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ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN COUNTY DURHAM

1580 - 1870.

By

J. F. Heyes, B.A.

In candidature for the degree of
Master of Education
in the University of Durham.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN COUNTY DURHAM

1580 - 1870

The thesis examines the education of Catholic youths in penal times and links their education with the activities of the missionary priests and the recusant parents, who found means of primary education in the humanities before sending their sons abroad to be educated. The possibility of a clandestine school in Dalton-le-Dale in 1641 is considered, and an account is given of the attempts at organised education in Durham and Gateshead during the reign of James II.

Source material is used to show where Catholic teachers practised in the eighteenth century and how schools were often linked with the foundations of missions. Support by the Catholic gentry for private education for rich and poor is examined, and there is a

comprehensive account of the foundation at Tudhoe, its system of education, its links with Crook and Ushaw and its subsequent history as a Poor Law school. Education at Crook and Ushaw is treated as an integral part of the development of Catholic education in the county.

Family papers are used to describe the education abroad in the late eighteenth century of a young Catholic gentleman (W. T. Salvin), and this account can be compared with the education of his own children in the early nineteenth century in a chapter that deals with private foundations at Stockton-on-Tees and Darlington.

A major part of the thesis is concerned with the growth of the Catholic poor schools of the nineteenth century and their connections with the early missions. Original sources are used to trace the development of all the Catholic schools in the county and to compare their growth with national progress. It has been possible to give detailed accounts of all the Catholic poor schools in Durham, to chart their progress, examine their means of support and their qualification for grant, and to describe the way the Catholic teachers became qualified.

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INTRODUCTION

When the recent history of Roman Catholic education is written, it will necessarily be very much concerned with the attempts of the Roman Catholic authorities to keep abreast of educational development in the secondary sector. At a time when bishops are submitting schemes to local authorities to integrate Catholic secondary education so that it follows the various comprehensive patterns, there are in County Durham at least fifteen Roman Catholic schools still classified as 'all-age', and this, twenty four years after the 1944 Education Act. The immediate past history of Roman Catholic education in this country is very much bound up with the financial struggle faced by managers and hierarchy to provide in voluntary schools the same standard of education for Catholic children as is received in the state schools. It is often the case that Catholic laymen and lay women feel somewhat deprived of choice in some areas with regard to secondary education for their

children, and no doubt this accounts for the many direct grant and independent schools conducted by the various religious orders.¹ So far the move towards a comprehensive system by the Catholic authorities has been slow; in 1966 of 507 maintained secondary schools only 17 were fully comprehensive² and this slow adaptation is very largely due to financial considerations. Since the first grants in aid were made to national education, Roman Catholic managers have always been faced with the problems of providing up-to-date schools with qualified and efficient staff and doing this within the framework of any state aid that could be gained. Part of the trouble has always been the parochial organisation of the church. Even though Roman Catholics are a large minority (in 1965 15.5% of all live births were Roman Catholics)³ the parish unit is not ideal for the organisation of secondary education, and it is only recently that parish boundaries are being crossed to provide more efficient education of all kinds. Many parish priests mourn the passing of the parish school usually adjacent to the church, but financial considerations, as they always have, are forcing more speedy adjustment. The problems that remain all concern the secondary sector and it remains to be seen how the

1. Catholic Education. A handbook 1966, lists 535 independent schools of which 271 admitted pupils of secondary age.
2. IBID. Statistics of Catholic schools, January 1966, p.225.
3. IBID. Table A. p.20.

difficulties of amalgamating the independent sector and the maintained sector will be overcome, when the comprehensive school becomes the viable secondary unit in Catholic education.

