The ease with which Salvin got rid of his chaplain is another example of how powerful a lay patron could be. Yet the priest at Croxdale was unusually autonomous; he did not live with the Salvins, but in Tudhoe Hall nearby; nor was he supported exclusively by the family. The 'Croxdale Fund' was made up by bequests from the Rev. William Errington (£500), Frances Kennett (£100), Lady Maria Radcliffe (£100) and Catherine Salvin, who died in 1754 (£100). The priest was therefore largely independent of the Salvins domestically and financially but he was, nonetheless, subject to their over-riding control. The Catholics of Croxdale got a missioner of whom their landlord approved, and there was no rebellion as there had been in Stella ten years before when a similar situation had arisen.[120]

Arthur Storey had a congregation of around one hundred, some of whom seemed more exuberant than their patron. As the curate complained in 1774, the Catholics often rang a hand-bell when the Protestants left their chapel on Sunday mornings, 'as if in defiance'. Like many other northern Catholic (and Protestant) gentry, the Salvins rebuilt their mansion house in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In 1792, during the rebuilding of Croxdale Hall, the curate noted that

> the chapel in Mr. Salvin's house which used to be resorted to by a numerous congregation ..... is now shut up and I am informed it is confined to the occasional use of the family alone; which family upon Sundays generally resort to the Popish chapel at Tudhoe or at Durham. There is no Popish Priest at Croxdale but Mr. Arthur Storey occasionally attends from Tudhoe who keeps a Popish School in that village, but I do not find any Protestant children are admitted.

There was, in fact, an exiled French priest in Croxdale Hall around the end of the century, and he seems to have taken care of the Salvins' pastoral needs while Storey, who had moved out to Tudhoe some years before, concentrated on his school.

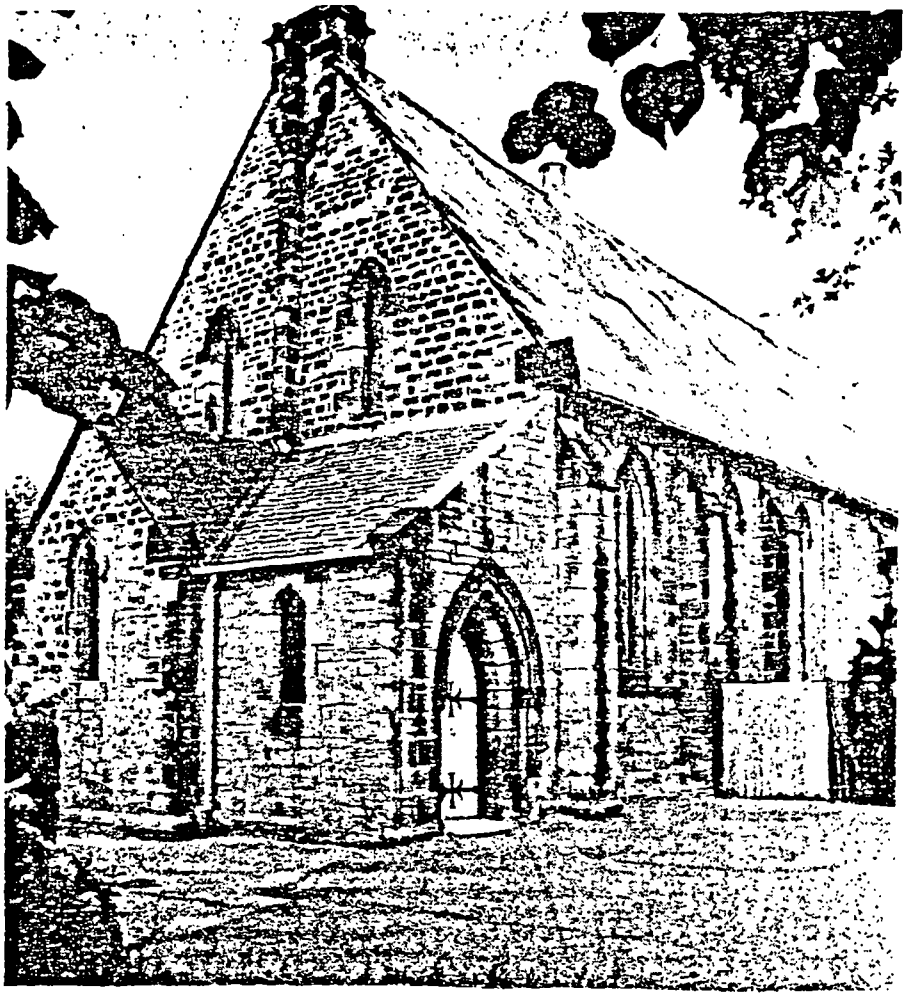
In 1778 (after the first Catholic Relief Act) Storey had taken a large house in Tudhoe, belonging to the Lawsons, in which he opened a preparatory boarding school, which he named Tudhoe Academy. The venture was not viewed optimistically by some of his fellow-priests, who felt that he could not manage both a school and a misson at the same time. An assistant priest-schoolmaster was appointed, however, and the Academy provided a valuable service to the gentry who were able to keep their children in England up to the age of fourteen before sending them abroad to complete their education. The Academy offered, at £22 a year, a wide classical education with particular attention being paid to 'morals, behaviour and mental improvement'. Dancing was two guineas a year extra. Storey was sixty five years old in 1807 when he wrote, 'For many years I have been employed in the arduous important task of educating our Catholic youth. I rather wish now to retire to more easy employment'. Ushaw College opened the following year and Tudhoe Academy became redundant. In May 1808, therefore, the Academy and the mission at Tudhoe were closed and pastoral charge of the area reverted to the missioner at Croxdale until 1857, when Tudhoe became an independent mission.[121]

The visitation return of 1801 showed the Croxdale Catholics to be more discreet than before, for they did not 'in any degree interfere with the members of the regular church'. Thomas Smith came as missioner in 1802 and he lived, temporarily in Croxdale Hall, officiating in the redesigned chapel, which was reopened for public use in 1807, just as Storey was thinking of leaving Tudhoe. The priest was still living in the Hall in 1814, but the Catholic Magazine in 1832 described the situation at Croxdale as it had been for several years, and as it would remain until the 1850s. The chaplain had 'a wide tract of country' over which the Catholics (180 communicants) were scattered:[122]

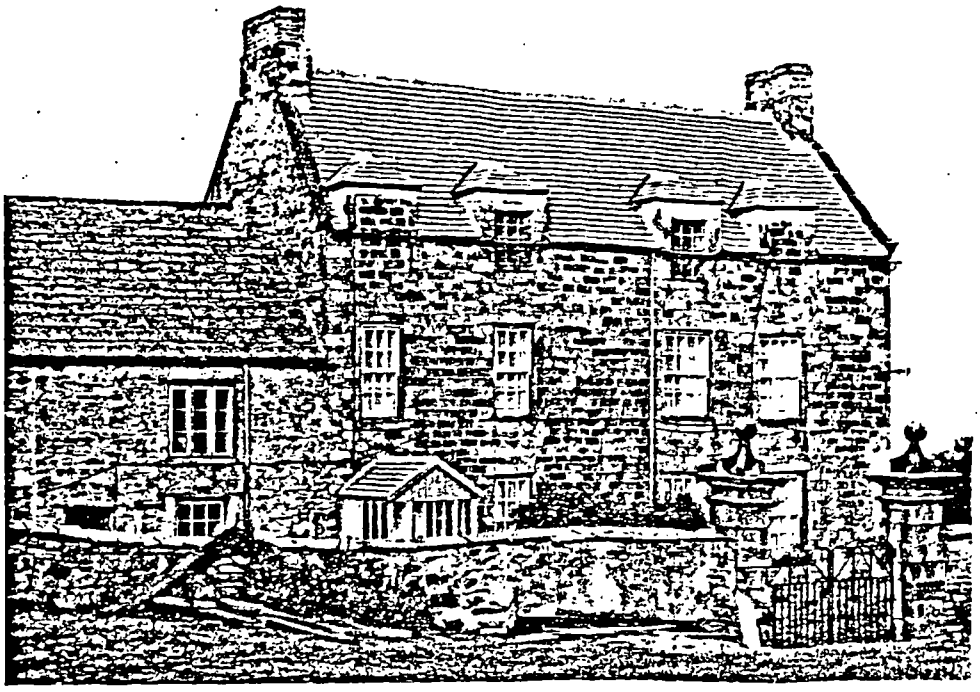
> The large and populous places of Sedgefield, Bishop Middleham, Bishop Auckland, &c. are within the range of his pious labours, and his frequent attendance at those places, situated nine or ten miles apart and from his residence, makes this mission no sinecure. He does not reside in the Hall, but in the village of Sunderland Bridge, about a third of a mile distant. The house stands pleasantly situated at the east end of the village, possessing an excellent garden and orchard, and about seven acres of land.

*

In 1767 some thirty Catholics living in the parishes of St. Helen and St. Andrew, Auckland assembled in the house of Lancelot Bradford for Mass, celebrated by the Jesuit of Durham. The congregation had halved by 1780, however, and it had virtually disbanded by the turn of the century. The priest continued to attend until 1794 when a convent of Discalced Carmelites, repatriated from Lierre, with their chaplain, James Roby,



Bishop Auckland, St. Wilfrid, 1846



PONTOP HALL.

was established in St. Helen Auckland Hall. This house had been rented by Sir John Lawson as a college for the students of Douai College, but Bishop Gibson's irresolution about accepting it for the purpose 'so disgusted Sir John that he made a tender of the house to the Lierre Nuns who were glad to accept of it and are now established to their great satisfaction'. Three exiled French priests arrrived in the town in 1796 but they do not seem to have assisted Roby in attending on the local Catholics and confined themselves to 'their own private devotions'. The move of the Carmelites to Cocken Hall in 1804 left the handful of Catholics without a resident pastor. Edward Walsh, the Jesuit in Durham, was then aged sixty five and he was presumably unable to resume the supply mission, so the missioner at Croxdale took it on. Otherwise the people travelled the seven miles to Croxdale for Mass.[123]

The mission in these parts therefore virtually lapsed, and it was some forty years before it started again. New coal mines were sunk in south west Durham from 1825, and the Stockton and Darlington Railway was extended north towards Bishop Auckland to carry the coals down to the Tees. The industrialisation of the area led to an increase in the population but it was not until 1840 that the missioner in Darlington began to visit the town. William Hogarth went on Sunday afternoons to recite Vespers and to give instruction to a small group who gathered, initially in a private house and then, as numbers increased, in a room of the Shepherd's Inn, Fore Bondgate. In 1841, a Mr. Thomas Peacock lent a room in the same street, free of charge, and Hogarth began to say Mass there. He knew, of course, that a permanent mission was required, and Luke Curry was appointed in 1842; he left within a year and James Gibson took over. He immediately issued a public appeal in the Catholic Directory of that year for donations to establish the new mission:

> In consequence of the numerous coal mines opened in the neighbourhood, and the establishment of several public works, the influx of population has been very great, and many of the new residents are Catholics. These, with the Catholics who for years have been scattered among the villagers of the mining district, amount to not less than 400 souls ..... There is no provision for the priest, except what may arise from the contributions of these poor people.

By 1845 sufficient money had evidently been collected, for Gibson bought land from Peacock and the foundation-stone of a church was laid by the bishop. St. Wilfrid's, in the Early English style by Thomas Gibson of Newcastle, costing £1,000 and designed to seat three hundred people, was opened 'with unusual pomp and ceremony' by Bishop Riddell in 1846. The industrial development which had led to the rapid increase in the Catholic population of Bishop Auckland was paralleled elsewhere in

west Durham. Missions were established in Wolsingham, Crook and Tow Law around 1850 to serve the large number of Irish immigrants attracted to the new ironworks and coal mines of the area.[124]

*

Francis Maire married Anne Clavering in 1726 and took up residence in Hardwick Hall, taking a chaplain, Henry Allan, who had been a riding-missioner in the locality for some time. Except for a seven-year period in which the secular priest Nicholas Clavering, nephew of the patroness, was chaplain, Jesuit priests served at Hardwick Hall continuously from 1743 to 1824. In 1750 the congregation numbered 'about 53 that have learnt trade', and came from the coastal villages north of Hartlepool. The Hardwick estate, as well as that of Hutton Henry to the north, came into the possession of Catherine Silvertop-Maire in 1811, but she had to sell both properties to clear the debts of her son, Henry Thomas Witham. He was born a Silvertop but changed his surname at his marriage. In addition to Hardwick, Witham inherited his mother's estate at Lartington and, through marriage, he also held the estate of Cliffe Hall. At the turn of the century, then, Witham possessed three Catholic estates, each having a longstanding chaplaincy.[125]

Harry Witham was thriftless, not because he spent lavishly on his estates (the means by which some Northumbrian Catholics ruined themselves), but because he was a gambler. His great-grandson put it well when he said, 'That Harry Witham did not keep racehorses seems not to have prevented him from losing large sums on the turf'. On one occasion, Witham arranged a ball at Lartington Hall to celebrate the anticipated win of Doctor Syntax, a wellknown racehorse owned by the Catholic Ralph Riddell of Felton Park, which would restore his shattered fortunes. News arrived, however, that the horse had lost; the dance was cancelled and Witham fled to Scotland to escape his creditors. He spent the next six years in Edinburgh pursuing his other, less extravagant, interest in fossils and geology. Nonetheless, his financial difficulties could only be rectified by the sale of real estate. His mother agreed to the sale of the Hardwick estate, which went to the Earl of Darlington in 1819. Within a year, Darlington had cut enough timber to recoup his capital outlay. The estate, moreover, shortly began to yield a fabulous quantity of coal.[126]

Disastrous as the sale was for the family, it was almost as bad for the mission. Darlington permitted the chapel in Hardwick Hall to remain in use for the time being but notice to quit was eventually served to take effect on Mayday 1824. Thomas Slater, the secular priest who went

to Hardwick to assist the eighty-year old Jesuit Christopher Rose, wrote to George Silvertop, trustee of the mission, asking for his help in relocating the mission. The letter was returned unopened from Minsteracres (Silvertop was hardly ever at home at this time, involved as he was in the campaign for Catholic Emancipation), and Slater gave vent to his frustration and anxiety of the moment:

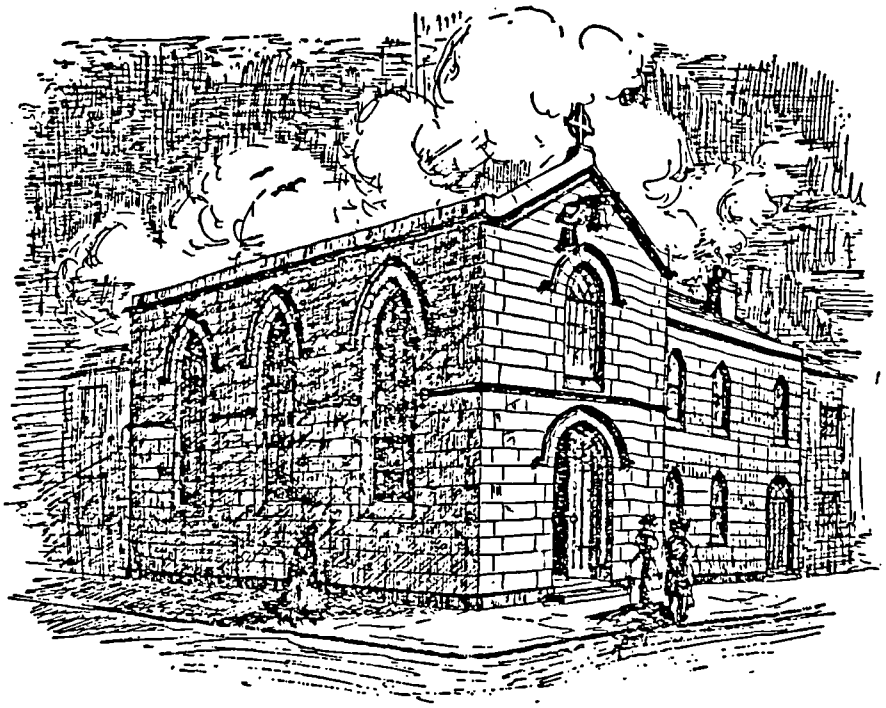
> The Mission had been at Hardwick from time immemorial and Harry Witham's extravagances forced him to sell it to Lord Darlington. George Silvertop, Harry's brother had the management. No provision was made to continue the Mission and if I had not come forward with my private means, this Mission had been lost ...Hy Witham and Silvertop did nothing. Ld. Darlington sold me the moiety at the same price he gave for it 11 acres more or less. Thus proving that Harry Witham and George Silvertop had less feeling than the heretic Ld. Darlington who always and after when (Duke of) Cleveland, showed his goodness to me in the H'pool Chapel. Give me such as Ld. Cleveland before 10,000 of your H. Withams and Geo. Silvertops although they professed themselves Catholics and the duke was what was called a Heretic.

In a postscript he lamented how foolish he had been to write to Silvertop. Darlington allowed Slater to remain at Hardwick until a new house and chapel could be built at Hutton Henry, a village about midway between Stockton and Sunderland.[127]

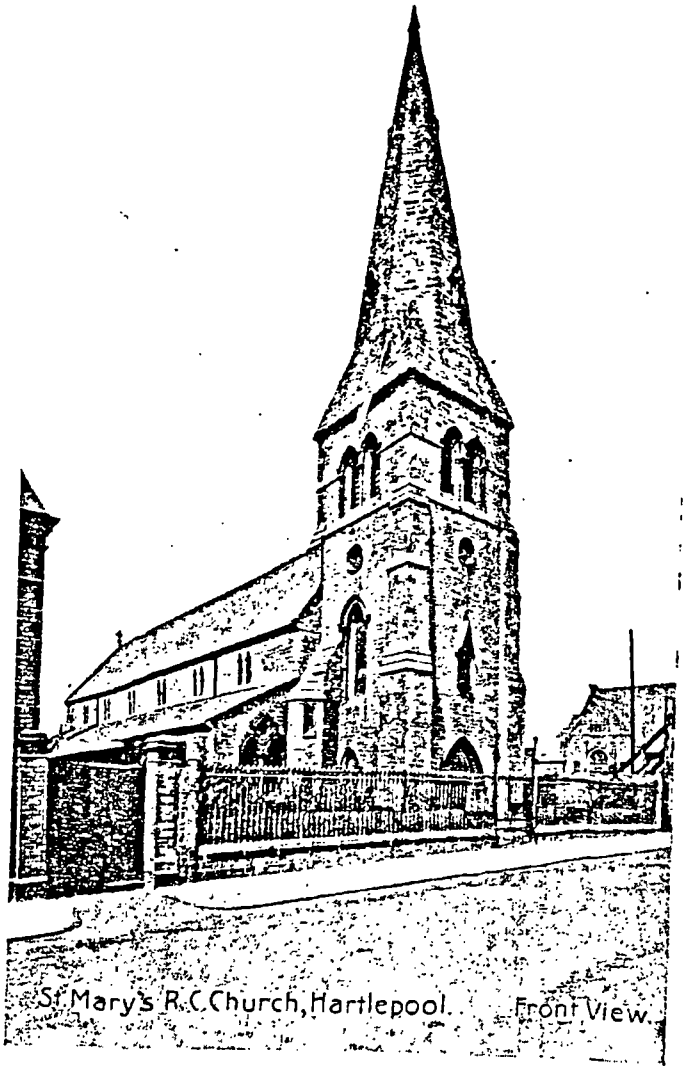
The new chapel was 'a brick building, finished in the interior in a neat Gothic style', and it was registered in 1824. It was, as Sir Henry Lawson observed, 'in a tolerably central situation' for the congregation which at that time numbered about eighty communicants. It was also advertised as convenient for visitors to the neighbouring watering places of Hartlepool, Seaton and Carewe. Moreover, the Catholic Magazine noted in in 1832 that the 'large and increasing villages of Easington &c. to the north will, on account of the advancing coal works in that direction, soon become very populous, and afford additional numbers to the congregation.'[128]

*

The mission at Hardwick Hall had included Hartlepool, ten miles away on the coast, from the middle of the eighteenth century. Amerston Hall nearby had long been the residence of the Ashmall famly, and in 1743 Mrs Ashmal kept a priest, 'her son, who goes to Owton in the parish of Greatham, to say Mass at a farmer's house which belongs to Mr Salvin'. That was Ferdinando Ashmall, the last of the family. He became missioner at Esh in 1745 and his trustees sold the Amerston Hall estate in 1762 for £1,330. The missioner at Hardwick Hall attended some sixty Catholics listed in the Hartlepool area in 1780, but the congregation was in decline, although a house-chapel was registered in 1791. In 1831 there were only twenty Catholics in a population of over thirteen hundred. The



Chapel in Prissick Street, Hartlepool, 1834



St. Mary's, Hartlepool

1851

staff and students of Ushaw College spent part of the summer holidays in Hartlepool in the 1820s, to take the 'sea-bathing cure', and Mass was said in their hotel. Similarly, priests who accompanied 'R. Catholic families during the Bathing season' said Mass in the town.[129]

A small chapel, dedicated to St. Hilda, was opened in January 1834. A stone over the doorway declared that 'This building was erected by John Wells and presented to the Roman Catholics for the use of their religious exercises at the request of Mary, his wife, A.D. 1834'. Wells was not a Catholic, and it was only through his faithfulness to his wife, who died in 1826, that Hartlepool had a chapel at all at this time. His use of the term 'presented' was ambiguous, however, for in April 1838 the Rev. Slater told Bishop Briggs that '£250 was paid to John Wells in consideration of all claims he might have upon the chapel, land, house, etc. in Hartlepool'. Presumably, then, Wells had retained the ownership of the property. The Lancashireman William Knight, a twenty five year old newly-ordained priest went to Hartlepool in 1834 direct from the seminary in Lisbon, and he remained in Hartlepool as missioner for the whole forty years of his priestly life. The mission was extremely poor; no wealthy patrons lived thereabouts and the Catholic Directory of 1835 reminded 'those who frequent this or the neighbouring watering places', and for whom sittings were kept in the chapel, of the financial needs of the new mission. Nonetheless, a small school was provided by a lay benefactor, and the priests's income was partly secured by a bequest of the Rev. William Coghlan, who left £400 in 1836 to the missioner in Hartlepool, provided he was a secular.[130]

The congregation grew rapidly to 1,500 in 1851, largely as a result of an 'influx of Irish workmen and others connected with the improvements' in the railways (1834) and the docks (1847). A new church was required, and although the profit made on the sale of a plot of land was substantial, the balance had to be made up from the weekly contributions of the congregation. The church, dedicated to St. Mary, designed by J.A. Hansom and costing £4,000 was opened in August 1851 by Bishop Hogarth in the presence of Cardinal Wiseman. This was the latter's first engagement in the north as cardinal, and he was rather nervous at appearing in the diocese of the bishop who had done so much to fan the No-Popery agitation in 1850. Wiseman wrote to Knight about his visit:[131]

> I should wish it to be as little known as possible: if you can have me met at the station as quickly as possible, & conducted to my place of abode, I shall be glad. I have heard that great excitement prevails at H. as yet; and many have advised my not going; I trust therefore that on our side nothing will be done to attract attention beyond what our business requires.

The visit passed without incident and Wiseman left for Ushaw College, unembarrassed by the attentions of any except perhaps those of the Catholics themselves.

*

For over a century the tiny group of Catholics in Sedgefield were visited occasionally by the missioners of Stockton or Croxdale. Thus, in 1792 it was reported that Mass was celebrated 'about five or six times in the year in a private house in the town (belonging to one Rowntree)'. Such was the situation for the next fifty years, until, that is, the opening of the coalfield in east Durham. In 1839 the Rev. T.S. Irving was appointed resident missioner and he built a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph but that, it rapidly became evident, would not suffice. Thornley was a village a few miles to the north of Sedgefield with some fifty inhabitants in 1831. A colliery was opened in 1835 and the population rose to almost 2,750 by 1841; the Catholics among them walked to Sedgefield for Mass. In 1850 the missioner opened a chapel dedicated to St. Godric in Thornley, 'of very plain character' which had 'previously been a dissenting chapel'. The Catholic Directory of 1851 informed its readers that the priest in Sedgefield 'resides alternate weks here and at Thornley'. A school was attached by 1854 and the congregation which was one hundred and fifty in 1852 almost quadrupled by 1855.[132]

*

It was fortunate that there were four chaplaincies close by in the North Riding, for the Catholics in south Durham were otherwise poorly provided for, and this area of the county was the slowest to develop a settled missonary structure. This was partly because few of the local Catholic gentry survived into the eighteenth century, and there were no permanent chaplaincies on the northern banks of the Tees. The Jenisons of Walworth Castle, the Ashmalls of Amerston Hall and the Withams of Preston upon Tees had had either died out or moved away by about 1750. Darlington, moreover, was very much a Quaker town, and it is perhaps not surprising that of the several major centres of population in the county, Darlington had fewest Catholics. At any rate, for much of the eighteenth century the mission in south Durham was largely maintained from north Yorkshire.

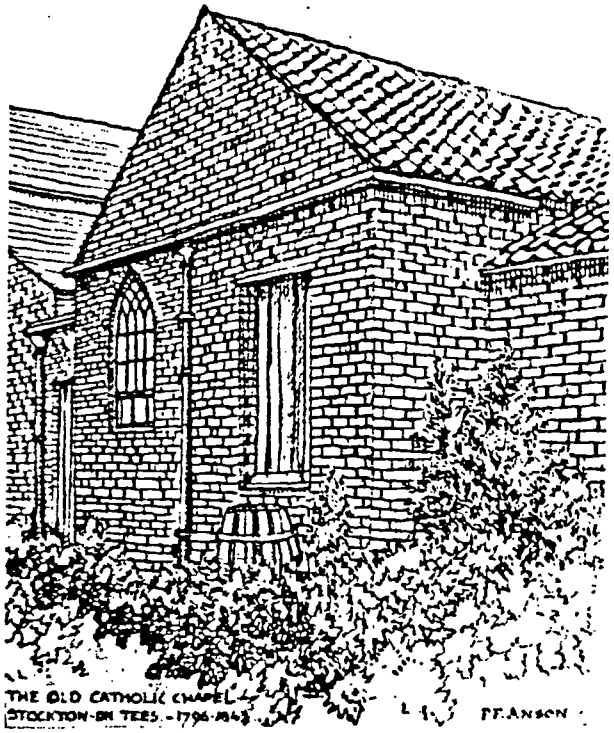
The Wapentake of Gilling West held the largest number of Catholics in the North Riding in the eighteenth century. The focus of recusancy was Wycliffe Hall, the home of the Tunstall family, south of the Tees below Whorlton. The domestic chapel, which was rebuilt in 1748, served a sizeable congregation of Durham Catholics until the middle of the nineteenth century.[133] Three other chaplaincies in the North Riding, Cliffe Hall, The Friarage, Yarm, and Lartington Hall, had a greater impact on

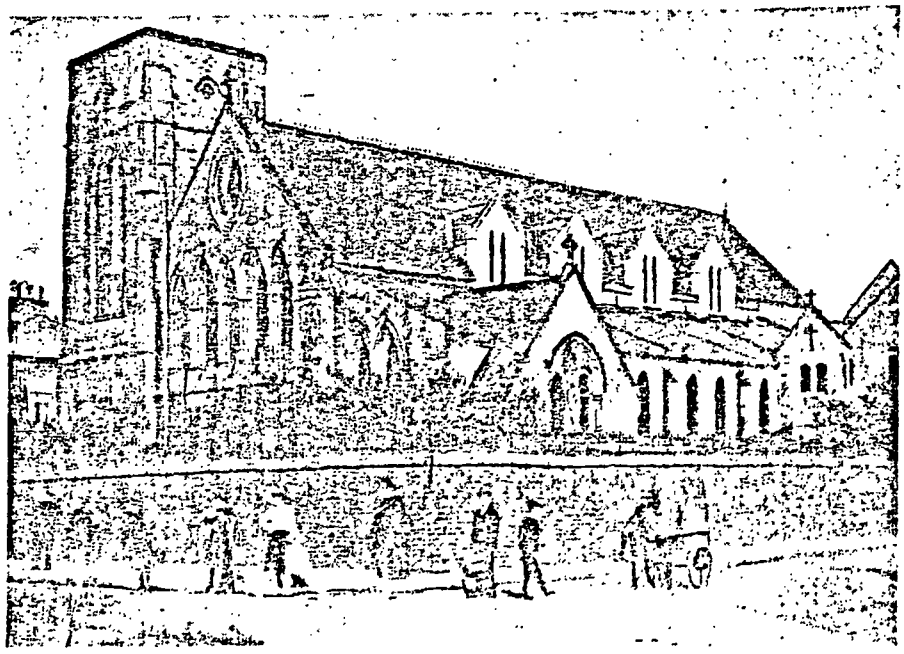
the mission in Durham as the forerunners of the missions in Darlington, Stockton, Barnard Castle and Gainford. As it happened, however, the financial foundations of the missions at Stockton and Darlington were provided by three Yorkshire priests, who each left £400 for the purpose.[134]

The first beneficiaries of the Stockton fund lived in the manor house of Preston upon Tees, which had been seized in the 1650s as the home of one of the Sayer family, 'a papist delinquent'. The estate came into the possession of the Withams of Cliffe in 1673 , but it was sold in 1723 by William Witham to Sir John Eden of Windlestone, and the priest moved to Stockton. It is not clear where the mission to the twenty or so Catholics of the town was based at that time, but it was either in a rented house or in the home of one of the twelve property-owning Catholic inhabitants listed in 1723, perhaps with the late owners of Preston, Catharine Witham, a widow, and her son William. This priest acted also as a riding missioner and, with the chaplain at Hardwick Hall, he attended the small groups of Catholics in Billingham, Greatham and elsewhere in the south east of the county. He was also committed to saying a monthly Mass in Darlington, and it is likely that he served the fifty Catholics in Yarm, where he could well have been resident for part of the time. The Friarage, Yarm, came into the possession of Nicholas Mayes, a wealthy merchant, on his marriage to Cecily Sayer in 1620. His younger brother Lawrence (1673-1749) spent much of his priestly life in Rome as the agent of the English Vicars Apostolic. John Mayes (1670-1742), the elder son, entered the legal profession: his tombstone in churchyard at Yarm describes him as 'a prominent Roman Catholic counsel'. He married Mary Meynell of North Kilvington and they had a resident Jesuit chaplain from 1735. The estate passed to the Meynells at her death in 1770, and Edward Meynell had built a new mansion by 1775, to which a chapel was added in 1795.[135]

In 1743, Mrs Elizabeth Grainge, the convert widow of a Stockton brewer and maltster, entered into a bond with the Vicar Apostolic to give the mission £200 to supplement the Stockton fund. The priest was to offer Mass in Stockton every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, all holydays, and three of the Sundays in the month. There were some fifty Catholics in the town when the newly-ordained priest, John Hawarden, arrived in 17 to take over this well-endowed mission. The children of Mrs Grainge, however, ceased to pay the interest on her bond after they left the church and, although attempts were made to get them to honour it, the bond was effectively rescinded by 1763.

There were 63 Catholics in Stockton in 1767, but the congregation





ST. MARY'S CHURCH, STOCKTON ON TEES, ABOUT 1910.

(built 1842)

was in decline. Nonetheless, John Daniel, missioner from 1783, began to collect funds for a chapel to replace his century-old house in a back alley close to the quay and the Playhouse theatre, the approach to which was 'awkward and disagreeable'. Notwithstanding the disreputable locality, the new chapel, 'a plain brick building', was built on the same site and opened in 1796. An exiled French priest was in Stockton at the end of the century, and he was recommended by the mayor, presumably as a teacher of French, or for his publication of a French-English dictionary. Thomas Storey, nephew of Arthur, was missioner from 1803; he opened a preparatory school for five or six young gentlemen aged from seven to ten years, at fifty guineas a year, which was advertised regularly in the Catholic Directory. This venture was no doubt the priest's principal means of support, for in 1810 there were only ten Catholics in Stockton, a group 'composed chiefly of inferior persons'.[136]

Stockton was in the forefront of railway development in the 1820s, and the Catholic population began to increase. It reached a total of seventy, mostly 'mechanics &c.' by 1832; within the next four years it grew to 250, an obviously mushrooming urban working-class congregation. It was thought fitting at that time to 'build a new chapel and residence in a more appropriate situation' if funds could be raised. Joseph Dugdale, missioner from 1830, began to collect money, but it was slow to come in, and the existing chapel had to be extended in the mid-thirties to accommodate the still expanding but impoverished congregation. It was clear, however, that a new church had become essential, and so the foundations of St. Mary's, designed by A.W. Pugin, were laid in 1841. The church was only partially completed when it was opened in the summer of the following year; the need for larger premises had outweighed any aesthetic consideration.[137]

*

A fund was established late in the seventeenth century by the Rev. Marmaduke Dalton for the support of a priest in Darlington, but none could be resident there until a hundred years later. The Catholics there, numbering no more than twenty, were attended monthly from Stockton, but on other occasions they could hear Mass in Cliffe Hall, just south of the Tees near Piercebridge. There was also a small Catholic community in Gainford and Piercebridge which also took advantage of that mission. Cliffe Hall had been a Witham chaplaincy since the reign of Charles II. Late in the eighteenth century, however, it began to develop symptoms of the disharmony between priest and patron that occurred elsewhere in the north at the time. In December 1775, Bishop Walton feared that the Withams did not intend to take another chaplain after the death of Henry

Maire. Indeed, Walton observed, 'unless they make a better allowance and more regular payments, there does not appear to be a sufficiency for an incumbent to subsist upon'. John Billington went there as chaplain in 1784, but he took some time to settle down; two years later it was said that he 'was in good spirits and at last reconciled to his situation and it to him'. In 1789, however, it was feared that Billington would 'not long be able to do the duty of a missoner: he is indeed very pious ..... but so troubled with scruples as to be almost unfit for any of his Ecclesl. functions'. He remained in office for a further three years, but he was then 'incapax and so quit Cliffe'. Another young priest, William Coghlan, son of the Catholic publisher, went to Cliffe Hall in 1792, but he had resigned by 1804 since, as Henry Rutter remarked, he did 'not seem calculated to live in a Gentleman's family'. Coghlan moved into Darlington for a short period, but he returned to Cliffe for a few months before finally leaving for Scarborough. Between 1766 and 1811 there were eight chaplains at Cliffe Hall and the congregation was reduced by two thirds over the same period. The closure of the chaplaincy, however, came about because of financial problems, rather than priestly dissatisfaction. The Cliffe estate was sold in 1824 because, as the Catholic Magazine vaguely put it, 'untoward circumstances alienated it from its late inheritor', Henry Witham, but, as we have seen, those circumstances were hardly untoward.[138]

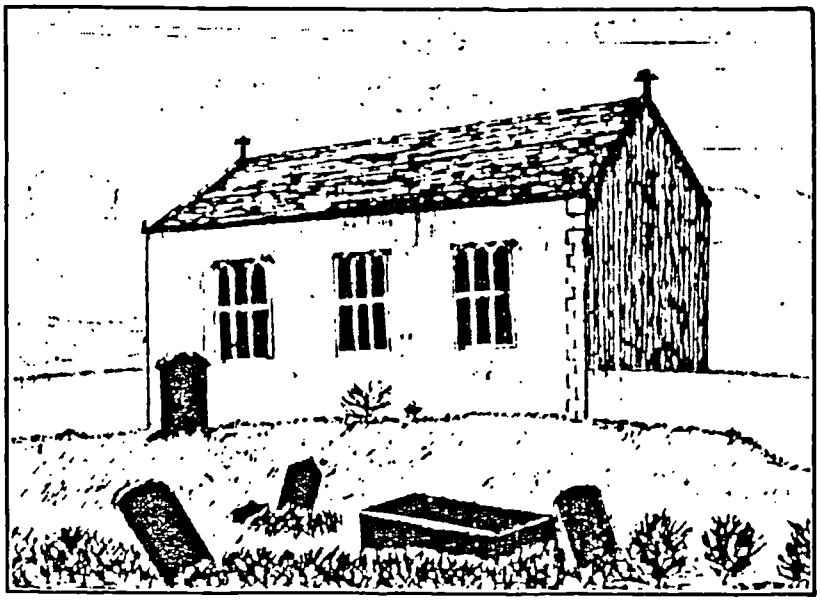
There had been 16 Catholics in Darlington in 1705, 84 in 1767, but in 1814 there were 'not more than 40'. The Ridsdales, a family of craftsmen, seem to have been the leaders of this community throughout the century, and Mass was celebrated in their house by the missioner of Stockton. In 1786 it was decided to acquire an independent property for the mission and a house in Bondgate was bought for £110 from a Quaker banker, and a chapel was established in it. In 1805, the new missioner, Thomas Storey, borrowed £300 from the Vicariate to buy a plot of land behind Ridsdale's house in order to build a chapel to accommodate a congregation of around one hundred and fifty, drawn from the town and the surrounding district. Despite its rapid transition to independence, the mission in Darlington remained under the care of the Stockton priest and it only became a settled residential misson in its own right as a result of the closure of the chaplaincy in Cliffe Hall, which occurred, coincidently, shortly after the death of Storey in 1822.[139]

William Hogarth, who had been chaplain at Cliffe since 1816, moved into Ridsdale's house next to the new chapel in 1824 to become the first 'Incumbent of the United Congregations of Cliffe and Darlington'. He immediately launched an appeal for donations towards the cost of a new



Darlington's first Mass centre in Bondgate

The priest lived in the house fronting the road. The congregation entered the yard through the centre door to worship in the tiny chapel at the rear of the building



St Augustine's Darlington 1827

church to replace the chapel which was[140]

> much too small, being incapable of accommodating more than one hundred and fifty persons, while the united congregations will amount to upwards of four hundred. It is the more necessary that a chapel should be erected on a scale proportioned to the numbers of Catholics, because the maintenance of the Pastor must, in this instance, depend upon the rent of the place by the seats, and, should the spot be abandoned for want of funds necessary for its support, a wide extent of ground will be left destitute of a pastor and the people, in most instances, at a distance of twelve miles from any place of public worship

In June 1825 land contiguous to existing church property was bought from the Earl of Darlington and Viscount Barnard; in 1826 the church, designed by Bonomi, 'combining strength with elegance', was begun. In April 1827 Hogarth wrote to Bishop Smith to tell him that he had decided to have his new chapel named 'in the style and title of St. Augustine's', and invited the bishop to perform the opening ceremony at the end of May. He did not mention that the church would not be finished for the formal opening. A local chronicler remarked of St. Augustine's,

> It is in the gothic style, yet simple and unadorned. It may not, perhaps, be improper to state that Darlington, considering the forbidding circumstances in which it has been placed, furnishes an extraordinary instance of the increase of catholics.

Yet it seems, uniquely that the congregation in Darlington was not convinced that a new church was required at all, despite the unification of the two missions, and despite the impatience of the missioner to open the church before it was completed. Some people thought it too large and that there had been unnecessary expense on its construction. This was a short-sighted view because the mission was bound to prosper. In the first place, Hogarth had 'received 30 into the church ' in 1828 and he had '25 more who if all be well will be received at Christmas'. Then, as the Catholic Magazine pointed out in 1832, 'The great increase of trade opened out by the rail way will shortly make this one of our principal missions in the county'. On the other hand, the same writer noted that the income of the mission was but 'moderate'; Hogarth would have large debts for some time. He told the bishop that 'we have not a very great number of very poor, but we have no opulent people among us and the living here is but scanty'. He was given the opportunity to move to Hull in 1830 but, although the income would have been three times that of Darlington, he decided to remain in the north east because, he said, 'poor as it is it is of my own making as it were and I felt if I left it much serious injury would have been done'. Certainly, Hogarth seems to have been a successful and popular missioner. Bishop Briggs confirmed 65 persons on Trinity Sunday, 1839, of whom 18 were English converts gained within the previous three years. The church had been enlarged shortly

before to accommodate another hundred people. It could then seat four hundred; 'such is the continued increase in converts', it was said, that the church would shortly again be thought too small. Schools for 120 pupils were added in 1842.[141]

*

The Catholics of Barnard Castle and upper Teesdale crossed the Tees to attend Mass in Lartington Hall in the parish of Romaldkirk in the North Riding. This is one of the oldest missions in the present diocese of Middlesbrough; the registers date from 1700, in which year a chapel was built alongside the house by Thomas Maire, the squire. Lancelot Pickering was chaplain there for fifty years (1713-63) and his successor but one, Edward Kitchen, was there for over twenty years (1772-93); he died at Lartington, insane. Attempts to a satisfactory chaplain at that time were not at first successful. Thomas Ferby, 'who not being agreeable to Mrs Maire', quickly returned to Crathorne, and John Worswick, who was 'found asleep at 10 o'clock, stayed only a few months'. Benedict Rayment then went up to Lartington, and he stayed for eighteen years.[142]

It will be recalled that this estate was the last remaining property of the Witham family, which was impoverished by Henry Witham. He had inherited Lartington Hall upon the death of his mother in 1832. He returned from Scotland to take over the estate and he was greeted with a parade though Barnard Castle; the band, banners and bells proclaiming his popularity as an extravagant spender. Witham, however, was then in his fifties and he had entered a more sober phase of life, that of the responsible, though benevolent, squire. He founded the Mechanics Institute in Barnard Castle and he supported the Dispensary Society which provided the poor with medicine. He commissioned Ignatius Bonomi to build a museum at Lartington to house his geological specimens, and a library for three thousand books, his paintings and his collection of fossils. He was pricked for High Sheriff of Durham in 1844, but he died before his year of office was over. The estate passed to his eldest son George, but he died three years later, and Lartington Hall came into the possession of the only surviving son, Thomas Edward Witham, forty one years old and a priest. He immediately applied to Rome for a dispensation to marry and maintain the line, but the request was refused.

Witham settled down at Lartington Hall as squire, a role he much enjoyed. He was something of a bon viveur and he kept a good cellar, although he had the village inn closed down. Witham was friendly with the Duke of Cleveland, with whom he dined frequently at Raby Castle. He was also a railway entrepreneur and he became a director of the Tees Valley Railway. He once remarked of himself that if it had not been for

Figure 3: Number of R.C. Mission Stations in North East England 1688-1850.

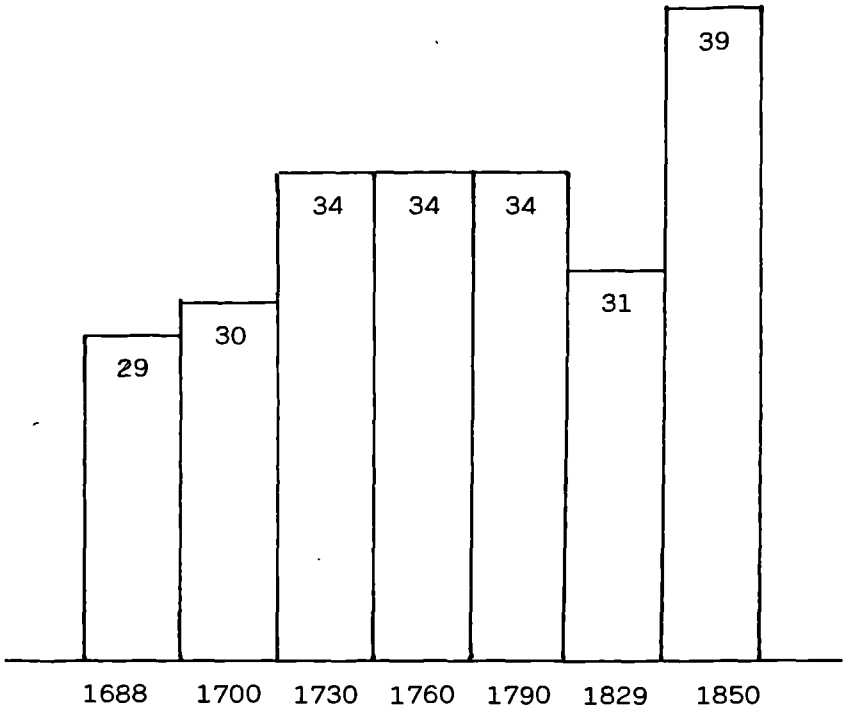


Table 7: Classification & Tenure of Mission Stations in North East England, 1688-1850

	1688	1780	1829	1850
a. Chaplaincies:	75%	51%	40%	21%
b. Tenures held by secular priests	33%	33%	70%	88%

the extravagance of his father, he would have been the richest commoner in England. Witham acted as missioner in Gainford from 1847, where he built (and endowed) St. Osmund's church in 1855 as a chapel of ease to St. Augustine's in Darlington. He continued to minister there until 1861 when Michael Ellis, chaplain at Lartington, died.[143]

The mission at Lartington had a congregation of some twenty five Teesdale families at the beginning of the nineteenth century, many of whom lived in Barnard Castle. In 1847, by which time the Catholic population of the town was estimated at two hundred, Owen Longstaffe rented the Union Hall and adapted it for use as a chapel; he also provided the stipend for a resident priest. Three years later he bought the property for £400 and gave it to the mission. Longstaffe, born in Lincoln and married to Lucy Ullathorne (aunt of the bishop), had been taken into partnership by his father-in-law, Francis, to manage 'the extensive flax tow and spinning wheels of Messrs. Ullathorne and Longstaff, established in 1798 and whose manufacture of shoe threads gives employment to between 400 and 500 hands' in Startforth and Barnard Castle. Longstaffe later set apart a room in the mill as a Catholic schoolroom.[144]

*

Conclusion

Two main conclusions emerge from the foregoing survey of the chapels in north east England. The first is that the mission was in place by 1730 (Figure 3). The second conclusion is that progress occurred in three, more or less distinct,phases, both in overall terms, and in the way individual missions were developed. Of some sixty chapels to be found at one time or another during the period 1688 to 1851, half were in existence by 1688. Development between 1688 and 1730 was largely a changeover in chaplaincies. Six new chaplaincies and four public missions were inaugurated in that half century, but five chaplaincies closed three of which were in houses of Jacobite rebels. The disposition reached by 1730 remained substantially unchanged for over a century. The shape of Figure 3 corresponds roughly to the trend in the size of the Catholic population of the region shown in Table 2.

It is somewhat surprising to find that the Catholic Church achieved a permanent structural form and comprehensive geographical deployment by 1730, given that the period was punctuated by the revolution of 1688 and the Jacobite Fifteen, events which were generally considered as major disasters for the Catholic cause in England. It would seem, therefore, that, in north east England at any rate, the establishment and progress of the mission proceeded independently of political factors. The general

tolerance of Catholicism was exemplified in James Mickleton's account of the mission in Durham at the turn of the eighteenth century. Another example would be the remarkable speed and confidence with which the chapels in Newcastle reopened after the revolution of 1688 and then after their destruction in the Forty-five. Similarly, within a few years of the Fifteen, the Claverings of Berrington and the Widdringtons of Cheeseburn Grange re-instituted chaplaincies. Yet both families were deeply involved in the rising; William Clavering and Ralph Widdrington had themselves been rebels. It may also be noted that no priest-holes or hiding-places were constructed in Catholic houses after 1680, and those found in the course of rebuilding were exhibited as historical curiosities. It was very much in a romantic frame of mind that the Swinburnes posted a servant-girl at the north windows of Capheaton Hall in the 1770s while Mass was being said to warn of the approach of strangers; there had been no need to do that for many years.[145]

The explanation for how a Catholic missionary organisation was able to take root and function so freely at an apparently inopportune time lies in the style in which the mission operated. Most mission stations were gentry dependencies of one sort or another; threequarters were chaplaincies (Table 7). At first, a chaplain would live in the mansion and the chapel would be in a converted room somewhere on an upper floor of the house. The semi-clandestine public chapels in the towns were usually accommodated in houses belonging to the gentry, and also in upper rooms or in outbuildings up an alley behind the houses.

The mission, then, was predominantly seigneurial and the majority of chapels were the private property of the gentry. Furthermore, the remote locations of many Catholic estates reduced the visibility of the mission. In an age when a landed proprietor was absolute master of his own estates and could change the landscape at will, and even move a village if it interrupted the view from his morning-room, it is hardly to be wondered at that the establishment of private chapels went unchallenged. A tight rein was kept on the chaplain; his primary duty was to the patronal family and its immediate dependents. Only secondarily did he minister outside those circles, and if he did, he did so discreetly, and he returned home promptly. In short, although the religion of the squire was well-known, the identity of the priest common knowledge, and the existence of a chapel and its congregation obvious, Catholic missionary activity was calculated to cause no offence and, so far as was possible, not conspicuous. Provided that continued, what a gentleman did on his own property could remain his own business. The mission

could not have survived in any other way.

The formative phase was followed by a period of sixty years (1730-1790) in which little further geographical expansion of the mission took place. Of ten new mission stations, seven were chaplaincies. At the same time, however, several mission properties were substantially reconstructed, some supply missions became residential, and a handful of chaplaincies became public missions. In general, then, the second phase can be described as a period of consolidation. After a period of stability, or perhaps when a congregation outgrew existing accommodation and could afford to pay for alterations, a chapel would be improved and enlarged. In some chaplaincies it was given a more open and accessible position in the mansion house. A public mission property might be redeveloped completely to provide a separate chapel building, or at least to make part of the house a permanent chapel. Space for more worshippers was usually found by the addition of galleries, and this was done in most of the town-chapels.These chapels, not, so far as is known, given any dedication, were small, simple vernacular buildings, devoid of external ecclesiastical features. All new town-chapels were situated in obscure streets and alleys, and even in some strongly Catholic rural areas (for example, Thropton and Esh Laude), chapels were disguised or given a severely plain exterior.[146]

The safety of the Catholic mission depended on its isolation and its discretion, but while those attributes allowed the mission to become well-estabalished, they also inhibited change, for the chapels and priests were deployed at the conenience of the gentry. Since the cost of any development would fall on the gentry, they, once having established their own domestic chapels and contributed to the support of one in the nearest town, would be disinclined to build independent chapels which they would neither use or control. Most of the endowment income attached to town-chapels was paid to priests who travelled from country houses to offer Mass, hear confessions and visit the sick, perhaps monthly. Moreover, a fund providing a clerical stipend was usually strictly and non-transferably tied to a specific chaplaincy; it would prove difficult enough to persuade some families to continue honouring such a bequest, without risking dispossession by suggesting it be transferred elsewhere. Although these financing arrangements were beginning to change at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the urban Catholic professionals and tradesmen, as well as wealthy priests, began to leave money specifically to endow town-chapels, the shortage of priests and the insecurity of financial provision, inhibited urban missionary development for many years. Thus, in 1750, of the eight market towns of County Durham (Barnard

Castle, Darlington, Hartlepool, Staindrop, Stockton, Sunderland and Wolsingham), only Stockton had a fixed mission, although priests visited some of the other towns. The situation in Northumberland was somewhat better in that Alnwick, Hexham and Newcastle had residential missions, but Morpeth and Berwick were still supply missions and Rothbury was served from nearby Thropton. Hence, so long as the law prevented the Catholic clergy from owning property, so long would the mission be under the control of the gentry, and so long would the mission's geographical disposition continue unchanged. Fortunately, the population as a whole was relatively settled and, once established, the Catholic missonary organisation could operate within the restraints placed upon it, at least in the short term.

Few mission stations escaped disruption arising out of lay control. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the Catholic mission in the eighteenth century suffered more at the hands of its own laity than anything inflicted on it by Protestants. Lay support and protection was, no doubt, essential to the mission in the darkest days of its persecution, but when Roman Catholicism began to be tolerated in the eighteenth century, the involvement of the gentry became more of a hindrance than a help. Most of the dozen or so missions that closed during the century were chaplaincies that came to an end because of the misfortune of the patronal family. Some estates were forfeited and others sold; and one or two families apostatised or became extinct and brought their missions to an end. Few of those losses could not be compensated for by neighbouring missions, and so little long term damage was inflicted on the Catholic population, but difficulties arose even in those chaplaincies or gentry dependencies which did survive. The dismissal of a patron at the whim of a patron, for example, or the temporary closure of a chapel when the patron was absent, made for an unpredictable and insecure ministry. The greatest effect of the closures and of dictatorial patrons was to stimulate the clergy to gain their own independence and obtain greater security for the mission.

Change became inevitable once the urban population began to grow, but the prerequisite of missionary independence was the repeal of the laws which prevented Catholics from owning property and which prohibited places of Catholic worship. The first Catholic Relief Act, of 1778, remedied the former grievance but it was only under the second act, of 1791, that chapels could be opened under licence. That act emancipated the mission and the Catholic clergy. It also brought to a close the second (or consolidatory) phase of missionary development and ushered in

the third phase, characterised by mission enhancement and a shift from a rural to an urban apostolate.

The clergy promptly took control of existing properties, registered them under the Relief Act and, funded largely by public subscription, embarked on a building programme of new chapels and, more significantly, churches. Bishop William Gibson told Propaganda in 1804 that some thirty new chapels had been opened since 1790 in the Northern District, one third of which had been put up in the north east. Some rationalisation also took place at this time. Thus, between 1807 and 1829 the two chapels in Newcastle, Hexham and Durham were reduced to one in each town. By the end of the 1850s, only twelve of the forty missions in the north east had not built a church and of those, four were chaplaincies which had adequate chapels, and the rest were newly-established public chapels. Bishop Hogarth, whose episcopate lasted from 1843 to 1866 was said to have built or enlarged every chapel or church in the four counties comprising his diocese.[147]

The erection of a church, not necessarily in the same place as the chapel it replaced, came about generally because existing chapels were in a ruinous condition; others were built to replace chapels in unsuitable or inconvenient locations; and some were built at the instigation of a newly-appointed missioner who wished for a more spacious and imposing building to reflect the Church's post-Relief confidence. The commonest reason for building a new church, however, was when an increase in the number of worshippers meant that existing accommodation had become too small and could not be extended further; necessity then became the justification to move to a better position. The tradition of architectural discretion was hard to break, and the churches at Berwick (1829) and Stella were partially disguised. William Pitt recommended the conversion of an existing building for a seminary rather than the building of a new one which would only attract unwelcome attention. The isolation of Crook Hall in north west Durham was regarded by many as a decisive advantage, just as Esh was selected as the site of Ushaw College for its inaccessibility. Nonetheless, the hole-in-the-corner vernacular chapels were quickly superseded at the time of Emancipation as most missioners seized the opportunity to build churches on a grander scale than any of them could have imagined possible a few years before. It must be stressed that the achievements made between 1791 and 1850 were the culmination of a long process of missionary development. The Catholic Relief Acts legitimised an existing wellfound ecclesiastical organisation of missions and missioners; the acts merely facilitated the construction of permanent, purpose-built churches which could be managed by the clergy.[148]



Map 6: The Roman Catholic Mission in the North East, 1850

Table 8: Roman Catholic Churches Erected in North East England in the Period of Relief and Emancipation.

1790	Biddlestone	
1798	Newcastle, St. Andrew	
1799	Esh Laude, St. Michael	
1802	Brooms, St. Cuthbert	
1807	Croxdale, St. Herbert	
1811	Thropton, All Saints	
1813	Cheeseburn Grange	(Dobson)
1821	North Shields, St. Cuthbert	(Robert Giles)
1827	Darlington, St. Augustine	(Bonomi)
1827	Durham, St. Cuthbert	(Bonomi)
1829	Berwick, Ss. Mary & Cuthbert	
1830	Hexham, St. Mary	
1832	Stella, Ss. Mary & Thomas Aquinas	(J. Green, £1,500)
1835	Sunderland, St. Mary	(Bonomi)
1836	Alnwick, St. Mary	(J. Green, £2,140)
1837	Houghton le Spring, St. Michael	(Bonomi)
1839	Bellingham, St. Oswald	(Bonomi, £1,225)
1840	Cowpen, St. Cuthbert	(£1,623)
1841	Swinburne, St. Mary	
1841	Longhorsley, St. Thomas of Canterbury	
1842	Stockton, St. Mary	(Pugin, £7,000)
1842	Felling, St. Patrick	
1843	Birtley, St. Joseph	(Dobson, £1,500)
1844	Newcastle, St. Mary	(Pugin)
1846	Bishop Auckland, St. Wilfrid	(Gibson, £1,000)
1850	St. Robert of Newminster	(Gibson, £2,000)
1851	Hartlepool, St. Mary	(Hansom, £4,000)
1854	Wolsingham, St. Thomas of Canterbury	(Hansom, £1,600)
1854	Crook, Ss. Mary & Cuthbert	(Hansom)
1854	Minsteracres, St. Elizabeth of Hungary	(Hansom)
1855	Gainford, St. Osmund	(Gibson)
1857	Felton, St. Mary	

In all, some twenty six churches were built between 1790 and 1850 (Table 8). Most were in conspicuous locations to accommodate larger congregations, and most were substantial financial undertakings involving, on average, £2,000, although there was a wide range of building costs. (For comparison, the Newcastle church of All Saints, which was probably the largest provincial Anglican church erected in the eighteenth century, was completed in 1796 at a cost of around £27,000, and paid for by an annual rate of two shillings in the pound.[149]) Catholic churches were all funded voluntarily in the absence of church rates and other customary or statutory levies available to Anglican churchbuilders, and they were paid for in one of several ways.