Roman Catholic education has only developed in this country over the last 120 years and only took its first faltering steps when the authorities accepted the idea that government aid did not necessarily mean interference in religious matters. The mistrust of state inspection in the nineteenth century meant that the actual school buildings were entirely provided by the manager and his parishioners because of the fear of permanent inspection that the acceptance of a building grant entailed. As late as 1860 the only Catholic school in County Durham to have accepted a building grant was the one at Stella, where no doubt the extremely strong tradition of Catholicism made such a fear seem remote. There is no doubt that without state aid in the form of augmentation grants and capitation grants, Catholic education as a separate system would not have been possible, and the history of how grant was earned in the nineteenth century is virtually a catalogue of progress for the voluntary school.

Before the foundation of the Catholic poor schools of the nineteenth century the only education to be had for the poor Catholic in Durham was at one of the small number of day schools or Sunday schools. There were private establishments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but these did not cater for the ordinary Catholic unless he was sponsored by some local gentleman. The local gentleman would, as like as not, send his son south or, better still, abroad for his schooling, for the local Catholic schools in Durham, admirable though they might have been, do not seem to have satisfied local squires, such as the Salvins, and in any case the life of none of them was very long. When it is considered that very many Catholic children were receiving no education at all before emancipation, it seems nothing less than remarkable that Catholics were able to accept and fit into the state system in the early days of government aid. Not only were they able to do this but at places such as Sunderland and Durham, Catholic schools were to earn the highest commendation from the inspectors.

The difficulties faced by Catholics in the early days of state

aid bear no comparison with those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The law forbade the Catholic schoolmaster to practice and what education existed for Catholic children was either received clandestinely or abroad. After the Elizabethan suppression the educational picture is one of primary education being taken where it could be found not just from the itinerant priest, but from Protestant schoolmasters and in Protestant schools, practices reflected in the responsa of the students who entered the English College, Rome.

Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century there are in Durham only three examples of schools being set up openly, and two of these, at Durham and Gateshead, were established in the favourable climate of the reign of James II. Nonetheless it would be a mistake to assume that there was no organised education at all for Roman Catholic children. True the gentry sent their children abroad but, as can be seen in the chapter on the seventeenth century, it was rare for a boy to receive his humanity studies abroad. What was true is the fact that a good deal of Catholic education was inextricably bound up with the contacts with the colleges abroad where the missionary priests

were trained. Often the persecution of Catholics would bring to light unsuspected activities in education, as in the case of John Whitfield, a travelling schoolmaster, who became connected with the hunt for the martyr, Boste. Sometimes we find a Catholic schoolboy such as Ralph Salvin receiving his education openly at the Durham Grammar School, despite the fact that his family must have been well known papists. For this sort of practice there had to be a measure of toleration, and it is only when Catholics appeared to threaten the state that the suppression and persecution became severe.

It must have seemed before the arrival of the Jesuit mission that Catholicism had suffered a blow from which it would never recover. The advisability of sending the Jesuits to England was hotly disputed by those in England who had kept the faith, but once the Jesuits established a firm foothold the activities of the ordinary missionary priest were strengthened and supported. The education of the young was always one of the foremost Jesuit aims and it is for this reason that I have settled on 1580, the date of the first Jesuit mission, as a fairly natural starting point for a revival in Catholicism and Catholic

education. I have attempted to show in the chapter on the seventeenth century how Catholic education in the county was to a great extent linked with all illegal Catholic activity at home and abroad, culminating in the Jesuit foundations at Durham and Gateshead in the reign of James II.

The suppression of 1688 has often been thought to have meant the beginning of the dark ages for Roman Catholic education and I hope that a little of what I have written on Catholic education during the eighteenth century does a little to dispel this rather extreme view. Certainly towards the end of the century the foundation of the private school at Tudhoe, and the translation of Douai to Ware and Ushaw, marks a resurgence of activity in the private sphere of education that was also strengthened by religious, who were fugitives from France, supporting themselves by teaching. Even so the eighteenth century is not rich in documentation concerning Catholic educational activity, and I thus thought it proper to include some account of the way a Catholic boy was educated privately abroad, an account only possible through a Catholic family, (the Salvins), keeping the letters from which this account was

able to be written.

The establishment of the Poor Schools in the nineteenth century is well documented both in the Reports of the Committee of the Council on Education and in the reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee, but the letters and circulars of the Bishops, as well as the pastorals of the Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District and the Bishops of Hexham and Newcastle were also of much value in writing about nineteenth century educational development. For their use I am indebted to Ushaw College, and particularly Father Bernard Payne, the librarian, for the generous way he made all the facilities of Ushaw available to me. My thanks are also due to Dr. David Milburn of Ushaw for permission to quote extensively from his "History of Ushaw College". I am also most grateful to Father William Vincent Smith of Lanchester for his generosity in making available to me hitherto unpublished sources from the Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle, and for his transcripts of letters in the Upholland College Library, and for the Everingham Park Manuscripts, but not least for the help and encouragement he has given me over the last three years.

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN DURHAM FROM 1580-1688

By the time that Campion and Persons landed in England Catholic education was totally illegal. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and their enforcement at the Universities, and on schoolmasters, had led to the foundation of schools and seminaries abroad, and such Catholic education as existed was given by the unlicensed schoolmaster or the private tutor. The policy of the government towards Catholic schools had been one of containment rather than outright repression, "Regulations were enacted, but held in reserve, not demanding more than outward conformity, and fairly easy to evade. Catholic masters in 'lenient' areas could still give a Catholic education; Catholic parents accordingly were still using the grammar schools; and the new State policy had little effect at all as yet upon the Catholic nobility, who in any case educated their children at home by means of tutors."¹

1. Beales. Education under Penalty. p.37.

The rising of Northern Earls and the excommunication of Elizabeth completely changed the attitude towards recusants. Henceforth Catholics were to be regarded as capable of treason, and it became government policy both to enforce conformity and stamp out Catholic education completely, and schoolmasters besides taking the oath had to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Catholic exiles across the sea were also cut off from their co-religionists in England by the Act of 1570 which proscribed, under pain of forfeiting of all property, unlicensed foreign travel for anyone not returning within six months of warning. Thus when the two Jesuit missionaries arrived in 1580 the policy of Elizabeth was set on the path of repression and the circumstances surrounding the Jesuit invasion were not destined to ease matters.¹

The prime aims of the first missionaries were to bring the Mass and the Sacraments to the people and to distribute books, but the political nature of Persons' personal aims only served to increase the persecution. As part of his "enterprise", (to restore Catholicism to England), Persons maintained that it was necessary to

1. IBID 37 ff.

create a Bishop of Durham to be given to a man of trust such as Allen. Such a bishoprick created in the north would draw a great following among the people, and, from the personal point of view, he would be able to resolve the differences and quarrels between the nobility. The Earls of Westmorland and Northumberland were the greatest men in the north, and as Allen had the respect of the more difficult of the two, Westmorland, such an appointment and union would be sufficient to raise the north for the success of the "enterprise". Persons was prepared to concede that there were richer bishopricks than Durham in England, but recognised that Durham was a convenient place to bring troops from across the border in Scotland.¹ Such political activity combined with the whole question of the advisability of the Jesuit mission made the problems facing Catholics very real, and the persecution more menacing. By 1584 the last of the old hierarchy was extinct in England when Bishop Thomas Watson of Lincoln died in Wisbech prison, and in 1585 the very last surviving Catholic bishop, Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph, died in Rome. The resultant controversy amongst English Catholics as to whether a bishop or an archpriest should be appointed for England was not resolved until 1621 when a bishop was appointed

1. Catholic Record Society Vol. 39. Letters memorials of Robert Persons Persons, memo to Cardinal of Como 22 May 1582.

with full faculties, after there had been three archpriests since 1599. Thus in 1580 there was mounting persecution in England as well as deep and serious differences over the advisability of the Jesuit Mission, differences which were heightened later by the archpriest controversy.¹