Firstly, there were the proprietary churches, built wholly at the expense of a wealthy landowner on his own estate. Apart from any pious motive or sense of duty, the proprietor could then always try to get a priest to his own liking. A modified form of proprietorial right could be retained when a landowner provided the site for a church and made a substantial contribution to the building costs, and perhaps provide part of the priest's stipend, as at Bellingham. The balance of the building costs was left to be raised by the priest and the congregation. Mostly, however, churches were built with the voluntary contributions of the laity, subscribed or collected, locally or nationally. When sums raised in that way were insufficient to defray all the building costs, the balance was borrowed from vicariate funds, and paid back by the congregation over several years. Although the vicariate would endorse the project and perhaps make a contribution, it was assumed as a matter of course that the priest and congregation were financially responsible for the new building. Sums received varied widely and, as might be expected, the churches could not have been erected without substantial financial support from wealthy layfolk, but it was no longer the landed gentry that provided the finance, but the newly-emergent middle class. The Rev. John Barrow wrote to the Vicar Apostolic in 1798:

> you will not now be able to obtain as large Benefactions from the Gentry, as you might five or six years ago ..... Merchants, Manufactorers, Tradesmen, etc. are the Persons to whom we must, in these days of Dissipation look up to for our chief support. These can afford to contribute largely, and will not fail to do so, if we can persuade ourselves to try their bounty.

That view was echoed by Bishop Milner who told Bishop Gibson that more reliance had to be placed on the clergy than on the gentry. Bishop Riddell was saying much the same thing fifty years later: 'in this District there are few monied men, and as regards the gentry, we can't get anything from them.[150]

Those churches with few or no well-to-do supporters depended on

collections made elsewhere. Such means of raising funds included, for example, appeals in the Catholic Directory, the sale of old chapel sites fund-raising tours by missioners, and begging among holiday-makers for contributions towards the churches in spas and resorts. Contributions from Protestant well-wishers were not refused. There is no evidence that a lack of funds prevented the erection of a church, though some were delayed and others were not completed.

Where a church was built at the sole expense of a landowner, his role in the design and execution of the building was, of course, dominant. The choice of architect, builder and materials, the precise style and location, and the dedication were all chosen by him. In much the same way, in most cases, a public church would be executed entirely to the requirements of the missioner. Ocasionally, however, a committee would be formed within the congregation and plans were discussed and agreed by them, as happened, for example, at Hexham. A church was normally designed by an architect, chosen on the basis of his local reputation, although the proprietary churches were not always given to a local man. The architect would provide plans, perhaps a model, and estimates, so that a congregation would know the precise cost and amend its requirements accordingly. Local builders were engaged to erect the building from the plans under the general direction of the architect's clerk.[151]

As has been remarked, the Catholic community built churches for a variety of practical reasons, but there was also an ideological consideration that should not be overlooked. It was important for the Catholics of the early nineteenth century that what they saw as the proper status of their Church relative to other religious groups be clearly established. In particular they wished to stress their ancient pedigree and, as a corollary, be accepted as a church not a sect. Those aspirations were realised by ensuring that Catholic churches were built to standards comparable with those of the Anglican Church, insofar as they could afford to do so. Almost every church built in the period was designed by an architect of some distinction, built of stone to a medieval (or Gothic) style, and, with one exception, every church was given a traditional English dedication. In those ways the Church conveyed a cluster of ideas about the character of English Catholicism which Catholics themselves wished to proclaim. In their buildings, the newly-relieved Catholics sought to recover their pre-Reformation heritage, to create an impression of permanence, and to emphasise their continuity with the old English Church. Furthermore, the erection of churches, enhanced their image by distinguishing the Catholics from other dissenting groups who continued to worship in chapels. Although the old ideas would

take many years to die, the Catholics no longer wished to be regarded as chapelfolk, but as churchgoers.[152]

Accordingly, the Catholics engaged Pugin, Bonomi, Hansom and Gibson, among others, and their churches were successful creations, though necessarily less ambitious than many Anglican churches of a similar date. Among the earliest Catholic churches were St. Andrew in Newcastle (1798) and St. Michael at Esh Laude (1799), and they took the same dedication as the Anglican parishes in which they were situated. Later, St. Michael in Houghton le Spring followed suit, but other dedications were not so impertinent. They were, nonetheless, carefully chosen for their local and medieval associations, and dedications to the Virgin took the old English form of St. Mary. The shift to the use of 'Our Lady', and the cult of foreign saints was part of the romanising process begun under Wiseman; in the same way, the sudden appearance of St. Patrick as a dedicatee (at Felling in 1842) was associated with the arrival of Irish immigrants in the region.[153] The only exception to the choice of an English dedication came late in the period, and at a chaplaincy, and that was when the new church at Minsteracres was named after St. Elizabeth of Hungary. She was a cult figure in nineteenth-century gentry circles because 'she highlighted that Victorian fascination with the high-minded self-sacrifice of the high born'. She was driven from the Hungarian court because her charities were ruining the state. The Silvertops did not beggar themselves by any means, but they clearly associated their efforts with the Hungarian queen, and reminded their tenants of the family's benevolence.[154]

The Catholic mission in 1850, then, had reached maturity. It had, moreover, kept pace with the demands placed on it; geographical and qualitative development was consonant with its resources. No large group of Catholics went without pastoral care, no misson was superfluous, and the majority of mission stations remained in their original locations throughout the period. All of which shows that the initial decisions on deployment were generally correct in the long term.

Part II, The Mission and Missioners

Chapter 2, Priests and Patrons

The preceding chapter concentrated on the evolution of the Catholic missionary structure in the north east. The organising focus of this chapter is an unpublished correspondence between two privately employed priests who wrote to each other as uncle and nephew, openly and uninhibitedly, and with no expectation of disclosure then or now. Their letters, with interventions from other sources, illustrate the everyday pastoral concerns of the eighteenth century missioner which have been omitted hitherto.[1] The difficulties between Peter Thompson, chaplain at Stonecroft Farm, and his patron Jasper Gibson, were endemic and seem to have been inherent in the chaplaincy system. Since over half of the missions in the north east were chaplaincies for much of the century, an explanation of this obviously important feature of missionary life is also required.[2] Other clerical topics fall within the scope of this chapter: the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the presence of numbers of exiled French priests in the region, and the question of finance, with which it begins.

*

The fear that priests might fall into poverty preoccupied the Vicars Apostolic from an early date. Whereas the regular clergy could retire to continental houses of their orders, the secular clergy were entirely dependent on charity when 'out of place', sick or aged. Few seculars retired in the eighteenth century; almost all died en poste. Immediately upon his appointment as the first Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District in 1688, Bishop James Smith therefore began to put the finances of the secular clergy on a firm basis.[3]

Quite apart from any arrangements made to buy or maintain a chapel, the laity subscribed funds for the personal maintenance of a missioner. Bequests of £400 or £500 were usually made; that is, the capital investment needed to provide about £25 a year. To preserve these bequests, Bishop Smith persuaded the clergy to sign a declaration that they would safeguard the funds entrusted to them and, by making a will and placing it in the safe custody of a brother priest, ensure that all charitable

benefactions were handed on to their successors. Then, in 1691, the eleven secular priests in the north east met and agreed the constitution and rule of a 'Fund for the relief and benefit of the Clergy of Bishoprick and Northumberland'. Membership of the fund, which became known as the Northern Brethren's Fund, was to be confined to the secular clergy, and the primary aim was the relief of necessitous brethren. After that[4]

> the overplus of the rents arising from the fund shall be equally divided among the Brethren of the District, as often as there is, or shall be any considerable dividend to be given out.

The dividend was £5 a year for much of the eighteenth century. The income came from lay and clerical donations and bequests. Lady Radcliffe left her entire fortune for the maintenance of the clergy, and from it each priest in Northumberland and Durham received about £10 a year.

The Rev. Thomas Eyre, treasurer of the fund, rather meanly calculated that £20 a year was 'a competent maintenance' for a Catholic priest, but Joseph Berington considered that sum

> a very handsome salary for a gentleman's chaplain; and if the rural curate have twenty more to keep himself, his house and his servant, it will be said he is very well provided for. Some may have small annuities from their own families, but this is not common.

At the same time, the Durham-born Jesuit James Jenison wrote Oeconomica Clericalis to demonstrate that £50 a year was quite inadequate to support a priest, even one 'living in a ready-furnished house, rent-free'. In practice it was somewhat different; for example, in 1805 Thomas Gillow, chaplain at Callaly Castle, told Eyre that Mr Clavering had 'advanced my salary to 26 guineas per annum and agreed to pay my horse tax and blacksmith's bill, to both of which I was before subject'. Since he was tabled in the castle, those arrangements were probably equivalent to £50 a year. In 1795, Henry Rutter, chaplain at Minsteracres, whose salary of £20 a year was two thirds that of the butler, tried to interest the Rev. Robert Banister in applying for the mission in Durham, observing that it was 'certainly the best we Clergy have in these two counties, & is even double to most of them'. He said the income of £100 a year was made up 'In Government security £65. From Mr Forcer's legacy £25. Interest of £250 from Wm. Salvin Esqr. £10. The field opposite the house. The furniture belongs the house'. He compared that with the mission in Hexham which got 'not above £45 per annum'.[5]

Circumstances therefore varied, but while no secular priest could expect a pension, he could rely on a minimum subsistence income, from his salary and Fund dividends, of £30 a year, which would be augmented by Mass stipends, mortuaries, gifts and other incidentals. The average annual stipend of an Anglican incumbent in the eighteenth century was

about £150; a curate received around £50 a year; and a Methodist preacher got £30 a year, plus an allowance for board and lodging and a horse when travelling on circuit.[6]

The regulars adopted a similar strategy to that of the seculars, although we have more details of the Jesuit system. The Jesuit missioner was required to include in his annual report the amount and source of his income, and it is from the printed reports of 1750 that we get a clear picture of how their support system worked. Most Jesuit chaplains received a salary of £10 from their patrons and one or two had private annuities. Society funds were used to bring a priest's income up to about £30 a year, depending on his expenses. For example, John Darrell, chaplain at Callaly Castle, received a salary of £10; since he was accommodated in the castle, his allowance from the Society was £16. William Newton had just arrived at Biddlestone Hall and he reported his salary as '£10 per annum, to find myself everything except diet', and he would qualify for an 'equalisation allowance' from the Society. In some cases, the capital of a fund established by a patronal family was held by the Procurator and was disbursed by him. Thus Thomas Leckonby at Pontop Hall was allowed £33. 3s; he also had 'from contributions £4 and coals free. From mortuaries and other helps £1. 10s.', and an annuity of £5. The Widdrington fund established in 1730 'for the maintenance and support of a priest (being of the Society of Jesus) for ever, for an in the parish of Horsley', was held by the Society. Joseph Howe therefore reported 'No salary from the place, but £30 per annum from the Factory and £5 per annum to pay house rent'. In this way, the Jesuit Provincial was able to equalise, and even, to some extent, impose a maximum on the income of an individual priest. The beneficial effect that had on the soul also reduced unseemly competition for lucrative chaplaincies.[7]

Although the lay gentry were the principal benefactors, some resented the generosity of their deceased relatives and they occasionally tried to prevent the execution of a testator's instructions (as we saw with the Brandlings of Felling Hall), or they might retain the capital in their own hands to ensure that they kept firm control over the missioner, as at Stella Hall. The attitude of Edward Standish, patron at Stella, was perhaps exceptional, but it is worth reproducing the substance of a letter he wrote to Bishop William Gibson in 1792. The salary of his chaplain was £60 a year, a sum which Standish thought was[8]

> sufficient for a priest to live decently upon, as I know many examples of curates of the Church of England who not only live upon £50, but also maintain a wife and family .... I know very well that some places make a great deal more than what I could allow for Stella, but ....I do not perceive that the mission is served in a

> more exemplary manner than it used to be when priests had a great deal less; on the contrary I hear of their travelling all over the kingdom and sometimes out of it for their amusement, and when at home frequenting playhouses and assemblys. Although these amusements are innocent in themselves, they are expensive, and I see no necessity of contributing to them; this is the reason why I have given no answers to various applications I have received fro subscriptions to chapels in this county. I am aware of the censure I shall be liable to from a certain disposition of people for this sentiment, and the interpretation which may be given to it.

And, he might have added, he did not care. This was a perennial problem; fifty years later the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Riddell, asked Sir Edward Haggerston of Ellingham to increase the chaplain's salary, observing, 'I do not wish the priests to become rich, but I wish every one in the district had a hundred a year'. In the 1820s the Jesuit in Durham had a salary of £120-£130 a year, but that was exceptional; it is unlikely that many priests enjoyed an income of that amount before 1850.[9]

Notwithstanding the difficulties with one or two individuals, by the middle of the eighteenth century only one third of missioners were entirely dependent for a living on the patron with whom they lived as domestic chaplain. The remainder had sufficient resources to maintain independent households, albeit on the patron's estate. To reduce still further the number of gentry-dependent priests, some chaplains made bequests to ensure that their successors could live more independently. Moreover, partly as a result of Bishop Smith's reorganisation of the mission's finances, some funds were established, as we have seen, by priests for priests to operate geographically and financially independent town-missions.

Before the Catholic Relief Acts, the funds of the secular clergy were administered by lay trustees as directed by the Clergy Agent, the treasurer of the Northern Brethren's Fund. Some capital was invested in property (at one time the mission owned ten houses in Old Elvet, Durham) and some was handed over to the laity as trustees; yet other sums belonging to the mission were retained by the gentry. These arrangements were somewhat precarious, and the clergy were never entirely confident with the lay management of missionary funds. However, when, in 1771, Bishop Walton told Bishop Challoner that the northern priests wanted to manage the funds themselves, Challoner warned him that the laity would not 'easily acquiesce to any alterations you could propose; the less as they are usually jealous of the Bishop's meddling with their temporals'. The passage of the Relief Act in 1778, however, prompted the clergy to take control of their finances where possible. In 1781 the clergy of Lanacashire decided to call in their 'monies which rural deans have time out of mind lent to farmers, yeomaners, tradesmen, gentlemen &c., and

often lost, & often mismanaged, & place them in the stocks'. Bishop William Gibson would 'have no laick made trustee of ecclesiastical monies or lands' thereafter.[10]

The expertise of the clergy in running their own financial affairs was not obviously superior, in the opinion of some priests. Rutter wrote to his uncle in 1786 saying that Nicholas Clavering was 'one of our fund supervisors, but I think an improper one ... We have had no meeting this year, which I suspect to be a manoeuvre of his, lest he be discharged from his office'. There was the later example of William Birdsall bringing the mission in Berwick to bankruptcy. On the other hand, lay trusteeship could not always be relied upon, as an incident of 1811 showed. Sir John Lawson died that year and his heir, Sir Henry, could not trace the papers authorising the stipends of the priests at Hexham, Sunderland and Thropton which had been paid out by Sir John. Sir Henry therefore told Bishop Smith that he had every reason to suppose that the funds had been exhausted and that it was not in his power as a responsible executor to continue making payments.[11]

Remnants of the old system of gentry-controlled finances persisted long into the nineteenth century. As late as 1840 Bishop Hogarth feared that chaplaincy monies could at any time 'be taken over by the squire or his successors'. In his opinion, the mission in the north would not prosper until 'the chapels are detached from the mansion house of the squire'. A correspondent of The Tablet suggested that a chaplain had become merely a status symbol for the Catholic gentry.[12] With that background of lay-clerical friction over the control of resources, we may turn to the correspondence of Robert Banister and Henry Rutter which illustrates many of these and other difficulties attending the relationship between priests and patrons in the eighteenth century.

*

Robert Banister was born on 21st October 1725 at Hesketh Bank in Lancashire. He was sent to Douai College in 1741 and he was ordained priest there nine years later. He stayed on at the college: 'a Scholar ii years, and a Master 1 year of Rhetoric, 4 of Philosophy and 12 of Divinity'. He went on to the English mission in 1769 but he returned to Douai four years later to resume his professorship. In the following year he left the college once and for all and went to Mowbreck Hall, the home of the Westby family in Lancashire. Robert Westby had succeeded to the estate in 1729 and he rebuilt the house, including in it a permanent domestic chapel and a set of rooms for the chaplain. He also established a fund of £1,000 for the support of the priest. Westby died in 1762 and the house was left vacant for the next century, except for the priest and the steward cum tenant-farmer. When he arrived at Mowbreck in 1774, Ban-

ister opened a school in the Hall which produced fourteen church-students over the following twelve years. Banister remained at Mowbreck Hall until he retired to Dodding Green in Westmorland in 1803 when he was seventy eight years old.[14]

Banister's long stint at Douai College made him a very influential priest; he had trained almost all of the English secular clergy of the late eighteenth century. He was, for example, described as being in Bishop William Gibson's 'privy council', and he was himself regarded as episcopabile in 1780 and again in 1800, though he expressed delight at not being selected. As his letters show, he was a tough, unimaginative and humourless man with rigid ideas about education. He deplored William Gibson's introduction of French and English into the syllabus at Douai; they were undesirable subjects for divines, especially if they were given undue stress:

> I admire the conceit of some of the young people at the college reading Tatlers & Spectators to polish up their English for preaching. Most of them need a spelling book. Anybody who affects to speak good English will not be understood in town or country.

French he thought positively dangerous since it introduced students to Rousseau and Voltaire and their atheism and deism.[15]

Banister's nephew, Henry Rutter, was born in 1755, son of Adam Banister of Hesketh Bank. He went to Douai College at the age of thirteen, arriving a few weeks after his uncle left for England. Rutter's biography can be told from his letters, most of which were written to his uncle and begin in 1779. Rutter celebrated his twenty-fourth birthday on 24th February, 1779; he was then a sub-deacon and in his second year of theology at Douai. The next day he wrote to tell his uncle that, on the recommendation of the Procurator, Gregory Stapleton, he had been appointed tutor to the fifteen-year old Master John Clifton, who had been at the college for about six months. Rutter was to attend the boy at Douai until his own ordination in 1780, after which they would move into the Royal College at St. Omers where he would conduct the remainder of Clifton's education.[16]

At first, Rutter was quite pleased with his preferment and he spent an enjoyable vacation getting to know Clifton and meeting some of the boy's family at Ghent and Brussells. He was a little anxious that the additional duties of tutorship would hinder his studies in the final and most exacting stage of his training for the priesthood. On the other hand, he needed the income which the job would bring because, as he said, it would allow him to pay off his debts at the college without having to ask his hard-pressed family to contribute. He had been offered the position of General Prefect at Douai, but he had declined it for financial

reasons. Moreover, it was with such matters very much in the forefront of his mind that he wrote to John's father, Thomas Clifton of Lytham Hall, thanking him for the appointment and, 'without thinking the demand extravagant', suggested a salary of fifty pounds. Clifton was somewhat taken aback at that figure and said that he had had a much smaller sum in mind. Rutter's enthusiasm waned at this news, and he told his uncle that although he did not entirely repent of his choice, he doubted it was for the best. Left to himself, he said, he would not undertake the charge; he knew 'nothing of high life' and he was therefore unfit for it; was it not 'slavery indeed to attend a young gentleman?' By then, however, he was committed.[17]

Banister commiserated with Rutter, but he recommended that he discharge the duty as well as possible: 'The education of a young gentleman of great fortune is certainly a matter of high importance'. Banister, however, went on to point out that Rutter was bound to have difficulty with his pupil because Clifton had been reported to be 'subtle, crafty, lying, pretending one thing and meaning another, one in whom a man can put no confidence in, etc.' Clifton could feign sickness and throw himself into convulsions at will. Indeed, he had returned to England after only one year at Douai 'to recover his health', and Rutter heard that Clifton was 'somewhat changed for the worse by (those) two years of sport and idleness'.[18]

Banister also told Rutter that Clifton was not 'acri ingenio' or, as Rutter had in fact discovered for himself, the extent of Clifton's mind did 'not on all occasions answer that of his fortune'. Clifton would look upon all colleges as prisons, and he would invent any excuse to get out. However, since it was, as Banister emphasised, Rutter's main task to instil in Clifton a knowledge and love of the Catholic religion, the lad's dislike of reading was entirely a bad thing:

> As your pupil has lost much inclination to study or read books, it will be easier to keep bad ones out of his hands. Locke's, Rouss' eau's, Bonnet's, Priestley's, Needham's, Berrington's & universally all the tribe of modern idealists, metaphysicians & speculatists are to be avoided both by you & him.

Rutter's enthusiasm was unlikely to have been enhanced by any of this, nor of Banister's summary of the situation that he would 'find it a most irksome, tedious business to attend and teach a young gentleman'.[19]

Rutter may have become more alarmed when Banister alerted him to certain other responsibilities that would be his when he and Clifton got to St. Omers:[20]

> I say you are always to be with him, even mediis noctibus: at least be certain that he neither goes out to another, nor that another comes to him. You are even to be present with the fencing, dancing,

> writing, designing, french, etc, masters. One or other of these will otherwise, if you be out of their sight or hearing, tell Master of some charming Belle, and offer his service to procure her for him. And do you think a young heir of 17 or 18 years of age, having often ranged and romped with maids and servants below stairs, being likewise soft, full of excellent juices and meats, can reject an offer of that sort.

Banister warned Rutter to take good care of this letter and not to let it fall into the wrong hands. Finally, Rutter should not expect more than twenty five guineas in salary; there had been a tutor in Clifton's household at Lytham, and he had been ranked as a servant and made to take his meals in the servant's hall. By his next letter, Rutter reported to Banister that he was to be paid twenty guineas, all found. His morale can hardly have been lower, then, when young Clifton arrived at St. Omers from England in May 1781 at the beginning of the three-year tutorship.[21]

Banister's predictions and Rutter's fears were soon borne out. Clifton became 'an increasing trial' to his tutor, who frequently wished he had gone on to the English mission instead. Throughout 1781 and 1782 Banister had to urge Rutter to be patient and not to despair entirely of his pupil; he could not shirk his responsibility no matter how onerous it proved. Every endeavour had to be made to keep Clifton far away from 'all occasions or opportunites of danger & sin ..... to guard his frail youth from corporal, and above all, from spiritual injuries'. Rutter, therefore, reluctantly agreed to persevere, although he was 'half-inclined to try the mission', that he was certainly unsuited to the job, and despite Clifton's clearly expressed disdain for religion and contempt for his tutor, let alone the tardiness of Mr Clifton to pay his salary. He drew the line, however, at a visit to Paris, which was mooted early in 1782. He was so dismayed at the prospect that he intended to refuse to go unless 'the father will only send him to have a short view of it', in which case, he would have no objection. Banister cautioned Rutter that if Clifton was left to his own devices in the French capital, the boy would be 'ruined, debauched, poxed and utterly lost to reason, humanity and religion'. In the event, the visit was cancelled, but whether that was because of Rutter's intervention does not emerge.[22]

Rutter was far from pleased with Clifton's company and Banister made matters worse (as he usually did) by his description of the behaviour of the boy's father when he had been at Douai. Thomas Clifton had lost his father at the age of seven or eight, and he had been spoilt by his mother. At the college, he had been nicknamed Broody, 'to intimate his frowning, huffing, passionate behaviour'. He had been greedy, lazy, selfish, dishonest and petulant. Banister's rather dubious motive for

telling Rutter this was just to show that notwithstanding his youthful excesses, (and even if he had recently horsewhipped one of his sons 'for making some wrong evolution in hunting'), Clifton had turned out to be 'a very sensible man' who loved and respected religion and who had kept the same priest in his house for almost forty years. Rutter cannot have taken much comfort in that. He had, however, been offered a professorship in the college at St. Omers, and Rutter used that to show Clifton that it was not through necessity that he stayed on, but merely to please his father.[23]

In June 1782, Banister tactlessly remarked that Rutter might be invited to take on another pupil. Rutter instantly demanded further details, pointing out that he would be[24]

> very loath to accept another; neither my disposition nor capacity are suited for this way of life. You know I am of a silent & dull turn of mind, & fitter to keep company with F. Bruno at the Chartreuse than young people of so contrary dispositions. Besides, the life of a Tutor seems to be a very indolent one, without any advantage either to himself or his pupil, who, considering him as an enemy to his ease, pleasure & satisfaction, keeps him out of his company as much as possible.

In October, finding that he could nothing with his pupil, Rutter offered to resign, but that was ignored. His patience finally snapped that winter, possibly because a visit to Paris was once again proposed. Writing in the following February, Banister stressed the dangers involved and told Rutter that it would be better for Clifton to return home and run after hares and hounds than to go there. Rutter, of course, agreed, and he probably wrote to Mr Clifton along those lines. At any rate, in April 1783 Rutter was informed that he was to be relieved of his responsibilities a year ahead of time.[25]

Banister strongly advised Rutter to obtain a professorship at Douai if he could, rather than to come over to the mission. As if to put him off the recently-vacated mission of Salwick Hall, Banister told Rutter it needed an experienced missioner with an independent income: 'The whole salary is but 36lb. p. annum, much too small to live on. The people conceited & niggards'. He also reminded Rutter that he could try for a post in the English College at Valladolid. In the event, none of these situations was offered to him; instead, Bishop Matthew Gibson appointed Rutter chaplain to the Silvertop family at Minsteracres in Northumberland. Appalled at the idea, having had so much trouble with the young Clifton, and not wishing to repeat the experience with the young Silvertops (there were four boys already), Rutter tried to get out of it. He lobbied the clergy of Lancashire and made quite sure that everyone, including his new patron, knew that he did not want the chaplaincy. The

bishop was not to be coerced, however, certainly not by a young priest new to the mission and recently dismissed from his post, and the appointment stood. On 23rd August, 1783, then, 'in better health than spirits' Henry Rutter arrived at Minsteracres.[26]

*

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Albert Silvertop became a successful Tyneside coal-master, firstly as agent to Lord Widdrington, and then on his own account. In 1721 he bought Minsteracres, a farm some eight miles south east of Hexham, which became the nucleus of a large estate built up over the next twenty years by Albert and his son George. The increasingly wealthy Silvertops soon gained social acceptance from the old Catholic gentry; George's daughter Mary married Sir Thomas Haggerston (IV), the richest Catholic in the region. John, George's heir, married Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Lawson of Brough, and George's youngest daughter married John Wright of Kelvedon, the Catholic banker. In 1758 George Silvertop described himself as esquire and obtained a grant of arms, and he began the process of creating a country seat on the Minsteracres estate. He established a mission in 1765 with his kinsman William Gibson as missioner and tutor to his fifteen-year old son John. Gibson left to become President of Douai College in 1781 and he was succeeded by John Daniel, a newly-ordained Lancashire-born priest. It may be that chaplain and squire did not suit each other, for Daniel left after two and a half years to go to Stockton; Henry Rutter then took over.[27]

In his first letter from Minsteracres, Rutter said that he was agreeably surprised with the place and regretted that he had expressed himself 'so freely and unfavourably' on it. He had not forgiven the bishop, however, whose invitation to Headlam Rutter declined, and he told Banister he doubted whether he would ever accept it. Scenting further insubordination, Banister warned his nephew not to cause a rupture between himself and the family, but to fall in with all their wishes. Rutter adopted a guarded approach with the Silvertops although he did admit that it was generally 'allowed that persons of our character are no where in the county better received than here'.[28]

George Silvertop (I), seventy nine years old and a widower of six years, was the senior member of the family in residence. Rutter described him as beginning to be physically infirm but still mentally alert. The old gentleman was much attached to Douai College, and he would 'not suffer any thing to be said in her dispraise'. William Gibson had left Minsteracres to become President of the college two years before and, as Rutter told his uncle, he often heard 'the praises of Douay College, now

raised to the highest pitch by the vigilance and superior abilities of its Presdient'. George Silvertop had retired from the family's coal business by this time, and his son and heir John was the effective head of the enterprise and of the household. Rutter thought him 'not so easy and amicable in his manner as could be wished'. He did, however, possess 'other qualities that make that deficiency less remarkable. He had testified 'some regard' for his chaplain more than once, but Rutter did 'not place much confidence in the favour of Great Ones'. John Silvertop was thirty three years old and had been married ten years to Catherine Lawson of Brough who was three years older. Of her Rutter merely remarked that she was 'of an even temper and likewise a very good Christian but much given to ye Jesuitical devotions'.[29]

There were five children: George, aged nine, Mary, seven, John, six Henry Thomas, four and Charles who was two. Rutter thought them fine children, but he feared 'very much for them from the fondness of servants, &c., did not the father maintain his authority over them'. Rutter undertook the 'tedious task of teaching' much against his wishes; he had gone to Minsteracres 'with a resolution of declining this honour, but her Ladyship's eloquence overcame' him. With grudging satisfaction he looked back to his time with Clifton and remarked

> the novitiate I have gone through has in some measure prepared me for any future difficulties I may meet with, which will now appear far lighter when compared with the past.

George left for Douai College in the year following Rutter's arrival at Minsteracres, so that Jacky (an invalid) and Henry became Rutter's pupils (followed by Charles in due course. In 1785 Jacky, and two years later Henry, went to Arthur Storey's school at Tudhoe, preparatory to their admission into Douai College.[30]

The Catholic Relief Act of 1778 permitted Catholics to keep schools although a prohibition on admitting Protestants into them remained until 1829. A number of missionary priests supplemented their incomes by taking in pupils. Arthur Storey opened Tudhoe Academy, and his nephew had a small boarding school in Stockton a little later on. Catholic dame schools seems to have been in existence for some time in Durham, Bishop Auckland and Esh; and one was opened in the parish of Durham, St. Oswald in 1792, as the Vicar dutifully reported, but 'no children of Protestant parents are admitted to it'. A Catholic teacher in Billingham was paid partly by local farmers and partly by the Anglican parson, yet his attitude seems dangerously equivocal for 1792:

> A school is here kept by a Master placed here by the late Mr Darnel (a Catholic farmer) ... and the (other) farmers give what they can afford, and wish he would bring to prayers on holydays and prayer-

> days all his scholars ... He did for the first time come with them himself on Ash Wednesday and left it off altogether ... He absolutely refuses taking out a licence. He comes out of Yorkshire and is a reputed Papist, his parents Papists, and was drove from a school in that neighbourhood and unhappily set down here, where he boasts of talents that may do more hurt than good by an indifference to our holy religion.

The Catholic teacher in Jarrow ten years later was more circumspect:

> A young man, a reputed Papist, since Easter has commenced teaching school in the village of Monckton; he, however, teaches the church catechism to his pupils and as far as I can learn makes no attempt to pervert either them or other persons to Popery.

Education in Ryton, however, was positively ecumencial in 1792. There were 'two popish schools taught by two women to which Protestant children are admitted'. By 1814, though,[30]

> the children of Papists to the number of 40 are educated in one of the parish schools and conform to the rules - provision having been made for exempting them from the catechetical lessons and from attending at church. They go with a teacher of their own persuasion to the chapel at Stella.

In June 1784 John Silvertop began a new mansion to replace the old farmhouse at Minsteracres. Rutter was delighted to be promised a change of apartments:

> for there is a shocking little chapel, and the way to it is through my room which indeed makes part of it on Sundays & holydays. Moreover, there is no Sacristy, which makes it very inconvenient at times and (it) has an additional recommendation, it is in the garret.

The completion of the new buildings depended entirely on an up-turn in the coal trade which had been bad all that year and was expected to remain poor. The business was of as much concern to Rutter as it was to the family, not just because of his hopes for a new chapel, but because he had to endure Silvertop's 'looks and thoughts as black as the coals he thinks on'. The main part of the house was completed in 1785 and work began in 1787 on the additional wing which would incorporate the 'Chapel, offices and servants rooms', all of which were 'much wanted', but these were not ready until late in 1788. One of the principal rooms on the ground floor was then made into a chapel, and it served until 1834 when an outbuilding was converted for the purpose; a church was built in 1854.[32]

Apart from the family and the domestic staff, Rutter had charge of 'a small but dispersed flock' which, as Thomas Eyre told Banister, would 'only give him just as much employment as he would wish'. Whatever the chaplain's wishes might have been, his primary duty was to the squire, as his first demands on his uncle's pocket made very clear. Rutter told Banister that 'we are all clockwork here, such regularity and exactness



CATHEDRAL CORBEL: an impression of James Worswick.

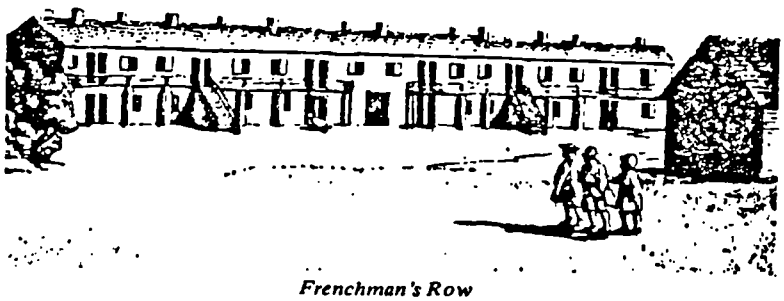


CHARLES LARKIN [1800–1879]



REV. FATHER THOMAS CROWE

(Clerical dress in the late eighteenth century)



Frenchman's Row

is observed'. His greatest need, then, was for a timepiece 'to measure out his time to his poor people, so as not to trespass upon his family's hours'. It would not do to keep those in the big house waiting, especially as he had the use of the squire's galloway, and even occasionally 'his own horse ... a great favour, not often to be expected'.[33]

All chaplains had some pastoral responsibilities in addition to the duty they owed to their patrons. The returns made at the Episcopal Visitations in this period frequently remark on the peripatetic lives of the Catholic priests. Christopher Rose, chaplain at Hardwick Hall, often visited the two dozen Catholics of Dalton, 'to christen their children and visit their sick' around 1792. Arthur Storey, who celebrated Mass about every two months in Sedgefield, and Rose visited Hartlepool. The chaplain of Cliffe Hall was reported in Darlington, Gainford and Coniscliffe. The Catholics in the Heworth area were 'visited by a Stranger perhaps once in two months'. Although the missioners travelled extensively, they did so unostentatiously and they were careful to avoid any charge of proselytising. John Daniel was described as a 'peaceable man' and the Vicar of Pittington said he had not heard of the least attempt by Rose 'to pervert or disturb' Protestants. The Vicar of Edmundbyers reported that he had 'heard of a popish priest (a Mr Rutter) calling at some of the houses in the parish', but he 'did not understand that it was for the purpose of making proselytes'. On the other hand, Rutter did ocasionally call on a Methodist in Muggleswick, and the Vicar understood that their conversation was 'always on the subject of religion and most commonly controversial'. Only rarely do the returns mention conversions, and they seem to have been gained casually. Thus in 1792 the Vicar of Monkhezledon reported that 'one poor old woman who goes almost every day to work at the priest's house and in the garden at Hardwick has lately been perverted to Popery by the priest's housekeeper'.[34]

Rutter had more mundane matters to attend to in his early days at Minsteracres. Clothing was one of his first concerns. Priests dressed as gentlemen, except that they always wore black. Rutter regretted not having brought his best black suit and he asked his uncle to send it. That request allowed Banister to give vent to a stern discourse on the proper clerical attitude to dress. He told his nephew that he could not afford 'broad cloth, or silk breeches or ruffled shirts' on a salary of £10 a year. Instead, he should wear plain clothes and patch them as necessary. Rutter was never to be ashamed of darns and patches, for they would disgrace a niggardly patron more than a humble chaplain. Therefore, 'If a coat of good plain at 9s. p.yd. displeases the eye of your quality, you can insinuate the true reason why you have no better'. Banister would

not send the suit and Rutter would have to buy some cheap material and get a suit made up out of it. 'Pray do not be ashamed of such geer', Banister said, 'many a good missioner never wore better, nor perhaps as good'. Futhermore, there was no need to wear a clean shirt with ruffles every day, '2 or at most 3 in a week is sufficient'.[35]

Rutter accepted this as good but impractical advice. A patched coat would never be allowed because it would 'give ladies the hysterics'. In any case, his salary was £20 a year, which, while times went was not too much, it was quite enough to afford a decent suit. Banister was unyielding: 'Your stipend being £20 p. annum, I expect you will save one half every year & put it out to fructify'. Rutter's response was derisive:[36]

> You have too good an idea of my economy if you think I can do with £10 p.ann. I shall be content if I can but save two guineas, which I mean to send annually to my Mother for her tea and other little necessaries.

Banister kept up the pressure and instructed Rutter never to waste his time at cards or be a 'Lady's implement to make up their parties'. Rutter was confident, however, that he was not

> of a nature to gain the favour of Ladies: I have some thing too heavy, too stupid and sombre about me to enter into their light and frivolous amusements, to laugh, play with and flatter them. Indeed, I find that I am not formed for society and this defect I attribute chiefly to Education ... so I have one perfection, at least, requisite in a chaplain, that of being silent and a poor, stupid thing, that can't open its mouth.

Banister could not take him for a Will Wimble, as had been the case with his predecessor William Gibson, who had

> left behind him the reputation of being an excellent marker; an honour I don't aspire to. He always accompanied his patron in this capacity and on all other occasions showed a flexibility greater than my pride will submit to. He was indeed a most worthy man, but his humility in this respect not a little surprises me.

Actually Gibson was a snob, as Rutter made plain: 'while he is so agreeable to the Gentry by his condescension and politeness, I wish he would show himself a little more so to persons of a contrary stamp' such as William Bordley, a yeoman who was so disgusted with Gibson's airs that he threatened to leave his money to the Benedictines.[37]

Rutter's dislike of the gentry was so intense that that it is more than a little surprising that he tolerated them at all. 'I have', he said, 'a most despicable opinion of our Catholic nobility and gentry in general, as they seem to surpass the rest of the world only in extravagance and the fashionable vices of the age'. Banister readily agreed, of course, and he reminded Rutter that they would ever consider themselves self-sufficient and would shrink from priests who 'disturb them sometimes on the spacious and flowery road on which most of them roll and dance along'. Minsteracres, however, was in many respects at the centre

of north eastern Catholic life, and Rutter was forced to associate with people he more or less disdained.[38]

The Silvertops were related to most of the prominent families in the north, and the house was usually filled with visitors during the summer ('for very few see more company than we do', Rutter lamented). The Vicar Apostolic was a cousin and the neighbouring clergy were also frequent guests. Rutter travelled about the region meeting his fellow-priests and their patrons, about whom he was not slow to comment. His own admitted lack of the social graces, however, suggests that Rutter did not make the most of his opportunities. Thus he seldom remained in company at or after dinner: 'I am as mute as a cat at table and after a bumper to the coal trade, take myself off to my room very quietly, unless the fineness of the evening invites me to a solitary walk'. Nonetheless, while keeping his distance, Rutter kept an eye on the gentry, partly out of fascinated horror, but also because in many cases the survival of the mission depended on their fortunes. There was, for example, the scandalous defection of Sir John Swinburne from Catholicism to become a Member of Parliament. From the little he saw and heard of him, Rutter said he 'could not be surprised at any step of this nature, nor if his father had showed him the example or his uncle Harry Swinburne, for they are all of a piece'.[39]

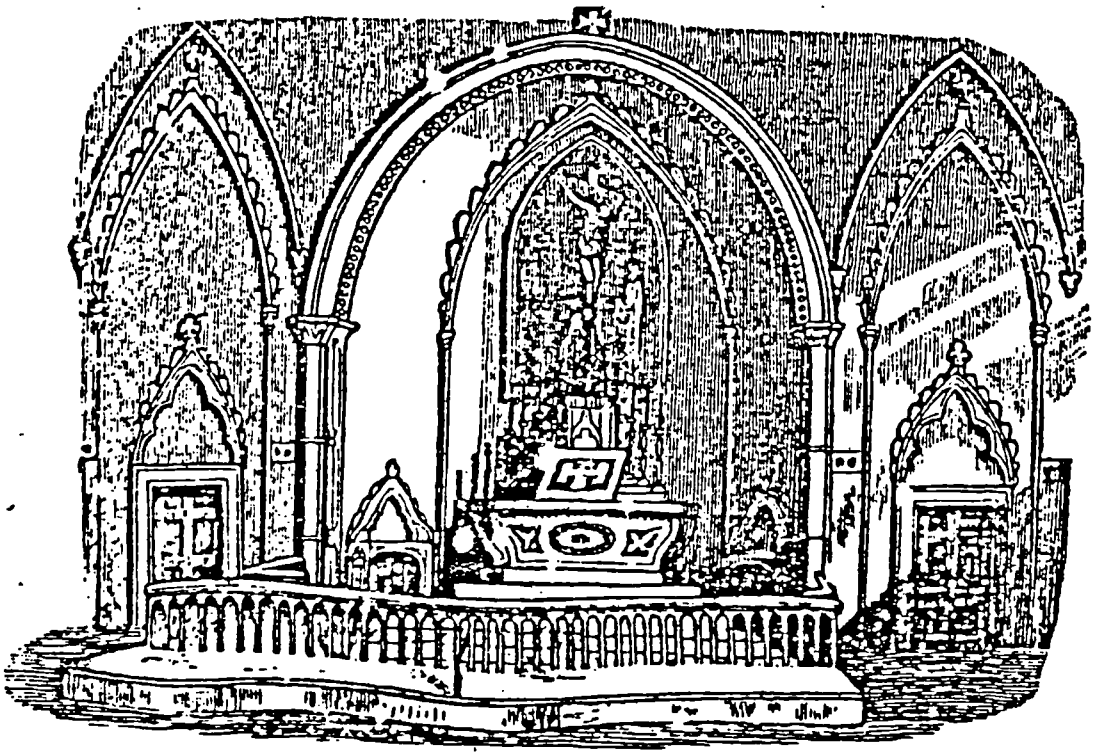
Rutter's expectations of the gentry were usually confounded. He had to admit that the Silvertops were not too bad. His patroness was a Lawson and he came to think that the Lawsons of Brough were the greatest Catholics in the north. Sir John Lawson, 'a person of virtue and polite accomplishments', was esteemed by Rutter above all other Catholic gentlemen, although his membership of the Catholic Committee gave rise to a brief anxiety. All was well, however, for Sir John, like his brother Henry Mair and John Silvertop, sided with the clerics against the liberals. Rutter looked forward to Lord Newburgh's recovery of his estates and the possible rebuilding of Dilston Hall and its chapel. Sir Carnaby Haggerston also gained Rutter's admiration, as he explained to Banister. Haggerston had used his influence to prevent the appointment of the missioner at Liverpool (Raymond Harris) as Bishop of Quebec but, with what Rutter considered commendable discretion, Haggerston had not gone on to nominate his own candidate. This corresponded exactly with the role Rutter prescribed for the laity, which was to come to the aid of the clergy when asked, and normally by 'opening their purses', but not to interfere otherwise in affairs ecclesiastical.[40]

Rutter said little about his priestly duties. He remarked that 'Prayers are at 8 and a half; but I say them no oftener than I think proper'. Banister urged Rutter 'most earnestly' to say Mass daily, al-

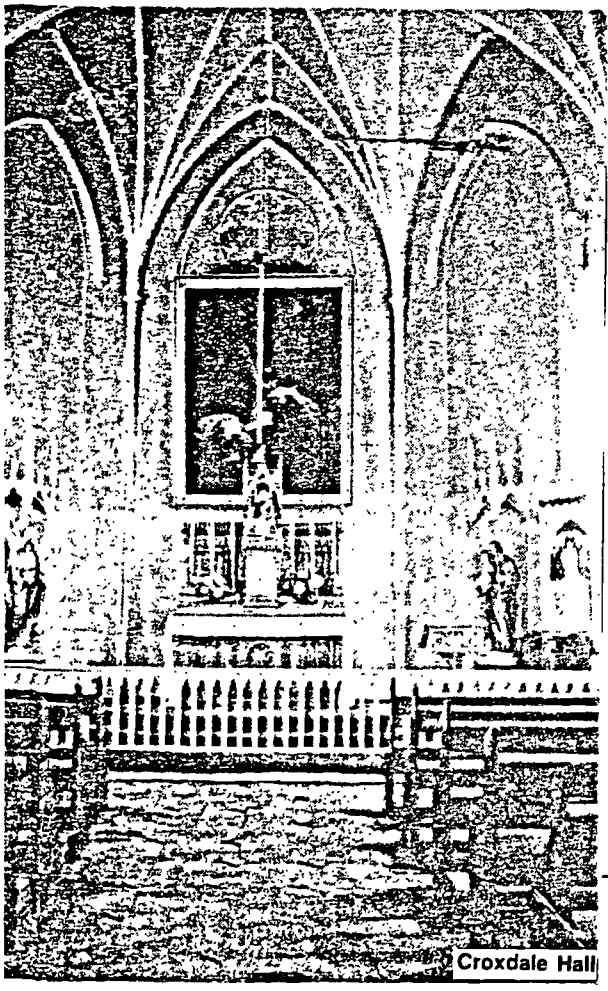
though it was unusual at that time. Furthermore, Catholic worship in the eighteenth century was resrained; small congregations assembled for Low Mass in tiny chapels; there was no music, no incense, and no displays of lighted candles, flowers or ornate vestments. High Mass is unlikely to have been celebrated at all, the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament was rare, and Benediction was unheard of , as was congregational singing. Occasionally, people would be invited to stay on after Mass and meditate on one of Challoner's texts. The psalms were recited around the end of the century at Lartington, but the liturgical context is not known. Banister recalled that there had been 'the hottest contest in your parts about saying Vespers in English before the congregation' in Newcastle by Charles Cordell. Bishop Challoner disapproved of such innovations and Bishop Hay told Thomas Eyre that if English were allowed in Vespers, 'the next step would be to ask the same for the Mass', and Hay 'would not expect many real conversions from it'.[41]

The Rev. John Lingard thought the best means of gaining converts was the improvement of preaching. Sermons given in Catholic chapels, he said, were 'calculated to offend persons of any education from their incoherence and incorrectness both in point of composition and occasionally, I am sorry to say, of good sense'. William Warrilow and Charles Cordell both had the reputation of being good preachers, although their successor James Worswick was not thought to be effective in that respect. James Losh, the Unitarian lawyer of Newcastle, often went to the chapel and on more than one occasion he remarked on Worswick's 'poor and intolerant sermons', 'by no means well delivered'. Rutter worried about his preaching manner, having an impediment in his speech and being unable to 'speak extempore'. He remarked that many priests, like himself, thought it sufficient to read from a book of sermons (Archer's were popular), rather than to write a sermon and learn it by heart. He could not see the necessity of 'adding to the great number of sermons that are already made'. Banister's view was that 'one cannot speak too plain to the vulgar'.[42]

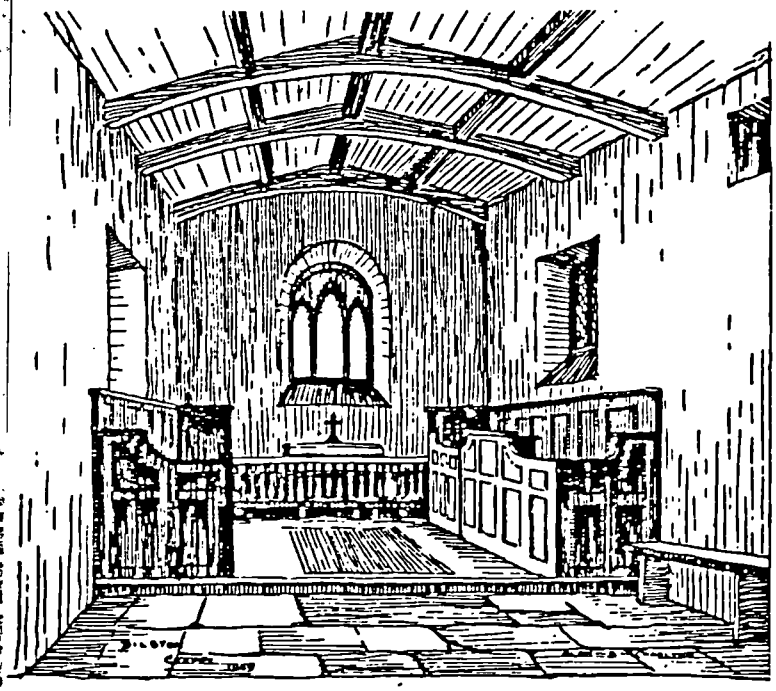
Thus the spiritual temperature of eighteenth century English Catholicism was very low; religious practice was largely confined to Mass and Vespers on Sundays, monthly Communion and private devotion, and there was no place for the ardent fervour of continental Catholic custom. Personal piety was sustained almost entirely by spiritual reading of English devotional works as well as translations of French and Italian manuals. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, Bishop Hogarth discouraged processions and Stations of the Cross and recommended in-



Chancel of the new Catholic Chapel, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1798



1807



Dilston chapel, built in 1616, drawn in 1949.

stead the private recitation of the Rosary and the prayers in The Garden of the Soul. May Devotions were not introduced in Newcastle until 1841, and then they were not universally popular. Lingard devoutly wished that such foreign practices ('lights and serenading') be abandoned because they made the Catholic religion ridiculous in the eyes of Protestants. Certainly, the 'imposing ceremonies of the Romish faith' which accompanied the openings of the various new Catholic churches from the 1820s were all reported in the newspapers in somewhat awestruck tones. Hitherto unfamiliar services such as Pontifical High Mass and Benediction were, however, to become increasingly commonplace to Catholics and Protestants alike. The funeral of a priest at the cemetery in Jesmond in 1842 was preceded by a long procession of schoolchildren, layfolk and clergy, 'accompanied with crosses and other symbols of the Roman church. The proceedings excited much notice, such a procession having been quite unprecedented for nearly 300 years'. But the old recusant habits died hard. No doubt he was an exception, but the Rev. Thomas Witham, who died at Lartington in 1897, was said to have always read his sermons and never to have had Benediction in his chapel.[43]

The absence of overt spiritual and liturgical warmth was due to the English temperament and to a desire to avoid attracting attention, but it also arose out of the lack of suitable ecclesiastical facilities. All chapels, public and private, were poorly furnished. There may have been a holy water stoup at the door and, perhaps, an oil painting over a plain altar, but there would be little else to distinguish the room from any other in the house. There was barely room for the congregation, let alone an organ and choir, pulpit, statues, or any other fixture which became common after Emancipation. Edward Norman has likened Catholic chapels to Dissenting chapels in both architectural and decorative terms. The setting and the tone necessary for Counter-Reformation Catholic ceremonial was lacking.

There was one occasion in the eighteenth century which seems to show that people would respond to the opportunity to express greater devotion, and that was in the Holy Year of Jubilee, 1750. Presumably all missioners observed this event, although only the Jesuit missioners recorded anything about it. We have seen in previous chapters that the people of the north east attending Jesuit chapels participated enthusiastically in the devotions. Almost everyone in each congregation made a general confession and received Holy Communion; some communicated on several occasions and went monthly thereafter. Numbers of conversions were made, many people were reconciled to the Church after a long abs-

ence, and some Catholics presented themselves at the sacraments 'who had never come before'. Both Waterton in Durham and Turner in Stella remarked that people were 'more diligent than before'. Evidently, the Jubilee celebration was akin to the idea of the parochial mission of the nineteenth century, but there were no further occasions in the period on which communal fervour could be stimulated in that way.[44]

Rutter frequently asked Banister for advice on pastoral problems, most of which seem commonplace, but others were unlikely to have been on the syllabus at Douai. In the latter category we may perhaps include the question of whether it was permissible to buy goods from smugglers and whether an alehouse-keeper could be a good Catholic. Other enquiries concerned an application to him for holy water from persons who imagined themselves bewitched; an Irishwoman who pretended to cure by touch persons that had 'been venomed'; and Rutter wanted to know what he should say to a young woman who hired herself to a neighbouring parson (presumably as a domestic servant). More routinely he needed guidance on the best method of instructing adult converts, since the catechism was too tedious for them; how to deal with a priest, for whom Rutter was father confessor, and whom he knew to attend the theatre; and whether someone who took his children to the theatre was admissible to Holy Communion. He expressed distress about 'such as live at a distance in Protestant places and who seldom come to prayers', and he wanted to know what distance Banister considered would excuse a healthy person from attending Mass on a Sunday in winter travelling conditions. Was it Banister's[45]

> practice to marry Cat. with Prot-ts? or to baptize the children of those nominal Caths. who know nothing of religion and never come to chapel? or to church those heathenish ignorant mothers who never come near you at any other time?

Bishop Riddell was complaining of a related practice fifty years later. In 1845 he regretted that the Catholics of Coquetdale had not yet begun to have their children baptised in a chapel but preferred 'it done in the house, as had been the practice for time immemorial', on the grounds that the chapel was too far off.[46]

Rutter had his own problems; he could not understand the purpose of a separate devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus when Christ's whole body was revered in the Blessed Sacrament, and he wished there was more positive proof of the Assumption of Our Lady, which was not at that time a required dogma of the faith. He worried about looking at the nudes in Silvertop's collection of prints and paintings, and he wanted to know how he was to decide which were indecent. Rutter asked Banister how to treat servants; two years later he alluded to an unspecified domestic

incident after which he had arranged for the dismissal of the housekeeper and another person.[47]

Health was a permanent preoccupation with Banister, Rutter and the Silvertops. This was hardly surprising since John Silvertop was the only one of five sons born to George (I) to survive into adulthood. John himself died at the age of fifty one and he lost two of five children in their childhood. Banister once told Bishop Gibson to 'beware of catching cold ... but beware still more of taking medicines'. Rutter had taken fencing lessons at Douai to open his 'narrow bending breast' and to straighten his chest 'into a decent attitude', as Banister put it. He began to hunt with the squire at Minsteracres because he said such exercise was

> peculiarly necessary for me in my present situation to prevent the bad effects of high living: for I must confess that I am not sufficiently master of my own appetite to observe always the exact rules of temperance and moderation.

It was partly for that reason, perhaps, that Rutter enjoyed Lent so much, not that he was particularly impressed with the attempts at penance practised at Minsteracres:

> I have no great idea of the merit of modern fasting, which seems to be only a name: for who would desire more than a good dish of chocolate at breakfast, and yet this seems universally allowed and taken in the best families.

He asked whether Banister allowed buns with butter in them on the mornings of Lent.[48]

None of these matters caused Banister the least difficulty. Those who trafficked in smuggled goods were not to be tolerated, but poor sailors who brought over a few gallons of rum or a pound or two of coffee could be excused. Rutter could safely examine pictures meant to point a moral; for example, a half-draped Mary Magdalene was acceptable but a luscious Venus was not. Devotion to the Sacred Heart was neither better or worse than that to the Blessed Sacrament. Men could be excused from attending Mass if they lived over eight miles from a chapel, women somewhat less. Banister was unhelpful over Rutter's difficulties with the menus at Minsteracres and he advised Rutter always to eat something at breakfast, especially when he was to go out, otherwise his health would suffer. Buns in Lent were permissible: 'you make no scruple of eating apple-pyes or tarts, which are not made without butter in the crust'.[49]

Earlier in the century Sir Carnaby Haggerston used to soften the rigours of a Northumbrian Lent with sea-food from nearby Seahouses and Craster. His chaplain, like Banister, clearly took a more liberal view

than Rutter. Sir Carnaby, the Rev. Thornton said approvingly, took

> a lobster soop each day in Lent to keep the juices of his body from sowering in Spring; assure yourself that the sweetening diet, especially in the Spring of the year, lobsters, cockles, oysters & such sort with moderate exercise is a better remedy

than fasting.[50] With regard to dinner parties on days of abstinence, Banister remarked,

> As to setting flesh meat on the table for their Prot. guests, it is coming into vogue, as I hear. It is a very unnecessary complaisance for Prots. will go to a Cath. Gentleman to dine on fish, being glutted with flesh dinners.