If the prospects seemed poor for a continuance of a strong and educated Catholic minority in 1580, it is nonetheless true that the wider implications of the Jesuit invasion and the national differences amongst Catholics did not prevent recusancy continuing, nor did it prevent recusants themselves obtaining for their children a traditional Catholic education at home or abroad, when it could be afforded. Indeed, despite increasing persecution there is strong evidence to show that those who were steeped in their recusancy were liable to remain so, and whilst persecution could eradicate the more offending, it was precisely because there were families staunch in their Catholicism that illegal education continued side by side with the persecution. An example from Hebburn shows both the continuity of Catholicism in a family, and the activities that recusants had to undertake in the cause of education importing books receiving seminary priests

1. Vide Beales Education under Penalty pp. 50 & 51.

and carrying of passengers abroad, all expressly forbidden by statute. In 1569 during the rebellion of the Northern Earls "the Protestants and Papests withyn Newcastell made a fray, but Mr. Hodshon a rank papest ys put forth the town."¹ Mr. Hodshon's grandson Sir Robert Hodshon married Francis Ingleby the granddaughter of the Earl of Westmorland, whose family were well known recusants, and it is clear that Sir Robert was just as active as his grand-father had been before him in the matter of his faith. In 1626 Bishop Neile, in a letter to the Privy Council, reported on Sir Robert in the following terms, "That upon severall searches made by the Sheriffe for Sir Robert Hodshon, of Heborne, and John Duvel his servant, and one Anthony Berrye of Jarrow, 3 popish recusants, men of ill note in that kind for ye receivinge and conveyinge of popish passengers and their carriages of what kind whatsoever, none of them can be founde.... It also appeareth yt Anthony Vandarkam, a Brabanter, now in ye gaole at Durham, servant also to Sir Robert Hodshon hath been the conveier of ye said passengers from Callice to Northumberland, and knew what kind of men ye passengers were, and of ye bookes wh they brought packed up in a fardell; and it is proved by 3 witnesses yt ye said Anthony coming to ye ship for ye

1. Surtees. History of Durham. Vol. II p.75.
(Waller's Papers Vol. II p.64.)

fardell of bookes after yt ye officers had seized upon it, being told thereof smote his brest in great passion sayinge that then he might goe and hange himself."¹

The fardell itself contained books which when catalogued obviously belonged "to one yt is a priest, and a man of some continued studie in divinitye." The three local men named by the Bishop were all convicted recusants "and reputed pragmaticall in ill offices of conveyinge, receivinge and harbouring of persons of all sorts ill affected to ye state." Sir Robert was ordered to Durham for examination at the same time as his Brabant servant, but this examination was to be held by the permission of the Mayor of Newcastle, who was to be present. In the event, the Bishop reported that the examination was never held, for "upon being met at Durham, wee received another letter from Mr. Maior, excusing his not coming, being detained about the examination of fower others taken the night before; 3 of them coming from beyond the sea who had with them more books, reliques and diverse letters, and as he supposed they wear likely to be priests. And as it fell out wee saved a journey to Hebborne for Sir

1. IBID Vol. II p.75.

Robert Hodshon was from home."¹ Despite the fact that the Mayor of Newcastle thought that Sir Robert's boats were only for river crossings, this hardly seems likely in the face of the evidence, and the influx of priests and books was essential traffic in keeping alive the faith by ministration and education.