Banister was not so much concerned with the dietary excesses of the gentry as with their general behaviour:[51]

> as to writing for or instructing persons of quality or fortune, tis to little purpose. No way will please them, but that which is broad & easy. Yet I would venture to answer for their chocolate in the morning & their tea in the evening, their dipping a small biscuit in wine, & licking up a tea-spoonful of sweet-meats in Lent, or on other fasting days, provided they would extirpate that pride, which is ever predominant in their heart, that idle & unprofitable life of carding, visiting, dancing, going to plays & balls & making la frivolite the sole end & object of their thoughts and time.

Rutter made no comment on that; indeed, he may have been a little shamefaced about his own gadding about, for he accompanied Silvertop on occasional business trips, and he also went with the family on visits to relations or on holiday. The Silvertops took a house at Tynemouth in 1796 and Rutter was much taken with the fact that they were in the same lodgings as His Royal Highness Prince William of Gloucester, 'only that we have the better part of the house'. Sea-bathing was highly regarded as a cure-all at this time, and Rutter considered it most beneficial; it did not, however, prevent him from getting gout; indeed, at Christmas 1800, the squire, the chaplain and the butler were all down with it.[52]

Banister's approach to catechetical instruction was simple, and he applied it to adults, converts and children alike. Complicated expositions of doctrine were to be avoided; nothing could be better than 'beating plain, easy, but necessary truths into the giddy, heedless, inattentive minds of poor peasants'. The literate could be given The Garden of the Soul, and the illiterate be taught to get the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Creed off by heart. Banister added, however, that it was also necessary to explain exactly what the ten commandments decreed because he believed that there were those who had

> no idea of the words, adultery, fornication, pollution, &c. I say the idea of those words, not of the things. 'Tis therefore requisite to explain the meaning of those words, as modestly as possible, yet so as to be unerstood, adding at the same time a lively description of the torments prepared for those who do such things.

On staff discipline Banister urged Rutter 'to hinder all kissing &c.' between servants, and that whenever he entered the kitchen he was to 'take notice of the chairs, whether they be not broken by carrying double'. Banister's own servants gave him trouble of this kind, and he was unable to protect his manservant from the importunities of his kitchen-maid, whom he was forced to dismiss. Rutter commiserated with Banister: 'I hoped you had cured her of love long ago; but this disorder, it seems, is not so easily mastered'.[53]

Such, then, were some of the domestic, personal and pastoral concerns of a north-country chaplain of the late eighteenth century. Rutter and Banister were, of course, deeply interested in all ecclesiastical affairs, and they kept an eye on the proceedings of the 'ex-Jts., monks & nigri Fratres' in the District. The Jesuits came in for a fair amount of gentle mocking. Rutter remarked that people in Durham thought that their secular missioner's 'morality too rigid and severe, & will doubtless therefore prefer that of the Jesuit Welch as more agreeable to flesh and blood'. The Jesuits, he said, 'seem to have the advantage of us in having found out an easier way to heaven'. Banister, more to the immediate point, believed the Jesuits 'to be at the best genus irritabile' in their dealings with the bishops after their suppression in 1773, and it is appropriate at this point to examine the effect of that measure on the mission in the north east.[54]

*

When the Society of Jesus was suppressed it had eleven members in the two north eastern counties, having the care of half the Catholics in Northumberland and one fifth of those in County Durham. William Warrilow was the only one to protest publicly about the suppression, and that he did in a letter to the local newspaper, for which he was reprimanded by his secular colleague in Newcastle, Charles Cordell. Relations between the two never recovered. Rutter told his uncle,

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

Banister advised Rutter: 'Do not admire Mr W...w: a pompous man, I hear, oia' magna loquens I suppose'. He had obviously heard of Warrilow's reputaton as a preacher; Mrs Siddons declared that had he taken to the stage he would have immortalised his name and realised a splendid fortune'.[55]

In the event, all eleven Jesuits signed the Brief of Suppression for the Vicar Apostolic. He renewed their priestly faculties and they all carried on in their posts using the monies already attached to their

mission stations for their subsistence. The suppression, therefore, had no immediate effect on the mission; indeed, its significance depended entirely on the longevity of the ex-Jesuits. Threequarters of them lived on for upwards of twenty years, and it would be over fifty years before the last member of the suppressed Society died, by which time the Society had been restored. Some changes, however, took place soon after the suppression. The estate at Stella changed hands in 1775 and the new owner dismissed the ex-Jesuit. Four years later the Claverings of Callaly Castle concluded an agreement with the Vicar Apostolic of the appointment of a secular priest there. The mission at Ellingham Hall was handed over to the Benedictines by Thomas Haggerston at his accession to the estates in 1804.[56]

The first death to cause a change in tenure was that of Thomas Leckonby at Pontop Hall in 1778. The patron probably objected to an ex-Jesuit replacement, for one would certainly have been available so soon after the suppression. The wife of John Silvertop, a trustee of this mission, was known as 'a great Jesuitess', and she might have welcomed an ex-Jesuit for a neighbour. On the other hand, there was a surplus of priests at this time and, as Bishop Walton said, the ex-Jesuits could only be employed on the mission 'where they can be provided for, else it would be imprudent to increase the number of priests. And this seems to be our situation at present ... there is no want, but, on the contrary, an evident redundancy'.[57]

The ex-Jesuits held on longest in Northumberland, their traditional stronghold. Joseph Howe, at Longhorsley Tower, died in 1792 and the mission was handed over to the Benedictines. Similarly, at the end of the century there were no ex-Jesuits to fill the vacancies at Haggerston Castle or Berrington Hall, and the missions were combined and handed to the seculars. These transfers were the only way of keeping the missions going. In 1797, shortly after the opening of Stonyhurst College, its Superior, William Strickland, SJ, told Warrilow that it was probable that some years would elapse before the college would be able to provide successors for all their places, 'Till this takes place, recourse must be had to monks, friars, clergy'. The independent mission in Alnwick was kept going as long as possible but it had to be placed in the charge of an exiled French secular priest between 1802 and 1812. The restored Society then resumed their tenure with John Beaumont.[58]

William Warrilow died in 1807. Although Newcastle was the principal city in the region, the ex-Jesuits were unable to replace him and his mission was subsumed into St. Andrew's. Edward Walsh died in Durham in 1822 and his mission was amalgamated with the secular mission in Old

Elvet. The longest-lived ex-Jesuit was Christopher Rose, who died in retirement in Durham in 1826. By the time of Emancipation, then, only Alnwick was left as a Jesuit misson in the north east; the other ten had been taken over by the seculars or the Benedictines, but the suppressed Society was a long time dying.

*

Banister and Rutter kept well abreast of the lay and clerical politics of the day. After what has been quoted from their letters already, it will hardly surprise the reader to find that both priests were ultra-conservative, as in their views of the cisalpine tendencies of the Catholic Committee. Proceedings in the capital between the Vicars Apostolic and the Committee have been fully documented, but the sentiments of the provincial clergy on national ecclesiastical affairs have not been so well aired. The letters of Banister and Rutter are therefore useful in shedding light on the position of the northern clergy on the crisis that arose in the Church in 1790. Matters had come to a head over the oath which the Committee proposed to include in the draft of the second Catholic Relief Act; the succession to the London and Northern vicariates, which fell vacant in 1790, became a matter of general controversy. In addition, the closure of Douai College at the French Revolution initiated a long wrangle about the location and management of a replacement college in England. Banister and Rutter held strong opinions on these matters, and at the centre of them all stood the brothers Gibson.[59]

The Gibson family of Stonecroft Farm gave a number of priests to the Church in the eighteenth century. Thomas Gibson was the secular missioner in Newcastle from 1720 to 1765, and two Dominican priests, George and William, served at Stonecroft Farm from 1693 to 1712. Four of Jasper Gibson's sons became secular priests. George ended his days in 1778 as missioner in Hexham; Richard died in 1801 at Mawley Hall, Shropshire, where he had been chaplain to Sir Walter Blount for thirty five years ('much respected and beloved by the family and his congregation, notwithstanding his constitutional roughness and apparent harshness'). It is with Matthew and William Gibson, however, that we are principally concerned. Matthew Gibson was born in 1734; he was sent to Douai at the age of thirteen; after his ordination in 1758 he remained in the college as a professor for ten years. On his coming to the English mission, he went as chaplain to the newly-widowed Mrs Mary Maire at Headlam, near Gainford. Bishop Walton made him his Vicar General in 1776, and in 1780, just before he died, he also placed Gibson's name first on his terna of proposed coadjutors.[60]

Bishop Walton was the third Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District to have died in the previous ten years. Bishop Francis Petre had been sixty when he succeeded to the vicariate in 1752. Fortunately, his episcopate of twenty three years was not in the least controversial since it came after the elimination of the Jacobite threat and before the political campaigns for Catholic relief. His first coadjutor, William Maire, died in 1769 within a year of his appointment, aged sixty five. The second, William Walton, fifty five years old, was consecrated bishop in 1770 and he succeeded five years later. He enjoyed his tenure for only five years, but, prudently, he had obtained a relatively young co-adjutor, whose accession to the vicariate was announced without delay. Bishop Matthew Gibson remained at Headlam until Mrs Maire died, in 1784. She left £4,000 in charitable bequests, including £40 a year to Bishop Gibson 'besides a thousand pounds to him as bishop which with former benefactions should afford him a decent maintenance'. The bishop then moved up to Stella Hall where Thomas Eyre, 'his particular friend' and secretary was missioner.[61]

The proximity of the Vicar Apostolic to Minsteracres gave Rutter the opportunity to keep Banister informed of episcopal activity, and for Banister to receive additional information which came Rutter's way at table, for the bishop and John Silvertop were kinsmen and friends. On more than one occasion Banister warned Rutter not to let Silvertop see their letters because he would certainly blab to the bishop. The stream of gossip they exchanged certainly lent force to Banister's plea for secrecy. Rutter reported that the servants at Stella thought that Eyre preached 'better than his RR guest'; Rutter thought Eyre had 'more the cunning of the serpent than the simplicity of the dove'; and Banister so deplored the bishops's 'ways of prescinding, arguing, splitting, doubling, &c.' that he could not easily trust him 'and never implicitly'.[62]

Much of Matthew Gibson's episcopate of ten years was taken up with the affairs of the Catholic Committee. A committee of laymen had negotiated the first Catholic Relief Act (1778) almost without the need to refer to the Vicars Apostolic. In 1782 the lay gentry decided to reconstitute the Committee to work for further relief. Sir Carnaby Haggerston represented the eastern half of the Northern District on it. Almost immediately, the Committee antagonised the bishops by claiming that the Church in England was wholly dependent on the 'Court of Rome', for even the most minor matters of discipline, because the Vicars Apostolic did not possess the episcopal jurisdiction of a residential ordinary. That dependence was a major obstacle to further political relief

and the Committee invited the Vicars Apostolic to make appropriate representations in Rome. Bishop Gibson agreed with the Committee, but some of his brethren did not, and the proposal was dropped. The Clergy Agent in Rome did not think that a change of status would make any difference to the necessity for consulting the Roman Curia. The incident showed, however, that the seeds of cisalpinism had been sown, and it was borne in upon the bishops that the gentry were now prepared to raise issues previously considered the prerogative of the clergy.[63]

A new Committee was elected in 1787 with Sir John Lawson as the representative from the north east (Sir Carnaby had declined to be renominated). The restoration of the hierarchy was again proposed, but this time the Committee went further by suggesting that the bishops ought to be elected 'by the flock they are to teach and direct'. Another proposal was that a school be established for lay pupils only. And then John Throckmorton suggested, informally, that there were no religious grounds for Catholics to refuse the Oath of Supremacy. On this occasion the bishops were united in opposition, and such was their horror that Lord Petre issued a statement explaining that the Committee did not wish to interfere in matters of a purely spiritual nature. But it was too late; many of the northern gentry took against the Committee, and Sir John Lawson organised a formal protest from the north expressing strong dissent from the Committee's activities, and it was signed by almost every family in the region. Bishop Walmseley thought that 'the greater part of the Country gentlemen' had been made 'averse to the very existence of a Committee'. The Committee took fright at the degree of opposition it had aroused and it responded by admitting the clergy to membership. Bishop Gibson was not mollified by that, and he doubted whether priests would have enough power to 'prevent any mischief'. Rutter reported the bishop to be 'in no great esteem with our gentlemen, nor do I think he courts much their favour and friendship'.[64]

In 1788 the Committee drew up a solemn declaration and protestation of Catholic principles which was intended to expedite a second and full relief act. Fatally, however, the document contained the statement that 'We acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope'. Taken in its context, at the time that was a perfectly orthodox statement. Indeed, some fifteen hundred laymen and priests readily signed the protestation, including fourteen priests in the north east and members of every gentry family in the region, except the Silvertops. Bishop Gibson told Thomas Eyre that George Silvertop 'tho' no Divine, could discover false doctrine in it', and Sir John Lawson said he would not sign unless Bishop Gibson did so.

Armed with what seemed to be an endorsement of their approach, the Committee recast the protestation in the form of a petition to parliament. In discussion with the government about the terms of a new relief bill, however, the committee drafted a new oath to reflect the contents of the protestation, and they also agreed to the description of themselves as Protesting Catholic Dissenters. The Vicars Apostolic were not consulted at any stage and when at last they read the draft bill they immediately condemned it. Bishop Gibson issued a pastoral letter prohibiting anyone in the Northern District from subscribing the oath contained in it; he issued a further letter at the beginning of 1790, and he refused point blankly to meet the Committee to discuss the matter. He died in May that year, at the height of the controversy. Bishop James Talbot of the London District had died in January, and so the ranks of the episcopate were halved at this most critical point.[65]

Inevitably, some said that these dissensions killed Bishop Gibson, who was fifty nine years of age at his death. He had, however, been ill for some time. In 1785 Rutter feared for the bishop's health; Gibson had to change his ways and take exercise 'to work off the gouty humour' of which the doctors said he was full. Rutter called for the appointment of a coadjutor in 1786, and he reported a rumour later in the year that Gibson had asked his younger brother William to accept the post. That was speculation, for when the bishop died he left a sealed envelope containing the names of Robert Banister and Thomas Eyre as candidates to succeed him. He had, however, asked Bishop Thomas Talbot to nominate his brother because he was reluctant to do it himself, which seems to show that his is unlikely to have nominated him earlier as his coadjutor. At any rate, Bishop Talbot did as he was asked, but he went further and invited the clergy of the District to make their own nominations. Some priests and liberal laymen intended to elect a bishop and inform Rome. Banister and Rutter were horrified at these proceedings; Banister went so far as to wish he could fly to Rome where he would 'strenuously advise His Holiness to send two learned and pious Italian priests' to fill the vacancies.[66]

Banister knew that he and Thomas Eyre had been recommended by the late bishop (and he was shortly made aware that his name was second on the terna sent to Rome by Bishop Walmseley of the Western District) but he realised that his or Eyre's elevation was so unlikely that the inclusion of their names can only have been meant as 'props to lift up Mr. William Gibson'. Rutter expressed some surprise that Banister had been recommended at all: 'I can hardly believe that you are to be our Bishop, I foresee so much oppostion will be raised against you by Committee men

and others'. Banister replied that if Rutter thought he was 'a very objectionable person, yet I apprehend that Mr. Wm. Gibson will be as much or more so'.[67]

Banister had kept up a running commentary on William Gibson's presidency of Douai College. Gibson had gone there in 1781 with plans for reform and modernisation, both structurally and academically. However, the financial resources of the college were insufficient to meet the costs of rebuilding, and many alumni resented his revision of the syllabus to include literature, mathematics and French. Banister was a leading opponent of these plans and he feared for the future of the college 'where all but a lick-spittle disapprove of the carryings-on of the polite Mr. Gibson'. Ideally, John Cotes should be made Vicar Apostolic, but Banister felt that the elevation of Gibson would at least get him away from Douai. Truly he said,[68]

> the office of a president of Douai College, & of Spain & Lisbon is more important than that of Vicar Apostolic in this island. For our presidents abroad furnish our bishops with a good or bad clergy according to the good or bad choice of alumni, according to the principles, spirit & manners in which they are trained up, &c. So although Mr. W. Gibson has not been applauded everywhere for his administration of Douai College, he may have more success in an episcopal character.

Half the secular priests of Lancashire raised a petition for the removal of President Gibson in 1790. Banister warned Rutter that in the event that Gibson was dismissed, Rutter was not to surrender his post to him, although in Banister's view Gibson would be welcome back to Minsteracres for Gibson would have been 'expelled' if he had not been appointed to the presidency. That seems most unlikely in view of the esteem in which Gibson was held by the Silvertops, although his absence of six years in London while he held the r chaplaincy may not have pleased his patron. Rutter merely told Banister that it 'would be high treason' to raise the problems of Douai at Minsteracres, so he never mentioned the college.[69]

William Gibson returned from Douai in July 1790, partly to bury his brother, but also to protect his own position as a candidate, for he then knew that he was being considered for either vicariate. He had not given up the presidency of the college, but Rutter thought 'a mitre might tempt him to do it, for inter nos I think he looks that way'. Gibson and Eyre dined at Minsteracres and Rutter relayed to Banister the news that Gibson had written to Christopher Stonor, Clergy Agent in Rome, resigning the presidency because of bad health, 'but finding his hopes of a mitre not so certain as he imagined, he now retracts'. It may have been that he knew he was not a nominee of the Committee and the southern clergy for the London District, nor was his name under consideration by

the northern clergy. He was informed in August, however, that he had been selected for the Northern District, and he had the courtesy to tell Banister in confidence. The news was very well received at Mowbreck because of its significance for Banister's beloved alma mater.[70]

The news of Gibson's elevation was not welcomed in other quarters. Lord Petre remarked that 'Mr. Gibson was the most obnoxious man that could have been appointed'. Sir John Lawson ordered the Rev. William Dunn 'to take at his cost and charge post horses, post chaises & ride God knows whither to prevent it'. Dunn 'wore out 4 pairs of breeches in his assiduous perambulations through the town to promote the good design'. The northern clergy sent four of their number down to London 'to concert pressures with the Committee against Mr. Gibson. They say he may go to the north as bishop, or in any other capacity & will remain unheeded and unaided'. Banister told Gibson that other priests had thought of sending a commendation of the bishop-elect to Rome. Gibson was not unaware of the general feeling about him and had said that 'though he knew he was obnoxious, yet he meant to procure his consecration'. The clergy and the Committee soon decided to make the best of a bad job. The priests in the north now welcomed him; Rutter told his uncle how amused he was 'to hear the praises they now give Mr. Gibson, whom before they condemned as the most unfit person in the world'.[71]

Sir John Lawson wrote to Bishop-elect Gibson to congratulate him, and he took the opportunity to reconnoitre the ground that the new Vicar Apostolic would hold. He hailed the prospect of 'union in the Catholic body' augured by Gibson's elevation, which, he went on to observe 'might have been brought about by softer means sometime since, had our Ap. Vicars been more cautious & less precipitate in their measures'. Further, 'could the Catholics see you Gentlemen of ye Mitre show such good example, I have no doubt but that the effect would be salutary'. Plunging on into even deeper waters, Sir John pointed out that on the question of civil allegiance, 'the church can have no business, it is clearly a matter out of the Spiritual interference'. The real question was

> If I take the oath in the temporal sense of the Government, am I or am I not a member of the Catholic Church, or am I less so than I was before? The Vicars Apostolic owe it to us to point out the parts of the oath which are contrary to faith.

Marmaduke Tunstall told William Salvin that although Matthew Gibson had been 'a man of true probity, parts & learning', he 'had not a conciliating manner'. He hope his successor would 'prove more happy in that now necessary accomplishment'. That, however, was not to be, for the bishop-elect indicated in his reply to Sir John Lawson that he was no more prepared to deal with the Committee than his brother had been; Gibson

reserved the right of the bishops to approve any oath tendered to the English Catholics.[72]

Lawson, it must be remembered, was one of the conservative northern Catholics and on a number of occasions he had voiced the misgivings of the nothern gentry about the Committee's proceedings; Marmaduke Tunstall, too, deplored that body's behaviour, but both men acknowledged the importance of bringing the gentry and bishops together. Henry Maire, also a conservative, was forced to tell the new bishop that the civil content of the oath was not within their jurisdiction, and that if the bishops could not approve the oath then they had to present an alternative. Banister and most of the northern clergy urged Gibson to stand firm against the Committee. Henry Dennet was a lone clerical voice advising the bishop that 'a little dexterity, a certain maniere' would greatly contribute to the resolution of the problem. Bishop William Gibson, however, proved as obdurate in his dealings with the laity as any bishop had ever been.[73]

Nonetheless, unlike his brother, William Gibson was prepared to meet the Committee, and, with Bishop Douglass, he did so at the beginning of February 1791. That conference was unsuccessful because the Committee refused to defer to the bishops when Gibson bluntly asked them to do so. The bishops therefore approached a number of laymen not on the Committee to lobby parliament on their behalf, and John Silvertop and Henry Maire organised a petition from the north to the Privy Council. It turned out that the petition was unnecessary because the Solicitor General told the bishops that their objections alone were sufficient for the government to replace the disputed oath. Parliamentary proceedings lasted some three and a half months, and the Relief Act that was passed entirely reflected the wishes of the Vicars Apostolic; the oath was that of the Irish Catholic Relief Act of 1774. In all these deliberations Bishop Gibson was intransigent in defence of the episcopal prerogative in matters ecclesiastical. The Committee heartily wished he had gone to the north and stayed there. After the act was on the statute book, the Committee passed a vote of thanks to the bishops, but omitted Gibson's name from it. The crisis was over but lasting damage had been done to lay-clerical relations. Banister was so depressed at the turn of events that he entertained 'a conceit to get my picture drawn & in such a manner as to express very emphatically my sentiments & marked disapprobation of the doctrine & errors so lately diffused amongst us'. He did not say where the portrait was to hang.[74]

*

The nationalisation of the French Church effected by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1790, and its associated oaths, was rejected by most of the French episcopate and clergy; non-juring priests would not be eligible to receive an income from the state, and they therefore faced deportation or voluntary exile. Most chose the latter, and over five and a half thousand priests chose to spend their exile in Britain. France, which had been the traditional refuge of English Catholics, was now the enemy of religion, and from 1792 England became the sanctuary, both for the French clergy and for the exiled English Catholic establishments.[75]

The problems faced by the exiles were primarily financial. Bishop Gibson issued a pastoral letter in 1793 appealing for funds; Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, sat on the national relief committee and gave £200. The Dean and Chapter of Durham gave £150, but the country-wide collection amounted to only some £27,000. The government, however, made each refugee an allowance of one shilling a day, and recommended that the priests lived in groups for economy. There was also the problem of accommodation. Early in September 1796 the Corporation of Newcastle advertised for buildings which might be converted into accommodation for the refugees. About a month later 295 French priests and ten English nuns arrived in the Tyne but, except for a few sympathetic Catholics, no-one had offered lodgings. The Relief Committee of Newcastle (which had sub-branches in Durham and Sunderland) reissued their appeal in the Newcastle Advertiser of 6th October, and it brought two replies. The Bishop of Durham's offer of Durham Castle was not taken up, but the offer of a row of eleven newly-built colliery cottages in Heddon on the Wall was accepted, and thirty eight priests were moved there. They opened a chapel in one of the cottages and took up teaching and gardening to supplement their subsistence allowance.[76]

Half of the French priests were shipped down to Sunderland where they took over the newly-erected Monkwearmouth Barracks ('cantonnement de Sunderland') by courtesy of the government. A number of priests were taken up to Berwick but where they were accommodated is not known. The half-finished chapel and priest's house at Brooms was given over to fifteen to twenty priests by Mr Smith, and ten were put up by Mr Silvertop at Stella. The remainder were dispersed around the region in various Catholic houses and missions, sometimes singly, but mostly in groups of two or three. Three 'emigrated Popish priests' went to live in Bishop Auckland; Alexis Hebert was living with John Galley, a coal merchant in Sunderland; and M. de Buisson officiated in Mr Dunn's house in Gateshead

Fell. (Some middle-class Englishmen were given the opportunity of having their own resident chaplain, an unexpected and apparently welcome social boost.) The Protestant Sir Matthew Ridley found himself having to accommodate a priest or two at his house in Plessey Checks, Stannington. French priests are known to have been at Spittal, near Tweedmouth, and Witton Gilbert, although their hosts are not now known.[77]

It has been said that the French priests did not have any marked effect on the English mission. There were, of course, rather a lot of them and they would be excluded from pastoral work because of language. Rutter remarked that the north was 'over-run with French priests', and that he was 'for the present their Interpreter and do what lies in my power to make them comfortable'. Most mission stations did not need a second priest, nor could they support one. The French priests were believed by many English priests, including Banister, to be dangerously 'bigotted to gallican liberty', and it was thought best that they be kept isolated from the English Catholics. The French were invited to assist at the examinations at Crook Hall, although some English priests thought them not scholarly enough.[78]

For many reasons, then, the French priests stayed together in closed communities. At the same time, however, some mission histories show that, when required, French priests who could speak English did fill some temporary vacancies. The flow of newly-ordained English priests had been interrupted by the French Revolution and the effect of that was described by the Rev. John Barrow (sixty three years old) in a letter to the Vicar Apostolic in 1798:

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

Eleven congregations were without pastors in 1802, but then, only two years before four priests had been unemployed. The greater problem was that suitable candidates for the priesthood were hard to find. William Fletcher, missioner in Sunderland, told Eyre in 1805 that he did 'not know a Catholic of this congregation that is fit for a Clerk's place'. Banister identified another limiting factor: 'I hear of new places, but I hear of no revenue'.[79]

At any rate, French exiled priests acted as stop-gaps at Croxdale, Darlington, Stella, Stockton and Sunderland in County Durham, and at Callaly Castle, Berrington Hall, Hexham, Stonecroft Farm, Witton Shields and Wooler in Northumberland. Four missions in Northumberland owed much more to the exiles. The French stand-in at Alnwick was in charge for ten

years. The presence of the French in Berwick dispelled a great deal of anti-Catholic prejudice and Michael Tidyman, missioner at Haggerston Castle was emboldened to open a chapel in the town and placed it in the charge of Abbe Louis Bigot. His congregation was desolate at 'the loss of so suitable a pastor' when he returned to France in 1801. His English successor stayed less than a year, and Abbe Philip Besnier took over. To judge from Besnier's account, the departure of the Englishman was probably due to the conditions he found in Berwick:[80]

> I have been under the necessity of taking a room in the town which, you understand, I am to pay for. There is a house belonging to the chapel but there is nobody in it; there is no furniture in but a bed, a little table, a drawer, a chair, no linen, nothing else. The expense of the lodging is nothing in comparison to what I am at for the wearing of shoes and clothes. During these last twelve months, I have walked no less than 1,000 miles, not to say more, and by all kinds of weather.
>
> The number of communicants is about 110, should they all come. The congregation is very much scattered. I am obliged to go to Scotland several times to baptise children and to visist sick people. I have been called twice to Norham, which is at a great distance from Berwick, and to many other places in the country where the road is shocking.
>
> Had I not seen a considerable change for the better amongst the congregation, although not yet as I wish, I would have given up long ago. Last year there were only 43 who received at Easter; this year I had eighty.

There was also a day-school and a separate boarding school, taught by French priests. It is more than likely that Berwick would have remained a supply mission for many years if it had not been for the work of the French exiles in building up a flourishing Catholic community in such dreadful circumstances.

The mission at Cowpen near the port of Blyth had its origins in the appointment of a French exile as chaplain to the Sidneys in 1801. Louis Deshogues (or La Hogue, as he was also known) succeeded in 1810 and he remained long after the majority of his fellow-countrymen had gone home. A resident mission was established at North Shields at the turn of the century under two French priests. One of them, Pierre Dubuisson, having returned to France, came back to England in 1820 hoping (in vain) to be appointed missioner at the new church of St. Cuthbert.[81]

It is somewhat unfair, then, to dismiss the French contribution to the English mission entirely. Most of the exiles were not asked to help, but those who were, became successful and popular with their congregations, not least because they were prepared to put up with conditions rejected by English priests. Rutter acknowledged the French contribution when, in 1801, he wrote to his uncle, 'Some of our French priests are gone, and others are about to go. The Mission in these parts will feel

the want of them'. Indeed, Michael Tidyman suggested that the French be replaced by Spanish and Portuguese priests who might at last say Mass for the people on Sundays and Holydays; in time they would become sufficiently proficient in English to hear confessions.[82]

*

George Silvertop (II) was coming towards the end of his schooldays when in May 1791 he and his younger brother Henry were withdrawn from Douai College to Louvain, 'in consequence of the commotions and disturbances' caused by the French. George completed his education at Old Hall Green; Henry returned to Minsteracres where, with his younger brother Charles, he was tutored by another refugee from Douai, the deacon John Bell, whom Rutter described as 'a sedate young man who tho' from Douay has nothing about him of the frippery of a modern Beau'. Rutter was no doubt as relieved not to have to do the tutoring himself as he was gratified that the college could still turn out sound and level-headed clerics, even in the 'calamitous state' to which it had been reduced under the presidency of William Gibson. Rutter and Banister had been pleased to see Gibson's removal from the seminary, but they did not foresee that, as bishop, he would be responsible for its re-estabalishment in England. The relocation and status of the new English seminary was to be the source of considerable apprehension in the minds of Banister, Rutter and many other priests in the north for a number of years.[83]

Banister wanted the college to be re-established elsewhere on the continent, but the bishops preferred it to be on English soil. After a certain amount of dithering about considering various houses, Bishop Gibson rented Crook Hall in September 1794 to serve as a seminary until a permanent college could be created. Banister was invited to teach Divinity, but he would only agree if the old syllabus was brought back. He also wished the new college to be confined to church-students:

> let Gentlemen, Merchants' sons & such like found a college for themselves & according to their own ever-varying ideas & whimsical notions. There is Tudhoe & Old Hall Green & several other schools that may serve their purpose. They aim at no degree of true erudition & learning; reading, writing, speaking French, dancing & talking fluently are the grand accomplisments.

At the same time, he deplored the tendency of the 'gentry, the Exs, the nigri Fratres &c.' who seemed 'to be eager, if not for a total independence, at least for an equal authority & jurisdiction with the Bishops'. All of which he put down to the influence of impious gallicanism.[84]

Banister and Rutter kept closely in touch with the seemingly interminable discussions about the new college. Both thought the north more suitable than the south of England for various practical reasons. The

only objection Rutter had heard to the north was that[85]

> some of our very refined Douatians are afraid of children spoiling their accent in these parts. This is a weighty objection to be sure, but I should hope it might be got over if they considered that housekeeping is at least one fifth in the north, & that the proximity of Old Hall Green to the Metropolis must render it a very improper situation for a great Gen. Coll. where young men are prepared for the ministry.

Moreover, the ex-Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Benedictines had established themselves in the north - 'a certain proof that they consider it an eligible situation'. There was also the fact that the Northern District had the largest number of Catholics and priests. This was all eminently reasonable, but not persuasive outside the north, although Bishop Milner did chip in with an encouraging letter to Bishop Gibson:[86]

> I own, though a Londoner myself, I have a strong partiality for Northern men to make priests of. Every one of our Bishops (that is good for any thing) are northern men & so are the choice of our Clergy throughout the Kingdom. Hence for the good of this very District, I hope you may arrange matters so that we may continue to be supplied with a certain proportion of honest healthy Northern lads to correct, when properly qualified, the defects and vices of the South.

The eventual decision was for the north to have its own seminary, but it was five years before the Ushaw estate was bought, and another eight before a college was opened in 1808.

The long delay arose out of several circumstances, but principally because of Gibson's indecisiveness. Banister and Rutter found themselves in a difficult position when discussing the matter. On the one hand they held a proper respect for Bishop Gibson as their diocesan and superior; they supported him in his disputes with the liberals and they agreed with him about the need for a college in the north. On the other hand, they were unwilling to allow the man (they thought) had almost brought Douai College to ruin, to have sole control over its replacement. They deprecated his determination 'to be both Bishop & President, the sole controller of monies & funds, the pursebearer & paymaster general'. Banister held the bishop to blame for the delays, and at one point he told him that 'considering 20 chapels (& some great & magnificent ones) had been built in Lancashire, & several with a good messuage or dwelling-house, within these 20 years or a little more', he was 'grieved that one college could not yet be erected'. Rutter advised the bishop to put a little more confidence in his clergy's advice, but to no effect. Rutter told Banister that whatever ideas Gibson 'may himself entertain of his own transcendent abilities, I fear little will be done if all is to be left to his management, especially considering his infirm state of health which seems still declining'.[87]

Bishop Gibson's prevarications about the siting of the new seminary had one unexpected effect. Sir Carnaby Haggerston (V) did not live permanently in Northumberland and so when, in 1795, a community of forty repatriated Poor Clares needed refuge, he offered them Haggerston Castle as a temporary home. He forgot to tell the chaplain but when the nuns arrived on Christmas Eve they were very well received by the priest and by the local population. People brought them little presents, and the estate-workers gave them every assistance. The nuns opened a school to educate young ladies 'to form the good Christian and the industrious Housewife'; they took 'poor children gratis'. They also provided a form of out-door relief for the poor who would come to the porch of the castle to be fed. This latter activity introduced small-pox into the community from which two nuns died. For discretion, the nuns did not wear their religious habits, but plain black gowns and white muslin caps. Rutter, whose cousin Sister Mary Agnes Hodgkinson was at Haggerston, said it was 'a most eligible situation in regard to fish and cheapness of provisions' but, he added, the nuns

> had reason to pray for the life of their benefactor Sir Carnaby; for should any thing happen to him I am well assured that his brother Mr Thos. Haggerston (who is at present our neighbour) would soon remove there to take up his habitation in the old castle to which I believe he is much attached.

Sir Carnaby, however, lived for a further twenty five years and the nuns had to move for quite a different reason.[88]

In 1806 Michael Tidyman told Thomas Eyre that he had become aware of a changed atmosphere caused by the nuns staying at the castle 'two whole years against the wish and inclination of the proprietors'. Sir Carnaby wanted to complete the new mansion started by his father in the 1770s, but its occupation by the nuns prevented him from doing so. When they were still there after ten years Sir Carnaby lost patience and he sent his architect up to Haggerston in 1806 to begin the re-designing process, and thereby prompt the Mother Superior to reflect more urgently on the situation. The nuns could not move out, however, because it was intended that they would take over Tudhoe Academy when the students had transferred to Ushaw College, then under construction, but work at Ushaw had proceeded very slowly. In some exasperation, Sir Carnaby told Bishop Gibson in October 1806 that he could no longer accommodate the nuns and that they whould have to move to Tudhoe immediately. There was no response and the nuns were still at Haggerston the following summer. Sir Carnaby therefore decided to get on with the building work despite their presence. When it became apparent that the roof was about to be replaced, Mrs Jane Silvertop of Wooler offered to buy umbrellas for the nuns, for

although Sir Carnaby had suffered extreme inconvenience, she felt it would 'prove hurtful to the community to be exposed day and night'. At this point Sir John Lawson intervened and obtained alternative premises at Scorton in the North Riding, and the nuns moved there in November 1807.[89]

In this matter, as in all others, Bishop Gibson would not be rushed into decisions, indeed, he avoided taking any until the last possible moment. Nor would he pay the slightest attention to any suggestion about anything which came within his personal jurisdiction. It was the same when he discovered that the clergy thought that a coadjutor bishop ought to be appointed. He simply ignored it, but when he later let it be known that he was thinking of proposinghis brother Richard for the post, the northern clergy were thunderstruck. Three brothers as successive Vicars Apostolic was one thing, but John Barrow thought Richard Gibson qualified only as a farmhand, and even the loyal Banister threatened to petition Propaganda against him. It was not until the settlement of Ushaw College that Gibson, aged seventy two, nominated his assistant Thomas Smith. He had been ordained priest in 1778 and he was at Douai College when it was over-run by French revolutionaries, who imprisoned him. On his release, Smith came to the English mission and went to Durham. He seems to have been popular: 'to know him is to love him', said Bishop Sharrock. Smith was also said to have been urbane and suave.[90]

Although Bishop Gibson had succeeded to the northern vicariate at the relatively early age of fifty four, he was never fully well. The demands of the mission were heavy, and in 1804 he wrote[91]

> For many months I administered the Sacrament of Confirmation three or four times a week and as often preached sermons before Catholics and Protestants. My journeys were very long and fatiguing.

He suffered a long illness in 1805 and, although he recovered enough to continue in office, he was never again as active as before. His handwriting deteriorated and was soon illegible; Bishop Poynter suggested that Smith take dictation from him. Futhermore, Gibson refused to delegate any powers to his coadjutor, who seemed to have been necessary, in Gibson's view, only as a secretary and ultimate successor, but decidedly not as an episcopal partner. Gibson was the senior bishop from 1797 and, in deference to his poor health and his seniority, many of the general meetings of the Vicars Apostolic took place in Durham. By 1819, however, his condition was so bad that his Vicars General suggested that Bishop Poynter of the London District, obtain special faculties from Rome for Bishop Smith. Gibson, then eighty one years old, still refused to retire though he was wholly incapacitated by senility and paralysis. He had

long since been unable to offer Mass or say his office, and he had to be carried about and fed like a child. Rome did nothing, and it was a great relief all round when he died in 1821. Certainly, the death of Bishop William Gibson removed the only remaining obstacle to the realisation of Rutter's long-standing desire to leave Minsteracres and nevermore to be a gentleman's chaplain.[92]

*

Rutter served three generations of Silvertops: George (I) for six years (1783-9); John for twelve years (1789-1801); and George (II) for twenty one years (1801-22). His forty-year sojourn at Minsteracres is remarkable given his frequently expressed antipathy to the gentry. His long stint was due entirely to Bishop William Gibson's refusal to move him, coupled with the inconvenient fact that John Silvertop liked him. Although Rutter did not formally apply for a change in the first ten years of his time at Minsteracres, the idea was never far from his mind, and he made repeated requests to leave thereafter. Indeed, he and his uncle were forever suggesting that the other should apply for any vacant post that came up. When Charles Cordell died in 1791, Rutter suggested that Banister apply for Newcastle, but if he objected, 'perhaps York would please you better ... you will have a polite congregation indeed, but I am told rather difficult to be pleased'. Rutter tried to persuade his uncle 'to come and live among our canons at Durham' after the death of John Lodge in 1795, but Banister suggested that Rutter himself should go there. Rutter's reply was characteristically self-deprecating:

> I frankly own that I am not a proper person for a place of such importance and should form indeed a very striking contrast to the other priest who is there, I mean Mr. Walsh. He has travelled much and passes for a very agreeable companion, is very great with all the prebendaries, and constantly one of their parties. In return for which he gives a grand rout once a year to which all the gentlemen and ladies are invited and at his last was honoured with above 90 persons of the first rank of gentility in the neighbourhood.

Walsh, the Jesuit missioner in Durham, was popular in the city, and he was known as 'the thirteenth prebendary' of the cathedral, but he was also thought to be a social climber.[93]

Rutter asked to go to Thropton, but the bishop refused. Then, when Hexham fell vacant, he applied to go there, but again the bishop took no notice. After a visit to his uncle in 1793 Rutter said he would think no more of changing his situation, although he thought his 'nerves may advise to the contrary'. Banister sympathised with his nephew, but he reminded him of the advantages of a chaplaincy over a public mission:[94]

> You wish, I suppose, to be emancipated because whilst you live in a family you seem to yourself to carry a chain; but on the other hand

> reflect that you have nothing to do with house-keeping, no rents to pay, no servants wages to find, nor a thousand other articles to distract you. If company and visitors do not fill your head too much with unprofitable narratives and rumours, you may retire to your garret and shut out all distractions, perplexities and anxieties and solicitudes and pursue your meditations and studies without interruption.

As Banister suggested, the chaplaincy did give Rutter the time and opportunity to study. Rutter had earlier remarked that Silvertop's library contained a lot of history, and Banister had urged him to use it. An English history was very much needed[95]

> for the use & perusal of Catholics, who would not be led into errors & prejudices & false notions & sentiments about many important points & characters... We once were proposing to Mr Butler to write an English history, which others as he told us had desired too. He said it would cost him 3 or 4 hundred pounds... but you need be at no charge, your squire has a valuable assortment for you & if you desire more, go to Mr Marmaduke Tunstall at Wycliffe on Tees.

Rutter did not take up Banister's proposal, but he did begin to collect books and in his later years at Minsteracres he began to publish his own. A Life of Christ came out in 1803; John Barrow told him that 'a better spiritual book never as yet has appeared in print'. One thousand copies were printed but they sold slowly. Nonetheless, the work was serialised with illustrations in 1830. Rutter translated devotional works from the Italian and French, as well as one or two works of biblical exegesis and asceticism. Charles Cordell was a prolific translator of French devotional works; in 1786 Rutter hoped that his latest offering would sell well, 'as many of his former works are still on his hands'. There were two Catholic booksellers in Newcastle at this time, John Bell and Anthony Hodgson. The former published Lives of the Saints and the latter contributed many articles to the Catholic press. A Catholic Library was established in the town in 1822. Rutter's only contribution to the contemporary debate over Emancipation was An Answer to Dr. Southey, which was hardly noticed.[96]

John Silvertop's health began to decline at the turn of the century. Rutter prayed that his life be spared 'for the sake of his family, for his death would in my opinion occasion a great change in it, not much to my satisfaction'. Silvertop died on Boxing Day, 1801, aged fifty one, and Silvertop outlined the reasons for his lack of confidence in the new generation, by which he clearly meant the twenty seven-year-old new squire:

> George is come to years of maturity and is considered in the world as a prudent and sensible young man. But, in my estimation, there is something wanting to him and that is the main thing of all - Religion. He is, indeed, of a far more amiable disposition than his father, but he is a man that is less domestic, less inclined to the

> country. He is a man of fashion and pleasure, I do not mean in the vulgar acceptation of the word, as if he were a drunkard, a whore-master and a profligate swearer and curser, but one who is of an Epicurean turn and tainted with the spirit of the world.

Significantly, George was not of the ultramontane party.[97]

In 1802 Mrs Silvertop said that Rutter did not suit her son George. It is likely, therefore, that the change of squire was used as the opportunity to move the priest into his own cottage. Rutter refers on one occasion to his housekeeper, and there is a local tradition that a small house about a quarter of a mile from the mansion was a presbytery. His congregation had remained stable at about one hundred until the end of the century, but then an increase in the number of baptisms each year lifted the total congregation to around one hundred and fifty for much of the first half of the nineteenth century. Rutter was forty seven years old when he moved out of the mansion. He had by that time been at Minsteracres some twenty years, and he had gained the confidence of his brother-priests. He was elected Second Superior of the Northern Brethren's Fund in 1793 and in 1808 he was made First Superior. Two years later Bishop Douglass recommended either John Lingard or Henry Rutter as President of Ushaw College in succession to Thomas Eyre.[98]

At the beginning of 1803 Robert Banister retired to Dodding Green, a small misson near Kendal, 'for an easy retirement in my old age', as he said, being then seventy eight years old. He enjoyed some nine years there before he died in May 1812. Rutter was growing old too; in 1820 Lingard said he was 'very subject to infirmities & therefore wishes to have a house of his own, his own servant and to be his own master'. He was then sixty five years old, which was hardly an age at which to be thinking of taking over a public mission for the first time. The old priest wanted to spend his last years independently, however, and two years later, Bishop Smith, the Vicar Apostolic, appointed him missioner at Yealand in Lancashire. Twelve years later he moved to Dodding Green, just as his uncle had done, to spend his last days in a quiet, undemanding mission. There he died suddenly of a stroke in September 1838, aged eighty five.[99]

*

The Banister-Rutter correspondence provides a unique record of the life of a north-country chaplain of the eighteenth century. The letters illustrate some of the political and ecclesiastical concerns of the Catholic community, but they are also interesting for the inside view they give of the relationship between squire and chaplain. They go some way towards explaining the origins of the incompatibility of priest and patron which occurred so often in the north east. Rutter's tone does

mellow over the years, and it is clear that John Silvertop became used to Rutter, and even came to like him, but this must have been for his priestly qualities rather than for his social attributes which, he freely admitted, were deficient. Many of the difficulties between priest and patron can be attributed to social differences as much as anything else. It is striking how often a patron sacked his chaplain to make way for a priest of his own family, and priests of gentry origin were rarely treated as cavalierly as the humbly-born. Indeed, a gentry-born priest such as the Jesuit John Thornton (1675-1759) enjoyed a much more congenial relationship with his patron than Rutter could ever aspire to.

Thornton entered the household at Haggerston Castle in 1711 as tutor to Sir Carnaby Haggerston (III), and his first duty was to accompany his thirteen year-old pupil-patron on the Grand Tour between 1711 and 1719. Thornton became chaplain at the castle on their return, and he remained there for thirty four years. Such a long tenure of a chaplaincy was exceptional in the north east; few patrons or chaplains could have endured it. In this case, however, Thornton was very much the country gentleman and a close friend of the principal Catholic families of Northumberland, among whom he associated in terms of social equality - he used the alias of Hunt, an old gentry family of Yorkshire with which he was connected. Thornton was a regular correspondent of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, an uncle of Sir Carnaby, and it is from his letters that we get a few glimpses of a chaplain's life in this remote mission on the north eastern coast of England.[100]

Thornton was a keen sportsman and, it appears, a boon companion of the hunting and racing elements of the Northumbrian gentry. Sir Carnaby lacked a similar disposition and his chaplain expressed some exasperation at the rather boring and genteel pursuits preferred at Haggerston: 'Our diversion consists now in walks, allies, parterres, vestoes, Belvideres, grottos, and such like, so that the very name of hunting sounds barbarous'. Landscape gardening reduced the acreasge available for hunting, and that was sufficient to damn it in Thornton's eyes. The birth of Thomas Haggerston in 1722 led Thornton to hope that since the child had been born in the 'fox-hunting season, he may come to follow it more than his father'. He did; in 1743 Sir Marmaduke described Thomas as 'really a handsome well-shaped youth and does his exercises tolerably well, and riding (is) his favourite, in which he excels'. Thornton's enthusiasm for the hunt so exceeded his patron's that 'sitting solitary upon the housetop', he sometimes wished he was in Yorkshire with Constable, who evidently shared his obsession.[101]

The chaplain at Everingham was the Benedictine John Potts who was in every sense an estate agent. Thornton was never quite that at Haggerston, but he did become involved in such secular matters as his knowledge, experience and continental contacts proved useful. As an authority on hunting-dogs, he was able to obtain suitable animals from Spain. He was also a conoisseur of horses, and on one occasion he selected one to send down to Everingham, with the assurance that Yorkshire would 'ring with the fame of him'. Thornton ordered wines from the continent, and he boasted that he supplied the table at Haggerston 'with as good wine as Bordeaux and the Grand Duke's vintages can produce'. (Potts had been Cellarer at the Benedictine Abbey in Lambspring, and he, no doubt, was consulted on similar matters at Everingham. Surprisingly, for a sporting man, Thornton disapproved of port; he told Constable in 1725 that 'Your nephew's taste is entirely lost since he came from your house, for our poor maigre claret will not now go down with him... for (he) nothing now relishes but your Lisbon'. Sir Carnaby had six children, and Thornton was consulted at all stages of their upbringing; Sir Marmaduke advised Sir Carnaby to be 'sure that Thornton and no one else' was with Thomas when he went courting.[102]

It is difficult to imagine Rutter enjoying such a companionable relationship with the Silvertops. His experience with the squireling John Clifton engendered in each of them a lifelong aversion of priest for squire and vice versa quite opposite to the intimacy Thornton developed in his tutorship of Haggerston. The two priests spent a similar length of time as chaplain, but it was enjoyed in one case and endured in the other. Thornton was comfortable in his situation whereas Rutter was ill-at-ease; it is hard to attribute this to anything other than a social mis-match. A comparable case is that of Dom John Naylor, who was chaplain at Biddlestone for fifty four years. As John Bossy suggested, Naylor's contentment at Biddlestone was 'partly due to the Selbys being there so little of the time'.[103]

Quite apart from any personal social problem between chaplain and patron, there was a pastoral problem. A chaplain had responsibility for a congregation drawn from a wide area, not all of whom would be connected with the estate, but the chapel was in a private house and the priest was more or less beholden to his patron in the performance of his duties. The chaplain was circumscribed both by law and by his patron; in return for protection and subsistence, the chaplain surrendered much of his independence. He might dine and hunt with his squire, but that was often on sufferance and merely highlighted the chaplain's status which might

be likened to that of a penurious relative. A patron cultivated the demeanour of an English squire (which, of course, he was) and he demanded proper deference from all within his domain, including his chaplain who was a paid member of his establishment. From the patron's point of view, there was little to distinguish his instructions to the butler about the weekend guests from his decisions about the times of Mass, which were probably conveyed to the chaplain through the higher domestic servants. A patron might alter the time of Mass without notice; close the house to attend York Races, or make difficulties over a chaplain's wider pastoral duties. Rutter's first demand on his uncle's generosity was for a timepiece to ensure that he kept prompt hours.

A chaplain would be hard-pressed to avoid having to adjudicate in domestic arguments, to refrain from comment on questionable behaviour, or otherwise offend the patron or his lady, perhaps unwittingly. Proselytism was out of the question, although a chaplain would naturally seek to convert spouses and newly-recruited estate-workers. Whatever private ambitions Catholic priests may have entertained about the conversion of England, such ideas never entered the heads of the Catholic gentry of the eighteenth century, whose attentions were firmly fixed on their own political emancipation. That, of course, was the great difference between them, and the priests had no inclination to emulate their Anglican counterparts in becoming members of the magistrate's bench, or creating an equivalent alliance to that of squire and parson.[104]

It was for social and pastoral reasons, then, that chaplains moved out of the mansions and into cottages on the estates. Rutter remarked in 1789 that the chaplain at Swinburne 'must live at a distance from the house', as he and most of the others did around this time. The same trend occurred in the location of private chapels, which were moved out of the mansions into detached buildings on the estate. This had advantages all round. The patron would be rid of an uncongenial presence at table (Berington noted that the gentry often complained of 'rough and unsociable' priests; Lingard regretted the selection of William Hogarth as a bishop because he did not have 'the manners of a gentleman'.[105]). The priest would be free to spend longer periods with other members of his congregation, and spend less time in pandering to the ladies in the big house, attending social events and worrying about the condition of his clothing. He would also be unaffected by any absence of the patron, and the chapel would be more accessible to outsiders. The close proximity of chaplain and chapel ensured that a squire maintained overall control, but the unamiable domestic connection was severed. The new relat-

ionship of a squire and an Anglican parson, which was, it seems the aim of many Catholic gentlemen.

Although priest and patron were freed from the enforced daily contact neither had relished, the new pattern of chaplaincy life did not help to resolve the wider ecclesiastical problem of jurisdiction which beset the mission throughout the period. On the one hand, so as to enjoy some financial security, the clergy wished to have unfettered control over the charitable donations made for their maintenance. On the other hand, patrons sought to retain some say over the uses to which funds provided by their families were to be put, and that would include, among other things, the right of presentation to a chaplaincy. Bishop Walmesley told Bishop Gibson in 1796 that laymen should be allowed to nominate priests to the missions they financed. Illustrations have been given of the attempts made by the gentry to retain absolute control over their chapels and chaplains, and others can be given. In 1782 Rutter was told that his erstwhile pupil's father would 'let none come on his premises but one of his own choosing: & the elected must likewise please the rusticks of the place'. The bishops refused to allow the Claverings or the Silvertops to appoint their own chaplains, and they declined to make appointments to Bellingham and Ellingham to suit the Charltons and Haggerstons. Mr Riddell of Cheeseburn Grange declared that he would never acknowledge a bishop's authority to have pastoral letters read out in his chapel and forbade his chaplain to do so. In 1834 Bishop Riddell told his coadjutor, Bishop Penswick, that the Catholic gentry could be 'very ticklish and nice *when dealing* with either *bishops of priests*'. On another occasion, Bishop Briggs was accused by one chaplain of giving 'too much ear' to gentlemen in preference to the clergy. A chaplain's lot was not usually, then, a happy one. In most cases, a combination of social, financial and vocational factors made life in a gentry household distatesful for a priest. Any economic freedom a chaplaincy might offer was outweighed by the dependence required. It is not surprising, then, that most priests sought their freedom with some fervour. The Catholic Relief Act of 1791 gave them the opening to do so.[106]

The significance of the events of 1790, outlined in this chapter, was that the Vicars Apostolic successfully asserted their episcopal jurisdictional rights in a field which had hitherto been monopolised by the lay gentry. Furthermore, the act of 1791 was entirely an ecclesiastical measure, and its main effect was that the Church no longer needed to depend on the gentry. The detachment of priest and chapel from the control of the laity accelerated from this point, although the process had begun a little while before. In short, so far as the Church was concern-

ed, the legislation of 1791 represented emancipation - and that was as much from gentry domination as it was from the penal law.

In practice, enfranchisement and the right to sit in parliament or to take public office, held no great attraction for the clergy, although in principle they regarded political emancipation as highly desirable. The Vicars Apostolic took a less active part in the proceedings towards Catholic Emancipation after 1791. In any case, the discussion moved away from private negotiations into the public arena. The theological discussion over the terms of an oath was superseded by an acrimonious political argument over liberty and equality. The debate would be conducted, for the most part, by the gentry (and one or two priests) over some thirty years of pamphleteering and electioneering. The standard tracts on the issue were written in the north east, and it is therefore appropriate to turn to examine the Catholic Question in the politics of the region.

Part III, Catholic Emancipation in North East Politics, 1800-1850

Chapter 1, Popery as a Politico-theological Problem

The long debate on the Catholic Question had a particular resonance in north east England because leading members of the pro- and anti-emancipation groups had their bases in Northumberland and Durham. The See of Durham was occupied between 1791 and 1826 by Shute Barrington who had kept alive, almost single-handedly, the spirit of No-Popery since the imprisonment (and conversion to Jewry) of Lord George Gordon in 1788. Barrington placed a number of anti-Catholic divines in the more lucrative livings of his diocese, and continually exhorted them to write and preach against the abominations of Rome, and they did so. Barrington's proteges (as well as his own successor and his clergy) can be counted among the more distinguished anti-Catholic campaigners in the land. The most vociferous and persistent of these was the Rev. Henry Phillpotts, whose sixty-year career in political and theological controversy began in Durham in 1805 over the Catholic Question.[1]

At the same time, the Diocese of Durham was home-base for some of the most determined secular pro-Catholics in the country, chief among them Charles Grey, later Lord Howick and finally Earl Grey, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, leader of the Whig Party, and champion of Catholic Emancipation, parliamentary reform and the abolition of slavery. In County Durham, Grey's son-in-law John ('Radical Jack') George Lambton, afterwards Earl of Durham, was equally committed to Catholic relief and other liberal causes. He helped to found the Durham Chronicle in 1820 as a counterblast to the Durham County Advertiser (published until 1814 as the Newcastle Advertiser) which was the mouthpiece of the Tory and Anglican establishment in the north. Many of the prinicipal landed magnates of the region were Whiggish on the Catholic Question, as were many of the lesser gentry, though the Tories had powerful advocates, such as the Duke of Northumberland. John Lingard, the Catholic priest later to be celebrated for his History of England, was a professor at the newly-established seminary at Crook Hall and Ushaw until 1810, and he was the

principal Catholic clerical voice in the debate. The proximity of strongly pro- and anti-Catholic national figures in the region was bound to give a keen edge to any local discussion of Catholic Emancipation, particularly during election campaigns.[2]

So as to accommodate the various objections, ecclesiastical and civil, within a single argument, it was usual to conflate the individual aspects of the anti-emancipation debate into the one politico-theological concept of Popery, which could be used by all indiscriminately. It is appropriate, then, to begin with a brief summary of this highly convenient, and potent, idea.