The apprehension of a missionary priest sometimes throws a great deal of light on local education, particularly if the fugitive was well known and long hunted. Such a man was John Boste, a native of Westmorland, a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford, where he became a fellow in 1572, and where he took Anglican Orders. How he became a convert to the church is not known, but he entered the college at Rheims in 1580 and within eight months was ordained priest. In April 1581 he landed at Hartlepool and worked for 12 years in England before being apprehended at Waterhouse, four miles west of Durham on September 10th 1593. He was examined at Durham then taken to London and imprisoned in the Tower for nine months, and finally brought back to Durham and executed in July 1594.²

1. Surtees Vol. II Hebburn.

2. Fordyce, History of Durham, and Catholic Record Society No. 5 1908.

In the period after the Armada more Catholics were executed than at any other time during Elizabeth's reign, and much of the vigorous persecution of Catholics can be explained by the Spanish offensive against the excommunicated queen. The same day that the Spanish Fleet was off the Lizard, Mr. Sergeant Elwood and Thomas Egerton the Solicitor General had advised the Privy Council that a declaration should be made by Catholics to show whether or not they were traitors. Instructions were given throughout the country to proceed against Catholics according to the law and to put to them the "bloody question", whether they would fight against the Pope, and Inquisitors were appointed to put the proceedings into effect.¹ Undoubtedly the pursuit of Boste and the persecution of those having anything to do with him had been intensified as a result of the Armada and the hardening attitude towards Elizabeth from the Catholic authorities abroad.

Boste was taken on the information of a government spy, Anthony Atkinson, who made the following report to his master Huntingdon.

"Enstruccions for your Honour.

Medcalfe a priest said Mass att ye Waterhouse at one Claxton's

1. Catholic Record Society No. 5 1908 p.151.

house a recusant who is in prison an yr present at ye Masse ye 12 and 13 of Julye 1593 George Errington, Nycholas Bridges, Francis Egilsfield and many others.

Boost did say Mass at ye said Waterhouse ye vth of August 1593 in yt companye and many gentlewomen. Upon Sunday ye 26 August 1593 one Lee alias Stopfourth a priest and one yt sarveth ye Ladye Graye, one of ye Earl of Westmorland's daughters and last wife of Sir Thomas Graye, said Masses at ye Waterhouse in ye company of ye said Ladie Graye, Ladye Margaret Nevell her sister, ye wife of one Watson, Mrs. Ann Lee, Francis Egilsfield and others. Vernon is a priest dothe keep companye with all these persons and he is chaplen to Joseph Constable, and remains mostly at Kirtley Knowle a house of ye said Constable in Yorkshier.

John Carr ye post master of Newcastell in Julye 1592 did resave and harbour Boost, Dudley and another Semanarye priest and keep theme. Ande ye said Carr ded buy and provide certen things for Boost and sent him to ye Waterhouse or to East Brandon at Charles Hedworth's house."¹

1. Catholic Record Society No. 5 1908 (24 Oct. 1593 Record Office Dom. Eliz. ccxiv n 131).

This report is a fairly comprehensive intelligence survey of the important Catholics in Durham who were aiding and abetting seminary priests, as well as attending to their own religious duties. As such, the report is a straightforward account of treasonable activity, for which many people were to be punished; what is very strange is that, in the course of all the investigations which touched on Boste, an acknowledged schoolmaster should be interrogated without apparent malice or even the threat of action against him. The man was John Whitfield who was examined by Topliffe one of the Inquisitors appointed in 1588. Topliffe examined Whitfield on 16th November 1593, and chose to add details of Whitfield's calling as a marginal note to his testimony, "John Whitfield is a scooul maister to teach the young children to read and write and he teacheth gentlemen's children to play of the lute and the citeren and al others."¹ Whitfield was in fact the servant of Francis Dacre a recusant gentleman from Carlisle, who was very active in Catholic circles both in Durham and Scotland. Dacre had used Whitfield as a messenger to seek the advice of Boste as to the advisability of going to Spain or Flanders, and he was also seeking the company of Boste for the project.² Whitfield had been sent to the