*

Anti-Catholicism comprised two main elements. Firstly, to a greater or lesser extent, Protestants held that Catholic beliefs and practices were idolatrous, blasphemous and sacrilegious. Secondly, religious conformity was required by English law. Since the crown claimed spiritual as well as temporal authority, it was treasonable to adhere to a religion which owed spiritual allegiance to any other authority such as the Pope (who was himself, in any case, a temporal ruler). Dissent from the religion of the state was equivalent to opposition to the state; religious deviance was regarded as politically subversive and hence a matter of national security.

There were other elements in the anti-Catholic case arising out of the main propositions. From 1688 to 1788 the Catholic exiled House of Stuart maintained a claim to the English throne. It did not help that the Jacobite court in exile was on papal territory after 1715. In 1817, Grey argued that John Locke's objections to relieving the Catholics had rested on their attachment to the Stuarts; and now that that objection could no longer be advanced, there was no justification for their political exclusion. The extinction of the Stuarts made little difference to the substantive Protestant argument about the nature of Catholic loyalty, however, for the Pope remained as an alternative and supposedly more dangerous focus of Catholic allegiance. Catholics were also held to support the Pope's deposing power by which he could relieve them of their civil allegiance. Catholics were also held to believe that it was sinful to keep faith with heretics, and that they could entertain mental reservations on any oaths tendered to them which conflicted with their Catholic tenets; they could not, therefore, be entrusted with English citizenship. This line was developed by the Bishop of Durham in a debate in the House of Lords in 1805. It was sufficient, he said, to show charity and kindness to people holding a different faith, but that did not mean they should be given political power. England had received and pro-

tected French emigre priests with all the warm charity of Christians, and the liberality of Englishmen, undeterred by the lack of 'security against the introduction of spies and enemies'. He wished to treat the Irish with the same kindness, and to improve their social and economic condition, but without granting them political power: 'Let us keep inviolate the barriers of our religious and political constitution'.[3]

John Wesley believed that 'No government not Roman Catholic ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion'. In the nineteenth century, Wesleyan Methodism was politically, ecclesiastically, and socially conservative, a position necessarily opposed to Catholic Emancipation. Wesleyan opposition to the Catholic claims was part of a wider fear of radicalism, popular discontent and infidelity. The development of a highly authoritarian central bureaucracy among the Wesleyans, alienated many in the Methodist movement and, in 1810, a group of working-class radicals, calling themselves Primitive Methodists, broke away to recover their more revivalist origins. The Primitive Methodists were no less opposed to Catholic Emancipation than the Wesleyans, because of the perceived illiberalism of Popery. Nonetheless, official Methodism did not wish to become involved in a question 'so decidedly political', and the leadership made attempts 'to discourage anti-Catholic sentiment from becoming anti-Catholic political activity'. For the majority of Methodists out in the country, however, the issue was primarily a religious one, and they disregarded the advice from London and vigorously opposed Catholic Emancipation in their own localities.[4]

Similarly, within the Dissenting bodies, the leadership and the rank and file went their own ways. The Dissenters were chiefly concerned with the repeal of the Test Act, and the Committee of the Three Denominations expressed support for the Catholics in what was seen as an analogous case to their own. No such equivalence was acknowledged in the country, however, and individual Dissenters campaigned alongside Methodists against Catholic Emancipation. Consistency was also lacking among the Radicals with no religious affiliation. Officially, Catholic Emancipation was a simple question of religious toleration and equality. After Emancipation, however, it became clear that the support of the Radicals had not been based on any principle of religious toleration, but was merely an adjunct to their main aim of political reform. From 1832 Radicals were seen to be as anti-Catholic as most other Englishmen by conflating Catholicism with reactionary politics and illiberal Popery.[5]

Roman Catholicism, then, aroused a powerful dual antagonism -

religious bigotry and xenophobia; those disinclined to religious persecution acould join the crusade to keep out the foreigner, and vice versa. Anti-Catholicism served as a national cum religious identity; Papists were not just non-Protestant but un-English. Idolaters, blasphemers, and those owing any kind of loyalty to a foreign power could not be tolerated. It would, therefore, be a constitutional outrage to admit to English citizenship Roman Catholics who were idolatrous subjects of a foreign prince. Places of trust and authority under the crown could not be given to Papists, but were to be reserved for fully-fledged British citizens.

The Catholic laity fully appreciated the deep-rooted fears of the Protestants, and they were prepared to go to considerable lengths to remove the stigma of Popery. They accepted the appellation 'Protesting Catholic Dissenters', they demanded the restoration of the hierarchy,'so that their bishops would have ordinary episcopal powers, and they accepted a crown veto on episcopal appointments. The laity would also agree to the exequatuur, or the censorship of correspondence between English ecclesiastics and the Roman Curia. One example of church discipline that was within the scope of ordinary episcopal jurisdiction but which the Vicars Apostolic had to refer to Rome, concerned the practice of the faith in a predominantly Protestant country. In 1777 the Pope had agreed to reduce the number of holydays in England. In 1814 a number of laymen called for a relaxation of the laws of abstinence for the various vigils, Ember and Rogation days which, 'because of the constant and daily intercourse between persons of different religions' in Great Britain, made them 'so difficult of observance'. The abolition of these rules would reduce the differentiation of Catholics in their daily socio-economic environment, and they would also enhance the congruity with their fellow citizens the Catholics wished to emphasise.[6]

So far as the Vicars Apostolic were concerned, the exequatuur would have little effect, for Rome might as well not have existed for all practical purposes. In 1773 Propaganda told Bishop Petre to send an account of his vicariate since it was so long since they had heard from him. Propaganda complained in 1821 that they would have to publish its Status Missionem from reports sent in seven years before. In any case, that from the Northern District was missing, and it was urgently required. Bishop Poynter urged Bishop Smith to respond immediately and to include details of 'the Durham controversy, Mr. Lingard's history & other works' in order to mollify the Roman Curia. On another occasion Bishop Hay advised Bishop Gibson to show a little more deference to Rome. The Pope observed in 1839 that he had to learn what he could about the state of

the Church in England from the newspapers.[7]

The proofs of loyalty to the British Constitution and detachment from Rome proposed by some representatives of the English laity illustrate the anxiety of many Catholics to allay Protestant fears, as well as their passionate desire for political emancipation, almost to the exclusion of other factors, even the danger of schism. More generally, the Catholics entertained the hope that their evident peaceable behaviour would lead to their emancipation. Grey told the House of Lords in 1810 that there were in Northumberland, Catholics 'of ancient and respectable families, who, as friends and neighbours, as parents of families, and in all the relations of society, conducted themselves with the greatest propriety, and this he believed to be the general character of that body'.[8]

The English Catholics lived in a state of some ambiguity in the late eighteenth century. The anti-Catholic laws remained on the statute book although they were not strictly enforced. Catholics were able to worship in their own houses and in unobtrusive public chapels without interference, and they maintained friendly contacts with their neighbours. Those social relationships tended to mitigate hard-line anti-popery. Earl Grey again told the House of Lords that 'he enjoyed the honour of an acquaintance' with many Catholics in Northumberland and that in the[9]

> exemplary discharge of the duties of life they could not be excelled, and if religion was to be appreciated by the conduct of those who professed it, he must at least say that the religion which produced such fruits could not be a bad one.

Another pro-Catholic argument advanced in parliament was that the English Catholics were 'as a body of men, however respectable, small in number and forming only an exception to the general mass of the population'. The converse was advanced in relation to Ireland where, it was pointed out, threequarters or more of the Irish were Roman Catolics. Indeed, by far the most important advantage held by the Catholics was the risk posed to national security in Ireland. The Irish had to be kept loyal in a time of war, and they were, therefore, in a powerful bargaining position. After 1798 the Catholic Question became an Irish political question; and throughout the campaign for emancipation the English Catholics and pro-Catholic Protestants took care to remind parliament of the danger represented by an aggrieved Ireland.[10]

Finally, the French Revolution benefited the British Catholics in two ways. Firstly, the severity of French anti-Catholic persecution served to mitigate English intolerance, and the Relief Act of 1791 was passed without substantial opposition. Ideologically, the act was just-

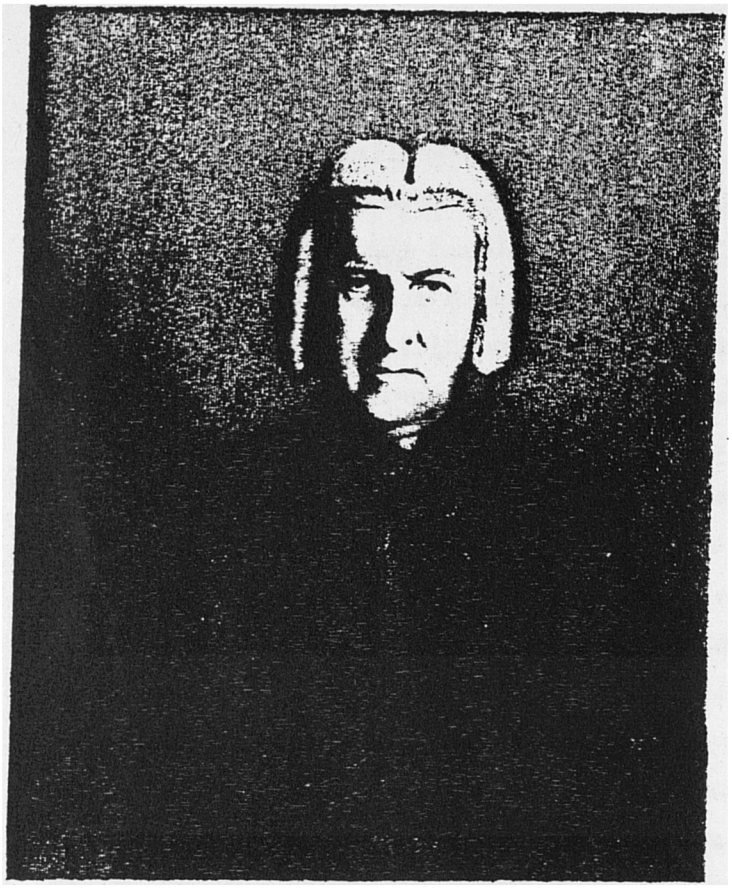
ified under a principle of toleration which could countenance different kinds of non-Anglican worship, but exclude non-Anglicans from political power. In any case, an oath of loyalty was required under the act. Secondly, patriotic feelings against France allowed the British to welcome over five thousand exiled French priests, and to accept the repatriation of English Catholic schools and religious communities from the continent. The presence of large numbers of Catholics in various parts of England transcended, at least superficially, the mistrust of Papists.[11]

All these factors, the extinction of the Stuarts, the willingness of lay Catholics to demonstrate their detachment from Rome, their small number and social integration, the Irish problem and the effects of the French Revolution, went towards creating a climate favourable to Catholic Emancipation, and were exploited by the English Catholics throughout the campaign. They certainly did not cringe in the face of intolerance or meekly accept their political disabilities. On the contrary, they became energetic and confident campaigners. Tracts, letters, speeches and petitions poured forth, most of which were couched in persuasive and responsible terms, intended to soften, if not eradicate Protestant suspicions of Roman Catholicism. The primary aim of the Catholics was to convince their fellow-countrymen that the Constitution would not be imperilled by Catholic Emancipation but strengthened, for the English Catholics were law-abiding not seditious, Catholic not Papist, tolerant not fanatic. These arguments and counter-arguments all appeared in the campaign as it developed. Probably the most extensive and detailed examination of the Catholic case in the north east occurred in a lengthy controversy between Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, and the Rev. John Lingard, which began at the general election of 1807. This dispute will be examined here as representative both of the clerical and political argument, as well as for the effect it had on the northern electorate.[12]

*

In 1807, the Ministry of All the Talents proposed a bill relieving Catholics in the Army and the Royal Navy. King George III forced its withdrawal and demanded a promise that the ministers would never raise the Catholic Question again. Unable to accept such a constraint, the ministry resigned in March and brought about a general election. The Tories under Spencer Perceval made it a 'No-Popery' election by going to the country on one issue: 'Support the King and the British Constitution'.

During the parliamentary crisis, Barrington published his diocesan visitation address of 1806 as a pamphlet: A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham. Lingard was somewhat disturbed by the



THE RIGHT REVD SHUTE BARRINGTON LLD LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM



From a painting by James Ramsay

John Lingard

offensive tone and inaccuracy of this work and he published, anonymously, a response to it entitled Remarks on A Charge ... The tone of Lingard's pamphlet was conciliatory; the line he took was that he was responding to the bishop more in sorrow than in anger that Roman Catholicism had been so wrongly represented. Certainly he neither sought or expected the attention his Remarks attracted, nor did he appreciate the long-term consequences on his own life its publication would entail. Indeed, it might have been forgotten entirely had not the bishop followed up with what Lingard regarded as sharp practice.[13]

No sooner had Lingard's Remarks appeared than the bishop reissued his Charge for a national readership during the election campaign in May 1807, but under a new title: The Grounds on which the Church of England Separated from the Church of Rome. Lingard immediately reissued his Remarks but with a new and less conciliatory preface, in which he accused the bishop of having taken advantage of 'the ferment of a general election' to whip up the anti-Catholic prejudices of the electorate: 'From one extremity of his diocese to the other he preached a holy crusade against the opinions, I had almost said the persons of Catholics'. Barrington had now extended 'the benefits of his Charge to the whole nation... After such provocation', Lingard said, 'we certainly may be allowed to speak in our own defence', and that was precisely what he intended to do.[14]

Lingard was thirty five years of age at this time and he had been a priest for ten years; he was Vice President of the seminary at Crook Hall. Lingard had spent much of his life in an academic environment, the first fruits of which was the publication in 1806 of his Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. It is unnecessary to comment on this work save to note his historical method, for it was also the approach he adopted in his polemical writings. Lingard believed that if the misunderstandings which the English Protestants had of the Roman Catholic faith were corrected, not only would the penal laws be repealed, but the way would be clear for Christian unity. This was a fond hope, but it was nonetheless the sense in which Lingard has to be read. He knew, moreover, that his only chance of reaching the audience he desired lay in a sober and unimpassioned exposition of the facts. He wished to be a man of reason rather than a bigot, and to use irony and humour to make his case rather than sarcasm and ridicule. Lingard might perhaps be regarded as the Catholic Sydney Smith, but he was never to attempt the satirical heights achieved by Smith, whose wit so effectively exposed the confusons and inconsistencies of the anti-Catholic argument. Smith's Peter Plymley's Letters of 1807-8 were written as a direct result of the fall of the

Talents; the Letters, which went into eleven editions within a year, were much enjoyed by his northern friends the Greys of Howick, the Lambtons of Lambton Castle and the Howards of Castle Howard, but not by Bishop Barrington.[15]

Barrington was twice Lingard's age. He was the son of a peer, his brothers included an admiral, a general, a judge and a Chancellor of the Exchequer; he married the daughter of a duke and he became Chaplain in Ordinary to Kings George II and III. Barrington has been described as 'a fine example of the harmless and even meritorious clergyman who owed great preferment to family interest'. It has also been said that he 'perhaps owed his religiosity to having been one of the few men of his age to have survived a lithotomy'. Barrington had been made a bishop in 1769, that is, two years before Lingard's birth. He was firstly Bishop of Llandaff, then of Salisbury (1782) and he was translated to Durham in 1791.[16]

Bishop Barrington spoke in a parliamentary debate on only ten occasions in an episcopate of fifty seven years, and all those utterances were in fervent support of the establishment. He was a staunch opponent of Catholic Emancipation, in accordance with the Tory doctrine of the indivisibility of Church and State. He preached to the House of Lords in 1799 on the need to preserve the English Protestant establishment from Popery on the grounds that the French Revolution could be traced to the corruptions of the Church of Rome - a similar fate would befall England if Catholics were granted political emancipation. He said much the same thing in his Charges to the clergy of Durham in 1797, 1801 and again in 1806. The topic was clearly something of a fixed idea for which he had become notorious. In 1802 the Rev. Joseph Berington wrote to Hannah More asking her to drop the use of the 'insulting words' Papist, Popery and Romanist which, he said, were 'fit only for the Bishop of Durham'. Now, in 1807, much to Lingard's disgust, Barrington presented his latest Charge to the general public for purely political purposes.[17]

In the Charge the bishop inveighed against Rome and Geneva; Romanist excesses, he said, had complicated the plain message of the gospel by 'ostentatious pageantry'. On the other hand, the English Dissenters who, 'in reforming the reformed', had over-simplified the Christian liturgy and had 'deprived religious worship of many interesting auxiliaries without adding any thing to its spirit and its truth'. The clergy of Durham were therefore urged to be vigilant in the defence of authentic, that is, Anglican Christianity. In particular, the 'zeal of the Romanist especially should operate as a strong caution against indifference to the corruptions of their church'. The French Revolutiuon had driven

'numerous societies of the Romish Church' to settle in England, 'this land of charity and freedom'. Furthermore,

> The education which the English Catholics used to seek in foreign countries, they now have it in their power to obtain at home in ample seminaries of their own communion. Various other civil privileges and indulgences have within these few years been granted them by the Legislature.

The danger from this apparent encouragement was clear.[18]

Barrington went on to outline the reasons for the Anglican separation from Roman obedience. The material was familiar, and consisted of all those beliefs and practice with which the reformers had been concerned. He held that statues were idolatrous for they led to image-worship; prayers addressed to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, as well as penances and indulgences, detracted from the honour due to Christ. The Doctrine of the Real Presence was unfounded, and the denial of the communion cup to the laity was 'not only an unjust deprivation of their rights' but 'a daring mutilation of that holy sacrament'. The Roman Church's great stress on external ritual tended to lessen the spirituality of religious duties. The use of Latin in the liturgy was inconsistent with the purpose of public devotion, and it also removed Scripture from the reach of the 'common enquirer'. All these injurious beliefs and usages, the bishop said, should make the English zealous to maintain their 'national Church, which has cost so much learning, and so many lives to establish'. Barrington's real concern, then, was with the undisturbed Anglican supremacy, which was not actually threatened, by the Catholics, at any rate, as Lingard was to observe, albeit somewhat equivocally:[19]

> The Protestant is the established church. This should satisfy her ambition. In the present temper of mankind, while she remains in possession of wealth and honour, she may deem herself secure.

Clearly, Lingard could not have expected to convince Barrington of his mistaken evaluation of the Catholic faith, but he could hope to appeal to the better selves of those less prejudiced than the bishop that the theological arguments in the Charge were false or distorted. He opened his Remarks by insisting on the worthiness of his adversary. He pointed out that the arguments in the Charge were the most plausible and satisfactory that could be adduced by the most able and zealous prelate in the Church of England. Delivered as they had been in the most solemn circumstances in Durham Cathedral, each assertion would have been carefully weighed so that no unguarded word would have fallen from the learned preacher's mouth. 'With eagerness', Lingard opened the book, as he 'anticipated the moderation, the liberality, the benevolence of an aged Prelate, who was unwilling to sink into the grave without leaving to

posterity a lasting monument of his piety and pastoral solicitude'. But, as we were by now bound to expect, Lingard was 'most grievously disappointed' with the bishop's angry polemic, which was calculated to assist 'the diffusion of religious prejudice, and to misrepresent the creed of a most numerous class of his Majesty's subjects'. The bishop was, in fact, 'combating a phantom of (his) own creation'; the Charge was more like the 'fabrications of some obscure controversist' determined to exalt his own insignificance, than the publication of the respectable occupant of the see 'first in opulence in the United Kingdom':[20]

> That this expedient should have been frequently adopted by the herd of minor and hungry writers is not surprising. It has often proved the most certain road to reputation, and, what they probably valued more than reputation, to wealth and preferment. But the Bishop of Durham is placed far above such paltry temptations.

Lingard proceeded to examine each of Barrington's assertions in turn. The essential point he wished to make was that the bishop had wilfully misunderstood Catholic belief and was, in any case, inconsistent, for there was a large number of similarities between Anglican and Roman practice. Lingard suggested, moreover, that Barrington was not perhaps aware how easily his reasoning could be turned against himself. Indeed, that feature of the Charge gave Lingard the opportunity to write his Remarks as 'an exact parody' of the bishop's logic. He did this in a number of genial observations. On the matter of the Latin liturgy, Lingard observed that the English Church was a modern Church and so its liturgical language was modern; the Church of Rome was an ancient Church and it, therefore, preserved its ancient liturgy. He also reminded the bishop that in 1560 the English parliament had prevented the use of the Irish vernacular in the reformed liturgy. On the invocation of the saints and on indulgences, Lingard pointed out that both were practices of the Church of England and gave examples. About statues, he merely noted that 'six new statues of very large dimensions have been lately made by order of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and are now standing on the eastern transept of the cathedral'. On the supposed failure of Catholics to disseminate scriptural knowledge, Lingard reminded the bishop that the attention of the nation 'had lately been turned to the subject by Mr Whitbread's plan for the instruction of the poor: and the result has been a general conviction that the ignorance, superstition and immorality of the lower orders are an evil of the most alarming magnitude'. Lingard suggested that had the English clergy 'made the diffusion of religious knowledge the great object of their labours and solicitude', such evils would not have arisen. Lingard was aware that Barrington, his kinsman Sir Thomas Bernard, and William Wilberforce, had founded the

Society for Bettering the Conditions of the Poor in 1796.[21]

On the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, Lingard contented himself with the observation that it was something of a paradox for the bishop to approach the altar to receive that which he believed did not really exist. Insofar as the reception of the Sacrament under both kinds was concerned, Lingard simply said that this was 'a mere matter of discipline, which may vary according to times and circumstances'. In any case, if the Sacrament consisted merely of bread and wine, as the bishop believed, how then could Christ be dishonoured in the taking of communion uner one kind? As to the French Revolution being the culmination of the degeneracy of the Church of Rome, Lingard said that 'far from thinking, with the Bishop of Durham, that catholicity was favourable to their projects', the revolutionaries actually 'treated it as their natural and most formidable enemy'. That was, after all, why thousands of French priests had sought refuge in England, and why the expatriate English Catholics had returned to their native shores to open the schools which so worried the bishop. Lingard sought to allay Barrington's anxiety, particularly about Ushaw College, just outside the city of Durham, which was then almost ready for occupation:

> The toleration which has been granted us by a gracious Sovereign and an enlightened ministry, has encouraged us to open schools in England. The country will not lose by it. A domestic education will strengthen our attachment to our native land, and will retain at home the sums which formerly were of necessity expended abroad. The present ruler of France has made us the most tempting offers to resume our former plan of education in that country. His offers have been refused by our Prelates. The Bishop of Durham will, I trust, applaud their patriotism, and wish success to their endeavours.

But he did not.[22]

On the other hand, Charles Butler, a Catholic and Barrington's almoner, remarked favourably on the bishop's charity. Bishop Barrington had been generous to the community of Poor Clares who lived in St. Helen's Auckland Hall for ten years. Barrington was their close neighbour at Auckland Castle and he gave the nuns annual alms. This reflected the bishop's approach which he had outlined in his Charge, 'Charity is certainly not incompatible with the most active zeal against erroneous and defective institutions'. He did not, however, contribute to Crook Hall or subscribe to the building costs of Ushaw College. He did, nonetheless, employ Ignatius Bonomi, a Catholic architect of Italian parentage, to work on Auckland Castle in 1817.[23]

Bonomi designed five Catholic churches in the north east (six, including his rejected design for St. Mary's, Hexham). However, he obtained four times as many Anglican commissions in the diocese of Durham. More-

over, Dean John Banks Jenkinson appointed him Consultant Architect of Durham Cathedral in 1827. Evidently, Bonomi's Catholicism, like Butler's, was not bar to Protestant patronage. Bonomi was not, however, strongly attached to his religion and he lapsed from it in 1840. He became a freemason, and in 1837 he married Charlotte Fielding, the daughter of a local Protestant clergyman. Three years later he was listed as a churchwarden of St. Mary-le-Bow in Durham. Bonomi received no further commissions from Catholics except from the Charltons who were his personal friends and for whom he built St. Oswald's church in Bellingham and renovated Hesleyside. Bonomi was on close terms with the cathedral clergy, especially Dr. William Gilly, an advocate of the Waldensian Church in Italy, in which Bonomi and his wife became interested as a consequence. In 1852 Charlotte Bonomi published an anti-Catholic novel, Edith Grey, or Ten Years Ago, to caution young girls against rubbing brasses for the Camden Society or poring over drawings of Gothic architecture in The Ecclesiologist, since such interests led only to Rome. During the course of the novel, Edith visited Piedmont to take encouragement from the persecuted Waldensians. Ignatius thought an Italian edition of the novel might buoy up the Italian Protestants; more practically, he built two churches for them.[24]

Lingard hardly used the political arguments for Catholic Emancipation in his dispute with Barrington; clearly, he was more concerned, as a priest, to debate points of theology. Only occasionally did he refer explicitly to the bishop's avowed purpose of denying some five million British subjects the common rights of citizenship on what were irrelevant (and, in any case, fraudulent) grounds:

> Some readers of the Bible, perhaps, may wonder what religious doctrines can have to do with petitions for political privileges ... If I believe Christ to be really present in the Eucharist and you believe him to be present by faith only, what is there is my opinion that should incapacitate me, or in yours that should qualify you for civil employment.

Religion was irrelevant; together with 'Jews, deists and atheists', Catholics 'might aspire to places of trust, emolument and rank, and obtain the privileges for which our fathers fought and which are the birthright of every Englishman'.[25]

In this brief departure from the strictly theological, Lingard highlighted the alleged relationship between the religious belief and civil allegiance of Catholics, but he concentrated on the former, leaving the latter to others to deal with. He did, however, join a correspondence which appeared in the Newcastle Courant in May 1807, during the election campaign, initiated by 'A Liege Subject' who contended that there was a

Catholic doctrine of Papal infallibility which superseded all national political obligations. He wrote An Address to the Electors of Northumberland in which he described the Catholics as 'half-subjects' and as 'a class of British subjects who acknowledge a foreign power superior to the power of the state under which they live'. Catholics, he said, would do well to remember that 'they are only tolerated, and not sue for privileges which they are constitutionally incapable of holding'. The editor printed the Declaration of the Irish Catholics of 1792 alongside that letter, to show that the idea that Catholics had divided loyalties had been specifically repudiated. The Liege Subject objected to the reprint of the Declaration and quoted a Catholic catechism of 1688 which he said proved his point. Again the editor struck a balance by adding a note to the effect that he had examined all Catholic catechisms in use and could find no such doctrine of infallibility in any of them. He also reprinted in full the Address of Several of His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects to their Protestant Fellow-Subjects, which had been issued ten days previously (and had been signed by all the prominent north-country Catholics), and which also denied the charge of disloyalty.

It was the reference to the catechism, however, that prompted 'J.L.' (Lingard) to write to the Courant to point out that the catechism had, in fact, been written by John Williams, a Protestant clergyman, in a deliberate attempt to mislead the English people; J.L. suggested that the Liege Subject should look at the catechism's title page where its provenance was admitted. The significant remark made by Lingard in his contribution was that Catholics 'would not be obliged to conform to any dispensation from their allegiance and would defend the country, even against the Pope himself, in case he should invade the nation'. Latimer remarks that this 'caused some sensation', as well it might, for though Lingard had only said precisely what most lay Catholics would have said, not many priests would have put it in such blunt terms.[26]

*

The controversy between Lingard and Barrington was joined by a number of (mostly anonymous or pseudonymous) Anglican clergymen who published Replies, Answers, Letters and Defences in support of their diocesan, although most came out after the election. Lingard said that many members of the established clergy had condemned the acrimony of the bishop's pamphlet and had lamented that it was ever made public; but, scarcely had two months after the first publication of the Remarks, 'two reverend apologists emptied the vials of their vengeance on the head of the writer'. The first was Henry Cotes, Vicar of Bedlington, under the pseudonym of Elijah Index, with A Protestant's Reply of 5th June 1807.

Lingard immediately brought a Review, and Cotes responded with a Reply to the Reviewer on 15th July. Meanwhile there appeared A Letter to the Author of Remarks... by 'A Clergyman of the diocese of Durham', who was Henry Phillpotts, newly-appointed chaplain to Bishop Barrington and Rector of Stainton le Street, a benefice he held with that of Bishop Middleham. Phillpotts justified Barrington's concern for the safety of his people's religion in his reference to the new college at Ushaw; the bishop could not be expected to suffer 'such an institution to be established within his sight, without calling on his clergy to provide, with vigilance tempered by charity, against the efforts of their zealous and active rivals'. Under his own name, the Rev. George Faber, Vicar of Stockton upon Tees, published An Answer, and in a similarly open manner, the Rev. Thomas le Mesurier, Rector of Newnton Longville, in Buckinghamshire, issued A Reply. (The latter gave the Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1807 on an anti-Catholic theme and in the same year he published an examination of the Catholic case in answer to Dr. Milner.)[27]

These tracts elaborated, at inordinate length, the arguments raised and answered in Barrington's Charge and Lingard's Remarks on it. They tended to concentrate on the relationship between the French Revolution and Popery, and on the doctrine of the Real Presence, the two subjects on which the bishop had himself dwelt at length. No-one responded to the other, admittedly minor, points on which the Anglicans were more vulnerable, nor did anyone betray the slightest sense of humour. Furthermore, as Lingard had already lamented, no-one had taken the trouble to check that the beliefs attacked were in fact held by Catholics. This was a continual theme in Lingard's contributions to the debate and accounts for the quite marked change of tone evident from the second edition of his Remarks and the subsequent tracts in response to the minor clergy. The exasperated Lingard complained:

> I have often considered it as an extraordinary phenomenon in the history of the human mind that in England the Catholics are not allowed the faculty of understanding their own belief... Objections which have been a thousand times refuted, are confidently brought forward as demonstrations of our folly and impiety; and the misrepresentations of prejudice are eagerly received with the veneration due to simple unvarnished truth.

Again, after reading one such tract, he described the author as a 'positive lying scoundrel', but that was in a private letter. In public he was more civil, though more belligerent than he had been initially, and less soothing than he had originally intended.[28]

Lingard composed A Vindication in response to the bishop's renamed pamphlet and the contributions of Cotes and Phillpotts. He took the opportunity to dispose of George Stephenson, Vicar of Kelloe and Curate

of Bishopwearmouth, who had 'composed, preached and published twenty sermons for the charitable purpose of exposing the abominations of the church of Rome', which, Lingard considered, contained nothing but the rakings of 'filth out of the common sewer'. Lingard questioned why so much effort had been necessary since the parishioners of Bishopwearmouth and Kelloe would hardly have needed to be warned 'against seduction to a religion so absurd as that which (Stephenson had) delineated. The sermons would, however, no doubt have pleased Bishop Barrington to whom they were dedicated.[29]

A Second Letter was issued by Phillpotts at the beginning of 1808, and Lingard responded immediately. Later that year he dealt with all his correspondents in A General Vindication, comprising his Vindication of the previous year and separate replies to Phillpotts, Le Mesurier and Faber. There was little new in the work, but Lingard was at pains to insist that Catholics were good and sincere Christians. He challenged Phillpotts to compare the morals and piety of Catholics with those of his own parishioners, and then to say whether the Catholics were inferior to their neighbours: 'If he cannot, let him cease to affirm that the rites of the Catholic Church are injurious to piety'. In a similar way he challenged the conventional view of the Catholic priest:

> A Romish priest is no longer an unknown character in this island. There was a time when Protestant liberality was allowed to paint him in the most hideous colours: and I have known many an orthodox churchman stare at a Catholic clergyman as if he were an ourang outang or an infernal being in a human shape.

Lingard hoped that such days had passed away.[30]

To close his General Vindication, Lingard thought it appropriate to include 'Observations on some fashionable interpretations of the Apocalypse'. In his earlier reply to Faber, he had suggested that 'Prophecy not controversy (was) Mr Faber's peculiar department'. This was a reference to Faber's numerous attempts to assimilate the prophecies of the Book of Daniel (chapters 7 and 8) and the Apocalypse (chapters 10 to 18) to contemporary events. Faber believed that the overthrow of the Papacy, Mohammedanism and Bonaparte was foretold in those biblical prophecies, which pointed to the role of a 'prevailing maritime power of faithful worshippers' in bringing about those glorious events. Hence, the millennialists took a particular interest in the naval battles of the war. The British victory at Trafalgar in 1805 was greeted with considerable relief by Faber, who saw in it confirmation of the prophecies, and that God was on England's side. For Faber, Daniel O'Connell and his campaign for Catholic Emancipation was to Britain what Napoleon was to France; just as the British success in arms would destroy Bonaparte, so O'Connell

would be vanquished and the remnants of Popery in Britain eliminated. Bishop Barrington attacked Faber's millennialist views, although he did not go so far as Lingard who recommended that Faber consult Dr. Thomas Trotter's recently published treatise, A View of the Nervous Temperament.[31]

The Rev. N.J. Hollingsworth now entered the field with five letters on justification, and Barrington returned to the attack in June 1809 with The Grounds on which the Church of England Separated from the Church Reconsidered... The sub-title of this tract was 'A view of the Romish Doctrine of the Eucharist'. At some length Barrington sought to show that Christ's words in instituting the Eucharist were to be taken figuratively not literally. At equal length, Lingard argued in his Remarks on the pamphlet that Christ's words were to be taken literally not figuratively. He slipped in a teasing remark that the bishop's new tract had been made necessary because of the errors of Elijah Index ('of facetious memory') who was too dismissive of the Eucharist, and of Phillpotts whose theological exposition had been ambiguous.[32]

It is evident that there was no lack of stamina - staying power was essential if you were to have the last word - and Lingard was certainly prepared to go on. Indeed, he appears to have relished the prospect, for in an appendix to his Remarks on Barrington's pamphlet of 1809, he asked Hollingsworth to be content with a short answer because Lingard had to 'be allowed to attend the Bishop ... it would be indecorous in me to leave the diocesan for the parochial minister'. Barrington's next contribution was his Charge of 1810 which considered Christian unity. He first alluded to Lingard's accusation that he was deliberately fomenting trouble. He said he spoke against giving countenance to the unscriptural errors of Popery as a duty, 'not with a view to excite animosities against the Papists, or to provoke their antipathies against us'. The Catholic claims, he said, were not enough considered from a religious point of view, although he himself continued to conflate the religious and the political, as when he said, 'the connection of their Church with a foreign jurisdiction is inconsistent both with those civil and ecclesiastical rights, which the King is sworn to maintain and for the support of which the Protestant succession was established by law'.[33]

The main point of the Charge of 1810 was that 'Catholic union' could not be achieved unless Rome abandoned all its sacrilegious and idolatrous beliefs and practices. Lingard did not respond to the Charge, which is somewhat surprising since he had long been interested in the topic. He had contributed an introduction, under the pseudonym Irenaeus, to William Talbot's The Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church only the previous year. Lingard had argued that a reconciliation between

the Anglican and Roman Churches could be effected without difficulty if both sides interpreted certain of the Thirty Nine Articles in a conciliatory (or irenic) sense. Significantly, however, both Lingard and Talbot had used pseudonyms, the book was published only in Dublin, and Lingard never reprinted his contribution. It may have been just coincidence that Barrington devoted his Charge of 1810 to the subject, but it is possible that he had read Talbot's book and had detected Lingard's mark in the introduction. At any rate, Lingard no doubt felt constrained from replying to the Charge, and hence argue for unity, because all his pamphlets were now signed openly, and, as Vice President of Ushaw, he could not be seen to entertain such advanced opinions.[34]

There were, in any case, more immediate problems engaging Lingard's attention around this time. The new college at Ushaw was hardly finished when the staff and students moved into it in 1808. An outbreak of typhus laid low some fifty residents and eventually carried off five students. Then, in May 1810, the President, Thomas Eyre, died and Lingard acted in his place for thirteen months. By his own admission he was neither an administrator or a disciplinarian, and that year was for him 'a time of anxiety and misery. Bishop Smith and Mr Gillow employed every inducement to prevail on me to stay with the later. Though it hurt me to refuse, I did so, because I was convinced that my health, my comfort, and even more than that was at stake. I resolved never more if possible to involve myself in a situation to which I was so ill adapted'. Bishop Gibson had proved extremely difficult to deal with; he was autocratic, would accept no advice and he was regarded as unsound in financial matters. These pressures, then, prevented Lingard taking notice of every anti-Catholic pamphlet that appeared. Those same pressures led him to resign when John Gillow was appointed President of the college in 1811, and Lingard left Ushaw to become incumbent at Hornby, a small country mission near Lancaster, having 'a house well furnished, with a garden and croft and a good salary'.[35]

Barrington brought out another pamphlet in 1812 with the rousing title of Vigilance, A Counterblast to Past Concessions and a Preventive of Future Prodigality Recommended, with a 'Preface in reply to Mr Lingard's Preface', that is, to the Remarks of 1809. Lingard made no reply to that either, because he was engaged on a more important project: Documents to ascertain the Sentiments of British Catholics in Former Ages Respecting the Power of the Popes. At the same time he was composing a review of other episcopal anti-Catholic publications issued around that time. The Protestant Catechism, on the origin of Popery and on the grounds of the Catholic claims, had appeared from the Bishop of St. David's, Thomas

Burgess, who was a protege of Barrington, and who still held clerical appointments in Durham. Burgess had been Examining Chaplain to Barrington at Salisbury, where he also held a prebend. He moved with Barrington to Durham in the same capacities, and he was shortly presented to the 'sweet and delightful' living of Winston (£557). He was made Bishop of St. David's in 1803, but he continued to hold the sixth stall in Durham (£1,812). He published over a hundred works, many of an anti-Catholic character.[36]

The Bishops of Gloucester and Lincoln issued Charges to their clergy urging resistance to Catholic Emancipation, and Lord Kenyon published Observations on the Catholic Question. It was said that the review which Lingard published in response to these pamphlets was so temperate and well argued that that it probably exercised greater influence at the time than any other pamphlet written by a Catholic in favour of Emancipation. In 1813 it was resolved unanimously that the thanks of the Board of Catholics of Great Britain be given to Lingard 'for his zealous and successful defence of the Catholic Church in his many literary productions, and more particularly in his late able work entitled A Review of Certain Anti-Catholic Publications. In 1815 Lingard dealt with Doctor Herbert Marsh's A Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome (1814), and two years later he published his Observations on the Laws and Ordinances which exist in Foreign States Relative to the Religious Concerns of their Roman Catholic Subjects. It was clear by then, however that little could be added to the arguments; positions had been stated and reiterated, and nothing new could be said. At about this time the Protestant publisher of his tracts, Edward Walker of Newcastle, said to Lingard, 'After all, what is the use of these pamphlets? Few Protestants read them. If you wish to make an impression, write books that Protestants will read'. From this point Lingard concentrated on the research for his projected History of England, the first volumes of which appeared in 1819.[37]

*

Lingard's primary aim in entering this controversy with the clergy of Durham was to refute the false beliefs attributed to Roman Catholics. He was particularly anxious to correct such errors because the civil rights of Catholics were being denied on fabricated (let alone irrelevant) grounds. He became increasingly angry with those who deliberately perpetuated misleading notions of Catholic dogma and it was partly their refusal to say accurately what Roman Catholic belief was that led him to accuse his Anglican opponents of entertaining hopes of preferment to 'rich and easy livings' in which 'to repose in the lap of wealth and indolence'. He also observed that it was truly edifying to see the alac-

rity with which the diocesan clergy had espoused their bishop's Charge; whereas Barrington had accused them of indifference, he would now have to applaud the zeal and promptitude of their exertions. At the outset, Lingard had scoffed at the herd of 'minor and hungry' writers looking for preferment; at the end, Lingard addressed Hollingsworth

> If the real object of the parochial minister be to praise the Bishop of Durham, he acts wisely. The pious liberality of our Catholic forefathers has enabled that prelate to provide amply for the wants and conveniences of his advocates.

Since Lingard repeatedly hinted that clerical ambition lay at the root of the current round of anti-Catholicism, it is appropriate to enquire whether the careers of the clergy of Durham were noticeably advanced by their participation in anti-Catholic controversy.[38]

One of Barrington's first appointments in Durham was that of William Paley. Paley had already received substantial preferments in the dioceses of Carlisle, London and Lincoln for his theological work, and, in 1795, he was 'surprised by a letter from the Bishop of Durham Doctor Barrington, with whom he had not the smallest acquaintance', with the offer of the rectory of Bishopwearmouth (£2,899), which he accepted. In his Moral Philosophy of 1793 Paley had come out against revolutionary principles and he had defended the English establishment of Church and State. He had also argued for the toleration of all religions except where religious views were combined with political attitudes hostile to the constitution such as, he said, Popery. Paley therefore expressed the orthodox Anglican position, but that was as far as he would go. He was less sound in holding the view that if Papists and Protestants were permitted to live together in peace, the former would become 'more enlightened and reformed; they would by little and little incorporate into their creed many of the tenets of Protestantism as well as imbibe a portion of its spirit and moderation'. If Barrington expected a more forthright opposition to Catholic Emancipation from this renowned scholar, whom he had presented to the second richest living in his diocese, he was to be disappointed. Although he did dedicate his Natural Theology to Barrington, in his last years Paley, with Sydney Smith, was perhaps the best exponent of undogmatic Anglicanism. At any rate, Paley was not presented to a canonry in Durham although there were six vacancies which he might have filled.[39]

Stephenson, Paley's curate at Bishopwearmouth, who had published his anti-Catholic sermons in 1807 was presented by Barrington to the vicarage of Kelloe (£197) in 1809 and, in plurality, to Redmarshall (£365) in 1814. He became the first incumbent of the newly-created parish of St. Thomas, Sunderland (£200) in 1827, and he died there in 1845

aged eighty five, the senior clergyman in the diocese. That was not exceptional preferment, and Hollingsworth's reward was not much greater. He ended his days Vicar of Haltwhistle (£593) (and he was known as 'the Pope of Haltwhistle' by the Tyne Mercury), Perpetual Curate of Hartlepool, Minister of Tavistock Chapel, London, and Chaplain to the Dowager Viscountess Barrington. Cotes was Chaplain to the Duke of Portland (Prime Minister 1807-9) before the controversy opened, and he died in 1835, aged seventy six, still Vicar of Bedlington (£454).[40]

Although George Stanley Faber gained preferment, it was not substantial, and his most senior clerical appointmentwas not in his parent diocese of Durham. Faber was made Vicar of Stockton (£245) in 1805; he resigned that living in 1808 for the rectorship of Redmarshall ((£341). Shortly afterwards, the adjoining benefice of Great Stainton (£279) became vacant and Faber was offered it in plurality. He refused it, saying that one parish was enough for him to look after. When this was retailed to Robert Surtees of Mainsforth late one evening, he immediately called for his horse, declaring that he wished 'to take a look at a clergyman who has refused two livings'. Barrington collated Faber to the living of Long Newton (£604) in 1811, where he remained for twenty one years. In 1829 Faber published Letters on Catholic Emancipation and in the following year Bishop Burgess promoted him to a prebendal stall in Salisbury Cathedral. In the spring of 1832 Faber was appointed Master of Sherburn Hospital in Durham (£1,164), and he died there in 1854. This was a respectable, though not very grand ecclesiastical career, and it seems that Faber's contribution to the debate on Catholic Emancipation in general, and in the controversy with Lingard in particular, did not arise out of self-seeking ambition but was the fervent expression of his millennialist beliefs (which were not, by any means, shared with his diocesan). Faber was to be disappointed late in his life over his nephew Frederick Faber, Rector of Elton, who was received into the Roman Catholic Church in 1845, taking seven of his parishioners with him. These were significant though not spectacular preferments for anti-Catholicism, but some others involved in the controversy did considerably better.[41]

Thomas le Mesurier, already Rector of Newnton Longville and Domestic Chaplain to Lord Sidmouth, was presented additionally to the substantial living of Haughton le Skerne (£1,500) in Durham by Barrington in 1812, which he held to his death in 1822. Thomas Burgess, already Bishop of St. David's received the surely unwarranted promotion (and increase of £500 in his stipend) from the sixth to the second stall in Durham Cathedral in 1820. That promotion was facilitated by the resignation of the previous holder of the second stall who had been appointed to the

richest living in the diocese and was none other than Henry Phillpotts.[42]

It has to be said at once that Henry Phillpotts was a bellicose, ultra-High Church clergyman and active Tory. Greville thought Phillpotts was cast in the mould of Pope Sixtus. He was ordained in 1804, at the age of twenty six, and presented to the crown living of Stainton le Street (£360) in December 1805 by Lord Chancellor Eldon, whose niece, Deborah Surtees, he had married. In 1806 he was made a chaplain to Bishop Barrington, a post he held for twenty years, and in June that year he was presented to the crown living of Bishop Middleham (£152), which he held for two years in commendam. Phillpotts lived in Middleham Castle and acquired the reputation of being a zealous though not always popular magistrate. Thereafter, as Lingard suggested, Phillpotts' 'laours were honoured with Barrington's approbation'. In 1808 he was collated by the bishop to the large and important parish of Gateshead (£1,300); in 1809 he was promoted to the ninth prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral (£2,065) and in the following year he was presented to the parish of St. Margaret, Durham (£330) by the Dean and Chapter, and he resigned Bishop Middleham. He was advanced to the second canonry (£2,313) in 1815 which he held for five years.[43]

Phillpotts published, anonymously, a Letter to Earl Grey in 1819, the main point of which was that Roman Catholic disabilities should not be removed without adequate safeguards. He criticised Grey for suggesting that there was little difference between the doctrines of the Roman and Anglican churches (Grey was following Lingard, and Phillpotts Barrington). In 1820 Phillpotts was collated by Barrington to Stanhope in Weardale (£4,843), one of the richest livings in England. Barrington insisted that Phillpotts reside in the parish and so he resigned his stall at Durham. Three years later, the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, offered Phillpotts the bishopric of Clogher, worth £14,000 a year, but he declined, saying that he had pledged not to accept a bishopric during Barrington's lifetime. Between 1825 and 1829 Phillpotts was deeply involved in the debate over Catholic Emancipation, which will be dealt with later, but at this point it seems clear that his successful clerical career can be attributed, firstly, to the patronage of his uncle Lord Eldon, and secondly, to the appreciation of Bishop Shute Barrington, whose militant anti-Catholicism Phillpotts shared and promulgated. He was, as Lingard acknowledged, 'an accurate and able controversialist', and it is quite likely that he would have risen in the Church on his own abilities; he was, however, fortunate in his marriage and in his diocesan. Phillpotts' elevation to the episcopate was, as we shall see, attributed to his willingness to concede Catholic Emancipation. Barrington

was dead by then, but the ultra-Tory Eldon was not. He retired in 1829 over Catholic Emancipation, and it was said that he was in such a rage about it that he was 'denied even to his own son'; his nephew Phillpotts could hardly have dared show his face.[44]

It would be only fair to examine the career of the Catholic protagonist in this dispute. John Lingard declined all promotion; he refused the presidency of Oscott, a professorship at Maynooth, the rectorship of the Venerable English College in Rome, and the coadjutorships of the Western and Northern Districts. There was some speculation that Pope Leo XII made Lingard a cardinal in petto in 1826, but, in the nature of the case, there is no evidence to support the conjecture. Lingard may have declined it if it had been offered because he wished to stay in England, but he might, of course, have obtained permission to do that in any case, as Newman was to do later. At any rate, Lingard remained as missioner at Hornby for the remainder of his life, devoting himself to the mission, to his friends and to historical research.[45]

For Catholic and Protestant alike, then, it seems that participation in controversy did no harm to a clerical career; indeed, it probably enhanced the chances of promotion. That apart, this controversy highlighted the Protestant objections to Catholic Emancipation and the Catholic response. The Barrington-Lingard dispute, then,was important in that it came at the beginning of the long battle over the political rights of the British Catholics. It was followed throughout the country, and the pamphlets all ran into several editions. It will be unnecessary to rehearse these arguments in discussing elections in the north, but it should be assumed that the pro- and anti-Catholic cases as propounded by Barrington and Lingard were reiterated up to the very moment of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

Part III, Catholic Emancipation in North East Politics, 1800-1851

Chapter 2, Emancipation as an Election Issue

Until 1834 there were six parliamentary constituencies in the north east, each returning two members: Northumberland, County Durham, Berwick, Morpeth, Newcastle upon Tyne and the City of Durham. Of these, only Morpeth was a pocket-borough; the remainder were more or less open, though usually managed on the principle of divided representation with one Whig and one Tory member. None of the elections in Morpeth or Berwick during the period had any special significance from the Catholic point of view. The Howards (earls of Carlisle) and Ordes who held Morpeth throughout, were committed pro-Catholics and voted accordingly. George Viscount Morpeth launched his political career in 1826 with a strongly-worded maiden speech in favour of Emancipation.[1](With one or two exceptions, the north eastern members made few contributions to the debate inside parliament.) Attention here, then, is concentrated on contests for seats in which Catholic Emancipation was a major issue.

*

The fall of the Talents and the succeeding general election in 1807 showed that support for the Catholics was not a popular vote-catching issue, and nowhere was this more apparent than in the north east. The purpose of Bishop Shute Barrington's Charge and Grounds was to influence the electorate in the election as John Lingard had said, by raising the 'war-hoop of no popery'. Yet in a letter of 20th May, at the height of the campaign, Lingard wrote,[2]

> We are in a great ferment here about the elections. Notwithstanding all the influence of the Bp of Durham and the chapter, the old members have been returned for the city. Every attempt is making to throw out one of the old members for the county, but I think it will be in vain. At Newcastle the old members are also returned. In Northumberland I expect that Lord Percy will turn out Col. Beaumont Lord Howick will come in. Is it not surprising that all the members in the North (two counties) with the exception of one should vote for the catholics: and of all these I think only one is in danger of losing his seat.

Lingard was not well informed. Although Durham City, Morpeth and Newcastle all returned an unopposed Tory/Whig combination of members, the two counties went to a poll and the Catholic Question was an important issue on the hustings.

At a Durham County meeting on 1st June, a loyal address declaring approval of Tory policy on the Catholic Question was proposed. The tenth Earl of Strathmore (Bowes) said that the Catholics he knew had always behaved with the 'most gentlemanly conduct' and that they ranked high in loyalty; nonetheless, he opposed the policy of the Talents. He was seconded by Matthew Russell of Brancepeth Castle. The ultra-Tory Richard Wharton (unopposed candidate for Durham City) also spoke against any concessions and, as Lingard suggested, the Durham clergy and college may be reasonably suspected of being influential if not the instigators of the address. The policy of the Talents was defended by Dr. J.R. Fenwick who proposed a counter-address. This was seconded by Ralph Milbanke (a Whig candidate) and supported by Sir H.T. Liddell, the retiring county member, and R.J. Lambton, already elected for the city. The Tory address was, however, 'carried by a very great majority'. In the election, Cuthbert Ellison, the second Whig candidate, was defeated by Sir H.V. Tempest a staunch Tory.[3]

The election in Northumberland produced the most significant result in 1807. The Duke of Northumberland decided to run his son, Lord Percy, in tandem with the sitting Tory, Colonel Beaumont, against Lord Howick, Foreign Secretary, Leader of the House of Commons and leader of the Whig Party, who was the great champion of Catholic Emancipation. Indeed, it was Howick who had introduced the measure which had brought about the general election. Howick could not afford to fight an election against the wealthy duke (polling would take place at Alnwick, under the castle walls, so to speak) and so he withdrew on the eve of the poll; Howick had been the member for twenty one years. In his election address Howick had argued for freedom of conscience and he had singled out the Catholics Mr Selby of Biddleston and Mr Haggerston of Ellingham as ornaments of society. Percy did not refer to the matter; Beaumont would not be heard by the mob.[4]

Howick had been humiliated in his home constituency over a fundamental Whig policy. He was accommodated in other seats before his elevation to the House of Lords as Earl Grey in November that year, where he was to continue the fight, and eventually succeed, but his defeat in 1807 on the Catholic Question was particularly disappointing, and he never forgave the duke. He could not have held the Bishop of Durham in any high regard either, for that matter. Of the two electoral contests

in the north east in 1807, the anti-Catholics gained as seat in each.

The Whigs fell from power as a direct consequence of their championship of the Catholic cause. Nonetheless, under the leadership of Grey, they maintained their pro-Catholic principles as firmly as ever, though in practice they preferred to leave the question in abeyance until circumstances improved. Moreover, they were not prepared to support those Irish Catholics who attacked the Union. The Catholics, however, would not let matters rest. In November 1807 Grey acknowledged the inevitability of another petition and he said he would support it, however inopportune, since the Catholics could now do little except petition and hope that the military situation would serve to secure their aims:[5]

> The truth is that the Catholics have now been taught to consider the whole English nation as so hostile to them that they feel comparatively very little interest in the different changes of administration that may take place; and believing that those who have the inclination will never have the power to grant them redress; and being convinced that their only chance of justice is in the wars and in the distresses of England, they are naturally led to press the question witout reference to the state of politics as it affects the different parties in Parliament.

Grey might well have been in conversation with George Silvertop, so precise was his analysis. Silvertop thought that the only way the present injustices could be remedied was to begin an extra-parliamentary 'systematic campaign, unilaterally organised'. In February 1808 he wrote about Catholic opinion in the north:[6]

> One point above all others seems primarily felt which is the non-enjoyment of ... the Elective Franchise; a right enjoyed by the Catholics in Ireland ... which every freeholder in the United Kingdom enjoys except the English Catholics.

The Catholic Board was reconstituted in May that year and it began to issue pamphlets explaining the Catholic case and to take advertising space in the pro-Catholic press, and Catholics around the country began to appear more frequently on the hustings in support of Whig candidates. Indeed, some wished to ally themselves with the Radicals; Bishop Thomas Smith feared the consequences of Catholics appearing at meetings of the Friends of Religious Liberty, which they had joined 'to make themselves conspicuous'. The Catholic gentry did not, however, forego the more moderate tactics of pressure-group politics.[7]

*

The Catholic Question came up, more or less routinely, at all of the contested parliamentary elections in the north east between 1807 and 1829. Most candidates preferred to make a simple statement of their view of the matter and move on to more interesting local topics such as the coal industry. shipping and trade. Neither the Catholics or the ultra-

Tories, however, were prepared to let it pass just like that, and they made sure that Catholic Emancipation was given full attention whenever possible. A notable example was the by-election for a Durham City seat in December 1813 caused by the resignation of Ralph Lambton.[8]

The contest was between the Tory, George Allan of Darlington, and the Whig, George Baker of Elemore Hall. Allan published his election address in which he declared himself as 'friendly to a liberal, extended toleration of the exercise of religious duties of every denomination', but he was, nonetheless, of the opinion that the present claims of the Roman Catholics were 'dangerous and unconstitutional to a high degree'. If he won, then, the city of Durham would be represented in parliament by two anti-Catholic Tories, for the second sitting member was Richard Wharton. At the election meeting on 1st December, Mr Shippersden proposed Mr Baker and said that Baker would 'rejoice at the arrival of that day which shall give equal privileges to the Catholics with the rest of their countrymen of different persuasions'. Baker himself expressed his firm attachment to 'religious liberty andParliamentary reform'. Baker's pro-Catholic stand and his Catholic connections were seized on immediately by the Tories; indeed, it was the only issue on which he was challenged during the nine-day poll. A hand-bill, for example, referred to Baker's Catholic backing:

Papist Plot

See Baker Comes at Papist W-----'s call,
Let Allan stand, then Popery shall fall.
No W-T-M | NO POPERY
No BAKER |

W-T-M was, of course, Henry Thomas Witham of Lartington Hall, the prominent Catholic of south Durham. Another bill alluded to the impertinence of the Catholics in adopting and working for Baker who, it was said, had

> been avowedly brought forward at the instance of a popish party, Mr W-t-m at the head using every exertion possible, to bring him in member for this city, instead of a firm friend to the protestant establishment... Popery now shews more of its daring front, and, so encouraged, its votaries are become the avowed and active agents of a candidate to be arrayed against our country's establishment; and the watch word is, doubtless, gone forth, for the exertion of all the popish energies on every succeeding parliamentary vacancy.

The Pope was ridiculed at every opportunity; sham Papal Bulls were circulated. Baker was caricatured as a lover of the Pope, of kissing the Pope's toe and of having obtained the 'Pontifical Chair' on which he was to be carried in triumph around the streets of Durham. The Pope was also said to have supplied money to bribe the electorate into voting for Baker (or Baccari as he was unimaginatively dubbed). Baker ignored it all. Since this was the only policy for which Baker was reproached, it

can be assumed that his opponents assessed it as his most vulnerable point, and that the cathedral clergy would be campaigning strongly on the issue. This was, no doubt, the occasion on which the young Nicholas Wiseman was hissed for being a Catholic when he visited his mother in Durham while he was at Ushaw College.[9]

The result of the by-election justified Tory strategy, for Allan won with a majority of eighty. In his victory address, Allan expressed his satisfaction at having conquered 'every effort which Roman Catholic ingenuity or prejudice could invent' to avert his election. That remark, although exaggerated, does illustrate that Catholics were now openly campaigning for, and even taking a leading role in the selection of pro-Catholic Whig candidates. Catholics were now also prepared to hold public meetings and dinners to press their case, and one meeting in the north east may be taken as an example.

*

In 1815, reports of anti-Protestant riots in France gave rise to a wave of anti-Catholicism in England. On 27th December, therefore, 'a most numerous and highly respectable meeting' of the Catholics of the north east took place in Newcastle under the chairmanship of George Silvertop and the vice chairmanship of W.T. Salvin, to protest the persecution of the French Huguenots. The meeting was, however, as much a contribution to the domestic debate on Catholic Emancipation, for the nothern Catholics used it to affirm their attachment to religious freedom for all, including themselves.[10]

In the course of the debate it was noted that the British government had said that it was 'its invariable object ... to support and on every occasion to assert the principles of religious toleration and liberty'; a similar commitment had been made at the Congress of Vienna. Silvertop found it impossible, therefore, to avoid mentioning the disabilities suffered by British Catholics for conscience sake; they were deprived of all political privileges, taxed without the power of choosing their representatives; and denied every civil office. He also called attention to the fact that although the English Catholics had been willing and anxious to risk their lives and to shed their blood in defence of their Protestant King, they were precluded from holding a commission in his service.

Silvertop, like many others among the Catholic gentry, was highly sensitive to charges of disloyalty, especially since at the outbreak of the war with France his father had offered his services only to be rebuffed. Silvertop described what had happened when General Musgrave, in command of the northern district, called upon his father John Silvertop:

> to state to him his wish, that he would raise two troops of volunteer cavalry. My father willingly complied, and sent me up to London with the proposal. I had the honour of submitting to Mr Secretary Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, the proposal, which was, that the clothing and equipment should be at my father's own expense, and the arms to be supplied by government. The proposal was accepted in terms most flattering towards my father. One troop was raised, cloth was bought, and other expenses incurred, when an official letter arrived stating that my father's commission could not be signed, he being a Roman Catholic!! I can most positively assert, that until the day of his death, this circumstance wounded and preyed upon his truly loyal and honourable mind.

Silvertop also recalled how Thomas Haggerston had been denied a commission in a local regiment of the Northumberland Militia. Significantly, if the decision in these matters had been left to the local commander there would have been no difficulty, but the formal reference to London was fatal.[11]

In 1803, however, when there were several invasion scares, Silvertop was appointed Captain Commandant of the Derwent Rangers; he later occupied a similar position at the head of the Bywell Troop of Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry. Two members of the Salvin family joined the Durham Volunteer Association, Sir Carnaby Haggerston raised the North Durham Troop of Volunteer Cavalry of some fifty men, and Thomas Selby of Biddleston commanded the Coquetdale Rangers. These were not highly important military appointments, but they did have symbolic value in that they allowed the Catholic gentry to make the same kind of contribution to the defence of their country against the French as their Protestant friends and neighbours. Such demonstrations of loyalty paved the way for the Relief Act of 1817 which indemnified Catholic naval and military officers from the consequences of not taking the Oath of Supremacy.[12]

In addition to the resolutions passed in support of the Huguenots, the meeting in Newcastle also decided to petition parliament and the Prince Regent on their own behalf. In January 1816 the Board of British Catholics sent a vote of thanks to Silvertop and his supporters for their 'Newcastle Declaration'. Others, led by Bishop Milner (who called Silvertop 'Copperbottom') condemned some expressions in the resolutions in support of freedom of conscience. The Orthodox Journal condemned what it called the 'Northern Lights' for their views which it thought 'almost if not actually anti-Catholic'. The meeting nonetheless achieved its main aim of gaining publicity for the Catholic case.[13]

*

Political controversy over Catholic Emancipation rose to new heights in the 1820s and it was a dominant issue in the general elections of 1820 and 1826. The Whigs continued to espouse emancipation as a fundamental party policy; in the run-up to the election of 1820, Grey told

Holland, 'To Catholic Emancipation I consider myself so pledged that I could not come in without it'. There was little doubt, however, that that was a minority view, and the Tories were determined to oust the more advanced Whig reformers in the general election of that year.[14]

The Tories decided to force a poll in Northumberland with the aim installing the orthodox C.J. Brandling in place of T.W. Beaumont, who had succeeded his father as Tory member for the county in 1818, but who had turned out to hold some very radical views, such as support for Catholic Emancipation. The plan back-fired, however, when Sir Charles Monck, the second sitting member and a Whig, decided not to run. Brandling and Beaumont were therefore returned unopposed. In Newcastle, the sitting Whig/Tory combination of M.W. Ridley and C. Ellison was challenged by William Scott, Lord Chancellor Eldon's nephew, but he resigned before the polls closed. Richard Wharton, the Tory Chief Whipand member for Durham City since 1802, decided to transfer his candidature to the county and run against 'Radical Jack' Lambton, who had represented the county since 1813. His successor as member for the city was General Sir Henry Hardinge, a moderate Tory whose patron was his kinsman, the third Marquess of Londonderry. He and M.A. Taylor were returned unopposed.[15]

The only real contest in the region, then, was in the constituency of County Durham. The candidates Lambton and Wharton were joined by the second sitting member, the Hon. W.J.F. Vane Powlett, afterwards third Duke of Cleveland; as a Whig, he was as much a target for the Tories as Lambton. The election campaign was both expensive and virulent. Ranged against the Whigs in support of Wharton were the parochial and cathedral clergy - it was suggested that there ought to have been a 'Bishop Rampant' on Wharton's coat of arms, and he was variously called the 'College Candidate' and the 'Hireling of the Church'. One of Wharton's principal supporters was Canon Henry Phillpotts, Rector of Gateshead, and he took part by correspondence, speech and pamphlet. Indeed, the Whigs made him a target, and they lampooned him mercilessly[16]

> Harry Phillpotts, Harry Phillpotts,
> Your preferment was ill-got
> By flattering and cringing and fawning
> For thy libellous slander
> Thou base salamander
> .....
> Shall Priestcraft her triumphant banner unroll
> And bind in her shackles each free British soul.

The election cost Lambton £30,000, but he doubtless considered the money well-spent since he topped the poll with 1,731 votes; Powlett was elected with 1,137; Wharton trailed with 874 votes. None of the Tory targets in the north was unseated in this election. The only ultra (Wharton)

lost, but there was a gain of one Tory (Brandling) who was expected to oppose the Catholic claims.

Phillpotts, for one, long remembered the campaign in Durham. In 1821 he addressed an open letter to Earl Grey complaining about some remarks by the Whig leader in a public speech in 1820. In the course of the letter, Phillpotts also recalled the Catholic role in the election campaign and, despite the result, said that 'Popery and Mr Lambton, combined with Lord Grey, and all that he can say or do, will not put down the Reformed Church of England in this Diocese, or elsewhere'. The Whigs had been duped and were actually working for 'the restoration of Popery under the name of Catholic Emancipation'. The disposition of 'that sect of men (foolishly allowed to be called Catholic)' had not changed from that of their ancestors, and the way they would use power if they had it, 'they shewed at the last General Election for this County':[17]

> Must we not remember the ostentation with which your son-in-law went about this County, preceded by the band of a Papist, surrounded by a Popish Gentry, in one instance a Popish priest at his elbow, while he was haranguing a mob in a speech made up of invectives and slanders against one of our Body; these Popish Gentlemen riding all over the County to solicit votes till one of them actually fell sick from over-fatigue; at your last Meetings these Gentlemen, though disabled from voting at Count Elections, yet moving or seconding your inflammatory resolutions against the Government of their country.

The band was Meynell's of Yarm. Lambton dined at Lartington Hall with Witham while canvassing Barnard Castle, and it is possible that Witham was the gentleman who wore himself out in the Whig cause, though George Silvertop was also a highly active campaigner. Bishop Poynter was moved to comment in a report to Rome in 1821: 'It is inconceivable how eager our Catholic noblemen and gentlemen are to possess their seats in parliament. It is impossible to stop them'. As we have seen, they had been of that mind for fifteen years at least, though the pace had clearly increased.[18]

*

Although the general election of 1826 was not a No-Popery election to the same extent as that of 1807, there was worried talk of 'no-popery phrenzy' at the time, and the Vicars Apostolic felt obliged to put out a declaration that Catholics held no principles incompatible with their civil allegiance. There was no contest in Newcastle, or in the City and County of Durham. Only minor differences emerged between the Durham city candidates; Michaelangelo Taylor would not agree to the payment of Catholic priests and their institutions out of English taxes, and General Hardinge wanted securities for the Church of England should Catholics be admitted to parliament. These reservations were doubtless approp-

riate in a constituency in which 58% of the electors were Dissenters. The candidates for the county were at one. Powlett deplored the fact that Catholics who had fought for their country should be deprived of the privileges which other Englishmen enjoyed. Lambton's long-held commitment to emancipation had taken a curious turn in the parliament of 1820. He opposed Sir Francis Burdett's Relief Bill of 1825 on the basis that it was a shabby compromise aimed at pacifying the country without granting substantial relief; Grey and Taylor concurred. In his adoption speech, Lambton nonetheless said he would never be the man to keep millions of his fellow-countrymen in slavery and degradation, who firmly adhered to the faith of their ancestors, and who refused to take oaths incompatible with the beliefs. He also observed that 'In this part of the country, at least, he was happy that no cry of intolerance had been raised'. The Durham Advertiser disagreed, and had already estimated that threequarters of the population of Sunderland was against emancipaton. Lambton was elected by accalamation, however, and he was free to go up into Northumberland to help his brother-in-law Henry George Grey, Lord Howick, in his first parliamentary campaign.[19]

The general election of 1826 was known long afterwards as 'the great election' in Northumberland. For four months in the hottest summer on record, the county was 'rent by factions and thrown into a state of the utmost excitement'. The electors, liberally entertained in an acrimonious by-election in February that year, had every reason to anticipate another robust campaign in which no expense would be spared to secure their votes. It was said that 'the hospitalities of the four rivals were dispensed with a ruinous liberality', and that the election cost the candidates a quarter of a million pounds. It would emerge that the rivalry between the four candidates were greatest between those supposedly closest in ideology. Thus, the contempt of the ultra-Tory for the Canningite-Tory, was as great as that of the Whig for the Radical, and vice versa. Moreover, the Catholic Question was of primary importance, for Northumberland was a constituency in which the sectarians in the electorate were preponderant four to three. All candidates had to say something about emancipation, but even the most pro-Catholic candidate could not declare his support without some caveat or to conflate it with other reform policies. Clarification of every ambiguous statement was demanded by opposing candidates - no other issue was given such detailed attention.[20]

This election is also significant in that not only did the northern Catholics take their by now usual prominent role at political meetings during the campaign, and seize every opportunity to press their case,

but they went so far as to anticipate their emancipation by voting in the election without the least objection, even from the ultra-Tories. Before tracing the course of the campaigns of 1826, then, it is necessary to explain the apparent fait accompli of Catholic enfranchisement, when the question of of political rights was supposed to be a major issue in the election.

Before 1817, the Northumbrian Catholics used their 'interest' to influence the votes of their tenants. The pro-Catholic Whig candidate in the general elections of 1812 and 1818, Sir Charles Monck, received the written support of a number of Catholic gentlemen including George Gibson of Stagshaw, who told him [21]

> I have to regret that the Elective Franchise (the birthright of every Englishman) is not yet conceded to the Catholics of this realm: I have therefore no vote, but the Interest and Influence that I possess shall be most cordially dedicated to your Service; and I am happy to say that this sentiment pervades my neighbourhood.

The Relief Act of 1817 indemnified Catholic candidate naval and military officers from the consequences of omitting the Oath of Supremacy, and, it seems, a similar approach began to be adopted informally in other circumstances. The Irish Catholics had, moreover, enjoyed the franchise since 1793, and if they could be trusted with a vote, then why not the respectable English Catholic? This inconsistency became the subject of the British Roman Catholic Tests Regulation Bill, introduced into the House of Commons in May 1823.

The bill proposed to extend the franchise to the English and Scottish Catholics, primarily to place them on the same footing as the Irish, but also because it was ridiculous that Roman Catholic gentlemen could nominate parliamentary candidates but not have an individual vote themselves. In practice, Catholic votes were taken with no questions asked; why not, then, formalise the existing system by removing the obligation to take the oaths before voting? No opposition to this measure was expressed, even Peel, the Tory leader, agreed with it. The bill also proposed to open the magistracy to English Catholics on similar grounds, but that section was hived off to form a separate bill. The section on the franchise was retitled the Roman Catholic Elective Franchise Bill during its committee stage and it was passed by the Commons with a majority of fifty nine. Despite the support of Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister, however, the bills were lost in the House of Lords.[22]

The matter did not rest there, for in 1825 Sir Francis Burdett's Catholic Relief Bill embodied a modified Oath of Supremacy which could be taken by Catholics at the polls, or when taking up office. That bill also passed the Commons but was rejected in the Lords. Notwithstanding the defeat of these bills, it seems clear that the principle was establ-

ished in the last year of the 1820 parliament that the English Catholics ought to be treated in the same way at the polls as the Irish. Since Liverpool and Peel had supported a measure which had passed the Commons twice, the Tories in the shires no doubt felt it inappropriate to demand the oaths from their Roman Catholic friends and neighbours in 1826. That, at any rate, certainly was the case in Northumberland, as we shall see. The question had become one of allowing the Catholics into parliament rather than one of their enfranchisement.[23]

On 1st February 1826, four months before the dissolution of parliament, Charles John Brandling, the Tory member for Northumberland died and a by-election was called. Brandling had succeeded his father, the apostate Catholic, as member for Newcastle in 1798, and he had become the recognised Tory leader in south Northumberland; Gosforth House, his residence, was party headquarters. Brandling was defeated in the election of 1812 by the liberal-Tory Cuthbert Ellison, but he was returned to a county seat in 1820 with T.W. Beaumont.

Two young scions of local political families began their public careers in this by-election. On the day of Brandling's death, the Hon. Henry Thomas Liddell, the twenty nine-year old son of Lord Ravensworth, declared his intention of contesting the seat in the liberal-Tory interest. Henry, Viscount Howick, aged twenty four, followed suit for the Whigs. The expectation of a straight fight between them was dashed when, in the middle of February, Matthew Bell, an ultra-Tory, declared his candidature. Bell had taken umbrage at Liddell's indecent haste in declaring his intentions before Brandling, Bell's uncle, had been buried. Bell's intervention led Howick to withdraw, with the intimation that he preferred to wait and fight the forthcoming general election. He might have exploited the split in Tory ranks, but he calculated, or was told, that the county would probably vote to retain its political balance and return one or other of the Tories to join the Whig Beaumont in the Commons. Not only would Howick husband his resources, but he would be able to assess how progressive the county's electorate was on the great reform issues of the day, which, he expected, would be discussed on the hustings. The by-election was not particularly illuminating in that respect, however, for although the two Tories had few political differences, they fought each other 'with a vigour and contempt for cost which pointed to the personal matter at issue in the contest', and Bell largely confined his remarks to the abuse of Liddell as a foreigner, that is, from County Durham.[24]

There was, however, one difference between the two candidates, and that was Catholic Emancipation. Indeed, the by-election turned on it, although the candidates obscured their position at first. Bell announced

that he would act in accordance with the principles that had been followed by his deceased uncle. Now, Brandling had supported Burdett's bill of 1825, and the Northumbrian Catholics therefore assumed that Bell would support a future Catholic Relief Bill, and they therefore promised him their votes. When Bell later said that he would not concede any political rights to the Catholics, they withdrew their support. Bell was not in the least distressed and he even undertook that[25]

> no impediment should be thrown in the way of their voting by having the oaths of supremacy and abjuration offered to them: thus affording them an opportunity, for the first time since the Revolution, of voting for members of parliament.

Liddell, on the other hand, refused to give any public pledge about emancipation and, as John Brandling later recalled, he had abused the Catholic Church as 'the most dangerous state-engine that could be introduced into a country'. Privately, however, Brandling also alleged, Liddell had let it be known that he would support the Catholic claims. He had thereby 'secured the interest' of the Northumbrian Catholics 'and by their assistance would have gained his election' had it not been for the extraordinary efforts of Bell's supporters. Brandling was right; Bell won the by-election by only thirteen votes. A dozen Catholics can be identified in the poll-book, all of whom voted for Liddell, as the lesser of two evils. Had more Catholics turned out, then, Bell's slender majority might have been overturned. Bell might then have been less gracious about allowing the Catholics to vote in the impending general election.[26]

The general election campaign began immediately after the polls for the by-election had closed, the date of the dissolution being so close. The widest range of political ideology was represented by the four candidates for the two seats, and each had a different approach to the Catholic Question. Matthew Bell, the thirty three-year old ultra-Tory was the newly-elected member, and he held views directly opposite to those of the other sitting member, Thomas Wentworth Beaumont. He was ten years older than Bell and, with his extensive lead-mining interests in Allendale and Weardale, he was reckoned to be one of the richest commoners in England. Beaumont had sat for the county since 1818 in succession to his father. Nominally a Tory, Beaumont had developed radical reforming ideas and, when he bothered to attend the Commons at all, he generally voted with the Whigs. An attempt by the Tories to unseat him in 1820 was unsuccessful, and so the ultras were determined to oust him in 1826. Beaumont now stood as an 'Independent Reformer', and he was the first to declare his policy, which he summarised as 'obtaining a reform in the House of Commons, the total extinction of slavery, and for placing our

Roman Catholic fellow-subjects on the same footing with ourselves'.[27]

The two sitting members were challenged firstly by the Hon. H.T. Liddell, the twenty nine year-old Canningite-Tory who had been defeated in the by-election. Liddell was not personally popular; he was regarded as bookish, he lived in County Durham, and he did not share in the convivialities enjoyed by the county squirearchy, with whom he did not care to mix too freely. He was unenthusiastic about parliamentary reform and he made both pro- and anti-Catholic declarations during the campaign. Lord Howick, twenty four years old, and son of the Whig leader, could be expected to espouse the opposition's reform programme, but his father nonetheless felt it necessary to stiffen the lad's resolve. Liddell had prevaricated on the Catholic Question during the by-election, and Grey warned Howick that nothing was ever gained by ambiguity and concealment. Howick was not so sure, and he evaded the issue whenever possible. Grey was no doubt relieved that Lambton was available to manage Howick's campaign. Certainly, Lambton accompanied Howick for much of the time, and it was Lambton who would make all the significant pronouncements for the Whigs, much to Beaumont's fury.[28]

Beaumont was less concerned about electoral tactics than with establishing his radical credentials. He rebuked the critics of his early and candid support for emancipation by observing that the Northumbrians had more sense and were more secure in their own creed than 'to dread innovation from a religion so abundant in errors as that of the Roman Catholics'. Later on he issued another statement in which he regretted that some Radicals among his supporters still harboured 'groundless fears of popish ascendancy'. He felt proud to belong to a County of which the freeholders 'exceeded all others in Christian tolerance'; at their request he would send them pamphlets and papers on the subject, for 'the better this question is understood, the less apprehension will be entertained of admitting the Roman Catholics into a fair competition for power and an equal enjoyment of civil rights with Protestants'. Notwithstanding his support, which he evidently considered to outweigh his slur on Catholicism <u>per se</u>, Beaumont complained that he had '<u>not</u>, as yet, received the assistance of <u>one great family</u>, either Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant'. He had met with several refusals from gentlemen who considered him to be too warmly attached to Catholic Emancipation at the same time that 'many Catholics had been <u>splitting</u> upon two of my opponents'.

Liddell, meanwhile was trying to find out how the land lay among the sectarians. In the middle of March he called on James Losh, the Tyneside Whig barrister, Unitarian and Catholic sympathiser, ostensibly

to discuss the Catholic Question, but also, Losh suspected, to find out what Losh was advising his friend Beaumont. Losh reported Liddell as having admitted that he was a Canningite and that he had 'declared strongly his wish for Catholic Emancipation and professed that he was friendly to civil and religious liberty in general'. That was not a fervently-held principle, as we shall see, and as Losh suspected.[29]

The candidates travelled the county to canvass support during March and early April, and each held a rally in the form of a subscription dinner to celebrate the successful conclusion of the tour. The first was Howick's in Newcastle on 11th April, and Catholics were conspicuous in the places of honour. George Silvertop, James Kirsopp and William Charlton, all members of Howick's election committee, were seated at the top table, and in the body of the hall sat Nicholas Leadbitter, George Gibson, the Rev. James Worswick and Dom George Turner.[30] Howick's speech, long and punctuated frequently by applause, concentrated on parliamentary reform as the prerequisite of progress. A reformed Commons would, for example, abolish the oaths and tests necessary to enter public service. Dr. John Fenwick was more explicit about Catholic Emancipation. He thought that a government should not concern itself with the religion of any man unless it interfered with his civil duties or with national security; that did 'not apply to the Catholics of the British islands' who supported the constitution and law and order at home, and had died in the service of their country abroad. They acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Bishop of Rome in the discipline of their church, but, as good British subjects, they were scrupulous in rejecting all his attempts at temporal interference.

Silvertop then addressed the meeting as 'one of those old-fashioned persons who still remain attached to the pure principles of the ancient faith', having 'in more instances than one felt the chilling powers of laws of exclusion, and having witnessed their withering effects on others'. No doubt assuming that it fell to him as the leading Catholic present, he dealt in turn with the principal charges levelled at his co-religionists. Firstly, with reference to the Catholic claim to exclusive salvation he, somewhat embarrassingly, outlined the religious history of Dr Fenwick sitting on Silvertop's right, who

> was born of Catholic parents, baptized and educated a Catholic, and when of mature age, in the sincerity of his heart, renounced the church of Rome. I am descended, like him, from Catholic parents, was baptized and educated a Catholic, and I most firmly believe in the pure principles of the Catholic church, though I do also most sincerely wish for a thorough radical reform in the discipline of that church... My learned friend has employed his great talents and acquirements in an impartial search into the doctrines of the Cath-

olic church, and has rejected them. I, Itrust, with equal impartiality, have applied my very inferior powers to the same inquiry, but with a different result. Though we have so done, I entertain not a particle of doubt, but that with good works the gates of heaven will be equally open to us both.

Dr. Fenwick's reaction is not recorded.

Silvertop then dealt with the supposed aversion of Catholics to the 'spread of the Holy Scriptures'. He pointed out that fourteen Catholic editions of the Bible in English had been published since the Reformation and that Pope Pius VII had addressed a letter to the bishops of Great Britain enjoining them to encourage Catholics to read the Bible. Silvertop also told his audience that he was an officer of the British and Foreign Bible Society (founded in 1804). The early nineteenth century was a period in which Bible societies became popular - a development which Bishop Milner dismissed as 'bibliomania'. There appeared to the Vicars Apostolic a danger that Protestant versions of the Bible might be foisted upon the Catholics. In 1812, Bishop Smith 'was not a little surprised' to see that at a meeting of which Mr Silvertop was chairman, it was resolved that the propriety of forming a society in Hexham be considered; 'surely', Smith enquired, 'Catholics ought to have nothing to do with it...?' Silvertop had asked Lingard to recommend the edition of the Bible best suited for general circulation. The Catholic Board formed the Roman Catholic Bible Society the following year in an attempt to keep the distribution of the Bible to their people in Catholic rather than in Protestant hands. This did not get very far, however, because Rome took fright at the dangers involved, as was illustrated in 1818. Marlow Sidney (the convert Northumbrian who founded the mission at Cowpen) edited and published a cheap edition of the New Testament, revised by the priest Richard Horrabin to omit 'the notes distasteful to Protestants'. That, of course, infuriated Bishop Milner who denounced the project. Silvertop did not allude to these difficulties in his speech.[31]

Liddell's final stops on his canvass of the county were at Whittingham, Wooler and Alnwick. He visited Callaly Castle, where was received by John Clavering. He addressed the estate-workers and expressed the hope 'that the day would shortly arrive when, by his individual exertions, he might assist in the furtherance of those measures which would not only confer a well-merited boon on our Catholic fellow-subjects, but ultimately be of benefit to the whole realm'. On the following day, at his public dinner in Wooler, Liddell referred to the great pleasure it had been for him to 'publicly avow before the door of his excellent friend Mr Clavering, his sentiments in favour of the Catholic claims, though he was 'still hostile to the haughty and domineering spirit of

their church'.He firmly believed that if the Catholics were emancipated, 'the exclusive character of their situation would gradually be lost'. He did not really believe that the granting of those claims would be dangerous.

The two remaining dinners were held on 28th April. Bell dined at Elsdon and he reiterated his long-held opinions on the Catholic Question: 'However I may respect individuals of that persuasion, and there are many most deserving of respect, I cannot convince myself of the expediency of granting to them as a body any further political power'. Like Howick, Beaumont regarded parliamentary reform as the prerequisite of the country's progress. The Rev. Charles Bird, an Anglican clergyman, was the principal speaker at Beaumont's dinner in Newcastle, and he made a long, and rather academic, speech about freedom of conscience, and he deplored any law which compelled an individual to choose between his religious faith and the exercise of civil rights.

Liddell went to North Shields at the beginning of May to explain himself more fully on the Catholic Question. He had presumably been advised that his remarks at Wooler had been too liberal, because he now made it clear that just as he had declined to give any pledge of his future conduct at the by-election, he would refrain from committing himself even now because he entertained some doubts as to the limits of the Catholic claims. He 'candidly' confessed that it did not appear 'desirable that Roman Catholics should be eligible to some of our highest offices of state'.

The others all visited North Shields, but only to seek the support of the shipping interest, not to emulate his extraordinary performance. Only Bell referred to emancipation; he wished it to be 'distinctly understood' that he was 'averse to making further concessions of political power to the Roman Catholics'. In a pointed reference to Liddell, he said that this was not an opinion he had recently adopted, nor was it intended to serve present electioneering purposes. He was aware that by his open declaration of principle, he would have arrayed against him the whole body of Catholics. He feared not, for his Protestant brethren would never allow him to be beaten down by the Catholics, however formidable. John Brandling warned the same audience not to be taken in by Liddell's equivocation in his recent speech. Liddell was pledged to support the Catholic claims, including their admission into parliament. It was clear from his speeches at Callaly and Wooler and 'from the conduct of the Catholics themselves, who are united in his support, no doubt can be entertained of the fact'. Furthermore, the reservations which Liddell had placed on the higher offices of state should not be taken

seriously, because if Catholics were admitted to parliament, they would have obtained the key to everything else.

It is clear from this meeting that the Northumbrian Catholics, and the Catholic Question, were important electorally. Bell implied that Liddell's equivocation was to gain votes from all sides, and Brandling maintained that the Catholics had mobilised and (because they were not Bell's supporters) had formed a faction. Howick spoke only about free trade and the reduction of shipping taxes on his visit. Although one of the many toasts at his dinner was to 'The cause of civil and religious liberty' nothing was said on the Catholic Question. Beaumont too said nothing about emancipation on his visit to the port.

Of the four candidates, only Howick was reluctant to speak on the Catholic Question. He seemed to think that he had no need to refer explicitly to the subject, since he was the official Whig candidate, and everyone knew what the party's policy was. Silvertop had spoken at one of his dinners and that seemed to have sufficed, but there were some who wished Howick would go further. Early in June Howick held a dinner at Morpeth which passed without reference to the Catholics, and at another in Alnwick, on the following day, the main speakers again avoided the subject. On this occason, however, Thomas Haggerston was seated at the top table, and he rose to ask whether anyone had any objection, on account of his religion, to hear him say a few words. In case anyone did, he quickly went on to complain of the restraints under which the Catholics laboured while their lives and their blood had answered for their loyalty. He concluded his brief intervention by eulogising Earl Grey for his services to the Catholic cause. Lambton, Howick's manager, leaped to his feet to lament that the venerable gentleman had feared that as a Catholic he might be prevented from speaking. Little did Haggerston know of him or of the assembled company if he thought that any such attempt would have been permitted. Yet, Lambton was not surprised that such an idea could have been entertained since many attempts were being made all over the country to revive religious persecution and to prolong political disqualification on religious grounds. Lambton went on to tell Haggerston and, through him, the Catholics of Northumberland, that they would disgrace themselves if they did not make Howick's election the sole object of their attention. Who were they to support if not the son of him who had sacrificed political power for them and their cause? He cared nothing for private pledges but looked for public declarations. Having heard what Haggerston had to say in praise of Grey, and knowing that those views were prevalent among the Catholics, Lambton therefore expected 'to meet them on the day of election, tendering their single

undivided votes in favour of Lord Howick'.Well, now Haggerston knew where Howick stood, or at least where Howick's manager said Howick stood. That left only Liddell to clarify his position, unless, of course, his speech at North Shields represented his last word on the matter.

The adoption meeting for the election was held at Alnwick on 20th June. The candidates appeared in alphabetical order to present their manifestoes. On the Catholic Question, Beaumont repeated his support for emancipation, despite the unpopularity of that view. To cheers, he told the Catholics that they could expect nothing from the present perfidious government and that there was a conspiracy against them. His advice was to 'combine and associate - get your rights and privileges'. 'An extreme tumult arose' when Bell advanced his opinion that while he did not wish to 'interfere with the exercise of the religious duties of the Roman Catholics', he believed nonetheless that it would be unwise and unsafe to grant them any further political concessions.[32] Howick, with extreme brevity, declared his agreement with the more liberal elements of the Liverpool administration 'in wishing to restore to the Roman Catholics their rights. (Cheers)'. Liddell dwelt longest on the topic because, he said, he had been reproached with disingenuousness. He wished to go into parliament entirely unfettered by any commitment and to act in the best interests of all as he would then understand them to be. From being for emancipation, then against, he was now ambivalent. At any rate, the mob cheered his remarks as they had those of his opponents.

The poll lasted fifteen days (20th June to 6th July) but the voting pattern was established early. At the count taken at the end of each day, Liddell topped the poll and Bell was second. Howick was in third place until the fourth day when Beaumont overtook him. As soon as the trend became established, Earl Grey wrote to his son in commiseration and to suggest a line of argument that Howick might adopt to try and retrieve the situation. Grey thought that no-one could pretend to understand what Liddell's opinion was on any of the subjects which affected 'the Publick Interests at this Moment'. He had got votes from the Catholics by private promises to support their cause, but his most active and powerful supporters were the 'most uncompromising opposers of the Catholick Claims - Has he given them any assurances which may relieve their minds from the pious apprehensions which they entertain of the power of the Pope?' His public statements defied all understanding; just when one thought one had understood him, he immediately expressed some qualification so that one had no assurance of what his conduct would be 'on this important question'.[33]

Liddell's equivocations about Catholic Emancipation therefore now

became the major issue on the hustings. After the seventh day's count, John Grey of Milfield criticised Liddell for this reason and murmured about Catholics who were content to accept a half yes and a half no from Liddell rather than a firm commitment from another. John Brandling, speaking in Bell's support two days later, accused Liddell of duplicity 'in giving a pledge in private to support the Catholics, by which he secured their support, whilst in public he said his mind was not made up on the subject'. Liddell interrupted Brandling to say categorically that he 'wished to admit the Catholics into parliament'. There was no longer any need to hedge for Liddell now knew he was bound to be elected.

Lambton and Howick also realised that Liddell could not be overhauled, and that Howick could not possibly win the other seat. The greater danger was that Beaumont might hold on to his seat. At the end of the first week, therefore, Howick invited his remaining supporters to split their votes between himself and Bell. On political grounds it was quite extraordinary for a reforming Whig to favour a reactionary Tory in this way, but the orthodox Whigs considered Beaumont to be wholly unsuited to parliament and they wanted him dislodged at almost any cost. It had also emerged that Liddell and Beaumont had formed a coalition to attract the progressive Tory/Whig splitter. That association could gain Beaumont the second seat, so Bell's victory was preferable so far as the Whigs were concerned.

Beaumont challenged Howick to explain how he could have taken the votes of Catholics and then have dashed their hopes by helping to return a candidate wholly opposed to their relief. Howick did not respond, but turned on Liddell for see-sawing between support for and denunciation of the Catholics. Liddell had said different things in the by-election, and in his speeches at North Shields Callaly and Wooler. His intention had been to gain the support of both sides, 'the Catholics by the hope that he would vote for them - the Protestants by the hope that he would vote against the Catholics'. Howick said he still had no idea how Liddell would vote in parliament, and demanded that he tell the electors of Northumberland precisely what he meant to do. Liddell replied that he was astonished that anyone could be in any doubt about his opinion. No stone had been left unturned to raise the cry of No-Popery in the county, but he had not wanted to be held responsible for adding to the clamour, and so he had refrained from making any commitment. Nonetheless, he would now say that he was of the opinion that it would be the greatest security to the Protestant Church to afford equal rights and justice to the Catholics, and while he would vote for their admittance to parliament, he would vote for their exclusion from the highest offices of state,

many of which had ecclesiastical patronage.

For the last eight days of the poll, then, the contest was between the opposing Beaumont-Liddell and Bell-Howick coalitions. Howick persevered until the twelfth day before resigning, although there were only about two hundred (5%) votes outstanding at that point. Any remaining supporters were invited to plump for Bell. Liddell topped the poll with 1,562 votes, two hundred ahead of Bell (1,380), who beat Beaumont by only forty five votes. Howick trailed in with 977 votes.

Northumberland was one of only eight constituencies to lose a pro-Catholic member in this election.[34] Furthermore, although Bell had predicted that the Protestants would never have allowed him to be beaten by the Catholics, it was a close-run thing. For if the Catholics had been united, and if Howick had endorsed Beaumont, Bell might have been unseated, and an avowedly pro-Catholic member returned in his place. The Catholic voting pattern is therefore worth examining. It is possible to identify eight Catholic priests and twenty four Catholic laymen in the poll-book. Since the franchise was based on the ownership of property, no chaplain voted, but all the public missioners in the county did. All the Northumbrian Catholic gentry families are represented in the poll. Table 9 below shows how they voted.[35]

Table 9: Roman Catholic Voting Pattern in the General Election of 1826 for the Constituency of Northumberland.

	Plumpers for			Splitters for		
	Liddell (Canningite)	Howick (Whig)	Beaumont (Radical)	Liddell/ Beaumont	Liddell /Howick	Beaumont /Howick
Laity (24)	1	7	2	5	5	4
Clergy (8)			4	3	1	

Notes. 1. The fourth candidate, Matthew Bell, ultra-Tory, received no Catholic votes and is omitted from the table.

2. Counting 2 for a plumped vote and 1 for a split vote, the candidates received the following total Catholic vote:

Beaumont	24
Howick	24
Liddell	16

The ultra-Tory received no Catholic votes. The lay plumpers preferred the Whig, but the Radical was the clear favourite of the clerical plumpers. All but one of the clerical splitters supported Beaumont so that, overall, the priests were decidedly more radical than the laity. The Whig received almost no support from the clerical splitters who preferred the Canningite, probably because Howick refused to support the Catholic cause openly, whereas Liddell, with reservations and only when pressed, did. The lay splitters divided more evenly; as many of

them included the Radical in their choice as the Canningite or Whig. Nonetheless, about half of Liddell's Catholic supporters at the by-election shifted to the Whig or the Radical at the general election, which shows perhaps that they resented his equivocations more than the Catholic clergy. The Catholic electorate, then, supported candidates of the left by a clear majority, and they gave the Radical as many votes as the Whig. To that extent, the election appears to have been, for them, a single issue contest, and it certainly was for the priests. However, since a substantial number of laymen lent support to candidates who equivocated over, or were silent on, the Catholic Question, considerations other than the immediate aim of emancipation were at issue.

This was the first general election in which the Catholics had voted although, strictly speaking, they were ineligible until 1829. The lay voters were all landed proprietors of some wealth, or professional men of standing, but they were in a difficult situation. They wanted to support the Radical for his avowedly pro-Catholic stand, but they also regarded the election as an opportunity to demonstrate their political moderation and their acceptance of the existing order. The only way to do that was to split their support between the Radical and either a moderate Tory or Whig candidate. Thus while they were well-disposed to the Radical, the Catholics could also be seen to occupy the middle ground. The essence of their campaign for emancipation was, after all, to show that the country would be safe with an enfranchised English Catholic gentry.[36] In any case, Howick was the son of the pro-Catholic champion, Earl Grey, and while he had not supported the cause during the campaign, he could be assumed to do so in parliament. Liddell had finally said he would vote to open parliament to Catholics, with safeguards, and that was good enough for the minority of Tory-inclined Catholics. It should nevertheless not be forgotten that the Catholics of Northumberland came close to unseating an ultra-Tory and retaining the seat of a Radical.

*

No further electioneering took place in the north east during the parliament of 1826. Apart from the hustings, however, the disfranchised could always express a view on matters of immediate concern at public meetings and by means of petitions. Large numbers of petitions were got up whenever the Catholic Question appeared to be making progress, as in 1812 and 1813. Grey had presented a number in favour of relief signed by 'many thousand persons' in the north (Yorkshire, Hull, County Durham and Berwick), 'not all of whom were Roman Catholics, but included Dissenters and members of the established Church'. Viscount Sidmouth presented a

petition against the CAtholic claims from the Mayor and Corporation of Berwick; three weeks later Grey presented a pro-Catholic petition from the inhabitants of Berwick which had been signed by eighty burgesses who, he said, actually formed a majority of the Corporation, and he insisted that the previous petition represented a minority view. Anti-Catholic petitions from the Archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland were also tabled in the Commons at this time. Northern members of both houses occasionally presented petitions with which they did not agree. The Marquis of Londonderry had to present an anti-Catholic petition from Darlington in May 1825 although it was 'contrary to his own opinions'. In general, however, petitions were submitted through individuals sympathetic to the petitioners.[37]

Petitions poured into parliament in the immediate run-up to Catholic Emancipation. Of the sixty two sent up from the north east between 1825 and 1829, twenty nine petitions were pro-Catholic and had been subscribed by groups of inhabitants of various towns and villages; by barristers and attornies, magistrates, merchants and bankers; by Dissenters and Unitarians; by the Corporation of Newcastle; and by the Catholics themselves. Almost half (fourteen out of thirty three) of the anti-Catholic petitions were either signed by groups of Anglican clergymen or sponsored individually by them in their vestries. The Earl of Darlington presented a pro-Catholic petition in May 1827, and remarked that only the influence of the clergy had prevented a greater number from signing it.[38]

Liddell thought it would do no good to overwhelm the Commons in this way.[39] Although he was inclined to pay every deference to the feelings of his own electorate, he had to say that there had been 'a great deal of clamour mixed up with their petitions', and when he saw so many of the clergy so active in getting up anti-Catholic petitions, he doubted that they understood their religion. Much mischief was done by inflammatory speeches; some 'members talked as if they thought we were about to have a Romish parliament and a Papist government. It was idle to apprehend any danger to the constitution from the admission into parliament of 5 or 6 Catholic peers and 30 or 40 Catholic commoners'. He was not afraid to meet his electors, the next day if necessary, to justify his support for the Catholics, and he had no fear of the consequences.

The Bishop of Durham presented petitions against further concessions to the Catholics from Bishopwearmouth and Sunderland. Lord Durham (Lambton) said he was instructed to state that the latter petition did not represent the real sentiments of the townsfolk. It was not the result of any public meeting; on the contrary, it was got up by the curate (George

Stephenson) having been drafted by the Rector (G.V. Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington). The petition did not reflect the opinions of the gentry, the merchants or the ship-owners, or even of a majority of the lower class of persons, even when great pains had been taken to circulate it among the poor. He understood from a magistrate that it had been signed by a number of women and two hundred boys. He did not wish to say that the opinion of boys and women was unfit to be heard, but he did wish to point out that the petition was unrepresentative; he knew that opinion in Sunderland was decidedly in favour of the removal of all civil disabilities on religious grounds. The Bishop merely replied that so far as he knew the petition had been 'respectably signed'.[40]

A similar exchange between Eldon and Grey occurred when the former presented four petitions from parishes in Newcastle. Grey said that the population of Newcastle was not disposed to stir up a question which had been debated for almost thirty years during which time both of their members of parliament had constantly voted for relief. On no occasion had their conduct been censured by their constituents, despite there having been several elections during the period, and no questions on the matter had been put to candidates on the hustings, or elsewhere. The electors of Newcastle had always pursued a moderate course, and preferred to leave a decision to parliament. Indeed, while the people were disinclined to meddle with the subject in 1826, the clergy of the town were not.[41]

Then, Grey continued, in 1829 a Methodist minister applied to the Mayor to call a public meeting, but the latter declined because there was insufficient demand. The clergy, therefore, got up petitions instead and they were hawked about the town to be signed 'by those who should not' (presumably women and boys). One petition originated with the vestry of the parish church, where it was proposed to two or three Wesleyans, well known to be hostile to the Catholic claims; when they objected to a phrase expressing attachment to the establishment, the petition was rewritten to accommodate them. Thus, Grey taunted, Eldon would not really like the petition he was sponsoring, for, in trying to guard against the terrors of Popery, it would let in something more dangerous. As a result of those petitions, a large number of people, including every considerable person in the legal and medical professions, the principal merchants and several magistrates, signed a requisition for a public meeting, and it was agreed by the Mayor.

Grey went on to describe how the clergy had distributed inflammatory addresses inciting the anti-Catholics to disrupt the meeting in the Spital Fields. The Mayor, Robert Bell, who was neutral, took the chair.

The pro-Catholics were led by Dr. Headlam, James Losh (Grey's informant about the proceedings) and W.H. Ord, son William Ord, M.P. for Morpeth), all leading Whigs. Against the Catholics were Joseph Clark, a Methodist preacher and publisher, William Chapman and the Rev. F.A. West, a Wesleyan minister. Local Tories were embarrassed by the meeting, since emancipation was now government policy, yet churchmen were still campaigning against it. The Wesleyans were also out of step with their leadership in London which had decided that, as a body, the Methodists would keep out of the political argument.[42]

> Losh wrote in his diary on 10th March 1829 that at the meeting, the Clergy and the Methodists had formed a junction and by bringing up a number of colliers etc., they outnumbered us; in all other respects they made a miserable figure. They had not on their side one magistrate, one barrister, one physician and only one attorney and one surgeon. Their genteel partizans consisted of Methodists, a great many of the clergy and a considerable number of old women. Even their majority amongst the mob might easily have been prevented by a very little exertion.

As it was, every liberal proposal was shouted down, and, after some difficulty, a vote was taken. The pro-Catholic motion was lost be a proportion of five to four. John Brandling had moved a contrary amendment but he was not seconded and he took no further part in the debate. Vestry petitions signed by 7,724 persons were immediately sent to London. (Losh told Grey that many of the signatories were children.) The Corporation then met and unanimously decided to forward a petition in favour of Catholic Emancipation. Grey added that he would present a pro-Catholic petition signed by a large proportion of the townsfolk of Newcastle in due course. He concluded with the observation that the Anglican clergy would be better employed in combating the proliferation of those sects unfriendly to the establishment. Eldon's only comment was that the clergy had always done their duty.[43]

Opposition to Catholic Emancipation in the north east, then, came from the Anglican clergy and the lower middle-class and artisan Methodists, rallying to the old cry of No-Popery in a final attempt to 'preserve themselves, their families and their religion from destruction'. As to the feeling of the gentry of Newcastle, Losh told Grey, 'I can only say that I have not met above one or two Anti-Catholics in society since this measure was brought forward'. It is not known how extensive his social contacts were, but they obviously did not include Dean Henry Phillpotts.[44]

*

The Edinburgh Review, while deprecating his work, nevertheless, acknowledged that Henry Phillpotts had 'justly acquired the credit of

being about the ablest of those who espouse(d)' the anti-Catholic cause. Certainly, while many of the diocesan clergy of Durham were active in raising anti-Catholic petitions among the common people, Phillpotts was devoting his efforts to pamphleteering among the educated classes. The unusual role he played in the late 1820s has, however, gone largely unremarked in spite of its importance and the means of its execution. His elevation to the bishopric of Exeter has attracted most attention, not only for the scandal surrounding his bargaining over the appointment, but also because it is generally regarded as a reward for an overnight conversion to Catholic Emancipation. The reality is a little more complicated, and has to be seen over a longer timescale and in the exceptional circumstances in which Phillpotts found himself.[45]

Robert Southey's The Book of the Church, issued in 1824, was a defence of the Anglican establishment and an attack on pagans, papists and puritans. This inclusive assault came out in the midst of a sustained attempt to achieve Catholic Emancipation which appeared to be making considerable headway. Southey's book gained widespread approval in Tory circles (Bishop Barrington, for one, thanked him for it), and it raised yet another No-Popery furore. Appalled at the effect the book on the cause of emancipation, Charles Butler responded with The Book of the Roman Catholic Church in 1825. Butler's intention was to show that since Roman Catholics held a great deal in common with Anglicans, Southey's remarks were not only out of place but they perpetuated falsehoods that were used to deprive Catholics of their civil rights, which was the same line of argument used by Lingard over twenty years before. This exchange led to a full-scale controversy with, inevitably, contributions from the clergy of Durham. George Townsend published Accusations of History against the Church of Rome, for which he was rewarded with promotion to the tenth prebendal stall at Durham (worth £2,900 a year).[46] Phillpotts published Letters to Charles Butler Esq., on the Theological Parts of his Book, etc. (1825), which he dedicated to Bishop Barrington.[47] George Faber brought out The Difficulties of Romanism in the following year. All these works repudiated Butler's attempt to reconcile Catholics and Anglicans, and the main lines of the argument have been discussed elsewhere.[48]

Phillpotts continued his anti-Catholic crusade into 1826 with A Supplemental Letter to Charles Butler, etc. Then, in 1827 there appeared his Letter to Canning in which Papal supremacy figured large, and he insisted that no concessions could be made unless Catholics accepted genuine securities to protect the Protestant establishment. He even formulated a new oath for the purpose. This letter went into several

editions and it was widely welcomed by the ultras. Lord Kenyon was so impressed that he gave Phillpotts a series of letters that had passed between George III and Kenyon's father, the then Lord Chief Justice, relating to the king's understanding of his responsibilities under the Coronation Oath, by which he had always refused to permit further relief to be granted to the Catholics. Phillpotts published that correspondence in May 1827 but, according to many, the letters showed that the oath was not the obstacle the king had thought it to be.[49]

Important as his pamphlets were, however, it was not directly through them that Phillpotts came to exercise the greatest influence on the Catholic Question, but through a fortunate personal encounter. The Duke of Wellington visited the north east in September 1827 and met the Rector of Stanhope at Wynyard Park, the Durham home of the Marquess of Londonderry. Phillpotts gave the Duke copies of his pamphlets, and they discussed Catholic Emancipation. It may have been that the Duke acquainted Phillpotts with his private opinion that he would be prepared to reach a settlement with the Catholics, for the sake of peace in Ireland, on the basis of a Concordat with the Holy See which would give the British crown a veto on episcopal appointments. Wellington had come round to that view some two years before but he had kept quiet about it for fear of antagonising his ultra-Tory friends. At any rate, the Duke suggested that Phillpotts might usefully direct his thoughts 'to the question of communication with Rome'. That conversation might have been forgotten by Phillpotts had not the death of Canning later that year, and the resignation of his successor Goderich, unexpectedly brought Wellington to office as Prime Minister. His opinion on the Catholic Question was no longer academic.[50]

The Prime Minister sent for Phillpotts on 30th January 1828 and confided to him that concessions to the Catholics were under consideration, and he invited the canon to take discreet soundings as to how such a measure would be received by an unnamed individual. Phillpotts reported that his conversations had shown that the commonly held view was that if concessions had to be made, they should be accompanied by securities. With that, they opened a secret correspondence on the subject, which continued until the following February, when it was announced in the King's Speech that the government was to sponsor a settlement of the Catholic Question. Phillpotts frequently sought assurance from the Duke that his letters and memoranda were required, and he offered more than once to discontinue the correspondence. Wellington, however, proved receptive to Phillpotts' contributions, and he verbally encouraged him to do more research. It was not until February 1829 that Phillpotts told

the Archbishop of Canterbury and his own diocesan of the correspondence.[51]

Phillpotts began by forwarding a background paper showing that the Catholics could accept securities without doing violence to their consciences; the corollary was that the King could then accept emancipation without doing violence to his. That view was also expressed in a new pamphlet, A Letter to an English Layman, issued by Phillpotts to rebut criticism of the George III-Lord Kenyon correspondence. It is at this point that we should notice Phillpotts changing tack. Hitherto he had maintained that further Catholic relief could not be granted, firstly because no test could be devised that would satisfy all parties. Secondly, the Coronation Oath bound the King 'for ever to reject every specious pretence of political expediency which may be urged to divert him from his purpose' of refusing emancipation. It now seemed to Phillpotts, however, that a there was room for compromise after all, and that a mutually acceptable form of words could be found to overcome the King's scruples.[52]

This, by no means imperceptible, change of mind was due entirely to Phillpotts' knowledge of the line being pursued by the Prime Minister. Phillpotts was made Dean of Chester in March 1828, and he was in a difficult situation; he had a direct and confidential line to the premier on a matter about which his long-held and uncompromising views were well known, but he knew that the Duke was determined to grant Catholic Emancipation for the sake of peace in Ireland. Dean Phillpotts therefore had to recommend a policy to achieve the Duke's political aim without betraying his own, the preservation of the Anglican establishment. Like so many before him, Phillpotts insisted that if emancipation was inevitable then securities were the only worthwhile safeguards. His Letter to an English Layman prepared the public for his impending volte face.

All through 1828 and the early months of 1829 Phillpotts sent Wellington a stream of memoranda on the various aspects of securities, and a related subject close to his ecclesiastical heart, the 'presumption' of Catholic clerics in taking episcopal and rectorial titles, and the need for 'some enactment which shall meet this most flagrant abuse'. The point here was that the Pope was exercising jurisdiction within the kingdom. In January 1829 Phillpotts forwarded a paper which included an oath drafted by an unnamed Catholic gentleman, but Phillpotts' ultimate solution to the vexed problem of securities was that there would be no need for the crown to insist on a formal veto if a political agent was placed in Rome, for he would be able to exert 'unobtrusive influence' on the cardinals who were 'not inaccessible to presents adroitly bestowed'. His other major recommendation was to remedy the abuse of the forty-

shilling freeholder's franchise in Ireland, by which life-tenants were treated as freeholders. This would remove large numbers of insolent Irish Catholics from the electoral registers at a stroke.[53]

Wellington was ready to declare his hand by the summer of 1828. Already convinced that emancipation was essential if Ireland was to be kept at peace, Wellington's next step had been to inform himself thoroughly on all aspects of the problem, privately and through the medium of an ultra-Tory churchman. With those necessary preliminaries completed, he turned to the tactical problems of achieving his aim. He told the King on 1st August that emancipation was in his mind. Not unexpectedly, the King proved unreceptive and it was not until January 1829 that he (and Peel) would accept the measure, but only on the grounds urged upon them by Wellington - to avoid an Irish insurrection. It was also clear, by this time, that all bills relieving the Catholics were and would be passed by the House of Commons, and even in the House of Lords opinion was beginning to change.

There were four important northern peers in the upper house in addition to the Bishop of Durham: the Marquess of Londonderry, the Marquess of Cleveland, the Duke of Northumberland and Earl Grey. The latter's long-standing commitment to the Catholic cause has already been treated. William Henry Vane, Marquess of Cleveland was of a similar outlook. He had six parliamentary boroughs in his pocket and he was regarded by the Dublin Morning Post as one of the most zealous and useful friends of the Catholics: 'He makes it a positive condition with those to whom he gives his influence that they should vote for Catholic Emancipation'. His kinsman William Powlett, was a member for County Durham.[54]

Lord Charles Stewart succeeded as third Marquess of Londonderry at the death of his half-brother Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, in 1822. His sister was married to General Sir Henry Hardinge, M.P. for Durham City since 1820. Londonderry was an ultra-Tory who came round to the view that peace in Ireland was worth a few Catholic M.P.s. Provided emancipation became government policy, he said that 'his exertions would never be wanting in support of the Catholics'. Lord Ravensworth (Liddell) took a similar line; the other Durham peer, Lord Auckland (Eden) was unconditionally pro-Catholic.[55]

Hugh Percy, third Duke of Northumberland, was also an ultra-Tory. He, it will be remembered, had defeated Grey in the No-Popery election of 1807 as a young man of twenty-two, and he had spent five years in the Commons until his elevation to the Lords in 1817 at the death of his father. Northumberland withheld his proxy from the opponents of the Catholic Relief Bill of 1825, but he would agree with emancipation only

as a government measure, and he refused to join the Brunswick Club in 1828. Wellington offered him the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland in January 1829 because Northumberland was 'the most moderate of men: and most particularly so upon the Roman Catholic question'. He told Wellington he could see no objection to the removal of all points of spiritual doctrine and discipline from the oaths. The government should impose a 'simple but strong' oath of allegiance as the qualification for all civil offices, except some of the higher offices of state which should remain closed to the Catholics; no other securities would be necessary. This clear and robust common sense satisfied the Prime Minister, and the appointment was confirmed. Northumberland allowed his proxy to be cast in favour of the bill of Catholic Emancipation.[56]

Of the north eastern members of the House of Lords, then, only the Bishop of Durham was anti-Catholic. Bishop Barrington died in 1826, and he was succeeded by the very junior Bishop of Llandaff, William van Mildert. He was an ultra-High Church bishop of whom it was said, 'orthodoxy oozed out of his pores', and that he 'stood as firmly as any churchman against the nineteenth century'. He made an effective speech against the Catholic Relief Bill in 1825 in which he said that Catholics were excluded from political life not for their religious errors, but because they were Papists, and he advanced the same view in 1829. He was another who used the age-old cliche that some of his good friends were Catholics but he would nonetheless vote against their emancipation. His views were simple enough, he said, 'Only keep the Papists out of Parliament, and I care little what else is done for them'.[57]

The voting record of the north eastern peers and commoners between 1800 and 1829 on the Catholic Question was overwhelmingly pro-Catholic; only the Bishop of Durham Matthew Bell, Richard Wharton and Sir H.V. Tempest consistently voted against. The Duke of Northumberland and Lord Ravensworth voted against until it became a government measure. In 1829, the Bishops of Chester (Sumner) and St. David's (Burgess!), both prebendaries of Durham, voted for Catholic Emancipation. The Durham County Advertiser smouldered with rage against the act, the Durham Chronicle exulted.[58]

Catholic Emancipation had been enacted with hardly a backward look at the interminable debates on securities of the previous twenty years. The only security contained in the act was the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling Irish freeholders, there were no substantive ecclesiastical restrictions. The conclusion that the best security of all was emancipation without strings, reached by the Whigs long before, was at last, and more painfully, accepted by the Tories. Peace in Ireland was not only worth a Mass, it was worth an unfettered bench of bishops.

Furthermore, Wellington had not just achieved a surprise parliamentary majority for his bill, but he had avoided the public unrest that had followed upon the much more modest first Catholic Relief Act. That was partly due to a general acceptance of emancipation as a disagreeable but necessary measure; but it was also because the bill had been introduced by the victor of Waterloo. It was sufficient for ordinary people that their military hero was prepared to emancipate the Catholics, for if he could not be trusted, then who could? He would see to it that the Catholics did not over-reach themselves. Wellington was not a party ideologue, but a disinterested and objective national leader; it is doubtful if any politician, Whig or Tory, could have carried Catholic Emancipation with so little adverse reaction from among the common people.[59]

Phillpotts was not in the least dismayed by Catholic Emancipation. He had already moved from outright hostility to an acceptance of mutually agreed verbal securities. Now, without demur, he accepted a bill without any effective ecclesiastical securities at all. It seems clear that his relationship with Wellington, his patron after the death of Bishop Barrington, engendered a loyalty that superseded his long-held and fervent anti-Catholicism. He was raised to the episcopate as Bishop of Exeter in 1830. His elevation was inevitable at some point, and its connection with Catholic Emancipation is almost certainly coincidental; it will be recalled that Lord Liverpool had offered Phillpotts a bishopric long before.[60]

*

In his Charge of 1831, Bishop van Mildert lamented the passage of Catholic Emancipation, and encouraged his clergy to put it out of their minds:[61]

> Far better is it, for the peace of the community, and for its future welfare, that such things should be left to the historian hereafter to dilate upon, with a cooler judgement and a more impartial spirit than can be expected from contemporary observers.

In fact, the peace of the community had not been noticeably affected by the act. James Losh noted in his diary in May 1829 that 'the country is tranquil, and Catholic Emancipation is, I have no doubt, gradually producing the happiest effects'. Two years later the Earl of Durham said that events had proved emancipation to be essentially beneficial; parliament had been opened to 'as loyal, as honest, and as respectable men as are to be found in the country', and it had erased that 'foul blot of religious and political intolerance which had so long disgraced our constitution'.[61]

Durham's approbation stemmed partly from the fact that most of the northern Catholics were liberal in their politics. Parliamentary seats

were offered by the Whigs to H. Witham, W.T. Salvin and G. Silvertop at this time. It was thought that Salvin's Catholicism might lose him two hundred votes in an electorate of two thousand, and that was acceptable to the Whig party managers. Durham's agent regretted Witham's decision (for financial reasons) not to stand in 1837, because he would have been an excellent candidate whose 'election could be easily managed'. Charles Towneley of Stella and Towneley was prevented by his father from standing in the election of 1837, which was probably just as well because John Smith of Brooms thought Towneley would not have received much support in central Durham, which was 'supposed to be the most Tory neighbourhood' in the county.[62]

Catholics began to appear in public office in the thirties. Witham was High Sheriff in Durham, and Silvertop, followed by Charlton, in Northumberland. Dunn of Newcastle and Thompson of Durham were elected Mayor of their towns. In July 1831 it was reported that there were[63]

> three Catholic sheriffs and an alderman at chapel!! (The Rev.) Mr Riddell behaved very well for he stayed in town on purpose to come to chapel which he did in his carriage and six!! Consequently we had a full & gay chapel. What will the Reformation Society say to this?

Thomas Gibson was pricked for Sheriff of Newcastle in 1836 and elected Mayor six years later. He had the Rev. William Riddell of St. Andrews to say grace at his inaugural dinner, much to the fury of the anti-Catholic Newcastle Journal. The hunger for civic responsibility may be illustrated by William Charlton of Hesleyside, an indefatigable do-gooder after emancipation. In the thirties he built the workhouse at Bellingham, became a magistrate, Poor Law Guardian and Honorary Road Surveyor for the area. His wife remarked that he found his native locality 'without either roads or railways and left it with both'. There was, then, no lack of encouragement for the Catholics to enter public life. Immediately after emancipation the Corporation of Berwick rescinded its prohibition on the appointment of Catholics as Freemen, and unanimously voted the honour on Sir Carnaby Haggerston.[64]

There were, however, some northern Catholics who maintained a radicalism even more pronounced than that of 'Radical Jack' Durham and George Silvertop, who was Beaumont's proposer at the general election of 1832.[65] This outlook can be traced to ideas inculcated in them during the long struggle for emancipation. That campaign was conducted largely in libertarian terms, and concepts of freedom and justice dominated Catholic political thinking. Catholics always vigorously repudiated any association of their religion with autocracy, reaction and superstition. While the attachment of the English Radicals to their cause was a source

of embarrassment to many of the Catholic gentry, who sought to achieve emancipation within the existing political order and who deprecated the excesses of the Irish leaders, a substantial number of plebeian English Catholics were radicalised by the campaign. Fully imbued with the reforming values of a recently liberated minority, they enthusiastically joined the campaigns for parliamentary reform and other egalitarian causes in the 1830s. That political stance was bound up with the social changes within the Catholic body. Missions in the towns were now autonomous; most were staffed by priests from the lower middle-class, and were free of gentry control; the urban lay leadership became increasingly self-confident, independently -minded and sympathetic to emergent working-class politics. The most notable example of this type of radical Catholic was Charles Larkin a second-generation Irish Tyneside surgeon.

Larkin was born in County Durham in 1800, the eldest son of a gardener turned innkeeper, who kept the Black Boy in the Groat Market in Newcastle. Charles was intended for the Church, and he was sent to Ushaw College to be educated accordingly. He proved to have no vocation for the priesthood and he left the college to enter the medical profession under the tutelage of a Newcastle surgeon. Larkin was not the only one to leave Ushaw College for that reason. The Darlington-born John Wilson Ewbank, RSA, (1799-1847) left to follow an artistic career but, 'as prosperity met him, moral fortitude retreated, and he fell, day by day, into habits of dissipation from which no efforts of his friends were ever able to extricate him'. Larkin had a quite different nature.[66]

Having qualified as a doctor, Larkin went into practice in Pilgrim Street. He made a name for himself for his joint efforts with the Rev. James Worswick in the care of the victims of an epidemic of cholera in the poor Westgate district of the city in 1831. He had also become well-known by then as one of the most effective political agitators and orators in the north east. He was a leading member of the Northern Political Union, formed by the Radicals in June 1831 to fight for political reform and other democraticising causes, on which Larkin spoke eloquently and forcefully at an increasing number of public meetings.[67]

The Church was hostile to the development of trade unionism at this time, not so much because it was a working-class movement, but because of the mystery that surrounded its proceedings. The use of secret oaths and initiation rites was, in the Church's view, synonymous with freemasonry, and in any case can only have been necessary if the real purpose of the union was subversive.[68] Whether that was the reason is not clear, but a number of working-class insurance schemes did specifically

debar Catholics from membership. The Church got round that by establishing its own Friendly Societies in the 1820s, and keeping them under partial clerical control. The Newcastle upon Tyne Catholic Friendly Society was founded in 1823 under the patronage of the Rev. James Worswick, the presidency of Anthony Hodgson and the trusteeship of Charles Larkin. The aim of the Society was 'the maintenance and assistance of each other in sickness, advanced age, etc., and for the widows and children of deceased members'. There were one hundred and thirty members at the Annual General Meeting and Dinner in 1826, which was held at Larkin's public house. The convening notice reminded the members of the twenty third rule of the Society which made the member who neglected his Easter duty for two successive years liable to expulsion. A strong Catholic ethos was apparent in other rules. Members who missed memorial and anniversary Masses for deceased members were fined sixpence, and members who were irregular in their attendance at Sunday Mass were to be reprimanded by the president.[69]

The Catholic Directory for 1827 said that the Society was the only one in Newcastle to have registered under the act of 1819 which regulated Friendly Societies. That notice went on

> This institution, which was very much wanted in this town, in consequence of the Catholics being ineligible as members of most of the friendly societies in it, although it has existed only three years, has completely answered the expectations of its promoters.

Ten years later, however, it was reported that the funds of the Society had been decreasing over the previous few years as a result of the cholera epidemic of the winter of 1831/2, in which some four hundred and fifty lives were lost, eighty of which were Catholic. The Society may have been wound up at this point, for nothing more is heard of it. It may have been absorbed into or succeeded by the Newcastle Hibernian Benevolent Society, which was established in 1835 with similar aims, although wholly Irish in composition, and intended to provide insurance for a cheaper premium which poor immigrants could afford.[70]

Larkin's involvement in the Friendly Society was the least controversial of his activities, for he was an avowed revolutionary; 'revolution is the alternative of reform', he said. In one particularly outspoken speech he made in May 1832 about resistance to reform, he warned the King to remember the fate of Louis XVI, and the Queen to meditate on what had happened to Marie Antoinette, 'whose fairer head than ever graced the shoulders of Adelaide, Queen of England, rolled upon the scaffold'. Those remarks were debated in the House of Lords and a warrant was issued for Larkin's arrest on a charge of high treason. The Reform Bill was passed three weeks later, however, and the charge was dropped.

Doctor Larkin did not become a Chartist, nor did he remain in the Northern Political Union. When members of the Union attacked the 'superstitious and savage tyrants of Catholic Spain and Portugal', Larkin resigned. He did, however, pursue an independent campaign for further parliamentary reform. In 1836 he even started a newspaper, the Newcastle Standard, to promulgate his views, but it lasted only six months.[71]

Larkin was also outspoken and theologically literate in the public defence of the Church. His refutation of The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk (1836) was thought especially effective, and the local Catholics presented the doctor with £100 and a silver tea and coffee service. In speech, pamphlet and letters to the newspapers, Larkin also attacked the anti-Catholic fulminations of the Reformation Society on Tyneside, which continued with its No-Popery crusade despite Catholic Emancipation. Joseph Curr, chaplain at Callaly Castle, became heavily embroiled in a controversy with the Society and the clergy of Coquetdale in 1835. The subject-matter was much the same as that which had been discussed by Lingard and Barrington at the beginning of the century, and showed that anti-Catholicism was alive and well. Catholic Defence Societies were formed in almost every town of the region at this time.[72]

In 1836 Larkin delivered a series of lectures on the evils of the Anglican establishment, which, no doubt, served to confirm the worst fears of the local High Church party that Catholic Emancipation would lead ultimately to disestablishment. Indeed, Bishop van Mildert held that Larkin's ideas, as well as the prevailing anticlericalism and the 'spread of free enquiry', were deliberately aimed at the overthrow of the National Church. It was with that consideration in mind that the bishop and one of his canons, Charles Thorp, established the University of Durham. They hoped that by using ecclesiastical revenues for educational purposes, criticisms of Church wealth would be deflected and that Church endowments could be retained for the use of the diocese. The bishop also intended the new university to become a bastion of High Churchmanship, and to increase the number of suitably educated candidates for Anglican Holy Orders.[73]

Bishop van Mildert appointed the influential High Church theologian Hugh James Rose to be the first Professor of Divinity in the university. He was a member of the Oxford Movement, which had set out to reassert the catholicity and independence of the Anglican Church. He had founded and was editor of the British Magazine, the standard-bearer of High Church principles. John Henry Newman contributed to the magazine, but he felt more energetic methods were needed to disseminate his ideas, and so he, with John Keble and Hurrell Froude, formed an association to publish

large numbers of cheap tracts. The first of these Tracts for the Times appeared in September 1833, at about the time Rose went to Durham. Rose was dogged by ill-health and he resigned his professorship after only a few months. He took no further part in the Oxford Movement, and he died before the neo-Romanism of the Tractarians became apparent and before Newman seceded to Rome.[74]

The Rev. Henry Jenkyns succeeded Rose at Durham. He too was a High Churchman, and his lectures provided an anti-Roman polemic to counter the Tractarians. The higher clergy of the diocese were also engaged in the same campaign. Archdeacon George Townsend issued anti-Tractarian Charges in 1837 and 1838; in 1845 he reissued his Accusations of History against the Church of Rome, which had first appeared in 1825 in the controversy with Charles Butler. Townsend went to Rome in 1850 to try to convert the Pope. Archdeacon Robert Thorp's Charges of 1842 and 1843 warned the clergy against attaching importance to crosses, vestments and liturgical ceremonial; in 1845 he congratulated them for standing firm in defence of Anglicanism. George Faber, like Townsend, and old anti-Catholic warrior of Barrington's episcopate, also chipped in.[75]

Hardly any conversions to Roman Catholicism were made in the diocese of Durham at this time. The Rev. Francis Henry Laing, Curate of Egglingham in Northumberland became a Catholic in 1846, as did the Rev. Nicholas Darnell, son of the Rector of Stanhope in 1852. Elizabeth, the wife of J.W. Bowden, one of Newman's greatest friends, and the daughter of Sir John Edward Swinburne of Capheaton became a Catholic and her two sons became Oratorian priests. John Edward Bowden was Frederick Faber's biographer, and Charles Bowden was Newman's godson. The most significant convert, though this would not be apparent for many years, was Thomas William Wilkinson of Harperly Park, near Wolsingham, who graduated and obtained a Licentiate of Theology from Durham University in 1845. He became a Catholic the following year, at the age of twenty one, and in December 1848 he was ordained a priest and sent into Weardale to found a mission in the new and booming township of Tow Law, to which a large number of Irish immigrants had been attracted by a recently-opened ironworks. Wilkinson would go on to become the fifth Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, and twelfth President of Ushaw College.[76]

Larkin's views on establishment gained him the admiration of the Nonconformists of Newcastle, and he endeared himself to the Radicals and self-improving artisans in 1842 when he denounced the Sabbatarians for proposing to close the Central News Room on Sundays. Larkin's greatest locus of popularity, however, was within the growing Irish Catholic community of Newcastle, which numbered some three thousand in 1841.

Larkin consistently espoused the Irish nationalist cause. He led the welcome for Daniel O'Connell when the Irish leader visited Newcastle in 1835; O'Connell knew Larkin's writings and praised them. The Vicars Apostolic, however, treated the Irish with extreme suspicion. Bishop Briggs excluded members of the nationalist secret society, The Knights of St. Patrick, from the sacraments in 1835, and the bishops were most reluctant to place Irish priests on the mission. Philip Kearney, missioner in Sunderland, was the only Irish-born priest practising in the north east in 1829. Bishop Riddell declined the offer of a priest from Waterford in 1845 because he was 'rather afraid of introducing an Irishman at present so near to Newcastle', where the greatest concentration of immigrants was. A year later, however, he appointed the Irish ex-Dominican Antony McDermott to Felling. Although McDermott was there only four months, he impressed the bishop because he 'kept very much by himself and always professed a disinclination to mix with the low Irish and take part in their squabbles'.[77]

Bishop Riddell doubtless had in mind incidents like that which occurred in January 1843:[78]

> As Robert Owen, the wellknown Socialist, was lecturing in the Lecture Room, Newcastle, an Irishman attempted to get on to the platform to reply to the statements of the lecturer. He was, however, ejected, upon which he obtained a reinforcement of his countrymen, and commenced an attack on the doors of the building with sticks, broken bed-posts, chair legs, etc. In a few minutes they forced an entrance and soon compelled the audience to retreat through the doors and windows. The Irishmen were fortunately satisfied with this victory and did not commit any serious injury.

On another occasion, in 1845, Bernard McAnulty 'with a battalion of Irish navvies', then laying the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway line (for William Charlton of Hesleyside), broke up a meeting of the North of England Protestant Alliance. McAnulty had gone to Newcastle in 1838 from Ireland and made his fortune as a linen-merchant. He became highly active in local Irish politics in the late 1840s as President of the Repeal Association of Newcastle and also as President of the newly-founded Confederate Club, a militant branch of the Young Ireland Movement.[79]

Politically excitable laymen were one thing, but the bishop could not allow a priest to become involved, however remotely, in such unseemly behaviour or the Church would suffer. The fear of rabble-rousing priests faded slowly; in 1847/8 two Ushaw-trained Irish priests became missioners in the region (John Kelly at Felling and Francis Kearney at Brooms), but it was not until the 1850s that Irish-trained and Gaelic-speaking priests were placed on the mission in the north east. Ralph Platt was the missioner at Stella where the Catholic population increased

from 660 in 1847 to 1,100 in 1855. Many of these were Irish immigrants whose first language was Gaelic. Platt was one of the very few English priests to take the trouble to learn that tongue in order to communicate freely with those for whom he was pastor.[80]

Larkin's devotion to his church did not extend to what he considered to be inegalitarian practices within it. He particular abhorred pew-rents and door-pence, and he no doubt had in mind the large numbers of poor Irish people who could not afford to pay either. Larkin had a blazing row with James Worswick when the latter introduced the charges at St. Mary's in 1844. He issued A Letter addressed to Bishop Riddell on the sin of simony of selling seats in churches. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps supported him in a private letter, but Larkin sent the letter to a local newspaper with a covering note applauding Phillipps' criticism of the 'vile abuses' of the clergy. Phillipps repudiated Larkin's terminology, but a full-scale row on the matter followed. The bishop pointed out that St. Mary's had a debt of £3,000, and there was no income except from the contributions of the congregation. Privately, he deprecated Phillipps' support for someone whom he considered 'one of the bitterest enemies to Catholicity in this town', which was going a little too far in view of Larkin's record of championing the Catholic cause. The bishop, however, went on to doubt if Larkin had 'been to Mass on a Sunday for half a dozen years', that he never went to Mass on holidays, and that Larkin had 'not approached the sacraments for (I daresay) twenty years'. Whatever the truth about Larkin's personal religious practice, he was, nonetheless, tireless in defence of the faith against the anti-Catholicism which was a continuing element in the political and ecclesiastical life of the region, quite apart from the excesses of the Reformation Society.[81]

The general election of 1841 was largely about the establishment of the Church, and several calls were made for the repeal of Catholic Emancipation. It was the restoration of the English Catholic hierarchy in 1850, however, that occasioned the most severe bout of anti-Catholicism in England since the Gordon Riots. Edward Maltby, Bishop of Durham, wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, protesting at what he called this 'Papal Aggression'. Russell's reply, which was published in The Times, also condemned the Pope's action, and he deplored Cardinal Wiseman's grandiose proclamation of it. The restoration represented unacceptable papal interference in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom and a usurpation of the royal prerogative. An outraged parliament passed the Ecclesiastical Titles Act in 1851. It was said that the Catholics caused Sir George Grey, M.P. for North Northumberland, to be

unseated by the Liberal Wentworth Beaumont in the general election of 1852 in reprisal for his role in the affair as Home Secretary. During the agitation over the matter, Larkin delivered lectures on 'The Pope and Cardinal Wiseman', on Russell's 'Durham Letter', and on the 'Re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy'. These were almost his last contributions to religious controversy, but he did write an occasional column on political and other current affairs for the local press until 1868. Charles Larkin died a few days after a visit from Bishop Henry Chadwick in February 1879.[82]

It is most unfortunate that none of Larkin's private papers have survived, for he was the dominant lay Catholic figure in the north east for over twenty years after 1830. He was considerably to the left in his politics, but he was not unrepresentative of the newly-enfranchised urban Catholics, both indigenous and immigrant, who clearly gave him considerable support. It has been remarked that the Catholic Church in Newcastle, though weak in numbers, was strong in enthusiasm and radical in its politics. By national origin and politics, Doctor Charles Larkin was a natural spokesman for the Catholic community in the region. While James Worswick, the principal Tyneside priest for almost fifty years, was a close friend and colleague, despite their differences over Church finance, the local Catholic hierarchy did not welcome Larkin as the champion of the Church. His outspokenness on all social, theological and political topics of the day, his enthusiastic radicalism and his Irish nationalism did not incline the bishops to him, at least in the thirties and forties. Nevertheless, Larkin became an unofficial spokesman by default. In 1840 he published, anonymously, an open letter in the Durham Chronicle to Bishop Briggs 'on the apathy of the Catholic clergy in the Northern District' in the face of anti-Catholic propaganda. Larkin, then, did fill a gap in the public life of the northern Church in the propagation of the faith, quite apart from his purely political contribution to the advancement of the working-class, of which the Catholic Church on Tyneside was then largely comprised.[83]

The Earl of Derwentwater led the rural Northumbrian Catholics in the Jacobite cause at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A little over one hundred years later, the lay leadership of the northern Catholics had fallen to Charles Larkin, a middle-class urban Radical. That switch exemplifies the transformation which the Catholic Church and its members had undergone during the intervening period.

Conclusion

The creation of the northern vicariate in 1688 inaugurated an age of radical transformation in the Catholic Church in north east England. The regenerated episcopal regime formalised existing ad hoc missionary arrangements, regularised the misson's finances and introduced the first stage of clerical administration. The new system engendered a spirit of confidence in the future among the laity and the clergy which inspired a revival of the mission. Most missions stations in the region were instituted in the last fifteen to twenty years of the seventeenth century. Individuals began to bequeath substantial capital sums for the support of a missionary priest on a permanent basis in a given locality. Priests were appointed to specific ministries, either in a chaplaincy or, more rarely, in an independent mission. Incumbents began to be succeeded as a matter of course at their death or removal elsewhere, and congregations came to expect continuity of pastoral care. As a result, a permanent network of priests and chapels extended throughout the region by 1730. Of course, priests went about discreetly, chapels were inconspicuously sited and modestly furnished, and liturgical practice was restrained. Nevertheless, the achievement of a comprehensive deployment at such an early date is remarkable given the Church's status as a proscribed institution. The geographical distribution reached at that point could remain more or less unchanged for almost a century. The Church, moreover, demonstrated great resilience, for the events of 1715 and 1745 caused no more than the briefest suspension in the conduct of the Church's activity.

Notwithstanding the cooperation between priests and lay patrons in reviving and sustaining the mission, that partnership had largely broken down by the end of the eighteenth century, and the administration of the mission was bedevilled by squabbling over jurisdictional matters. The balance of power lay with the gentry who financed the mission, and they demanded an over-riding control of the chaplains and chapels which they supported. Advanced though missionary development was, further progress was inhibited because of their reluctance to allow the mission to adjust to changing circumstances. Problems over the continuity of priestly tenure also arose when the apostasy, bankruptcy or extinction of a pat-

ronal family occurred.

The letters of Henry Rutter and Robert Banister illustrate some of the restrictions and the discomfiture of a chaplain's life in a gentry household; their few compliments are reserved for individuals who promoted religion, by which they meant deference to the clergy. Rutter's unnerving experiences as tutor to a young English Catholic gentleman in France coloured his outlook for the rest of his life, but his treatment was characteristic of that endured by chaplains everywhere. In short, the Church suffered more at the hands of its own gentry at this time than it did from Protestants.

The dictatorial manner of patrons was much resented, and increasingly restive chaplains began to devise the means of their own domestic liberation. By the end of the eighteenth century the majority of patrons had been brought to recognise that their priorities differed from those of their chaplains, and they agreed to severe the irksome residential ties. Most priests moved out of the mansions and into cottages in nearby villages to lead independent lives encompassing a wider sphere of operations. Concurrently, domestic chapels were replaced by less obviously private chapels and churches. At the same time, despite its limited resources, the Church quietly but resolutely consolidated its presence in the towns, taking every opportunity after the Catholic Relief Act of 1791 to improve its independent mission properties; it had even embarked on a programme of prestigious church-building in several of the major towns of the region before Catholic Emancipation. The costs of that development were borne almost entirely by the newly-emergent middle- and working-class congregations for whose benefit it was intended. In these ways, the Church's centre of gravity moved out of the rural mansions into the villages and towns. Although the seigneurial system could still be detected in several places, the lay gentry had lost control of the mission to the Vicar Apostolic. Without such a fundamental change in its organisation and management, the Church would not have had either the ethos or the urban and suburban base frm which it could begin to meet the challenge of the 1840s when the Catholic population soared.

Substantial change also came about in the socio-political character of the northern Catholics. They were fully integrated socially and economically at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and, provided they did not disturb the political and ecclesiastical status quo, they were left in peace. That understanding was not seriously undermined by the outbreak of activist Jacobitism. The northern Catholics were all Jacobite sympathisers but most were reluctant rebels. Given the importance of the north east in Jacobite strategy, it is remarkable that the response

to the Chevalier's call to arms in 1715 was so grudging. Though their loyalties were not in doubt, and despite their close kinship and social ties, most Catholic families restricted their involvement in the Fifteen to a minimum. Jacobite fervour was tempered by dynastic and financial considerations. For the most part, the Catholic rebels comprised a small group of young gentlemen motivated by their friendship with two of the leading rebels, Lord Widdrington and the Earl of Derwentwater. Few Catholic families of the region were penalised for their participation in the rising; forfeitures were boldly resisted to the end and, in the event, were negligible. The affected families resumed their normal lives almost immediately.

The poverty of the Northumbrian Catholic gentry of the eighteenth century has been greatly exaggerated, as they themselves intended. A superficial reading of their estate-registers shows them to have been heavily indebted and close to insolvency, but a close analysis reveals a comfortable and creditworthy group of land-owners and coal rentiers, well able to bear the normal financial commitments of jointures, dowries and so on, common to all gentry families. The ruination suffered by some Catholics later in the century had nothing to do with Jacobitism but was generally the consequence of heavy expenditure on new mansions, or the lack of an alternative source of income with which to arrest the progressive fragmentation of a small and marginally profitable estate which was their only resource. Nor was the extinction of a number of Catholic names attributable to the outcome of the Jacobite Fifteen. That was a natural process due to a failure to produce a male heir to continue the dynasty - a misfortune not limited to Catholic families.

The Fifteen was the last occasion on which Catholics threatened the English Crown and Church (although it was always assumed that that was the raison d'etre of Popery). Few became involved in the Forty-five, and most quietly dropped their Jacobitism and turned to the more immediate and realisable aim of their own relief. The unemphatic character of English Catholicism in the post-Jacobite years of the eighteenth century was fashioned in part to avoid inflaming incipient anti-Catholicism. The equivocal situation of formal proscription and informal toleration in which the Catholics found themselves, is particularly evident in the results of the many surveys on them carried out duuring the second half of the century. All investigations into the northern Catholics showed that there was nothing to differentiate them sociologically from the rest of the population. They lived in almost every part of the region and they were present in all age groups of either sex. They could be found in all classes, and they were employed in much the same way as

everyone else, save for their exclusion from official places. Through the skill of their lawyers and the good offices of non-Catholic friends and neighbours, Catholic gentlemen were able to develop their estates and engage in commercial and industrial enterprises without interference. In the same way, they were permitted to sponsor missionary activity which was unobtrusive.

Only in one sociological respect did the Catholics differ, and that was their failure to increase as a proportion of the population. The number of Catholics in the region fell after reaching a maximum around mid-century. This was partly attributable to the low temperature of English Catholic spirituality which, in general, kept the Church self-effacing and unadventurous architecturally, liturgically and pastorally. There was, moreover, the difficulty of sustaining the faith in a widely scattered population. But the fall in numbers was also an unintended consequence of social and economic integration. Intermarriage with non-Catholics was commonplace and, in a substantial number of cases, this led to losses immediately or in the next generation. Additional factors, which affected other Churches too, such as war, geographical mobility associated with industrialisation and urbanisation, also took their toll of the already tiny Catholic community. It was only after 1815, when the population became more settled, that Catholic numbers began to rise. Recruitment was easier after Catholic Emancipation when the Church was more active and visible. The thesis that there was a continuous growth in the English Catholic population during this period is not borne out in north east England. Evidently, the high level of Irish immigration into England at the end of the eighteenth century was sufficient to off-set the overall decline in the indigenous Catholic population, but that simple aggregate conceals an important distributional feature. The majority of the Irish immigrants were concentrated in north west England until the 1830s, and it was only then that significant numbers crossed the northern Pennines. Certainly, it was not until the closing years of the period covered in this study that the English Catholics of north east England were out-numbered by the Irish. At that point the Church was precipitated into an age of new and awesome pastoral demands.

Although the English Catholics were fully integrated into northern society from the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were denied the franchise and excluded from public office. It did not help clerical-lay relationships that the political ambitions of the clergy were satisfied by the Relief Act of 1791, whereas exclusion remained a mortifying deprivation for the laity who wished to take their places on the bench, in the corporations and in parliament, and to place their sons in the

Royal Navy and the Army. It became a matter of some concern to the Vicars Apostolic that the lay gentry seemed so intent on recovering their political rights that they appeared ready to sacrifice a number of ecclesiastical prerogatives and to associate the Catholic cause with that of the Radicals. The majority of northern Catholics were certainly vigorous protagonists in the long debate over Catholic Emancipation, and they were welcome participants in Whig election campaigns and on the hustings. A burst of pamphleteering between the Bishop of Durham and the Rev. John Lingard at the beginning of the nineteenth century set the national tone on the matter, and it showed how far apart the two sides were, and how difficult it would be to reach a settlement acceptable to all. It turned out that Catholic Emancipation was enacted entirely for pragmatic reasons of state, and almost without reference to the Anglican or Roman Catholic Churches. As had been feared by their ecclesiastics, the urban Catholics had indeed associated their own emancipation with parliamentary reform and other liberalising issues, and had been radicalised as a result. Indeed, so far had the Catholics shed their Jacobite past that, far from desiring a restoration of the Stuarts, many of them had become republicans.

Thus, in little more than a century, almost every aspect of north-eastern Catholic life had been transformed. At the beginning of the period the Catholic mission was housed largely in the country mansions of the rural gentry who, for all practical purposes, directed it for their own benefit and that of their families and immediate dependents. At the end of the period, most Catholics attended independent missions in the towns and congregations were comprised largely of the new working-class. Concurrently, the Catholics had moved from Jacobitism to Radicalism or advanced Liberalism.

In his sermon The Second Spring, given at the first Synod of the restored English hierarchy in 1852, John Henry Newman described what he supposed Catholic life had been like in pre-Emancipation England. The English Catholic community, he said, had been reduced to 'a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about'. The English Catholics were to be 'found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the housetops, or in the recesses of the country; cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen, as if through a mist or in twilight, as ghosts flitting to and fro'. Newman's typical Catholic was 'an elderly person, seen walking in the streets, grave and solitary, and strange, though noble in bearing, and said to be of good family', who lived in 'an old-fashioned house of gloomy appearance, closed in with high walls, with an iron gate, and yews'. Newman reduced the Synod to

tears with these words, but he described a literary invention, not an historical reality. His source was more likely to have been Barnaby Rudge (1841) by Charles Dickens, rather than his own experience or, indeed, that of his audience.[1]

Of course, the occasion on which Newman spoke demanded a recognition of the distance the English Catholics had travelled from the darkest days of persecution to those of a newly-restored hierarchy, and his extravagant hyperbole is perhaps excusable on that account. Newman's portrayal has, however, proved exceptionally difficult to modify, and it persists in many quarters to this day.[2] Yet it is impossible to fit Callaly Castle, Hesleyside or Stella Hall into Newman's picture. Notwithstanding the quiet spirituality of the old 'Garden of the Soul Catholics', and their suspicion of the 'more fervid and expansive' devotions of Newman's day,[3] the Claverings, Haggerstons, Maires and Withams are unrecognisable as members of Newman's gens lucifuga. The Catholics of the north east had long since emerged from the shadows, shrugged off their professional disabilities and become resourceful champions of their own political emancipation. The neighbourliness and cheerful sociability between the Catholics and Protestants of Northumberland and Durham testified to the disinclination of the Catholics to be kept down, as much as to the willingness of Protestants to draw a distinction between an individual and his religion. It has been said of the north west at the beginning of the eighteenth century that[4]

> the very character of Lancashire served to insure Catholic security with the formidable terrain of the north, its gossipy parochialism, and the compassion of good neighbours ranged as impregnable battlements against the intimidation of the pursuivant or the informer.

As this study has shown, a similar compact obtained in the north east.

Notes and References

Introduction

1. B. Hemphill, The Early Vicars Apostolic of England (1954), passim. L. Gooch, 'The Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District': Part 1, 1688-1790, NCH 16; Part 2, NCH 17 (1982/3).

2. John Bossy has defined a seigneurial congregation as one that included 'a family of Catholic landowners of whose house their chapel formed part, and who supported the priest who ministered to them'. ('Four Catholic congregations in rural Northumberland, 1750-1850', RH 9/2, p.93.)

3. J.C.D. Clarke cites no study of Catholic Jacobitism in 'The recent debate on Jacobitism after 1714' in Revolution and Rebellion (1986), Appendix B.

4. Of the three major bills (1813, 1821 and 1825), the first was abandoned after its sabotage by the Speaker, and the others were rejected by the Lords after having passed the Commons. Of the seven minor bills, one (1807) was vetoed by the King; four (1819, 1822, 1823, 1824) were negatived by the Lords; and only two (1817, 1824) were passed both houses.

5. Pitt resigned in 1801 because of the King's opposition to emancipation, and in 1804 Addington resigned because his government was too weak without Pitt. In 1807 the Grenville ministry refused to pledge itself against emancipation and resigned; and in 1809 the Whigs and Grenvillites refused to join Perceval's administration for the same reason. Catholic relief played a considerable part in the ministerial crisis of 1812. Progress on the matter was so encouraging in 1825 that the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, was almost driven to resignation; even after gaining an increased majority in the general election of 1826 the stability of his government was threatened by the divisions between the ultra and liberal (Canningite) Tories on the question. Emancipation was the major difficulty in the formation of Canning's ministry in 1827, and it was the main cause of the collapse of Goderich's in 1828. The passage of emancipation in 1829 was responsible for the fall of the Tories in 1830 and their split. (G.I.T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics (Oxford, 1964), passim.)

6. F. O'Ferrall, Catholic Emancipation: Daniel O'Connell and the birth of Irish democracy, 1820-30 (1985), 269.

7. Op. cit., chapter 4.

8. E. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century, (Oxford, 1984), Preface.

9. Loc. cit.

10. J.C.H. Aveling, Post-Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire, (York, 1960); Catholic Recusancy in the West Riding, 1588-1791 (Leeds, 1963); Northern Catholics, Recusancy in the North Riding, 1588-1791 (1966); Catholic Recusancy in York, 1558-1791 (CRS, Monograph 2, 1970); 'Some aspects of Yorkshire Recusant History', SCH 4 (Leiden, 1967): J.A. Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire, 1660-1791 (CRS, Monograph 1, 1968); M. Rowlands, 'Catholics in Staffordshire from the Revolution to the Relief Acts, 1698-1791' (Birmingham, M.A., 1965); M. Kinoulty,'Roman Catholicism in West Sussex in the 18th Century' (Lampeter, M.A., 1983); J. Champ, 'St. Martin's Parish, Birmingham, in 1767: A study of urban Catholicism', RH 15/5 (1981); G. Connolly, 'Catholicism in Manchester and Salford, 1770-1850' (Manchester, Ph.D., 1980).

11. J. Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (1975), 297.

12. B. Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England, 1781-1803 (2 vols., 1909), I, x/xi.

13. Op. cit., 287/299.

14. Ibid., 182f. Bossy's material was first published in art. cit., and 'More Northumbrian Congregations', RH 10/1, (1969), 11.

15. Ibid., 322.

16. For example, D. Holmes, More Roman than Rome (1978), 22.

17. J.H. Treble, 'The Place of the Irish Catholics in the Social Life of the North of England, 1829-51', (Leeds, Ph.D. 1969); R.J. Cooter, 'The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle, 1840-80'(Durham, M.A., 1973); S. Doherty, 'English and Irish Catholics in Northumberland, c.1745-c.1860', (Belfast, Ph.D.,1987).

18. D. Milburn, A History of Ushaw College, (Ushaw, 1964).

19. B. Ward, op. cit.; The Eve of Catholic Emancipation (3 vols. 1911-12); The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 1830-50, (2 vols. 1915); Hemphill, op. cit.; W.M. Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, 1400 to 1875 (1876).

Part I, Chapter 1.

1. Cf. J.H. Whyte, 'The Vicars Apostolics' Returns of 1773', RH 9/4, (1968), 209.

2. House of Lords Manuscripts, 'Returns of Papists': 1705; 1767; 1780. Some aspects of the returns of 1767 from County Durham have been examined by A. Forster in, 'Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham in 1767', UM 72, (1962), 68. There is no record of the reasons why the 1767 census was ordered. The Journals of the House of Lords, 1765-7 merely record the Address to the King (27th May) and the presentation of the returns (21st Dec.). For the origin of the 1780 returns see L. Gooch, 'The last Recusants of the North East: The reports of 1780 and 1787', NCH 27, (1988), 7. In what follows here I have expanded my work on County Durham in 'The Durham Catholics and Industrial Development, 1560-1850' (York, M.A., 1984) to include Northumberland and Hexhamshire.

3. Auckland Castle Durham Episcopal Records: 'Clergy Visitation Returns': 1732; 1774; 1792; 1810; 1814. (Held in Dept. of Paleography & Diplomatic, University of Durham.)

4. J.C. Hodgson, The Register of the Estates of Roman Catholics in Northumberland (SS 131, 1918); C.R. Hudleston (Ed.), Durham Recusants' Estates, 1717-78 (SS 173/5, 1962/5).

5. Actually it was John Thornton. I have not sighted the returns from the Diocese of York (for Hexhamshire). Quotations from the returns of 1705 will be identified in the text by reference to the parish without footnotes.

6. C. Fiennes, Through England on a Side-saddle in the Time of William and Mary, (1697), 180.

7. Durham University Library, Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts, No. 91, fol. 135, 41. The date of 1705 and the author of this document has been identified by M.S. Child in 'Prelude to the Revolution: The structure of politics in County Durham, 1678-88', (Durham Ph.D., 1972), 383.

8. 'Particulars of Priests in England and Wales, 1692, from the archives of the Old Brotherhood', CRS 9 (1911), 114.

9. C.S. Terry, The Chevalier de St. George (1901), 31.

10. C.E. Whiting, Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, (1940), passim; C.J. Stranks, 'The Charities of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe and Dr. John Sharp, 1721-1976', Durham Cathedral Lecture (Durham, 1976), 3-6; B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746, (1980), 120; Child, thesis cited, 392; R. Sharp, '100 years of a lost cause: Non-juring principles in Newcastle

from the Revolution to the death of Prince Charles Edward Stuart', AA(5) vol. 8, 35f.

11. The Newcastle Courant and the Gentleman's Magazine carried social news; for diaries see J.C. Hodgson, Six North Country Diaries (SS 118 (1910); L. Charlton (Ed.), Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady 1815-1866 (1949), 124-5; SS vols. 131, 173, 175, passim; G. Watson, Northumberland Villages (1976), 132; for burials, see SS 131, 21n., 41n., 58n; J.M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet (Durham, 1981), 69. For pews in Lancashire, see M. Blundell (Ed.), Blundell's Diary and Letter-book 1702-1728, (Liverpool, 1952), 129. There are large numbers of portraits in the remaining Catholic mansions of the region. The Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle has some portraits of the Northumbrian Catholics including one of Mrs Elizabeth Riddell by Reynolds. The Riddells were also painted by Gainsborough and Ramsay (cf. NCoH 6, p.266. Van Dyck painted Sir William Widdrington (I), cf. F.J.A. Skeet, History of the Families of Skeet, Wilby, Widdrington and others (1906), 95.

12. W.C. Mitchell, History of Sunderland (1919), 68.

13. F. Vaughan, 'Bishop Leyburn and his Confirmation Register of 1687', NCH 12 (1980), 14. Leyburn also confirmed 640 people at Cliffe Hall, some of whom would have been inhabitants of County Durham.

14. G. Bennett, 'English Jacobitism, 1700-15: Myth and Reality', TRHS (5), vol. 32 (1982), 137f. has much of value to say on wide-ranging myths about the Fifteen. C. Petrie, The Jacobite Movement (1959) is excellent for the main events. Two recent surveys are of importance, but they have little to say about the north: B. Lenman, op.cit. and F. McLynn, The Jacobites (1985). J. Baynes, The Jacobite Rising of 1715 (1970) follows previous work in the field.

15. D. Dixon, 'Notes on the Jacobite Movement in Upper Coquetdale, 1715', AA(2), vol. 16 (1894), 98. G.M. Trevelyan, 'The Last Rising of the North', Northern Counties Magazine, 1 (1900-1), 292/344, is another remarkable exercise in romantic history by a Northumbrian; he follows Dixon.

16. E. Hughes, North Country Life in the eighteenth century: The North East 1700-50 (Oxford, 1952), xvii. Hughes is the modern author most frequently cited on the impoverishment of the Catholics. He probably got it first from S. Cowper (Ed.), The Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper (1865), in which the countess refers to the poor condition of her kinsman John Clavering. (See below.)

17. F. McLynn, 'Newcastle and the Jacobite Rising of 1745', Journal of Regional Studies, II, No. 1 (1981), 58; see also E. Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables: The Tories and the '45 (1979), 70.

18. R. Bell (Ed.), Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, etc.(SHS 27, 1898), 231/2. As it happens, the winter of 1715/6 was the worst on record, and oxen were roasted on the Thames, cf., A. Boyer, The Political State of Great Britain, XI (1716),131; Trevelyan, art. cit., 351.

19. Newcastle was the preferred location for an invasion in 1696, cf., G.H. Jones, The Mainstream of Jacobitism, (Cambridge, USA, 1954), 46. The leading northern conspirator on that occasion was Sir Francis Tempest, Lord Widdrington's brother in law. A landing on the nottheast coast had been considered by Prince William in 1688, cf. D.H. Hosford, Nottingham, Nobles and the North: Aspects of the Revolution of 1688 (1976), 4/8/30. Newcastle was considered for landing in 1759, cf., C. Nordmann, 'Choiseul and the Last Jacobite Attempt of 1759', Ideology and Conspiracy, Aspects of Jacobitism 1689-1759, (Edinburgh, 1982), (Ed.), E. Cruickshanks, 203.

20. HMC, Stuart Papers 1, p.414. See also HMC, Townshend Manuscripts, 174; Boyer, op. cit., X, 647; J. Thornton, 'Northumberland in the '15 Rebellion', DUJ 29, No.2 (1935), 115. It was reported on 13th Oct. 1715 that the authorities in Newcastle would 'be a disappointment to the rebels, who might have grounds to expect, from the former behaviour of the magistrates, that they would deliver the town up to them'. G. Neasham, The Rebellion in 1715 (n.d.), 51, quoting a letter of Thomas Yorke to Capt. E. Clavering of the militia. See also Hughes, op. cit., 318n2 (re 1745). Blackett is ignored by D. Szechi, Jacobitism and Tory Politics, 1710-4, (Edinburgh, 1984), which aims to list all M.P.s with Jacobite leanings. He is also omitted by P. Fritz, The English Ministers and Jacobitism between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 (USA, 1975). Although it came to nought in practice, Blackett's sympathies were undoubtedly pro-Jacobite, (Cf. SS 77 (1883) 137f, for his evasions in 1715.)

21. Three lives of Derwentwater are available: R. Arnold, Northern Lights (1959); F.J.A. Skeet, The Life of the Right Honourable James Radcliffe, etc., (1929); W. Gibson, Dilston Hall, etc. (1850). The earl is described as one of the chief Tories in Northumberland by R. Sedgwick (Ed.), The House of Commons 1715-54, (1970), I, 295. The names of the Derwentwater children were chosen for their Jacobite significance. Arnold (p. 171) says that Charles, the third son, 'had not gone with his two elder brothers to St. Germain'. That he was there later seems beyond doubt; in 1715 he 'joined his brother the earl, having just returned from the continent', (Gibson, 133/4).

22. Arnold, op. cit., 53/4, 58. The Webbs offered £500 in support of the rising (Arnold, p. 72).

23. J.C.H. Aveling, The Handle and the Axe, (1976), 242/3, 248; J. Hodgson, A History of Northumberland, (Newcastle, 1827), Vol. II, Part 2, 230f., 248-58. C. Hedley, Northumberland Families, (Newcastle, 1968), II, 102; A. Rounding, 'William, Fourth Baron Widdrington of Blankney, c. 1675-1743', NCH 22 (1985); Skeet, op. cit. (1906), 113f.

24. R. Patten, The History of the Late Rebellion, etc., (1717), 125/6, 158; Gibson, op. cit., 118; S.H. Ware, Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion, 1715 (Chetham Society, vol. V, 1845), 25; SS 118, pp. 45, 117 n.197.

25. Patten, op. cit., 125.

26. Blackett was the main supporter of a Keelmen's Hospital in Newcastle around this time, cf. R. Welford, Men of Mark Twixt Tyne and Tweed, (1895). John Crowley succeeded to the business at the death of his father, Sir Ambrose, in 1713, cf., M.W. Flynn, Men of Iron: The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry, (1962), 68; Patten, quoted in Skeet (1929), 41; J. Kirk, Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century, (1909), 194. Patten brought a few keelmen with him when he joined the rising just before Forster left Northumberland. Elsewhere in England, disaffection among working people in 1715 was associated with economic recession. Surprisingly, the colliers of the north east were not disaffected at this time. Cf. N. Rogers, 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England', in Cruickshanks (1982), 79.

27. Arnold, op. cit., 53-9; W. Cobbett & T.B. Howell, State Trials, vol. 15, 784-6; Widdrington's statements are at pp. 786ff. See also pp. 791-4. P. Monod has remarked that the Fifteen 'was to a great extent a rebellion of upland recusant cousins': 'The Politics of Matrimony: Jacobitism and Marriage in Eighteenth-century England', E. Cruickshanks & J. Black (Eds.), The Jacobite Challenge, (Edinburgh, 1988), 27. Gibson (pp. 50-2) suggests that the Northumbrian Catholic womenfolk were more in favour of the Fifteen than their husbands.

28 G. Anstruther, OP, The Seminary Priests, (4 vols., Ware & Great Wakering, 1968-77), III, 65, has Thomas Gibson as tutor to Sir John from April 1716. Sir William, who died in 1716, received a letter from the Earl of Tankerville in March 1714 offering to stable any horses he wished to keep out of the hands of the constables. (NRO, Swinburne Papers, 7/95, 13th Mar. 1714.)

29. Patten, op. cit., 51; SS 131, 44; Gibson, op. cit., 52; Boyer, op. cit., XI, 587.

30. NCoH, vol. 4, 373n., vol. 6, pp. 172/3; J. Gillow, A Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics (5 vols., 1885-1902), II, 442; Bossy, art. cit. RH 10/1, p.58.

31. GPL, Cotesworth Manuscripts, CN/11/103, 8th Mar. 1718.

32. The oaths were tendered throughout the county from early in 1715. Lists were deposited in the office of the Clerk of the Peace and bound by William Dickson in 1860, copies are held in NRO. The tradition about stabling at Felton Park is noted in N. Ridley, Northumbrian Heritage, (1968), 20. This refers most probably to the defence of Felton Bridge by the rebels at one stage during their campaign in Northumberland, rather than implying voluntary support from Edward Widdrington.

33. NCoH, vol. 15, 424f; Patten, op. cit., 38; Ware, op. cit., 50; SS 131, 29.

34. NCoH, vol. 2, 222/3, 261-5; SS 131, 38-40, 129; SS 173, 80-2; M.B. Joyce, 'The Haggerstons: The education of a Northumberland family', RH 14/3 (1978), 175f.

35. Ware, op. cit., 52; D. Edwards, Christian England (3 vols., 1981-4), vol. 2, 505. Lieutenant Jonathan Maughan (second in command of a troop of militia stationed in Wolsingham, received a report from a spy who had been with the rebels in Brough which said that they had 'two Papist priests and three of the Church of England with them', but only Patten is named. (Maughan to Clavering 5th Nov. 1715.): Neasham, op. cit., 55.

36. Lovat's Memorial, quoted in Terry, op. cit., 31/40.

37. DRO, Salvin Manuscripts, D/Sa/C19; Neasham, op. cit., 49.

38. GEC, vol. 9, 102n. Montagu was profligate and superstitious. Having shot a priest who refused him absolution, he lived in hiding ever after. He died in 1717; DRO, D/Sa/C28.

39. DRO, D/Sa/C32; D/Sa/C18.10.

40. Gooch, thesis cited, ch. 5; NCoH, vol. 13, 351; H.T. Dickinson (Ed.), The Correspondence of Sir James Clavering (1967), 53; GPL, CK/4/15, 13th Dec. 1715, R. Brandling to unnamed correspondent. He was back in prison at the end of December (cf. CK/4/17); he was then released because his wife was dangerously ill. Charles Brandling seems to have been ostracised by his Catholic relatives. When his son, Ralph, returned to the Church, he was welcomed at Middleton and given Felling Hall for his residence, and he re-established a chaplaincy in it. But then, Ralph's son, Charles, apostatised in 1771. cf. E. Walsh & A. Forster, 'The Recusancy of the Brandlings', RH 10/1 (1969), 45/9.

41. J.O. Payne, Records of the English Catholics of 1715 (1889), 152/3; SS 173, p. 128; M.R. Foster, 'The Kennetts of Coxhoe: Catholic Gentry in County Durham, c.1614-1715', NCH 24 (1986), 3f; Gooch, thesis cited, 65/6; J.M. Ellis (Ed.), The Letters of Henry Liddell to William Cotesworth (SS vol. 197, 1967), 231.

42. Ware, op. cit., 76; Patten, op. cit., 100; E.E. Estcourt & J.O. Payne, The English Catholic Nonjurors of 1715, (1885), 319. Tancred was

a younger brother of Sir Thomas, and he was resident with Lord Widdrington in 1705 (cf. Papists Returns). Tunstall was described as 'very active' in the rising, but he refused to answer any questions about the rebels' plans. He wrote poetry in prison. (cf. HMC, Townshend, 172.) Both Yorkshiremen were pardoned, cf. Aveling, op. cit., (1966), 404n1.

43. Gibson, op. cit., 48, has Constabletaken in Northumberland, which may be true since he had property at Redheugh on Tyneside (cf. SS 173, 38f., 82n.). This may have been where Derwentwater hid after the warrant for his arrest was issued. HMC, Various Collections vol. 8, (Wood Manuscripts), 93; R.C. Wilton, 'Early Eighteenth Century Catholics in England', Catholic Historical Review, vol. 10 (1924), 371; P. Roebuck (Ed.), Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence, 1726-43, (YAS vol. 136 (1976), 4. Constable died abroad in 1746, aged 90.

44. SS 131, 10/11; Hedley, op. cit., 112. Lady Isabella Swinburne was the daughter of Sir Henry Lawson; in 1715 she was the dowager Lady Swinburne. Sir John and Lady Isabella Swinburne had 24 children, and people would throng around her carriage to gaze at the mother of such a large family. (cf. C.Y. Lang, The Swinburne Letters (4 vols., 1959-62), III, 11.). Three of their sons were named Francis, Edward and James, after the earls of Derwentwater.

45. Patten, op. cit., 125-154, should be compared with Ware, op. cit., 162/3, 186/7, and Boyer, op. cit., X, 505, as a first step in reaching an accurate total. Omissions were Thomas Butler, William, Lancelot, John, Francis and Edmund Ord, Lionel Walden, Albert Hodgson, William Clavering and Ralph Widdrington. George Sanderson should be excluded because he was not 'out'. Ware (p.53) states that the Northumbrians were 'composed of a mixture of High Church Tories and Roman Catholics in, perhaps, nearly equal proportions'. The amendments I have made to the lists show that the Northumbrian Catholics out-numbered the Northumbrian Anglicans by two to one.

46. Gibson, op. cit., 56; Arnold, op. cit., 100; SS 118, p. 118 n.197; Kirk, op. cit., 237/249.

47. Ware, op. cit., 47; Patten, op. cit., 38. Patten's comments on individuals are cited here.

48. NCoH, vol. 4, 416; vol. 12, 326; vol. 15, 370; SS 131, p 72; Patten, op. cit., 145/6, 152; Ware, op. cit., 165; Hodgson, op. cit., II(1), 316-9.

49. NCoH vol. 5, 244f; vol. 14, 253f; Patten, op. cit., 152; Payne, op. cit., 94; SS 131, 20; SS 173, pp 172/3; R. Welford,'Local Muniments', (Fourth Series), AA(3), vol. 12, (1915), 62. Ware, op. cit., 192, has John Ord variously named Oard or Howard gent. of Lancaster, 'Scotsman? Executed at Preston Feb. 9'. (cf. Boyer, op. cit., X, 170).

50. Patten, op. cit., 141/6. James Gibson was baptised at Stonecroft Farm on 6th Nov. 1715, when his father, George, was with the rebels in Cumberland, cf. CRS 26, 136.); NCoH, vol. 14, 253f; D. Dixon, Whittingham Vale (1895), 92, has Charles Collingwood, George's younger brother in command of the reserves at Preston. Charles was a fifty four-year-old Jesuit priest. It is likely that Dixon confused this man with Charles Widdrington.

51. Patten, op. cit., 141; NCoH, vol. 6, 172; Hodgson, op. cit., 67n; SS 131, 9.

52. J. Raine, The History and Antiquities of North Durham, (1852), 213; J. Rogan, 'Episcopal Visitations in the Diocese of Durham, 1662-1671', AA(4), vol. 34 (1956), 22; NCoH vol. 14, 531; Lady Cowper (see n. 16 above) was confused about here Catholic relations; she named William as chief of her father's house and said he was about seventy years old, whereas it was John and he was fifty six; SS 131, p. 131.

53. Patten, op. cit., 149, where he appears as Hudson; Hughes, op. cit., 167; NCoH, vol. 4, 297/8; SS 131, p. 13; F.W. Dendy (Ed.), Records of the Newcastle Hostmen's Company (SS 105, 1901), 274; Hodgson, op. cit., II(2), 238. Patten said that Hodgson was an uncle of Lord Widdrington, but he does not appear in the pedigree.

54. The story of the capture of Holy Island is given by Raine, op. cit., 165, from depositions taken from the members of the garrison. Raine remarks that the account given in W. Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (3 vols., 1785-94), III, 362, has 'very little of truth and still less of bravery in the tale'.

55. NCoH, vol. 4, 373f; Patten, op. cit., 149. Patten does say that Bowrie was a Catholic, and it is known that he was indifferent as to the religion in which his two illegitimate daughters were raised. He was, however, a trustee of the Catholic chapel in Hexham, and he registered his estate on his father's death in 1723 (cf. SS 131, 86n.). Bowrie's pardon is given at PSAN(2), Vol. IX, No. 1 (1899), 166. It can also be seen at Hesleyside; E. Charlton, 'Jacobite Relics of 1715 and 1745', AA(2), vol. 6 (1865), 29-34; NCoH vol. 4, 375. Bowrie was not the only Catholic murderer around. Edward Riddell was an attorney of Newcastle who was executed for slaying a Captain Lilburne in a brawl in 1724 (cf. SS 131, 16n). (See also note 38 above.)

56. T. McGoldrick, 'Jacobitism and English Catholics', UM vol. 46 (1936), 19; Payne, op. cit., vi; Gibson, op. cit., 137-9; Arnold, op. cit., 170.

57. Arnold, op. cit., 168/9; Payne, op. cit., 204; D.D. Dixon, 'Notes on the Jacobite Movement in Upper Coquetdale, 1715', AA(2), vol. 16 (1894), 108. Conditions in prison were not arduous, at least in Liverpool, where the prisoners 'have money in abundance and are not at all daunted and are drunk every night', cf. Hughes, op. cit., 352.

58. HMC, Stuart Papers, VI, 394; VII, 172.

59. Ibid, IV, 55; VI, 394. Ord had been living 'very reserved' at Weetwood in 1705 (Papists Returns). SS 131, 62n., Payne, op. cit., 94; A. Chadwick, St. Mary's Church, Alnwick (1936), 26-33; NCoH, vol. 14, 252f; vol. 3, 61; SS 131, 49n; SS 118, p. 199.

60. Arnold, op. cit., 149; Patten, op. cit., 141.

61. HMC, Stuart Papers, II, 84/97; Hughes, op. cit., 351; Payne, op. cit., 135.

62. The acts were 1 Geo.I, c.50 and c.55; Payne, op. cit., 135; Estcourt & Payne, op. cit., 353/65.

63. HMC, Stuart Papers, II, 414. For examples of the attempts by the Catholics of Lancashire to thwart the Commissioners see, P. Purcell, The Jacobite Rising of 1715 and Roman Catholics', EHR 44 (1929)427/8.

64. SS 131, 41; Dixon, art. cit., (1894), 97f.

65. Arnold, op. cit., 175/184.

66. NoCH, vol. 10, 158; SS 131, 44/5; Payne, op. cit., 142/157. One of the stewards at Dilston also claimed a reward for information he had supplied to the Commissioners (Payne, 114). The principal property of the Gibsons escaped forfeiture because George, the rebel, died before his father, and so the estate passed directly to George's son, George, in 1720 at the death of his grandfather.

67. Payne, op. cit., 143/4; Hodgson, op. cit., II(1), 231-4; Kirk, op. cit., 224.

68. SS 131, 20, 72, 131; CRS 26, 143n; GPL, Cotesworth CN/11/102, Cotesworth to Banks, 6 Mar. 1718; Hughes, op. cit., 78; P.A. Thompson,

'A Journal concerning the Proceedings in the Business of Stonecroft', (Unpublished manuscript of Oct. 1725). (Typescript in UCM, Smith Papers.)

69. Payne, op. cit., 102-4. St. Monica's seems to have been a post-rebellion Jacobite poste restante (cf. McGoldrick, art. cit., 19). Widdrington's act was 9 Geo.I, c.19, sect. 3 (1723): HMC, Egmont Manuscripts, vol. 1, 337/8. Payne, op. cit., 143/7, Mrs Shafto was Elizabeth Riddell of Swinburne; SS 131, 58/77; Hughes, op. cit., xviii n.2; Kirk, op. cit., 206; NCoH, vol. 4, 417/20. William Shafto was an Anglican and a kinsman of Admiral Delaval, who bought the estate back for him: cf. Gibson, op. cit., 122 note m, and Hedley, op. cit., 153.

70. Payne, op. cit., 143; 'Derwentwater Manuscripts' in PSAN vol. 7 No. 2 (1915-6), 23; SS 131, 77, 102, 144.

71. NCoH vol. 4, 186-91; SS 131, 54/108. Thomas Errington continued to act as an agent for the Derwentwaters in the north east until the estate was sold. I am unable to discover what property, if any, Hodgson lost. The Hodgsons registered an unwrought colliery at Jesmond in 1784 (SS 131, 120). Kirk, op. cit., 121, has Philip's estate valued at £238 p.a. in 1716; there is no record of his register, but in 1784 William Hodgson registered the estate at Tone with a similar value. Hence, Philip may have evaded forfeiture by conveying it to some Protestant friend or female relative.

72. Skeet, op. cit., (1906), 109, recounts the story (almost unexpurgatedly) from H. Howard, Memorials of the Howard Family (1834). Burke's Peerage records a marriage in 1723. The Countess of Stafford worte to the Duchess of Huntingdon on 26th Aug. 1733: 'The Duchess of Norfolk is or will be soon married to Mr. Widdrington'. (HMC, Egmont, I, 17). Hodgson, op. cit., II(2), 228/238. Edward, the ninth Duke of Norfolk appeared at court in 1733. A similar situation arose with John Mayes of Yarm (1670-1742). He was a wealthy and 'prominent Roman Catholic counsel', who refused to give his daughter's hand to several young suitors, including the Duke of Perth, 'through attachment to the Stuarts'. He eventually allowed her to marry James Fermor, 'a broken merchant of Spain'. (CRS 4, 253).

73. Arnold, op. cit., 186-92; Gibson, op. cit., 163; Skeet, op. cit., (1929), 174f; Anon., 'Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater', Catholic Miscellany (1824), 366.

74. Payne, op. cit., 101; NCoH, vol. 14, 522f; SS 131, 15, 27, 62.

75. NRO, Trevelyan Manuscripts, ZTR.I. 63/65-8/71. The estate had a capital value of some £50,000 around 1770 (see Part II, Chapter 1 below)' Hodgson, op. cit., (II)1, 316-9.

76. Graham married Lady Anne Howard, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle. He was made Viscount Preston and Baron Esk in 1681, and he was appointed ambassador to the court of Louis XIV. He was recalled in 1685 by James II to become Secretary of State for Scotland and Lord President of the Council. He plotted the counter-revolution in 1689, and was taken at sea en route to bring James back. He was pardoned and spent the rest of his life at Nunnington (VCH, North Riding of Yorkshire; GEC). He was a Catholic. Widdrington Castle and its estate was sold to the Governor and Company of Undertakers for Raising the Thames Water in York Buildings (Payne, op. cit., 117); Skeet, op. cit. (1906), 116; Rounding, art. cit. 24f; CRS 4, 258/9; CRS 70, 144. Widdrington did not 'live in poverty and obscurity until his death in Bath' as C. Sinclair-Stevenson states in Inglorious Rebellion, (1971), 192. He was, however, compelled to dispose of some medieval manuscripts between 1720 and 1731, cf. A.I. Doyle, 'The Library of Sir Thomas Tempest: Its Origins and Dispersal' in G.A.M. Janssesns & F.G.A.M. Aarts (Eds.), Studies in Seventeenth-Century English Literature, History and Bibliography (Amsterdam, 1984), 83/5.

77. HMC, Stuart Papers, II, 59, 326, 364; III, 160. Lancelot Ord, the exiled outlaw, also thought the north east to be unanimously well-affected (ibid, IV, 55). Purcell, art. cit., 432; SS 118, 83; GPL, Cotesworth, CN/11/156; Hughes, op. cit., 20-3.

78. Hughes, op. cit., 24; Fritz, op. cit., 155; McLynn, op. cit., 43.

79. C.W. Daykin, 'Parliamentary Representation of Durham, 1675-1832', (Durham M. Litt., 1961), 159.

80. Ibid.

81. Hughes, op. cit., 318 n.2. Blyth was also used in 1715. DUL, Sharpe Manuscripts, 150, p.14, Chandler to Bowes 17th Sep. 1745 re 'a powerful invasion'; McLynn, op. cit., 23; Prince Charles sent John Hickson to Newcastle to inform his friends of his intentions but Hickson was caught (cf. Cruickshanks, op. cit., 86 and L.P. Wenham, 'Roger Strickland of Richmond a Jacobite Gentleman', NYCRO Publications No. 30, (1982), 110, for Hickson's statement he made on being captured.

82. McLynn, art. cit., passim; Anstruther, op. cit., IV, sub Anderson, Potts, G. Talbot; Kirk, op. cit., sub Potts; Tweedy, op. cit., 80/1; DUL, Sharpe 15/23. On spies see GPL, Carr-Ellison Manuscripts, Bundle A7, Jane to Henry Ellison, 30th Oct. 1745. See also Aveling, op. cit., (1966), 368/9 for the lack of enthusiasm among the Catholics of the North Riding.

83. HMC, Wood, 133.

84. E. Burton, The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner, 1691-1781 (2 vols., 1909), I, 238.

85. The full list is given at Cruickshanks, op. cit., Appendix 1.

86. DUL, Sharpe, 6, 16, 34, 41. Andrew Blyde appears as a lieutenant, which is rather more senior than one would expect of a butler, unless, of course, it is assumed that his domestic role was a disguise.

87. M. Richardson, Extracts from the Letter-books of William Scott (1848), 27.

88. DUL, Sharpe, 26, 54 (October); NCoH vol. 4, 297/8, 373f.

89. NCoH vol. 6, 172 n.4, which no doubt took the information from Bell, op. cit., 244. For Sanderson see B. Seton & J. Arnot (Eds.), The Prisoners of the '45, (SHS(3), vol. 15, 1929), 298/9. CRS 4, p. 250 refers to an Errington who lost his property in the '45, and who was 'received in quality of steward by old Scroope of Danby and accommodated with a farm'. The name is an obvious Northumbrian one, but I am unable to trace him.Cruickshanks, op. cit., 88, mentions: Thos. Foster, son of the General of the '15, but General Forster died unmarried. Edward Blackett (not, so far as I can tell, related to Sir William); and John Clavering, about whom see below.

90. W. Nicholson, 'A Northumbrian Jacobite and the '45', Tyne n Tweed 32 (1978), 3f; Seton & Arnot, op. cit., SHS(3), vol. 14, 118/9.; E. Hughes, 'Some Clavering Correspondence', AA(4), vol. 34 (1956), 22. (Hughes misdates the episode to 1716.)Hedley, op. cit., I, 169f. tells the tale, using the same sources.

91. The career of Charles Radcliffe may be followed at length in Gibson, op. cit., 140-54.

92. Raine, op. cit., 165f; Hutchinson, op. cit., III, 362/3n.

93. Rogan, art. cit.; J.C. Hodgson, 'A Survey of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, temps. Charles II', AA (2), vol. 17, (1895), 257; W.V. Smith, 'The Chaplains of the Radcliffe Family of Dilston Castle', NCH 11, (1980) 11; M. Culley, 'Two Northumbrian Missions', UM 7 (1897), 168.

94. NCoH vol. 10, 203; Arnold, op. cit., 180; Rev. Fr. Thaddeus, OFM, The Franciscans in England (1898), 148, 156/7; 'Derwentwater Manuscripts', PSAN vol. 7, No.11 (1915-6), 157/158. The Stonecroft mission register (CRS 26, p.136) has entries in April and November 1715 and January, March, August and September, 1716, which seems to show that the chaplain's absence was brief. See also P. Thompson's Journal (note 68 above)

95. Newcastle Reference Library, L. 253; S. Ollard, Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, (Vol. III), (YAS vol. 75, 1929), 244-8. (Vol. IV, pp. 198-207, give the figures for Hexhamshire in 1735.

96. L.P. Crangle, 'The Roman Catholic Community in Sunderland from the 16th Century', Antiquities of Sunderland, vol. 24, 66.

97. Hughes, op. cit., 25; W. Speck, The Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the '45 (1981), 111; DRO, Londonderry Papers D/Lo/F 752.

98. W.V. Smith, Catholic Tyneside (1930), 52/3; A.M.C. Forster, 'The Maire family of County Durham', RH 10/6, 335/6; CRS 4, 248. The chapel at Stokesley in the North Riding was also wrecked by the mob, cf. Ollard op. cit., 188; Richardson, op. cit., 34.

99. The chapel in Gateshead was described as 'a beautiful Gothic chapel with seven single windows in front, a fine door case and two ornamental niches in two stroies on each side. It was a Popish Mass house and destroyed by the mob in 1745 and is now in ruins'. J.C. Hodgson (Ed.), North Country Diaries (Second series), (SS 124, 1915), 245. This was St. Edmund's Hospital chapel which R. Surtees says was destroyed in 1747 (The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (4 vols., Newcastle, 1816-40) II, 127). Hence the former attribution is probably to its pre-Reformation status. It is fairly clear from GPL, Carr-Ellison Manuscripts, A29, No.44 that Gateshead House had been the mob's target. See also Hughes, op. cit., 115, where 'St. Edmund's' is identified as freehold land rather than a building.

100. Hughes, Lenman and McLynn, opp. cit., misread the registers. I have treated this subject in reference to County Durham in the thesis cited, Ch. III, esp. pp. 37-43 and refs. thereto.

101. A copy of the lists is at DRO, Salvin, D/Sa/F190, p.22. Sixteen of the individuals registering estates in Northumberland were neither native to or resident in either county, including three of the priests. Hughes, op.cit., xvii, n.2, incorrectly states that the Commissioners allowed many mortgagors' claims. A comparison of any register and the summary lists shows clearly that the outgoings were not deducted by the Commissioners. For Nairn, see Dixon, art. cit., 108; J.C. Fox (Ed.), The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-47 (Camden Society (3), 1912), pp. 10, 32, 120.

102. M. Leys, Catholics in England 1559-1829 (1961), 197.

103. Lady Catherine and Lady Elizabeth Radcliffe, daughters of the Earl of Derwentwater, both professed on 12th July 1688 at St. Monica's, Louvain, were anxious that their annuities were safe; see Payne, op. cit., 103; SS 131, Reg. Nos. 68/9. The Countess died of small-pox at Brussels in 1723, aged 30 and buried at St. Monica's. Table 1 and the accompanying analysis is based on SS vols. 131, 173/5.

104. SS 131, Reg. Nos. 54, 65, 41, 77.

105. SS 131, Reg. No. 40; NCoH, vol. 14, 530; W.J. Nicholson, 'Ralph Peter Clavering of Callaly (1727-87)', NCH 1 (1975), 18f.

106. Joyce, art. cit.; SS 173, Reg. Nos. 54-8.

107. H.W. Jackson, Walworth, County Durham (Darlington, 1987), passim; Aveling, op. cit., (1976), 211/2; W. Fordyce, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (2 vols., Newcastle, 1857),I, 535; A. Forster, 'A Durham Family: Jenisons of Walworth', Biographical Studies 3/1, (n.d.), 2f.

108. Bossy, arts. cit.

109. McLynn, Dixon, arts. cit; Hughes, op. cit., xviii.

110. Cf. J.A. Williams, op. cit., 52-3.

111. B. Bevan, King James the Third of England (1967), 92.

112. Edwards, op. cit., vol. 2, 451, dates this outlook to the late 17th century.

113. W. Parson & W. White, History, Directory and Gazeteer of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland (2 vols., Newcastle, 1827), II, 470.

114. Raine, op. cit., 226; R. Wilton, 'Early Eighteenth Century Catholics in England', Catholic Historical Review X (1925), 373, has the coach driven by young Thomas Haggerston.

115. J. Robinson, 'A collection of Delaval Papers', AA(2), vol. 15 (1892), 137. Jacobite sympathies were occasionally betrayed. A Durham jeweller was tried at the assizes for drinking King James's health in 1746 (J. Sykes, Local Records, etc., (2 vols., Newcastle, 1833), II, 1746. In April 1750, during a strike, a number of keelmen gathered at Elswick Fields in Newcastle and one of them proclaimed Charles, king (C. Bates, History of Northumberland (Newcastle, 1895), 266. Rev. J. Johnson was accused of drinking the Pretender's health in 1752/3. Lord Ravensworth raised the matter with the Cabinet, but the matter was dropped, DNB, sub James Johnson.

116. The last official Catholic recognition of the Stuarts occurred in 1759 when the Roman agent of the Vicars Apostolic presented His Majesty King James with the nomination of James Talbot as coadjutor to Bishop Challoner. Charles III was denied royal honours in Rome after the death of his father in December 1765 and King George III was recognised by the Holy See. In 1766 Charles visited the English, Scots and Irish Colleges in Rome, but the Pope dismissed the rectors for receiving him. (Cf. M. Haile & E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 (n.d.), 9n; M. Forster, The Rash Adventurer (1974), 256-7; J. Berington, State and Behaviour of English Catholics (Birmingham, 1780), 133.

117. W.V. Smith, 'The Domine Salvum Fac', UM 63 (1953), 1f. UCM II/158; Charlton, art. cit., 29-34.

118. Callaly Castle Guide (n.d.) (see illustrations); Aveling, op. cit, (1966), 404 n2; PD 36 (1817), col. 667 (Grey)L. Charlton, op. cit., 193; Hughes, op. cit., 403; J.P. Chinnicci, The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780-1850 (Shepherdstown, USA, 1980), 36.

119. L. Charlton, op. cit., 124; Lang, op. cit., III, 10/11; W. Tomlinson, Guide to Northumberland (Newcastle, 1888), 352. The Delavals of Seaton Delaval (related to the rebel Shaftoes) entertained ideas that one of their footmen carried messages for the rebels, J. Robinson, The Delaval Papers (1890), 196. Robinson also says that 'many of the Jacobite families owed their lives and estates to the timely intercession and influence of Sir Francis, brother to Mrs Astley' (p. 56). I cannot find out what this means.

Part I, Chapter 2.

1. The chief example of Bossy, op. cit., 184f.

2. UCM II/147, Rev. Mirehouse to T. Eyre, 26, April 1792. When the Catholic population was not counted exactly, it was because there were too many of them. In 1810, the Curate of Esh reported 'about two thirds of the inhabitants of the chapelry are reputed Papists'; in 1814, the Vicar of Ryton said 'I do not know the number of Papists, but it is considerable, not less, as I suppose, than 400'. Exceptionally, the Vicar of Lanchester declined to count the Papists in 1814, for 'to number them would be thought invidious'.

3. The question asked at the Visitation was as follows (with minor variations from year to year): 'Are there any reputed Papists in your Parish or Chapelry? How many, and of what Rank? Have any persons been lately perverted to Popery; by whom; and by what means? Is there any Place in your Parish or Chapelry in which they assemble for Divine Worship, and where is it? Doth any Popish Priest reside in your Parish, or resort to it? And by what Name doth he go? Is there any Popish School in your Parish to which the children of Protestant Parents are admitted? Hath any Visitation or Confirmation been holden in your Parish lately by any Popish Bishop?'(1792).

4. Edwards, op. cit., II, 506.

5. H. Foley (Ed.), Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (7 vols., 1875-83), 5, XII, 639, has the Jesuits in charge of 1,688 Catholics in the noth east in 1710, which is a reasonable figure.

6. Henceforth, references to a return will be indicated by parish and year in the text witout footnotes.

7. See below Part II, Ch. 2, n.81.

8. A.D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England (1976), 101.

9. R. Currie, et al, Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977), 7, 103. (This work is unreliable on Catholic numbers, e.g., p. 21, Table 2.3).

10. See Bossy, op. cit., 300/1 for comparable mobility patterns in Staffordshire.

11. M. Rose, The Economic History of Britain since 1700, Vol. 1, 1700-1860, 22-3.

12. Berington, op. cit., 118; Chinnicci, op. cit., 70.

13. W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (1972), 25.

14. Berington, loc. cit. Berington was quoted extensively by the Durham County Advertiser on 27th Mar 1819 in the current debate on the Catholic Question.

15. Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship, (British Parliamentary Papers Vol. 86 (1853). Page cxlvii and Tables D, F and H summarise the data.

16. This point has not been made by Catholic historians of the period, e.g., W.V. Smith, 'The 1851 Census of Worship and the Irish Immigration into County Durham', NCH 7 (1978), 20f. See also G. Milburn, 'The Census of Worship of 1851', DCLHSB 17 (1974), 3 (for County Durham), and his 'Catholicism in Mid-nineteenth Century Northumberland', Tyne n Tweed 32 (1978), 16f.

17. Microform copies of the returns are held in NRO and DRO.

18. UCM 287; J. Lenders, 'Statistics of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle 1830-1930', (excluding Cumberland and Westmorland: n.d.), copy

at NRO RCD 2/1. The Catholic Magazine, October, 1829, reported that there were 8,000 Catholics in Northumberland. In 1832 the same source reported around 2,000 communicants in County Durham. These are illustrations of the difficulty in finding consistent figures from Catholic sources.

19. A number of registers have been printed in the CRS Records series.

20. Sykes, op. cit., II, 29th May, 1827; Orthodox Journal, Vol. 9, No. 213 (1839), 65.

21. The figures in this sub-section are derived from Lenders's Status (n. 18 above) and Cooter, thesis cited, from which he published, 'On Calculating the Nineteenth Century Irish Catholic Population of Durham and Newcastle', NCH 2 (1975), 16f.

22. Rev. Cullen of Newcastle got his estimate of the Irish in Newcastle and Gateshead right, cf., N. McCord (Ed.), Essays in Labour History (1977), 'T.P. MacDermott, 'The Irish Workers on Tyneside', p.159; P. Hughes, 'The English Catholics in 1850', in G. Beck (Ed.), The English Catholics 1850-1950 (1950), 50, for Irish totals in both counties.

Part II, Chapter 1.

1. NRO, 860b. A tabular summary, 'Roman Catholics in Northumberland', can be seen at PSAN(3), vol. 8 (1917-8), 69.

2. The histories of the missions in this survey have been pieced together from a wide variety of formal and informal sources which, to avoid excessive foot-noting will not always be cited. However, major parish histories will be referred to, as will specific articles in NCC, NCH, UM and Northern Cross (the diocesan newspaper). UCM, Smith Papers, comprise an invaluablecollection of genealogical and historical notes on Catholicsim in the north east, to which students will be indebted for many years, notwithstanding Father Smith's frequent omission of his sources. The diocesan archives in NRO yield useful, though not extensive information on mission history of the period. Of printed sources, the most useful are: B.W. Kelly, Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions, (1907); Anstruther, op. cit; G. Holt, SJ, The English Jesuits 1650-1829: A Biographical Dictionary (CRS vol. 70, 1984); P.R. Harris, Douai College Documents 1639-1794 (CRS vol. 63, 1972); D. Bellenger, OSB, English and Welsh Priests 1558-1800 (1984). CRS volumes containing mission registers also provide essential information. A great deal of information about Catholic families has been obtained from SS vols., 131, 173 and 175. R. Welford, Records of the Committees for Compounding, etc., 1643-1660, (SS 111, 1905), is also useful on estate matters.

3. Thompson, 'Journal' cited; CRS 26; W.J. Nicholson, St. Mary's Hexham, (1980); NCoH, vol. 10, 156/7; Hodgson, op. cit., III(2), 393f.

4. Thaddeus, op. cit., 195,241.

5. NCoH, vol. 3, 302.

6. For the location of the chapel at Stonecroft see F. Robert Bracey, OP, The English Dominican Province 1221-1921 (1921), 239, in which it is said that it was in a garret, but had been over a hen-roost, and that 'the cackling of the hens drowned the voice of the preacher'. Thompson left Stonecroft on the eve of Jasper Gibson's wedding anniversary, but whether that is significant is not apparent.

7. Thaddeus, op. cit., 256. Hutchinson seems to have ministered to the remnants of the Dilston congregation too (cf. CRS 26, 132).

8. The meeting in Newcastle was attended by the Revv. Thompson, Clark, Gibson (secular mssioner in Newcastle, and Jasper's brother), and Messrs., Thomas Riddell and John Hankin.

9. NRO, 'Archdeacon Singleton's Visitation 1826-8', ZAN M.15/A.72.

10. Much of the Hexham story is told by Nicholson, op. cit; see also Ollard, op. cit., App. A., 194-6. R. Trappes-Lomax (Ed.), 'Archbishop Blackburn's Visitation Returns of the Diocese of York, 1735', CRS 32, (1932).

11. Girlington became something of a problem because of his association with an unsavoury couple who seem to have fleeced him. There was a scandal and he was eventually moved to Sunderland. Charles Busby acquainted Lady Derwentwater of the situation in 1722, cf., 'Derwentwater Manuscripts', PSAN vol. 7, no.10, 128.

12. NRO, RCD 4/16, Gibson to Eyre, 17th Jan. 1782.

13. Nicholson, op. cit., 37.

14. Ibid, Agreement between Singleton (for the Vicar Apostolic) and the Rev. J.A. Woods (for the Dominicans), 5th Sep. 1827 at Hinckley.

15. Catholic Directory, 1828, 44-5.

16. Sykes, op. cit., 13th Nov. 1828.

17. LDA, Smith Papers, Circular of August 1828 (the Revv. Gillow, Slater and Hogarth).

18. NCoH, vol. 4, 182; Ollard, op. cit; J.R. Baterden, 'The Catholic Registers of Capheaton, etc.', (CRS 14, 1914), 239; Parson & White, op. cit., I, 416; NCH 10 & 11; Freemasonry was sometimes suspected of being a cover for Jacobitism; the Radcliffes had been freemasons. (McLynn, op. cit., 140).

19. Baterden, art. cit., NCH 10; L. Charlton, op. cit., Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2; Lang, op. cit., 11. NRO, Swinburne Manuscripts, 6/95 (Sir William's account of the family's history). Hedley, op. cit., I, 112. P. Henderson, Swinburne: The Portrait of a Poet (1974).

20. Henderson, op. cit., 6/7; Burton, op. cit., II, 190f.

21. Henderson & Lang, loc. cit., Swinburne's certificate of taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy is dated 23rd May 1786 (NRO, Swinburne, 612.1; Upholland College Manuscripts: The Banister/Rutter Correspondence, Rutter to Banister, 9th June 1786 (hereafter Rutter .. or Banister ..).

22. NCoH, vol. 2, 128; vol. 12, 328; 'Derwentwater Manuscripts', PSAN vol. 7, no. 11, 157.

23. N. Pevsner, Northumberland, (The Buildings of England 12, 1957), 114, mis-dates the chapel. This writer visited the Grange and saw Dobson's drawings for the chapel, which were clearly included in the rebuilding of 1813.

24. L. Charlton, op. cit; NCC 1882; NCH 10; J.S. Hansom (Ed.), 'The Registers of the Catholic Mission of St. Oswald, Bellingham, Northumberland, formerly called Hesleyside', CRS 2 (1906); Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2; NCoH vol. 15, 223/33.

25. NCoH, vol. 6, 174; SS 131, 120n.

26. Pevsner, op. cit., 170.

27. The Visitation Return from Birtley (a chapelry in Chollerton), in 1814, reported ten or twelve persons who, the incumbent said, 'I believe .... resort to Bellingham for divine worship'.

28. The Visitation Return from Bellingham in 1814 observed of the old chapel that 'seldom any divine worship performed in it'.

29. NRO, RCD 4/1: N. Brown to Bishop Briggs, 24th Mar., 2nd Apr., 14 May, 9 Jul., 1838 and 2nd Jan 1839.

30. L. Charlton, op. cit., 158, has a different set of figures to that in RCD; Brown is more likely to be right about the salary; J. Latimer, Local Records, etc., 1832-1857, (Newcastle, 1857), Jan. 1839.

31. Charlton, op. cit., 209: their 'infatuations were a subject of gossip'.

32. NCoH, vol. 4, 282/3; Hedley, op. cit., II, 107; The Tablet, 23rd Oct. 1841, 685.

33. M. Culley, 'Two Northumbrian Missions', UM 7 (1897), 168; NCH 10.

34. J.C. Hodgson, op. cit, SS 118, p.299; NRO, ZAN M15/72 gives the total parochial population as 2,000 of which 50 were Catholics in 1828.

35. NRO, RCD 4/20, Brown to Briggs, 29th Apr. 1834.

36. Loc. cit., Riddell to Briggs, 27th Jan 1837; The Tablet, 27th Nov. 1841, 765; 4th Nov., 1848, 564.

37. K. Stewart, A Short History of St. Robert's Church, Morpeth, (1969); W.V. Smith, 'Widdrington Bourne of Morpeth, A Papist Schoolmaster in 1764', Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland Vol. 11, No. 3.

38. NRO, RCD 2/65; Downside Manuscripts: Record Book of the EBC, 122.

39. Culley, art. cit., NCH 10, p.12.

40. NRO, RCD 2/500; Hodgson, op. cit., II(1), 319; Newcastle Courant, 1st and 6th Aug. 1768. The act was passed in 1770; See NRO, Trevelyan Manuscripts, STR I/84 and XI/4 for the legal decision and a copy of the act.

41. Rutter, 7th Nov. 1796.

42. NRO, Trevelyan Manuscripts, ZTR XXIII/1/7, 3rd & 31st Dec., 1794; NRO, ZAN M 15/A72.

43. NCoH, vol. 15, 373/4; Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2; W.V. Smith, 'Thropton: 250 years old', UM 62 (1952), 186; M. Culley, 'Thropton', UM 11 (1901).

44. NCC 1884; Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2; J.R. Baterden (Ed.),'Catholic Registers of Biddlesone Hall', CRS 14 (1914).

45. SS 118, p. 261; J.O. Payne, Old English Catholic Missions (1889), 10/11. T. Fordyce, Local Records, etc., 1833-67, (Newcastle, 1867), observes that when William Selby came into possession of the Biddlestone estates he found an accumulation of heavy debts. He 'immediately put into operation a system of the most rigid economy and after some years of self-denial and sequestration, he paid off the debts in full'. (11th Dec. 1845). It is possible that William has been confused for Thomas or vice versa.

46. NCoH, vol. 14, 499; Nicholson, art. cit., Hedley, op. cit., I, 167f. Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2; J. Gillow (Ed.), 'The Catholic Registers of the Domestic Chapel at Callaly Castle, Northumberland, 1796-1839, CRS 7, (1909).

47. CRS 4, p. 250.

48. Rutter, 23rd Oct. 1786; 12th Mar. 1792; SS 118, p.260; NRO, Cookson Manuscripts, ZCO VIII/8/2, Clavering to Silvertop, 22nd Feb. 1788. Rutter criticised Clavering for being an improper superior of the NBF; but he was probably unaware that Bishop Walton had included Clavering on the terna he sent to Rome requesting a coadjutor (cf. Brady, III, 265).

49. Anstruther, op. cit., vol. 4, sub Peters; UCM, Eyre Manuscripts, No. 264, Stout to Eyre, 6th Aug. 1797.

50. NRO, ZAN M.151A.72; D. Dixon, Whittingham Vale (1895), 156; NCoH, vol. 14, 531-2; LDA, Penswick Papers, Smith to Penswick, 5th Dec. 1825 & 7th Sep. 1827 (Nos. 11 & 36).

51. A. Chadwick, St. Mary's Church, Alnwick (1936); F.O. Edwards, SJ, 'Residence of Saint John 1717-1858, Part I: The Alnwick Fund and Chapel', NCH 3 (1976), 17f; SS 131, p. 83.

52. CRS 70, p. 120.

53. NRO, RCD 3/28 and 6/9: Strickland to Warrilow, 31st Sep. 1802.

54. Latimer, op. cit., Sep. 1836:

55. Bossy, art. cit., RH 10/1; Joyce, art. cit., RH 14/3; Raine, op. cit; R.C. Wilton, 'Letters of a Jesuit Father in the Reign of George I', Dublin Review, vol. 158 (1916), 307f.

56. LDA, Penswick Papers, Briggs to Penswick 15th Mar. 1834 and 19th Jul. 1834, pp. 171/3; NRO, RCD 1/3: 'Riddell Letter Book', Riddell to Mostyn, 15th Jan. 1845. The church of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, was opened in 1861; the altar rails, statues and other artefacts were transferred from the chapel in the castle.

57. NCoH vol. 2, 223/261; NCC 1938; Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2.

58. LDA, Smith Papers, Albot to Smith, 6th Nov. 1825; Haggerston to Smith 9th Mar. 1828 and 30th Sep. 1829.

59. NCC 1883; T.G. Holt, 'Berwick upon Tweed: The Story of a Legacy', NCH 18 (1983), 3f;Bossy, art. cit., RH 10/1.

60. UCM, Eyre Correspondence, Nos. 38, 113/4, 298, 304/7, 322, Tidyman to Eyre; ibid, Besnier to Eyre, 26th May, 1805. (Besnier's income was £19 per year.

61. The petition is copied in UCM, Smith Papers, I (Berwick), no source is given.

62. LDA, Smith Letters, Pepper to Smith, 14th Aug. 1817.

63. Pevsner, op. cit., 90; Sykes, op. cit., Jan. 1829.

64. LDA, Briggs Papers, No. 219, Parker to Briggs, 28th Feb. 1837; NRO, RCD 4/2, Sharples to Briggs 29th Mar. and 4th May 1838.

65. Bossy, art. cit., RH 10/2; Hedley, op. cit., I, 171; Raine, op. cit; F.O. Edwards, SJ, 'Resideence of Saint John, 1717-1858, Part II, The Jesuits outside Alnwick and Durham City', NCH 5 (1977), 13f. The last of the Claverings of Berrington died in Old Elvet, Durham, in 1825, cf. Parson & White, op. cit., II, 337; SS 131, 31n.

66. UCM, Eyre Correspondence, Nos. 214, 217, 227: Silvertop to Eyre (1808/10): NRO, RCD 4/42, Gillow to Hogarth, 20th Mar. 1838; D. Halliday, 'The Diocesan Missionary Establishment at St. Ninian's, Wooler, 1851-4', NCH 12 (1980), 36, describes the role of this place at the end of this period.

67. The history of Catholicism in Newcastle has been widely covered in a large number of local publications. Although elderly, W.V. Smith, Catholic Tyneside (1930), has not been superseded; T. Cox, Magna Britania et Hibernia (1724), III, 608.

68. Foley, op. cit., V, 668.

69. Rutter, 30th Jan. 1791.

70. UCM, Lingard Letters, No. 27, to Orrell, 9th Jan. 1808.

71. Smith, op. cit., 74.

72. B. Little, Catholic Churches since 1623 (1966),50; Orthodox Journal, Vol. 1, No. 47 (1835), 378.

73. Sykes, op. cit., 10th Dec. 1815, 11th Sep. 1831; E. Hughes (Ed.), The Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh (2 vols., SS 171/4, Newcastle, 1956/9), I, (Diary) 25th Dec. 1813; 25th Mar. 1821; 7th Nov. 1830.

74. P. McGuiness, 'Saint Mary's Cathedral: The Early Years', (two parts), NCH Nos. 5 & 6 (1977), Pt. 1, 25; Little, op. cit., 97/8; The Tablet, 5th Aug. and 31st Aug. 1844.

75. J. Stark, St. Cuthbert's Church, North Shields (North Shields, 1902); Rutter, 14th Mar. 1784; NRO RCD 2/61; UCM, Eyre Correspondence, 375f.

76. UCM, Smith Papers, I, p. 62: Gillow to Penswick, 26th Jan. 1816.

77. Little, op. cit., 61.

78. NCC 1936; Mrs Sidney, One Hundred Years Ago (1877); W. Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Northumberland (1855), 457.

79. Cliffe's congregation 'resided chiefly in Bishopric': UCM, DIO 11, 5th Nov. 1775.

80. The Forcers moved from Kelloe to Harbourhouse late in the 17th century, (cf. Fordyce, op. cit., I, 386; II, 376.)Basil Forcer died in 1774 and the estate was sold to John Tempest of Old Durham (DRO, D/Ph115/4) but Fordyce gives Forcer's death occurring in 1782; Tweedy, op. cit., 99-102; Anstruther, op. cit., 4 (Yaxlee); UCM, DIO 58; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 404; II, 342; J. Burke, Commoners, vol. IV, 300-3.

81. Tweedy, op. cit., is the latest and most detailed history of the Church in Durham.

82. D. Defoe, A Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724), 9. Tweedy, op. cit., 76; Hemphill, op. cit., ch. VIII.

83. Foley, loc. cit; W.V. Smith, '18th Century Catholic Education in County Durham', UM 73 (1963), 25.

84. Mrs Mary Maire died in 1751 leaving the property in Gilesgate to the Church (Tweedy, op. cit., 69). Another Mrs Maire died in 1784 leaving some £4,000 to the Church (UCM III/102).

85. Farm Street Archives, X, Sewall to Scott, 6th Feb. 1823; VIII, Sewall to Walsh 26th Sep. 1825. The salary at that time was £120-130 p.a.

86. Fordyce, op. cit., I, 331.

87. NCC 1884 and 1919; CM vol. II, No. 14 (1832), 113.

88. 'E. Walsh & A. Forster, 'The Recusancy of the Brandlings', RH 10/1, (1969) 35f; Gooch, thesis cited, ch. V. Much of the following is derived from Downside Manuscripts, Record Book of the EBC; NC, Apr. 1985.

89. Welford, op. cit., (sub Brandling); R. Welford, A History of the Parish of Gosforth (1879), 16/7. Little, op. cit., 76; NC, Mar. 1988; Latimer, op. cit., Aug. 1843.

90. Fordyce, op.cit., I, 493/600; The Community, A History of Darlington Carmel 1619-1982 (Darlington, 1982). The convent and chapel were designed by G. Goldie of Sheffield. There were 16 nuns and 6 lay sisters originally.

91. NRO, RCD McEvoy to Penswick, 26th Oct. 1835; LDA, Smith Papers, McDonald to Smith, 9th Jul. 1817.

92. Devlin, op. cit., is the most recent history of the mission in Sunderland. NCC 1885 and 1936 are still useful.

93. UCM, DIO 11, 24th Aug. 1780; NRO, RCD 2/56.

94. Ibid. The 1792 Visitation Return said that the Catholics had 'lately built a chapel at some expence'.

95. Orthodox Journal, I (1835), 142; Little, op. cit., 76; E. Mackenzie & M. Ross, The County Palatine of Durham (2 vols., Durham 1834), I, 293.

96. Kearney wrote in 1836 to say that the school was ready and to tell Rice that he could pay the Brothers '£100 a year with house and coal'.

97. Smith, op. cit., 81; NC Apr. 1985; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 749/766.

98. Smith, op. cit., 85.

99. Ibid, 90.

100. NCC 1914; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 680; Surtees, op. cit., II, 272; J. Galletly & T. Yellowley, Ss. Mary & Thomas Aquinas, Stella, 1831-1931 (1981).

101. UCM, DIO 41; Murphy had been at Swinnerton, the home of the Fitzherberts (Williams, op. cit., 168; CRS 70). Henry Francis Widdrington (de jure fifth baron) died s.p. in 1774 and the estate passed to his nephew Thomas Eyre, with remainder to his cousin Edward Standish (Hedley, op. cit., II, 106).

102. Rutter, 3rd Mar. 1793. Only two thirds of the congregation made their Easter Duty in 1792.

103. LDA, William Gibson Papers, Eyre to Gibson, 25th Feb. 1793; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 680; Lady Mary Eyre gave £500 to Eyre for a chapel, but he was then at Pontop Hall, Doyle, art. cit., 90; Little, op. cit., 66.

104. Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., I, 193.

105. NRO, RCD 4/46-59; Surtees, op. cit., II, 732.

106. T. Matthews, History of Brooms Parish, 1802-1969 (1969); NCC 1920; NC Dec. 1985; J.W. Fawcett, History of Dipton (1911), 35-42.

107. Rutter, 30th Jan. 1791; Crook Hal belonged to the Baker family which had strong Catholic connections. See Milburn, op. cit., for a history of the college and Fordyce, op. cit., II, 660f; UCM, Smith of Brooms Papers, OS/D1, Eyre to Smith, 8th May 1793

108. Ibid, OS/D2, Eyre to Smith, 24th Mar. 1794; LDA, William Gibson Papers, II, Eyre to W. Gibson, 9th May 1793; Hedley, op. cit., I, 113.

109. Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., I, 226; UCM, Smith, OS/D3, Smith to Bell, 1807.

110. CM, loc. cit; UCM, Smith, OS/D20d, 11th Mar. 1836, Smith to unnamed correspondent.

111. UCM, Smith, OS/D20d.

112. Ibid, OS/D20g, 20th Sep. 1836; NRO, RCD 4, 25th July 1836.

113. Ibid, OS/D20i, 16th Dec. 1836

114. NRO, RCD 3/371, Hogarth to unnamed addressee, 27th May, 1841.

115. N. Emery, 'Esh Hall, County Durham', Durham Archaeological Journal, vol. 3 (1987), 83f; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 418f, II, 657; NCC 1937.

116. NRO, RCD, Gibson Papers, II, Eyre to Gibson, 9th May 1793.

117. UCM, DIO 9; CM, ed. cit., 117.

118. CM, loc. cit.

119. UCM, Smith, OS/D20c, 11th Dec. 1835. W.R. Wiggens, Esh Leaves (1914), 54f; W.B. Maynard, 'The Ecclesiastical Administration of the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1774-1856', (Durham PhD, 1973), 218.

120. NCC 1907; CM, ed. cit; A. Coia, Tudhoe St. Charles Parish 1858-1983, (Tudhoe, 1983); Fordyce, op. cit., I, 382/392; J.F. Heyes, 'Education at Sunderland Bridge', UM 81 (1971).

121. Rutter, 23rd Aug. 1787; Catholic Directory 1794.

122. Burn Hall, between Sunderland Bridge and Durham, was bought in 1806 as the residence of B.J. Salvin, the younger son in that generation. The house was used in that way throughout the 19th century. Since it was a wholly private chaplaincy it need not be considered here. (Fordyce, op. cit., I, 381).

123. NCC 1884; Anon., St. Wilfrid's 1749-1846 (Bishop Auckland, 1946); Little, op. cit., 76; Bossy, op. cit., 321; NC Oct. 1983. Anon., 'St. Helen's Auckland and Escomb', PSAN(3) vol. 1, No. 28, 261f; Rutter, 30th Sep. 1794.

124. L. Gooch, Catholicism in Weardale (Durham, 1984); Fordyce, op. cit., I, 553

125. Hardwick 'Hall' and 'House' are used interchangeably in many old documents. A. Forster, 'The Maire Family of County Durham', RH 10/6 (1970); M. Hodgetts, 'Elizabethan Priest-holes: V - The North', RH 13/4 (1976); CM ed. cit.; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 374/5.

126. Fordyce, op. cit., II, 40; Latimer, op. cit., 1st Mar. 1833; Parson and White, op. cit., II, 131n; G. Silvertop, Memoirs (Newcastle, 1914),19.

127. Silvertop, op. cit., 15-7.

128. Laity's Directory 1826; Farm Street Archives, X, folio V, Lawson to Scott, 15th Sep. 1823.

129. T.A. Dunne, The Catholic Church in Hartlepool (1934); P. Fitzpatrick, The Catholic Church in Hartlepool and West Hartlepool 1834-1964 (Hartlepool, 1964); Fordyce, op. cit., I, 419n; II, 317; DRO, Q/R/RM1.

130. NRO, RCD 4/254-8, Slater to Briggs, 14th Apr. 1838.

131. Dunne, op. cit., has a facsimile of Wiseman's letter from 'Everingham, Tuesday'; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 258/9; Latimer, op. cit., Jul. 1850.

132. NC Apr. 1986; Fordyce, op. cit., II, 382; Latimer, op. cit., 29th Sep. 1850.

133. A.W. Dodds, 'Catholicism in Wycliffe and Gilling West', unpublished notes, n.d., at the chapel).

134. The Revv. Dalton (1695), Metham (1694) and Hodgson (1726), cf. Anstruther, op cit.

135. Dickinson, op. cit., SS 178, pp. 184/8; J.W. Wardell, A History of Yarm (1957), 134f; Ollard, op. cit, 219.

136. CM, ed. cit; NC Jan. 1984; W.V. Smith, 'St. Mary's Parish, Stockton on Tees, to 1900', NCH 9 (1979); Fordyce, op. cit., II, 164; H. Heavisides, The Annals of Stockton upon Tees (1865); Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., II, 30; Catholic Directory 1816.

137. The north and south aisles, baptistry and tower were added between 1866 and 1870, by which time the congregation numbered 1,000. The whole structure cost £4,000 but the addition of a planned steeple was never begun. The mission at Middlesbrough was founded from Stockton in 1838, cf., R. Carson, The First 100 Years: A History of the Diocese of Middlesbrough (Middlesbrough, 1978), 105.

138. UCM II, 124, Bishop Walton, Dec. 1775; Rutter, 25th Apr. 1786, 22nd Jun. 1789, 12th Mar. 1792; Anstruther, op. cit., vol. 4, 68; CRS 4, p. 256; Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., II, 135.

139. G. Wild, The Darlington Catholics: A History up to 1866 (Darlington, 1983) supersedes all previous articles.

140. Ibid, 52.

141. Fordyce, op. cit., I, 469; Sykes, op. cit., 29th May, 1827; UCM, Smith of Brooms, OS/D13, Hogarth to Smith, 15th Oct. 1828; OS/D14, do. to do., 3rd Feb, 1820; Orthodox Journal, vol. 9, No. 213 (1839), 65.

142. Carson, op. cit., 85; V. Chapman, Lartington (Lartington, 1985).

143. H. Dix, 'An Old Time Pastor of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, 1806-97', UM 59 (1949), 16; Silvertop, op. cit., 15. The estate passed out of Catholic ownership at the death of Mgr. Witham in 1897. For Gainford see Fordyce, op. cit., II, 131, and Latimer, op. cit., 26th Jun. 1855. Witham turned the first sod for a railway between Barnard Castle and Darlington on 20th Jul. 1854 (Latimer), being Chairman of the Board of Directors. He is said to have built the church at Gainford 'for personal reasons' (W.V.Smith, 'The 1851 Census of Worship etc.', NCH, 7 (1978), 23.)

144. NCC 1881.

145. R. Linker, 'The English Roman Catholics and Emancipation: The Politics of Persuasion', JEH 27 (1956), 154 extends this picture of tolerance to other localities. See also his 'English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: An Interpretation', Church History 35 (1966), 288, for a similar approach to that adopted here.

146. Not all missions followed this pattern; some chaplaincies omitted the second stage and some never got to it; some public missions, especially those established late in the period went direct to the second or third stage. The sequence of events described occurred in the majority of cases.

147. DRO, Q/R/RM1 gives the list of registrations under the Relief Act of 1791. The Tablet, February, 1866.

148. Milburn, op. cit., 44, 57, 74; UCM, V, 452, Banister to Gibson, 10th Feb. 1792. See also W. Ward, W.G. Ward and the Catholic Revival (1912), 5, re Old Hall; Little, op. cit., 30/50.

149. Guide book; Parson & White, I, lxv.

150. Quoted by Milburn, op. cit., 68; LDA, Gibson Papers, 28th Jul. 1798, Milner to Gibson; Holmes, op. cit., 61.

152. J. Crosby, Ignatius Bonomi of Durham, Architect (Durham, 1987), passim. for the role of an architect.

153. It was, however, the new Anglican church in Winlaton (1828) that was first to take this dedication. Bishop Challoner had encouraged devotion to the medieval saints of England (cf., Edwards, op. cit., II, 508.)

154. St. Elizabeth was one of the cults revived by Montalembert (cf. W. Ward, op. cit., 108, and B. Aspinwall, 'Changing Images of Roman Catholic Religious Orders in the Nineteenth Century', SCH 22 (1985), 359).

Part II, Chapter 2

1. Upholland College Manuscripts: The Banister/Rutter Correspondence. These letters will be identified throughout this chapter by originator and date (e.g., Banister, 21 Mar 84). An edition of this correspondence is being prepared for publication.

2. See Table 7.

3. W.V. Smith, 'The Maintenance of the Clergy of Northumberland and Durham in Penal Days', UM 47 (1937), 1f.

4. L. Gooch, 'The Northern Brethren's Fund', NCH 21 (1985), 7.

5. Smith, art. cit., 4; Berington, op. cit., 160; Kirk, op. cit., 138; Gillow, op. cit., dates Jenison's book to 1781-90; UCM, Eyre Manuscripts No. 97, Gillow to Eyre, 22nd Jan. 1805; NRO, Cookson Manuscripts viii 2/5; Doherty, thesis cited, 110; Rutter 19th Nov. 1783 and 18th Feb. 1795.

6. Gilbert, op. cit., 127; the Protestant clergymen might, of course, have ben married.

7. For all this paragraph see Foley, op. cit.

8. NRO, RCD 1/347. Bishop Milner told Bishop Gibson that more reliance would have to be placed in the future on the clergy than on the gentry, cf., LDA, Gibson Papers, 28th Jul. 1798.

9. NRO, 'Riddell Letter Book', No. 93, 4th Aug. 1846; Farm Street Archives, X, Sewall to Scott, 6th Feb. 1823.

10. Banister21st Mar. 1784; Banister to Eyre 30th Sep. 1797, 'Letters of Robert Banister to Thomas Eyre, 1797-1801', UM 24 (1914), 173.

11. NRO, RCD 2/105, 27th Jan. 1812; Rutter, 23rd Oct. 1786.

12. NRO, RCD 1/4, Hogarth to Fletcher, 17th May, 1841; RCD 1/6, Hogarth to Mostyn, 4th Apr. 1843; The Tablet, 2nd Nov. 1844, 693.

13. Biographies of Banister, Rutter and the other priests mentioned in their letters will be found in Gillow, Anstruther, Harris and Kirk, opp. cit.

14. W.V. Smith, 'Life at Douai College after 1750', UM 76 (1966), 24; F.J. Singleton, Mowbreck Hall and the Willows (1983), 18-20.

15. 'Letters of Robert Banister to Thomas Eyre, 1797-1804', UM 25 (1915), 283; Milburn, op. cit., 29n; W. Brown, 'Crook Hall', UM 4 (1894) 3; P. Doyle, 'Seminary Education: A Conservative 18th Century View' NWCH I (1969), 26.

16. Rutter was his mother's maiden name; Harris, op. cit., 280/371; Rutter, 25th Feb. 1779; For a brief history of the Royal College at St. Omers see Ward, Dawn, I, 65.

17. Rutter, 6th Feb. 1781; Banister told Rutter that he had written to the Rector of the English College, Valladolid, on his behalf. He advised Rutter to apply for a post there if none was available at Douai (28th May 1780).

18. Banister, 11th Aug. 1780; Rutter, 6th Feb. 1781.

19. Banister, 11th Aug. 1780, 13th Mar. 1781.

20. Banister, 13th Mar. 1781.

21. Rutter, 2nd Apr. 1781; Banister, 27th Apr. 1781.

22. Banister, 24th Aug. 1781, 2nd Nov. 1781; Rutter, 4th Jan. 1781.

23. Banister, 25th Jan. 1782; Rutter, 22nd Apr. 1782.

24. Banister, 1st Jun. 1782; Rutter, 25th Jun. 1782.

25. Banister, 7th Feb. 1783, 10th Apr. 1783.

26. Banister, 10th Apr. 1783; Eyre to Banister 1st Sep. 1783, covering Rutter's undated first letter from Minsteracres.

27. NCoH vol. 6, 212; J. Lenders, Minsteracres (1932); Gooch, thesis cited, ch. IV.

28. Rutter, 19th Nov. 1783; Banister, 19th Sep. 1783.

29. Rutter, 11th Oct. 1784, 9th Jan. 1785; John and Catharine Silvertop had lived in Benwell House near Newcastle from 1772 to 1779 where they had John Taylor as chaplain. The Lawsons of Brough Hall had Jesuit chaplains.

30. Rutter, 19th Nov. 1783, 14th Mar. 1784, 22nd Jun. 1789, 10th Feb. 1788; Harris, op. cit., 299.

31. This paragraph is derived from the Visitation Returns.

32. Rutter clarifies the situation regarding the chapel which Lenders, op. cit., 65, guessed at. The first chapel was in the old farm-house, then in the new mansion on an upper floor.

33. Eyre to Banister, 1st Sep. 1783 (see note 26 above); Rutter 19th Nov. 1783.

34. This paragraph is derived from the Visitation Returns.

35. NRO, RCD 1/322, p. 323, has priests with powdered hair. Chadwick, op. cit., 275, has priests dressed in blue top-coats and white ties in the 19th century. The best illustrations are probably the portraits of Lingard and Crowe, both reproduced here. Rutter, 1st Sep. 1783; Banister 19th Sep. 1783.

36. Rutter, 19th Nov. 1783, 26th Jan 1784; Banister 19th Dec. 1783.

37. Rutter, 11th Oct. 1784; P. Harvey (Ed.), The Oxford Companion to English Literature (4th edition, 1969) gives the meaning of 'marker' as marksman. A Will Wimble was a good hunter and someone who was obliging to all.

38. Rutter, 9th Jun. 1786; Banister, 2nd Apr. 1789.

39. Rutter, 14th Mar. 1784, 9th Jun. 1786.

40. Rutter, Sep. 1790, 12 Apr. 1791, 29th Mar. 1787, 10th Feb. 1787, 3rd Feb. 1794.

41. NRO, RCD 1/4, 5, 6: Hogarth 29th Aug. 1841, 5th Feb. 1842, 17th Mar. 1842; UCM IV/306, Hay to Eyre, 27th Nov. 1797; Banister, 14th Oct. 1799, UM 25, p.18.

42. Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 353; The Tablet, 8th Jun. 1844, 358; 'Some Letters of Lingard to Newsham and Tate, 1837-1850', UM 16, 5; Kirk op. cit., 73 for a note on Eyre's preaching; Losh, op. cit., Diary 25th Dec 1813; Rutter, 23rd Jun. 1782; Banister, 14th Oct. 1784.

43. Latimer, op. cit., 18th Oct. 1842; Dix, art. cit.

44. See Foley, op. cit., and Part II, Ch. 1 above.

45. Rutter, 23rd Oct. 1786, 25th Mar. 1789, 17th Jan. 1790, 19th Dec. 1791, 1st Aug. 1793.

46. NRO, RCD 1/3, 'Riddell Letter Book', No. 68, to T. Forster, Scrawnwood, 9th Oct. 1845.

47. Rutter, 8th Jun. 1784, 9th Jan. 1785, 10th Feb. 1786, 9th Jun. 1786, 23rd Aug. 1787

48. LDA, Gibson Papers, Banister to Gibson 4th Apr. 1792. John (Jacky) Silvertop died in 1793 aged 16; his sister Mary died aged 10; Rutter, 14th Mar. 1784, 22nd Jun. 1787.

49. Banister, 11th Feb. 1785, 14th Apr. 1788, 21st Mar. 1784, 2nd Apr. 1789.

50. Wilton, art. cit., (1925), 384.

51. Banister, 21st Mar. 1784, 1st Sep. 1787.

52. Rutter, 6th Jun. 1796, 22nd Jun. 1789, 7th Nov. 1796, 17th Jan. 1800.

53. Banister, 17th Jul. 1786, 27th Nov. 1786, 25th Feb. 1792; Rutter, 12th Mar. 1792. See also Smith, art. cit., (1966), 24/5 for another example of Banister's instructions about modesty and vigilance against impurity.

54. Rutter, 6th Jan. 1787; Banister, 7th Jul. 1787.

55. Kirk, op. cit., 58; Rutter, 26th Jan. 1784; Banister, 21st Mar. 1784; Kirk, 244.

56. A signed copy of the Brief is at NRO, RCD 6/9. See also UCM II/119-21. 25th Oct. 1773. The movements of the ex-Jesuits can be followed in Holt op. cit. (CRS 70). See also parish histories in Part I, Ch. 1 above.

57. Rutter, 19th Nov. 1783; UCM II/124, Dec. 1775.

58. NRO, RCD 6/9, 12th Jul. 1797.

59. Ward, opp. cit., is still the authority on these matters but see also E. Duffy, 'Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected', in 3 parts: RH 10/4, 10/6, 12/2 (1970-5), and J. Connell, The Roman Catholic Church in England 1780-1850: A Study in Internal Politics (American Philosophical Society, Vol. 158, 1984).

60. See above Introduction, notes 1 and 19.

61. DRO, D/Ph/115/5, 41; Hodgson, op. cit., II(3), 394 says Mrs Maire left Matthew Gibson £500 a year independent of the church. Rutter, 8th Jan. 1784, is more likely to be correct.

62. Banister, 14th Oct. 1784, 12th Jan. 1786; Rutter, 25th Apr. 1786. John Silvertop did warn W. Gibson that the Lancashire clergy were seeking to influence the appointment of his successor to the presidency of Douai (cf. Brown, art. cit., UM 4, p. 9).

63. 18 Geo.III c.60. Sir Edward Swinburne was nominated but not elected. Ward, Dawn, I, 93/4; UCM III/243, Stonor to Gibson, 4th May 1784.

64. Rutter, 29th Mar. 1787; Ward, Dawn, I, 114/9.

65. UCM V/475c (copy of the protestation); UCM, Eyre Correspondence, Gibson to Eyre, 26th Jan. 1789. Gibson authorised Bishop James Talbot to add his name on the understanding that the protestation referred only to the temporal powers of the Pope. Talbot did so but he withdrew Gibson's name on reconsideration. Lawson's name was not deleted.

66. Ward, Dawn, I, 225; Rutter, 18th Mar. 1885, 1st Jan. 11786, 3rd Sep. 1786, 24th May 1790, 27th Jun. 1790; Banister 7th Jun. 1790.

67. Rutter, 27th Jun. 1790; Banister, 3rd Jul. 1790, 5th Aug. 1790.

68. Banister, 27th Feb. 1786, 5th Aug. 1790; see also Milburn, op. cit., 16/7, 64 n3.

69. Rutter, 9th Jun. 1786; Banister, 17th Jul. 1786; UCM, Eyre Correspondence, Banister to Eyre, 17th Nov. 1792; see also, Brown art. cit.

70Rutter, 29th Jul. 1790; Banister, 8th Sep. 1790.

71. E. Duffy, 'James Barnard and the Catholic Committee or "How Horatio Held the Bridge"', UM 85 (1974), 45; Banister, 8th Sep. 1790, 12th Feb. 1791; UCM President's Archives, PA/C14, J. Chadwick to W. Dunn, 19th Nov. 1790; Brown, art. cit., 9n; Rutter, Sep. 1790.

72. NRO, RCD 1/1, 21st Sep. 1790; DRO, Salvin Papers, D/Sa/C108. See also 'Douai PapersV: Some Letters of Marmaduke Tunstall to Vincent Eyre', UM 24 (1914), 71; NRO, RCD 1/1, 25th Oct. 1790.

73. UCM, Eyre Correspondence, Nos. 343-7, Tunstall to Eyre, 4 Apr. -10 May 1790; DRO, Salvin, D/Sa/C 277.21, n.d. (c. Dec. 1790); Rutter, 12th Apr. 1791. Haggerston, Maire and Witham were founder members of the Roman Catholic Club, established in 1793 to counter the Cisalpine Club (cf. CRS 13, 214f); Connell, op. cit., 66.

74. NRO, RCD 4/4-9; Banister 26th Oct. 1794, 13th Mar. 1795; Ward, Dawn I, 280. See Connell, op. cit., and Duffy, art. cit., UM 85, for a more general treatment of these controversies.

75. The authority on the French exiles is D. Bellenger, The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789 (Downside Abbey, Bath, 1986). See also his 'The French Exiled Clergy in the North of England', AA(5), vol. X, 171f. I attach greater importance to the role of the French on the English mission.

76. Anon, 'Frenchman's Row: An Episode in the French Revolution', PSAN(3), vol. VI, No. 26 (1914), 247-252.

77. Episcopal Visitation Returns.

78. Rutter, 7th Nov. 1796; Milburn, op. cit., 12, 62, 92; Banister to Eyre, 30th Sep. 1797, UM 24, 170, 184, 276

79. Lancs. Record Office, Barrow Letters, Barrow to W. Gibson, 1st Jan. 1798; Milburn, op. cit., 102n14; UCM, Eyre Correspondence, No. 80, 13th May 1805; No.10, Apr. 1797; Banister to Eyre, 12th Oct. 1800, UM 24, 284

80. UCM, Eyre Manuscripts, No. 88, Besnier to Eyre, 1805.

81. See sub-sections on Cowpen and North Shields in Ch. 1, above.

82. Rutter, 24th Nov. 1801; UCM, Eyre Manuscripts, Tidyman to Eyre, 27th Feb. 1803.

83. Rutter, 10th Aug. 1791, 3rd Feb. 1794, 16th May 1792.

84. Banister, 19th Dec. 1793, 18th Jan. 1794.

85. Rutter, 28th Jun. 1795.

86. LDA, Gibson Papers, I, Milner to Gibson, 27th Nov. 1795; Rutter, 16th Jul. 1795.

87. Banister, 16th Nov. 1796; Rutter, 12th May 1797.

88. Catholic Directory, 1830; UCM, Eyre Manuscripts, No. 299, Tidyman to Eyre, 12th Nov. 1797; Raine, op. cit., 226; A. Forster, 'The Chronicles of the English Poor Clares of Rouen', II, RH 18/2 (1986), 158/9; Rutter, 6th Jun. & 7th Nov. 1796.

89. UCM, Eyre, No. 337, Nos. 335/7, Tidyman to Eyre, 12/17 Dec. 1806; No. 213, Silvertop to Eyre, 18th Aug. 1807; Milburn, op. cit., 109; Rutter, 31st Dec. 1807.

90. Banister, 13th Apr. 1799, in which he quotes Barrow.

91. Brady, op. cit., III, 269.

92. NRO, RCD 4, Poynter to Gibson, 4th Mar, 1817; Milburn, op. cit., 94/5; Ward, Eve, III, 35/6. Smith had been nominated twice to the Midland District, and he was also offered the presidency of the English College, Valladolid.

93. Rutter, 12th Apr. 1791, Nov. 1795, 9th Mar. 1796; Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., II, 402n; J. Gillow, The Church during the Suppression of the Hierarchy in Newcastle and Gateshead, (1889), 65.

94. Rutter made a further attempt to move in 1797 but the bishop told him it was out of the question. Rutter gave up and said it would be the last time he would try to leave Minsteracres. Banister, 31st Jan. 1796, 1st Aug. 1793, 16th Nov. 1796.

95. Banister, 9th Jan. & 11th Feb. 1785.

96. See Gillow, op. cit., for a full list; Lancs. Record Office, Barrow Letters, Barrow to Rutter, 25th Apr. 1804.

97. Rutter, 24th Nov. 1801. A Catholic library was established in the town in 1822 (cf. Orthodox Journal, I, (1835), 371. Rutter's mark is to be found on some ex-Stella Hall books which originally belonged to Lord Widdrington.(cf. Doyle, art. cit.)

98. Rutter, 22nd Jun. 1802; Lenders, op. cit., 82/3; Milburn, op. cit., 116; W.V. Smith, The Northern Brethren's Fund, 1690-1960 (Newcastle, 1960), Appendix.

99. UCM, Lingard Correspondence, No. 104, Lingard to Gradwell, 17th May 1820.

100. R.C. Wilton, M.B. Joyce, arts. cit.

101. Wilton, art. cit., (1925), 372; ditto, (1916), 312.

102. ibid. See also Roebuck, op. cit., 70.

103. Bossy, art. cit., RH 9/2, 108.

104. Edwards, op. cit., II, 234.

105. Berington, op. cit., 162; Rutter, 22nd Jun. 1789; G. Culkin, 'Lingard and Ushaw', Clergy Review, 35/6 (1951), 368.

106. Ward, Dawn, I, 88/92; Banister, 1st Jun. 1782; NRO, RCD 4/20, Riddell to Penswick, 19th Oct. 1834; LDA, Briggs Papers, Parker to Briggs, 13th May, 1838 (No. 375). NRO, RCD 1/3, Riddell to Silvertop 21st Jul. 1845; RCD 1/8, Hogarth to Charlton, 19th Aug. 1851; RCD 1/9a, Hogarth to Haggerston 21st Jan. 1851; Doherty, thesis cited, 220 re Riddell's denial of the bishop's authority.

Part III, Chapter 1

1. J.C.D. Clarke, English Society (1985), 354.

2. Even Northumberland was to become pragmatic over Catholic Emancipation although not pro-Catholic: see below.

3. T.C. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates (1803-29), First Series, vol. XXXVI, col. 667. (Henceforth PD with vol. and col.). U. Henriques, Religious Toleration in England 1787-1833 (1961), 26; PD(1), IV, 708-11. Bishop W. Gibson was told in 1790 that the government was very willing to relieve the Catholics if it could secure their allegiance: 'The difficulty is not about ye Stuarts, but ye interference of papal authority'. (LDA, Gibson Papers, Pilling to Gibson, 26th Nov. 1790.)

4. J. Todd, John Wesley and the Catholic Church (1958), 100. Wesley does not seem to have come across many Catholics. He did meet one 'cursing, swearing, drunken papist' in Newcastle in 1743 who insisted that Wesley read Challoner's The Grounds of the Old Religion (cf. Journal, III, 75). He believed that Catholics could be regarded as sincere though deluded Christians. When his nephew became a Catholic, Wesley remarked, 'better a Catholic than a pagan'. (Todd, 29/30, 86/7). D. Hempton, Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850 (1984), Ch. 5; J.H. Hexter, The Protestant Revival and the Catholic Question in England, 1778-1829,

Journal of Modern History, 8 (1936), 300.

5. Hexter, art. cit., 304-6; Hempton, op. cit., 141; P. Cadogan, Early Radical Newcastle (Newcastle, 1975), 37.

6. Gooch, thesis cited, 34; E. Duffy, 'Here lies an Advocate for The Union of Christians', UM 85 (1974), 17.

7. LDA, Gibson Papers, IV, Propaganda to Gibson, 6th Apr. 1821; UCM III/189, Propaganda to Petre, 11th Aug. 1773; Ward, Sequel, I, 125/150; NRO, RCD 4/89, Hay to Gibson, @th Oct. 1794.

8. M. Robert, The Whig Party 1807-12 (1965), 39; E. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1984), 45; PD(1), XV, 504.

9. PD(1), XVII, 430.

10. PD(1), IV, 654.

11. Clarke, op. cit., 350-3.

12. The vigour of the Catholics in the political arena is well brought out by R.W. Linker in: 'English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: An Interpretation', Church History 35 (1966), 288f. and 'The English Catholics and Emancipation: The Politics of Persuasion', JEH 27/2 (1976), 151f.

13. The precise chronology of this dispute in its early stages is difficult to establish; the sequence given here is based on internal evidence. Barrington's Charge was delivered in the cathedral at Durham in the summer of 1806 but it was not published until Feb/Mar. 1807. It went into three editions but Lingard issued his Remarks after the first. This must have been in April, for Lingard notes that 'within two months' of publication, Elijah Index and A Clergyman responded. The former dates his contribution to 5th June 1807. Barrington issued his Grounds in May 1807 and Lingard reissued his Remarks with a new preface. He reviewed the Protestant's Reply in June, and Elijah Index replied in July. Subsequent interventions came after the election (parliament met on 22nd June).

14. Preface to the second edition of Remarks.

15. Bishop Milner condemned the Antiquities for its reticence and good manners (Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 97). He suspected Lingard of heresy (cf. Duffy, art. cit., (1974), 21/2). Unaccountably, the British Critic, vol. 32, p. 422, held the impression over a year later that the author of the Remarks was Milner. Perhaps this was because Milner published a second edition of his Case of Conscience Solved, to which he added, 'Observations on a publication by the Rev. T.L. Mesurier entitled 'A Sequel to the Serious Examination into the Catholic Claims'' (1807) (cf. F.C. Husenbeth, The Life of the Rt. Rev. John Milner (1862), 140). G.M. Trevelyan, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill (1920), 170.

16. DNB. Some of Barrington's anti-Catholic 'tracts became standard treatises in the religious world', VCH, County Durham, II, 68; F.K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians (1961), 31/2; R. Solway, Prelates and People; Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England 1783-1852 (1969), 72n3; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 86f.

17. G.G. Armstrong, 'The Life and Influence of Shute Barrington, Bishop of Durham, 1791-1826 (Durham, King's College, M.Litt., 1936), 616.

18. Charge, 4.

19. Ibid, 9; Remarks, preface.

20. Remarks, 1, 2.

21. Ibid, verse on 71, 78n, 81, 89, 90 note y. See also A General Vindication, 30 note o; G. Best, Temporal Pillars (1964), 141; J. Milner, The End of Religious Controversy (1818), 290.

22. Remarks, 6, 79, 83, 95.

23. Armstrong, thesis cited, 660; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 89; C. Butler, Reminiscences (Collected Works vol. 1, 1824), 126-9. See also vol. 10, 94n. Barrington opposed the nomination of Sir Charles Englefield as President of the Society of Antiquaries.

24. J. Crosby, op. cit., passim. Bonomi also designed the Catholic churches at Wigton and Brough, but his designs for Wycliffe and St. Anne's, Leeds were not accepted.

25. Remarks, 77; J. Lingard, Remarks on a Late Pamphlet Entitled 'The Grounds...' (1809), 4.

26. The 'Liege Subject' was the Rev. Henry Cotes. Two Catholic gentlemen appealed for peace and fairness in the Courant; George Gibson, under the pseudonym of 'A Friend to Peace and Union', and Thomas Selby, as 'A Loyal Freeholder'; all are identified in Orthodox Journal vol. 3, no.99 (1857), 62. See also Latimer, op. cit., 310. The Rev. T. Gillow, chaplain at Callaly Castle (and a contemporary of Lingard at Douai and at Crook Hall) published a short treatise, Catholic Principles of Allegiance Asserted in 1807, in which he explained that the Pope's supremacy was confined to spiritual matters and that English Catholics would never suffer any foreign power whatsoever to divide their affections or estrange their allegiance. Gillow's book does not appear to have been noticed.

27. All of these pamphlets were printed in Newcastle, and they are all referred to by Gillow and Haile & Bonney (383f), opp. cit.

28. Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 122; J. Lingard, A Vindication of The 'Remarks'... (1807), 4.

29. Ibid, 32n. G. Stephenson refers at one point to 'the more opulent Roman Catholic families with which this northern country abounds',Sermons, (1808), 20.

30. J. Lingard, A General Vindication of The 'Remarks' ... (1808), 26/40.

31. Ibid, 51. The apocalyptic prophets of doom had their heyday in the first half of the 19th century, and were reinforced in their beliefs by the appearance of brilliant comets (in 1811 and 1843); Halley's Comet appeared in 1835. It was also regarded as highly significant that there had been a total eclipse of the sun in 1715 (cf. Boyer, op. cit., IX, 316f., esp. 324, where the Jacobites were said to have 'fantastical expectations that heaven (was) about to declare for them', which shows that all sides could take what comfort they could from these phenomena. W.H. Oliver, Prophets and Millenialists (1978), passim, but esp. 61/2; New Annual Register (1806), 291.

32. The Rev. N.J. Hollingsworth, A Defence of the Doctrine and Worship of the Church of England in Five Letters (1809); Lingard's Remarks... (1809).

33. Ibid, 35/47; Shute Barrington, Grounds of Union between the Churches of England and Rome (1810), 436.

34. Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 108, 384 (item 11).

35. Ibid, 111; Bishop Douglas had considered recalling Lingard from the Northern District in 1797 (cf. LDA, Gibson Papers, Douglas to Gibson 14th Jun. 1797). Lingard would have preferred to stay in Durham and would have accepted the mission at Stella (offered to him by the 60-year old William Hull), but Gibson would not sanction that (Milburn, op. cit., 117); Banister, 31st Jan. 1796.

36. Haile & Bonney, 311n., 384, items 14, 15, 16; for Burgess, see DNB; Maynard, thesis cited, 11. Figures in parentheses are the salaries of the parishes as given in the first edition of the Clergy List (1841).

37. UCM, Lingard Letters, Misc., No. 43, 26th April, 1813; Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 109, 384; Bishop Poynter suggested to Bishop Smith that Lingard be kept ready to respond to any further anti-Catholic publications (LDA, Smith Papers, 4th Apr. 1821).

38. Vindication, 5; General Vindication, 23, 51; Remarks (1809), 45.

39. Fordyce, op. cit., II, 432n; Mackenzie & Ross, op. cit., I, 288; M. Clarke, Paley (1974), 84; Brown, op. cit., passim.

40. Fordyce, op. cit., II, 231n; Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 102.

41. DNB; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 408/9; E.I. Watkin, Roman Catholicism in England from the Reformation to 1950 (1957), 179.

42. VCH, County Durham, II, 163; DNB.

43. L. Strachey & R. Fulford (Eds.), The Greville Memoirs, (1938), IV, 84; DNB; Two biographies of Phillpotts are available: R.N. Shutte, The Life, Times and Writings of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Phillpotts, Lord Bishop of Exeter (1863); G.C.B. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter 1778-1869 (1954); Lingard, Remarks (1809), 35; In addition to the individual stipend of each stall, prebendaries received £1,500 each rom the income of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

44. Schutte, op. cit., 29; Haile & Bonney, op. cit., 103, 209; C. New, Lord Durham (1929), 95; Phillpotts was known in Oxford as the 'great rat' (cf. Clarke, op. cit., 394, 399n.)

45. Haile & Bonney, passim. The Rev. T. Gillow, who published a book in 1807 (see note 26 above) was offered a bishopric as Vicar Apostolic of the West Indies, but he declined, and went instead to the new mission at North Shields (cf. Stark, op. cit., 68f).

Part III, Chapter 2

1. N. Smith (Ed.), The Letters of Sydney Smith (1953), I, 414.

2. UCM, Lingard Letters, Add. No. 25, Lingard to Orrell, 20th May, 1807.

3. Proceedings of the Durham County Meeting on Monday June 1st, 1807, etc. (n.d., published by G. Walker, Durham); Fordyce, op. cit., I, 152, 348/9; C. Daykin, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Durham, 1675-1832' (Durham University, M. Litt., 1961), 308.

4. W. Garnet, A Collection of Papers, Speeches, etc., Relating to the Northumberland Election of 1807 (Newcastle, 1807), passim.

5. Roberts, op. cit., 37; Grey to Tierney, 8th Nov. 1807 (quoted in Life and Opinions, 158-60).

6. Linker, art. cit., (1976), 164.

7. Holmes, op. cit., quoting Smith to Poynter, 26th Jan. 1812.

8. Sir Henry Vane Tempest, Tory member for County Durham died on 1st August. John Lambton won the nomination to succeed him on the understanding that his unlce Ralph 'should resign his seat for the city', it being generally regarded that two of the four Durham (county and city) seats whould not be occupied by the same family. All taken from the by-election Poll-Book (Durham 1813).

9. E. Reynolds, Three Cardinals (1958), 22; B. Fothergill, Nicholas Wiseman (1963), 20. Wiseman was at Ushaw College between 1810 and 1818.

10. The meeting was extensively reported in DCA, 30th Dec. 1815 and 13th Jan. 1816, from which the following is taken.

11. Silvertop's offer was strongly supported by Lord Darlington (DRO, NCB I/JB/1297, Silvertop to J. Buddle, 29th May 1798, in which Silvertop quotes Darlington).

12. The concept of a militia or volunteer regiment was that a body of respectable citizens, officered by local gentlemen, was to be raised in times of emergency for home defence. By the act 2 Geo.III c.20, Roman Catholics were debarred from such service. Lenders, op. cit., 31; PSAN(3) VII, No. 8 (1915), 98.

13.Chinnicci, op. cit., 41; Ward, Eve, II, 178.

14. University of Durham, Grey Manuscripts, 18th Feb. 1820.

15. New, op. cit., 59; Cadogan, op. cit., 22, 43.

16. New, op. cit., 60; Losh, Diary, op. cit., March 1820.

17. Anon. (Phillpotts), A Letter to Earl Grey from one of the Clergy, 22nd Jan. 1821. Losh, loc. cit., 15th April refers to the pamphlet as 'an Anon.'s one by Mr. Phillpotts'.

18. The Durham Election 1820 (a collection of broadsides, etc., in the City of Durham Library). Meynell's band, Mesurier said, according to a handbill of 22nd March, was accompanied by a 'mob of the lowest rabble of Darlington, having falgs, drunken women and boys with turnips on sticks'. Norman, op. cit., (1984), 44 (for the Poynter remark).

19. UCM, Wiseman Papers, No. 29, Brown to Wiseman, 7th Apr. 1826; Norman, op. cit., 31; Hexter, art. cit., 311-2; Daykin, thesis cit., 311; New, op. cit., 80/7, 91; DCA 15th Jan. 1826, 17th Jun. 1826.

20. Welford, op. cit., (1895) under the names of the candidates, gives a general narrative of this election. He says Beaumont spent £40,634. Trevelyan, op. cit., 293, says that the Greys spent £14,000 (referring to AA(4) vol. 36 (1958), 108n.). L. Cooper, Radical Jack (1959), 93, says that Lambton spent £30,000. The by-election cost each candidate £30,000, and presumably those figures would be included in the quarter million.

21. E.M. Halcrow, 'The Election Campaigns of Sir Charles Miles Lambert Monck', AA(4) vol. 36 (1958), 105, quoting Gibson's letter of 24th Mar. 1812.

22. PD(2), IX, 574/1476, etc; XI, 842; Linker, art. cit., (1976), 161/2; O'Ferrall, op. cit., 117f.

23. PD(2), XIII, 766.

24. NRO, 524: Northumberland By-Election Poll-Book (1826), Including a Complete Collection of Papers, Speeches, etc. (Alnwick, 1826).

25. The Truthteller, Vol. III, No. 26 (Apr. 1826), 16. W.E. Andrewes, the editor, supported Beaumont and Howick in a leading article and wrote against Liddell.

26. By-election poll-book.

27. The following is derived from the Northumberland Poll-Book (1826) (Alnwick, 1826).

28. University of Durham, Grey Manuscripts, 16th Feb. 1826.

29. Losh, Diary, 16th Mar. 1826.

30. Missioners at Newcastle and Hesleyside respecively.

31. Ward, Eve, II, Ch. 27; J. Milner, Supplementary Memoirs (1820), 239, 240, 244; Gillow, Dictionary, III, 403.

32. DCA 26th Jun. 1826.

33. Quoted by G. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics (Oxford, 1964), 72/3.

34. Hexter, art. cit., 312/3. Howick was given a Winchelsea seat by the Marquess of Cleveland, see note 54 below and Trevelyan, op.cit., 199/293. Beaumont was returned for Stafford in 1827. Liddell declined to stand in 1830, so that Bell and Beaumont were returned. Howick and Beaumont won in 1831.

35. The laity: J. Kirsopp, G. Gibson, W.J. Charlton, J. Gibson, N. Leadbitter, R. Riddell, J. Snowden, W. Errington, G. Silvertop, J. Kirsopp, C. Larkin, R. Riddell, J. Clavering, W. Selby, T. Haggerston, Sir C. Haggerston, E. Charlton, G.T. Dunn, P.J. Selby, T. Leadbitter, G. Dunn, G. Humble, W. Mather, E. Storey. The clergy: T. Stout (Thropton), W. Birdsall (Berwick), T. Beaumont, SJ, (Alnwick), J. Leadbitter, OP, (Hexham), H. Lawson, OSB (Morpeth), T. Gillow (Tynemouth), J. Yates (Esh), J. Gillow (Wooler).

36. Norman, op. cit., 41.

37. PD(1), V, 217; XXII, 460; XXIV, 559, 726, 1104; Ward, Eve, II, 23f.

38. Journals of the Lords and Commons, 1825-9, passim; Losh, Diary, 18th Feb. 1825, where he congratulates himself in getting forty lawyers of Newcastle to sign a pro-Catholic petition. PD(2), XIII, 652.

39. PD(2), XX, 833.

40. Daykin, thesis, cit., 391; PD(2), XX, 705, 720, 968.

41. PD(2), XX, 1304-1313. There were 6,184 signatories.

42. An account of the meeting is given in Sykes, op. cit., II, 10th Mar. 1829; Cadogan, op. cit., 51; Hempton, op. cit., 136.

43. Losh, Diary, 10th Mar. 1829.

44. Losh, Correspondence, ibid, to Grey, 28th Mar. 1826.

45. Edinburgh Review, 27th Mar. 1827, 519-22 (cf. Davies, op. cit., 66).

46. DNB. Townsend went to Rome in 1850 to convert the Pope and he published an account of his visit: Journal of a Tour in Italy (1851). (See also, R.A. Knox, 'The man who tried to convert the Pope', Literary Distractions (1958), 114f.)

47. Butler was impressed with Phillpotts' book; he obtained an introduction to him and they remained on good terms (Davies, op. cit., 51/2).

48. Davies, op. cit., 43f; S. Gilley, 'Nationality and Liberty, Protestant and Catholic: Robert Sothey's Book of the Church', SCH 18 (1982), 409.

49. Davies, op. cit., 64/5.

50. Duke of Wellington (Ed.), Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Arthur, Duke of Wellington (8 vols., 1867-80), IV, 317.(Henceforth WND)

51. WND IV, 229; V, 486.

52. WND IV, 254-5; Davies op. cit., 65/7.

53. WND IV, 317, 324-9, 500-4; V, 39, 48/9, 67, 71, 129, 386f, 444/9, 486.

54. Vane (1766-1842) was the son of Henry Vane, second Earl of Darlington As Viscount Barnard he had sat in the Commons for Winchilsea (1790-2) and County Durham (1812-4). He was created Marquess of Cleveland in 1827 and Duke of Cleveland in 1833. He abandoned the Whigs in 1830 over parliamentary reform (DNB). Seat: Raby Castle. DCA, 11th Nov. 1826, quoting a Dublin newspaper. His six boroughs were 2 each at Ilchester, Camelford and Winchilsea. He accommodated Howick at Winchilsea in 1826. GEC, III, 284 note (b); Daykin 391. He offered George Silvertop one of his boroughs, cf. Gateshead Observer, 24th Feb. 1849. Powlett changed his name from Vane; he was afterwards 3rd Duke of Cleveland. GEC, III, 285 note (d).

55. Castlereagh had been pro-Catholic. Londonderry was not given office by Wellington, while Hardinge was given the War Office; relations between the two kinsmen cooled. The latter declined to stand for the City of Durham seat in 1830 and it was taken by the marchioness's ultra-Tory nephew Arthur Hill Trevor, whom O'Connell described as 'the meek and modest representative of the clergy of Durham'. Londonderry's daughter Alexandrina became a Catholic. PD XIX, 1198; Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry, The Life and Times of Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry and her husband Charles, Third Marquess of Londonderry (1958), 141, 159, 169; M. Hyde, The Londonderrys (1979), xv; DCA 4th and 26th Jun. 1828. The only other minor nothern peers were Lords Morpeth and Howick in the Commons; both were pro-Catholic. PD(2), XIX, 1294, 1330; XX, 878.

56. His grandfather Sir Hugh Smithson of Stanwick,(in the North Riding) was a Catholic until he succeeded as third baronet in 1733, aged 19. He married Elizabeth Seymour (daughter of the 7th Duke of Somerset), heiress to the Percy estates, in 1740. He was created Earl of Northumberland in 1750 and the dukedom (of the third creation) was revived for him in 1766 when he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (DNB); WND V, 453f.; A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837 (1958), 223; Roebuck, op. cit., (1976), 159, n63.

57. O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church (2 vols., 1966), I, 11-3; Solway, op. cit., 41, 90; G.F.A. Best, 'The Protestant Constitution and its Supporters, 1800-29', TRHS(5), VIII, (1958), 113; C. Ives, Sermons on Several Occasions and Charges by William van Mildert, DD, etc. (1838), 99; PD(2) XIX, 1174.

58. W. Russell, Tory, who succeeded Lambton in the Commons on the latter's elevation to the Lords, declared himself in favour of Catholic Emancipation, but he was absent from the House during its enactment. DCA 16th Feb. 1828; Daykin, thesis, cit., 395/407.

59. Turberville, op. cit., 227; Clarke, op. cit., 359 (for Wellington's lack of ideology).

60. Shutte, op. cit., 282f; Fordyce, op. cit., I, 651; II, 42. Phillpotts wished to retain the Stanhope rectorship to augment his episcopal salary of £5,000. In Oct. 1830. Cuthbert Rippon of Stanhope Castle, a violent anti-churchman, objected and raised a local petition to the King. Mr. Beaumont, MP, outlined the matter in parliament on 10th Nov., by which time the bishop had resolved the matter by appointing William Darnell to Stanhope. Darnell resigned his stall at Durham (£1,198) and it was given to Phillpotts. At the same time the Bishop of Exeter's salary was increased to £8,400 and Phillpotts felt able to manage on that.

61. Ives, op. cit., 542; Losh, Diary, May 1829; Durham, op. cit.,(n.62)

62. T.J. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England (1975), 20; A.J. Heesom, 'Lord Durham's Bowlby Letter: National Politics in their Local Context', DCLHSB No. 34 (1985), 29, 32, 35; UCM, Smith of Brooms, OS/D201., 9th Jun. and 31st Jul. 1837; Sykes, op. cit., 1831/2 passim; The Speeches of the Right Honourable the Earl of Durham (1836), 225.

63. NRO, 1954/40, R. Simmons to D. Forster, 1st Aug. 1836.

64. Newcastle Journal, 31st Dec. 1842; L. Charlton, op. cit., Ch XI, passim.

65. Latimer, op. cit., Dec. 1832. See also 11th Sep. 1832 for the attendance by several prominent Catholics at a major Whig dinner.

66. Latimer, op. cit., 28th Nov. 1847.

67. Cadogan, op. cit., 77f, 37; Gillow, Dictionary, and Welford, Men of Mark, have biographies. T.P. MacDermott, 'Charles Larkin, Radical

Reformer, 1800-79', NCH 28 (1988), 13, does not emphasise his leading role in the Catholic life of Newcastle to the same extent as is done here.

68. J.H. Treble, 'The Attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Trade Unionism in the North of England, 1833-42', Northern History 5 (1970), 97. See also G. Connolly, 'The Transubstantiation of Myth: Towards a New Popular History of Nineteenth Century Catholicism in England', JEH 35/1, (1984), 102/3; NRO, RCD 3/73, 25th Mar. 1825: Bishop Briggs admitting members of trade unions (but not Knights of St. Patrick) to the sacraments.

69. Catholic Directory, 1825 and the years following; Smith, op. cit., 55. S. Meggison, Vicar of Bolam, wrote to Larkin on 26th Mar. 1831 in connection with a dispute with the Reformation Society, in which he abused Larkin as 'a surgeon, not unskilful in your business, clever with the pen, but not very respectable'. He had learned about Larkin's public house which he described as very disorderly, and where the lower sort of Irish and others used to sit and drink and revel on Sunday afternoons. (cf. introduction to C. Larkin, A Vindication of the Catholic Religion, etc. (Newcastle, 1831) (Gillow, Dictionary, 136, item 2).

70. R.J. Cooter, 'The Irish in County Durham and Newcastle, 1840-80' (University of Durham, MA, 1973), 103.

71. PD(3) XIII, 98. See also col. 728 for Londonderry's condemnation of Larkin's contribution to a meeting on Reform in Sunderland; Cadogan, op. cit., 97.

72. Gillow, Dictionary, 137, item 6; Latimer, op. cit., 6th Mar. 1836.

73. A. Heesom, 'The Founding of the University of Durham' (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1982), 11f; E.A. Varley, 'The Last of the Prince Bishops: The Episcopate of William van Mildert (1826-36)', (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1986), 15.

74. A.M. Ramsey, 'Hugh James Rose', DUJ, 36 (1941), 50.

75. A.S. Havens, 'Henry Jenkyns on the Thirty-nine Articles: A Study in Nineteenth Century Anglican Confessionalism' (University of Durham MA, 1982), 68, 73, 253; DNB; P. Toon, Evangelical Theology 1833-56: A Response to Tractarianism (1979), 35/6; Maynard, thesis, cit., 88.

76. W.G. Gorman, Converts to Rome since the Tractarian Movement to 1899 (1899), 25, 64, 131, 241. L. Gooch, 'T.W. Wilkinson (1825-1909), Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle 1889-1909', NCH 13, (1981), 26.

77.NRO, RCD 3/73, 25th Mar. 1835; 'Riddell Letter Book', Nos. 28, 49, 71: Riddell to Mostyn, Hogarth and Brown, Jan.-Jun. 1845; See also J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971), 91.

78. Latimer, op. cit., 31st Jan. 1843.

79. T.P. MacDermott, 'The Irish Workers on Tyneside', in N. McCord, (Ed), Essays in Labour History (1977), 165f. McAnulty was especially prominent in the latter half of the century.

80. Yellowley & Galletly, op. cit., 26.

81. NRO, 'Riddell Letter Book', no. 16, Riddell to Phillipps, 4th Dec. 1844; Gillow, Dictionary, IV, 135-9; Gateshead Observer, Dec. 1844; The Tablet, VI, No. 5, 37.

82. G. Machin, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832-68 (1977), 71; Ward, Sequel, II, 34-7; E. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (1968), 52, 159f; Chadwick, op. cit., I, 296/7. Bishop Hogarth ignored the act and invariably signed himself 'William Bishop of Hexham' (Cf. Brady, op. cit., III, 411); L. Charlton, op. cit., 210.

83. Cadogan, op. cit., 52; Gillow, Dictionary, 139.

Conclusion

1. Extracts are given in D. Gwynn, The Second Spring 1818-1852 (1942), 11-3; Newman's phraseology is comparable with Dickens' description of Geoffrey Haredale and his mansion house, The Warren (cf. Barnaby Rudge, chapters IX and XIII). W.M. Thackeray is said to have memorised the whole of Newman's sermon, so much did he admire it (cf. P. Sidney, Modern Rome in Modern England (1906), 4). The religious disputes covered by Thackeray in Henry Esmond, published in the year of Newman's sermon, had their parallels in mid-Victorian England. Thackeray eschewed sectarianism.

2. Many parish histories give the impression that the penal era only ended at the restoraton of the English Catholic hierarchy (see also note 4 below).

3. Burton, op. cit., I, 130/1.

4. Linker, art. cit., (1966), 289. Here and in his other art. cit. (1976), 151, Linker is sceptical of English Catholic historians, such as Burton and Ward, who assert that the period covered in this study is within the penal era of English Catholicsm.

Bibliography

I. Manuscript Sources

Downside Abbey: Record Book of the English Benedictine Congregation.

DRO: Londonderry Papers (D/Lo)

National Coal Board Papers (D/NCB)

Salvin Papers (D/Sa)

Farm Street Archives (SJ): X. Residence of St. John the Evangelist

GPL: Cotesworth Manuscripts (CN/ etc)

Carr-Ellison Manuscripts (ZCE)

House of Lords: Returns of Papists, 1705, 1767, 1780, (Dioceses of Durham and York).

Lancashire Record Office: Barrow Letters.

Leeds Diocesan Archives: Briggs Papers

William Gibson Papers

Penswick Papers

Smith Papers

NRO: Allgood Manuscripts (ZAN)

Cookson Manuscripts (ZCO)

Haggerston Manuscripts (ZHG)

Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle:

RCD 1: Episcopal Letters

RCD 4: Northumberland and Durham Missions

RCD 5: Family Papers

Ridley Manuscripts (ZRI)

Swinburne Manuscripts (ZSW)

Trevelyan Manuscripts (ZTR)

University of Durham: Durham Episcopal Records, Clergy Visitation Returns, 1732; 1774; 1792; 1810; 1814.

Grey Papers

Mickleton and Spearman Manuscripts

Sharpe Manuscripts

Upholland College: The Banister/Rutter Correspondence

Ushaw College: Diocesan Topography & Mission Papers (DIO)

Eyre Manuscripts and Correspondence

Lingard Letters

President's Archives (PA)

Smith of Brooms Papers (OS/D)

W.V. Smith Papers and Transcripts

Ushaw Collection of Manuscripts (UCM)

Wiseman Papers

II. Printed Collections of Records and Papers

Royal Historical Society, Camden Third Series:

Vol. 22, The Official Diary of Lieutenant-General Adam Williamson, Deputy-Lieutentant of the Tower of London, 1722-47, ed. J.C. Fox (1912).

Chetham Society Old series:

Vol. 5, The State of the Parties in Lancashire before the Rebellion of 1715, S.H. Ware (1845).

Catholic Record Society, Record Series:

Vol. 2, 'The Registers of the Catholic Mission of St. Oswald, Bellingham, Northumberland, formerly called Hesleyside, 1794-1837', ed. J.S. Hansom (1906).

Vol. 4, 'Catholic chaplaincies and families in the north during the eighteenth century.' cont. J. Gerard (1907)

Vol. 7, 'The Catholic Registers of the Domestic Chapel at Callaly Castle, Northumberland, 1796-1839', ed. J. Gillow (1909).

Vol. 9, 'Particulars of Priests in England and Wales, 1692, from the Archives of the Old Brotherhood' (1911).

Vol. 13, 'Account Book of Mr Ralph Clavering, 1763-1764' (1913).

Vol. 14,'The Catholic Registers of Capheaton, Kirkwhelpington, Northumberland, a Chaplaincy of the Swinburnes, 1769-85,'ed., J.R. Baterden (1914).

-- 'The Catholic Registers of Biddleston Hall, Alwinton, Northumberland, the seat of the Selby family, 1767-1840', ed. J.R. Baterden (1914).

Vol. 26, 'The Catholic Registers kept by Fr. Peter Antoninus Thompson, OP, at Stonecroft, as Chaplain to the Gibson Family, from 1715; at Hexham and Stonecroft, Northumberland, conjointly, from 1721; at Hexham alone from 1734; and by other Dominicans from 1754-1826', ed. J.R. Baterden (1926).

-- 'The Catholic Registers of Stonecroft, Northumberland, kept by the Dominicans after its separation from Hexham, from 1737 to 1821', ed. J.R. Baterden (1926).

-- 'Catholic Registers of the Secular Mission of Hexham at Cockshaw, Northumberland, 1753-1832', ed. J.R. Baterden (1926).

Vol. 32, 'Archbishop Blackburn's Visitation Returns of the Diocese of York, 1735', ed. R. Trappes-Lomax (1932).

Vol. 35, 'The Catholic Registers of the Secular Mission of Newcastle-upon Tyne, which ultimately became St. Andrew's, from 1765; with Notes on the early Jesuit Missions in Gateshead and Newcastle, 1688-1807', ed. J. Lenders & J.R. Baterden (1936).

Vol. 63, Douai College Documents, 1639-1794, ed. P.R. Harris (1972).

Vol. 70, The English Jesuits 1650-1829, A Biographical Dictionary, G. Holt, SJ, (1984).

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Calendars:

Egmont Manuscripts (3 vols., 1920-3).

Lindley Wood (Halifax) Manuscripts (1914).

Calendar of the Stuart Papers (7 vols., 1902-23).

Townshend Manuscripts (1887).

Publications of the Scottish Historical Society:

Vols. 14 & 15, The Prisoners of the '45, ed. B. Seton & J.G. Arnot (1925-9).

Vol. 28, Memorials of John Murray of Broughton, ed. R.F. Bell (1898).

Publications of the Surtees Society:

Vols. 93 & 101, Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle upon Tyne, ed. J.R. Boyle & F.W. Dendy (1895/9).

Vol. 105, Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle upon Tyne, ed. F.W. Dendy (1901).

Vol. 111, Records of the Committees for Compounding etc., with Delinquent Royalists in Durham and Northumberland during the Civil War, etc., 1643-1660, ed. R. Welford (1905).

Vols. 118 & 124, North Country Diaries, ed. J.C. Hodgson (1910/5).

Vol. 131, Northumbrian Documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries, Comprising the Register of the Estates of Roman Catholics in Northumberland, ed. J. C. Hodgson (1918).

Vol. 165, Letters of Spencer Cowper, Dean of Durham, 1746-74, ed. E. Hughes (1956).

Vols. 171 & 174, Diaries and Correspondence of James Losh, ed. E. Hughes (1956/9).

Vols. 173 & 175, Registrations of Durham Recusant Estates, 1717-1778, ed. C.R. Hudleston (1962/5).

Vol. 178, The Correspondence of Sir James Clavering, ed. H.T. Dickinson (1967).

Vol. 180, Selections from the Disbursements Book (1691-1709) of Sir Thomas Haggerston, Bart., ed. A.M.C. Forster (1969).

Vol. 197, The Letters of Henry Liddell to William Cotesworth, ed. J.M. Ellis (1967).

Publications of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society: Records Series:

Vols. 75 & 77, Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743, ed. S.L. Ollard & P.C. Walker (1929/30).

Vol. 136, Constable of Everingham Estate Correspondence, 1726-43, ed. P. Roebuck (1976).

III. Contemporary Periodicals:

British Critic

Catholic Directory

Catholic Magazine

Catholic Miscellany

Clergy List

Durham County Advertiser

Edinburgh Review

Gateshead Observer

Gentleman's Magazine

Laity's Directory

New Annual Register

Newcastle Courant

Newcastle Journal

Northern Catholic Calendar

Orthodox Journal

The Tablet

IV. Secondary Sources (selective):

G. Anstruther, OP, The Seminary Priests (4 vols., Ware & Great Wakering, 1968-77).

R. Arnold, Northern Lights (1959).

H. Aveling, Northern Catholics, Recusancy in the North Riding, 1588-1791 (1966).
----- The Handle and the Axe (1976).

G. Beck (Ed.), The English Catholics 1850-1950 (1950).

D. Bellenger, 'The French Exiled Clergy in the North of England', AA(5), X (1982), 171-7.
-----, The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789 (Downside Abbey, Bath, 1986).

J. Berington, The State and Behaviour of English Catholics from the Reformation to 1781 (Birmingham, 1781).

G.F.A. Best, Temporal Pillars (1964).

J. Bossy, 'Four Catholic Congregations in Rural Northumberland, 1750-1850', RH 9/2 (1967), 88-119; 'More Northumbrian Congregations', RH 10/1 (1969), 11-29.
-----, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (1975)

A. Boyer, The Political State of Great Britain, IX-XI (1715-6).

W.M. Brady, The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland & Ireland, 1400-1875 (3 vols., Rome, 1876-7).

British Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 86, Census of Great Britain 1851: Religious Worship (1853).

F.K. Brown, Fathers of the Victorians (1961).

W. Brown, 'Crook Hall', UM 4 (1894), 1f.

E.H. Burton, The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner, 1691-1781, (2 vols., (1909).

C. Butler, Reminiscences (Collected Works, vol. 10, 1824).

P. Cadogan, Early Radical Newcastle (Newcastle, 1975).

The Community, A History of Darlington Carmel, 1619-1982 (Darlington, 1982).

A. Chadwick, St. Mary's Church, Alnwick (Alnwick, 1936).

O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, (2 vols. 1966-70).

E. Charlton, 'Jacobite Relics of 1715 and 1745', AA(2), vol. 6 (1865), 29-34.

L.E.O. Charlton, The Recollections of a Northumbrian Lady 1815-66 (1949).

J. P. Chinnici, The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780-1850 (Shepherdstown, USA, 1980).

J.C.D. Clarke, English Society 1688-1832 (1985).

-----, Revolution and Rebellion (1986).

M. Clarke, Paley (1974).

L. Cooper, Radical Jack (1959).
R. Cooter, 'On Calculating the Nineteenth Century Irish Catholic Population of Durham and Newcastle', NCH 2 (1975), 16f.

S. Cowper (Ed.), Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, 1714-20 (1865).

J. Crosby, Ignatius Bonomi of Durham, Architect (Durham, 1987).

E. Cruickshanks, Political Untouchables (1979).
----- (Ed.), Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759 (Edinburgh, 1982).

E. Cruickshanks & J. Black (Eds.), The Jacobite Challenge (Edinburgh, 1988).

M. Culley, 'Two Northumbrian Missions', UM 7 (1897).
-----, 'Thropton', UM 11 (1901).

R. Currie, et al., Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700 (1977).

G.C.B. Davies, Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, 1778-1869 (1954).

K. Devlin, et al., St. Mary's Jubilee, 1835-1985 (Sunderland, 1985).

H. Dix, 'An Old Time Pastor of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle 1806-1897', UM 59 (1949).

D.D. Dixon, 'Notes on the Jacobite Movement in Upper Coquetdale, 1715', AA(2), vol. 16 (1894).

-----, Whittingham Vale (Newcastle, 1895).

Dictionary of National Biography.

E. Duffy, 'Ecclesiastical Democracy Detected', (3 parts), RH 10/4, 10/6, 12/2 (1970-5).

-----, 'James Barnard and the Catholic Committee, or "How Horatio Held the Bridge"', UM 85 (1974).

T.A. Dunne, The Catholic Church in Hartlepool (Hartlepool, 1934).

The Speeches of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Durham (Durham, 1836).

D.L. Edwards, Christian England (3 vols. 1981-4).

F.O. Edwards, 'Residence of St. John 1717-1858', Part I, 'The Alnwick Fund', Part II, 'The Jesuits outside Alnwick and Durham City', NCH 3 and 5 (1976/7).

E.E. Estcourt & J.O. Payne, The English Catholic Non-jurors of 1715 (1885).

M.W. Flynn, Men of Iron, The Crowleys in the Early Iron Industry (1962).

H. Foley, Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus (8 vols. 1877-83).

W. Fordyce, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (2 vols., Newcastle, 1857).

A.M.C. Forster, 'Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham in 1767', UM 72, 68-92.

-----, 'A Durham Family: Jenisons of Walworth', RH 3/1 (1955-6), 2-15.

----- & E. Walsh, 'The Recusancy of the Brandlings', RH 10/1 (1969).
-----, 'The Maire Family of County Durham', RH 10/6 (1970).

J. Galletly & T. Yellowley, Ss. Mary & Thomas Aquinas, Stella, 1831-1981 (Stella, 1981).

J.D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971).
GEC

W.S. Gibson, Dilston Hall (1850).

J.Gillow, A Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics (5 vols., 1885-1902).

A. D. Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England (1976).

J. Gillow, The Church during the Suppression of the Hierarchy in Newcastle and Gateshead (Newcastle, 1889).

L. Gooch, 'Thomas William Wilkinson (1825-1909), Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle 1889-1909', NCH 13 (1981).

-----, 'The Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District', Part I, 1688-1790, Part II, 1790-1850, NCH 16 & 17 (1982/3).

-----, 'The Northern Brethren's Fund', NCH 21 (1985).

-----, '"Incarnate Rogues and Vile Jacobites": Silvertop v. Cotesworth, 1718-1723', RH 18/3, (1987), 277-88.

-----, Catholicism in Weardale (Durham, 1984).

-----, 'The Last Recusants of the North East: The Reports of 1780 and 1787', NCH 27 (1988).

W.G. Gorman, Converts to Rome since the Tractarian Movement to 1899 (1899).

F. Graham, The Old Halls, Houses and Inns of Northumberland (Newcastle, 1977)

C. Grey, The Life and Opinions of Charles, 2nd Earl Grey (1861).

D. Gwynn, The Second Spring, 1818-1852, (1942).

M. Haile & E. Bonney, Life and Letters of John Lingard 1771-1851 (n.d.)

T.C. Hansard, Parliamentary Debates (1803-29).

W.P. Hedley, Northumberland Families(2 vols., Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle, 1968).

A. Heesom, The Founding of the University of Durham (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1982).

B. Hemphill, The Early Vicars Apostolic of England (1954).

D. Hempton, Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850 (1984).

U. Henriques, Religious Toleration in England 1787-1833 (1961).

J.H. Hexter, 'The Protestant Revival and the Catholic Question in England, 1778-1829', Journal of Modern History 8/3 (1936).

J.C. Hodgson, 'A Survey of the Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northumberland, temp. Charles II', AA 18 (1895), 244f.

-----, History of Northumberland (3 parts, 7 vols., Newcastle, 1820-58).

D. Holmes, More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century (1978).

H. Howard, Memorials of the Howard Family (1834).

E. Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century: The North East 1700-50 (Oxford, 1952).

-----, 'Some Clavering Correspondence', AA(4), vol. 34 (1956).

F.C. Husenbeth, The Life of the Rt. Rev. John Miolner (1862).

W. Hutchinson, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (3 vols., Durham, 1785-94).

M. Hyde, The Londonderrys (1979).

C. Ives (Ed.), Sermons on Several Occasions and Charges by William van Mildert, DD, Late Bishop of Durham (1838).

H.W. Jackson, Walworth, County Durham (Darlington, 1987).

G. Jones, The Mainstream of Jacobitism (Harvard, USA, 1954).

Journals of the Houses of Lords and Commons, 1765-7, 1825-9.

M.B. Joyce, 'The Haggerstons: The Education of a Northumberland Family', RH 14/3.

B.W. Kelly, Historical Notes on English Catholic Missions (1907).

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

C.Y. Lang, The Swinburne Letters (4 vols., 1959-62).

J. Latimer, Local Records 1832-57 (1857).

J. Lenders, Minsteracres (Rochdale, 1932).

B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain 1689-1746 (1980).

M.D.R. Leys, Catholics in England 1559-1829 (1961).

R.W. Linker, 'English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century: An Interpretation', Church History 35 (1966), 288f.

-----, 'The English Roman Catholics and Emancipation: The Politics of Persuasion', JEH 27/2 (1976), 151f.

B. Little, Catholic Churches since 1623 (1966).

T.P. MacDermott, 'Charles Larkin, Radical Reformer, 1800-79', NCH 28 (1988).

G.I.T. Machin, The Catholic Question in English Politics (Oxford, 1964).
-----, Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832-68 (1977).
-----, 'The Duke of Wellington and Catholic Emancipation', JEH 14 (1963).

T. Matthews, History of Brooms Parish, 1802-1969 (Consett, 1969).

E. Mackenzie & M. Ross, The County Palatine of Durham (2 vols., Durham, 1834).

N. McCord (Ed.), Essays in Labour History (1977).

P. McGuiness, 'Saint Mary's Cathedral: The Early Years', (2 parts), NCH 5 & 6 (1977).

F.J. McLynn, 'Newcastle and the Jacobite Rising of 1745', Journal of Regional and Local Studies II/1 (1981).

-----, The Jacobites (1985).

D. Milburn, A History of Ushaw College (Ushaw, 1964).

G. Milburn, 'The Census of Worship of 1851', DCLHSB 17 (1974)

-----, 'Catholicism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Northumberland', Tyne n Tweed 32 (1978).

W.C. Mitchell, History of Sunderland (1919).

G. Neasham, The Rebellion in 1715 (n.d., n.p.).

C.W. New, Lord Durham (1929).

T.C. Nicholson, The Catholic Churches and Chapels of Newcastle on Tyne (Newcastle, 1871).

W. Nicholson, 'Ralph Peter Clavering of Callaly (1727-87)', NCH 1 (1975).
-----, 'A Northumbrian Jacobite and the '45', Tyne n Tweed 32 (1978).
-----, St. Mary's Hexham (1980).

E.R. Norman, Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England (1968).

-----, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1984).

Northumberland County History (15 vols., Newcastle, 1893-1940).

T. Nossiter, Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England (1975).

W.H. Oliver, Prophets and Millenialists (1978).

W. Parson & W. White, History, Directory and Gazeteer of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland, etc., (2 vols., Newcastle, 1827).

R. Patten, The History of the Late Rebellion (2nd ed., 1717).

J.O. Payne, Records of the English Catholics of 1715 (1889).

C. Petrie, The Jacobite Movement (1959).

N. Pevsner, County Durham (Penguin, Buildings of England 9, 1953).
-----, Northumberland (Penguin, Buildings of England 12, 1957).

P. Purcell, 'The Jacobite Rising of 1715 and Roman Catholics', EHR 44 (1929).

J. Raine, History and Antiquities of North Durham (Newcastle, 1852).

M.A. Richardson, Extracts from the Letter-book of William Scott (Newcastle, 1848).

N. Ridley, Northumbrian Heritage (1968).

J. Robinson, The Delaval Papers (1890).

A. Rounding, 'William, 4th Baron Widdrington of Blankney, c.1675-1743', NCH 22 (1985).

R. Sedgwick (Ed.), The House of Commons 1715-54 (History of Parliament, 2 vols., 1970).

D.F. Shea, The English Ranke: John Lingard (New York, USA, 1969).

R.N. Shutte, The Life, Times and Writings of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Henry Phillpotts, Lord Bishop of Exeter (1863).

G. Silvertop, Memoirs of the Silvertops of Minsteracres (Newcastle, 1914).

Mrs Sidney, One Hundred Years Ago (1877).

C. Sinclair-Stevenson, Inglorious Rebellion (1971).

F.J. Singleton, Mowbreck Hall and The Willows (1983).

F.J.A. Skeet, History of the Families of Skeet, Wilby, Widdrington and Others (1906).

-----, The Life of the Rt. Hon. James Radcliffe Third Earl of Derwentwater (1929).

W.V. Smith, Catholic Tyneside (Newcastle, 1930).

-----, 'The Maintenance of the Clergy of Northumberland and Durham in Penal Days', UM 47 (1937).

-----, 'Thropton: 250 Years Old', UM 62 (1952).

-----, 'The Domine Salvum Fac', UM 63 (1953).

-----, The Northern Brethren's Fund, 1660-1960 (N.p. 1960).

-----, '18th Century Catholic Education in County Durham', UM 73 (1963).

-----, 'Life at Douai College after 1750', UM 76 (1966).

-----, 'The 1851 Census of Worship', NCH 7 (1978).

-----, 'St. Mary's Parish, Stockton on Tees, to 1900', NCH 9 (1979).

-----, 'The Chaplains of the Radcliffe Family of Dilston Castle', NCH 11 (1980)

R. Solway, Prelates and People: Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England 1783-1852 (1969).

J. Stark, St Cuthbert's Church, North Shields (North Shields, 1902).

K. Stewart, A Short History of St. Robert's Church, Morpeth (Morpeth, 1969).

R. Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (4 vols., Newcastle, 1816-40).

J. Sykes, Local Records (2 vols., Newcastle, 1833).

C.S. Terry, The Chevalier de St. George (1901).

Rev. Fr. Thaddeus, The Franciscans in England 1600-1850 (1898).

J. Thornton, 'Northumberland in the '15 Rebellion', DUJ 29/2 (1935).

J. Todd, John Wesley and the Catholic Church (1958).

W. Tomlinson, History of Northumberland (Newcastle, 1895).

J.H. Treble, 'The Attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Trade Unionism in the North of England, 1833-42', Northern History 5 (1970).

G.M. Trevelyan, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill (1920).

A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform, 1784-1837 (1958).

J. M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet (2 parts, Durham, 1981).

E. Varley, The Last of the Prince Bishops (Durham Cathedral Lecture, 1986).

Victoria County History, Durham (3 vols., 1902-26).

B. Ward, The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England 1781-1803 (2 vols., 1909).

-----, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation, 1803-29 (3 vols., 1911-2).

-----, The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation, 1830-50 (2 vols., 1915).

W.R. Ward, Religion and Society in England 1790-1850 (1972).

J.W. Wardell, A History of Yarm (1957).

G. Watson, Northumberland Villages (1976).

R. Welford, Men of Mark Twixt Tyne and Tweed (3 vols., 1895).

-----, 'Local Muniments', AA(3), vol. 12 (1915).

Duke of Wellington (Ed.), Despatches, Correspondence and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arther Duke of Wellington, K.G., 1819-32 (8 vols., 1867-80).

W. Whellan, History, Topography and Directory of Northumberland (1855).

C.E. Whiting, Nathaniel Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham (1674-1721) and his Diocese (1940).

G. Wild, The Darlington Catholics: A History up to 1866 (Dalrington, 1983).

J.A. Williams, Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791 (CRS Monograph No. 1, 1968).

R.C. Wilton, 'Letters of a Jesuit Father in the Reign of George I', Dublin Review 158 (1916), 307f.

-----, 'Early Eighteenth Century Catholics in England', Catholic Historical Review 10 (1924).

V. Pamphlets, Poll-books, etc.

S. Barrington, 'A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham, (1806).

-----, The Grounds on which the Church of England Separated from the Church of Rome (1807).

-----, The Grounds ..... Reconsidered (1809).

-----, A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Durham (1810).

-----, Vigilance, A Counterblast to Past Concessions and a Preventive of Future Prodigality Recommended (1812).

J. Lingard, A Collection of Tracts on Several Subjects Connected with the Civil and Religious Principles of Catholics (1826, 479pp.) (Includes all the pamphlets issued by Lingard between 1806 and 1817).

H. Phillpotts, A Letter to the Author of Remarks on a Charge ...(1807).

-----, A Second Letter .....(1808).

-----, A Letter to Earl Grey (1819), (1821).

-----, A Short Letter to the Rt. Hon. George Canning on the Present Position of the Roman Catholic Question (1827).

Poll-Books, etc:

Anon., Proceedings of the Durham County Meeting on Monday 1st June 1807 (N.D., Durham).

W. Garnet, A Collection of Papers, Speeches, etc., Relating to the Northumberland Election of 1807 (Newcastle, 1807).

Anon., By-Election Poll-Book, Durham City, 1813 (Durham, 1813).

Anon., The Durham Election 1820 (Collection of broadsides, etc.).

Anon., Northumberland By-Election Poll-Book (1826), Including a Complete Collection of Papers, Speeches, etc. (Alnwick, 1826).

Anon., Northumberland General Election Poll-Book (1826), Including a Complete Collection of Speeches, etc. (Alnwick, 1826).

VI. Unpublished Theses:

G.G. Armstrong, 'The Life and Influence of Shute Barrington (1734 to 1826), Successively Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Bishop of Llandaff, Salisbury and Durham'(Durham M.Litt., 1937).

M.S. Child, 'Prelude to the Revolution: The Structure of Politics in County Durham, 1678-88' (Durham PhD., 1972).

C. Daykin, 'The Parliamentary Representation of Durham, 1675-1832', (Durham, M.Litt., 1961).

S. Doherty, 'English and Irish Catholics in Northumberland, c.1745-c.1860' (Queen's University of Belfast, PhD., 1987).

L. Gooch, 'The Durham Catholics and Industrial Development 1560-1850' (York, MA, 1984).

A.S. Havens, 'Henry Jenkyns on the Thirty-Nine Articles: A Study in Nineteenth Century Anglican Confessionalism' (Durham MA, 1982).

W.B. Maynard, 'The Ecclesiastical Administration of the Archdeaconry of Durham, 1774-1856' (Durham, PhD., 1973).