1. IBID. (Brit. Museum Harl. MSS 6998 f.118.)

2. IBID.

house of Nicholas Tempest of Stella, from where he would have been able to get in touch with Boste, as Stella was a place where Mass was said very regularly. Undoubtedly Whitfield was a trusted private tutor, who, in the course of his duties, would have travelled frequently around the country giving instruction to the sons of the gentry, and would therefore have been the obvious choice for the carrying of such a dangerous message as he bore. There is no record of Whitfield being imprisoned or punished, which seems strange when one considers the fate of those who had simply harboured Boste. Grace Claxton of Waterhouse was reprieved after sentence because of her pregnancy, and Huntingdon was very quick to point out, "that if it were soe she had lost benefit thereof because she did not require it before judgement". Nonetheless Huntingdon stayed the execution of all the prisoners until he arrived at Durham, when he asked the sheriff to appoint several "grave women" to examine Grace Claxton to discover if she was indeed pregnant. The confirmation of her pregnancy did in fact save Grace Claxton but the rest of the felons including a man named Speede, convicted also of harbouring Boste, were executed. The only other reprieve had been granted to Lady Margaret Nevile who after confessing to the indictment,

because of her birth, was held to await the Queen's pleasure.¹

Such was the severity of the law in dealing with all those who treasonably gave shelter to priests, yet there must have been many like Whitfield who mixed their tutoring with active help in the cause of the missionaries. The names of such men are not preserved but they must have been considerable judging by the number of men who made their "responsa" at their colleges abroad by saying that they were educated at home under a private tutor. The replies of students who went abroad to study for the priesthood give a very varied and intriguing account of how a Catholic youth obtained the rudiments of education, a process that after 1581 became increasingly more difficult, when the penalty for an unlicensed schoolmaster was raised to £10 a month. This decree must have been all but ignored in areas where Catholics abounded, for there are exceedingly few records of Catholic schoolmasters being presented for their recusancy, let alone for their being unlicensed.

Between 1600 and 1621 there are extant the responsa of five

1. Catholic Record Society. No. 5 1908 p.238 ff Huntingdon to Burghley 11th February 1594.

Durham men who were admitted to the English College Rome, which give a reasonably clear if rather mixed account of antecedents as well as education. These accounts were replies to questions which Robert Persons had introduced, as a safety measure against the informer, in 1598, a year after he had become Rector of the English College Rome. The questions posed asked for the student's name, age, parentage and place of birth, together with further details as to upbringing, education, religious history and future intentions. This series of questions, which were an extended form of registration, were incorporated in the Statutes of the English College.¹

John Forcer was the first Durham County student of whom a record exists in the form of his responsa, which is a fairly detailed one. At the age of 20 he was admitted to the Venerabile on 14th October 1601 from St. Omer. He was born at Eden in Durham and studied eight years at his grandfather's house at Harberhouse, also in Durham. Both his father's family and his mother's were of the gentry, and had been persecuted for their Catholicity since they were twenty-two

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 54 Records of the English College, Rome.

years old. They had twice been deprived of two-thirds of their possessions and had to buy them back at great expense, and consequently they were no longer rich. Forcer's paternal grandfather, at whose house he had been educated, was dead, but his maternal grandfather, John Trollope, was still alive but had evidently given up the struggle that a Catholic had against the law, for in 1601 he was lapsed. Forcer had three brothers and three or four sisters, and of the brothers one was at St. Omer studying, one was in Spain and the other was a child at home.

After his grandfather had died John Forcer had studied at home for a while, and then he had spent some time at Gainford under a private Protestant tutor and had then returned home to study under a private teacher. He had made little progress in England as he was not in particularly good health, (and because of the rigours of the persecution), and he had eventually crossed the sea, with his tutor, to study at St. Omer. From there he was sent, by Fathers Flack and Baldwin, to the English College Rome to complete his studies for the priesthood, even though he had been told not to take orders without his

parents' permission; but he was assuming that since they did not prevent his studying at St. Omer they would not impede him at Rome.¹ This then is one pattern of education as acquired by a young Catholic gentleman at the latter end of the sixteenth century, and John Forcer was just beginning his education as the persecution increased, and as the Jesuit mission flourished. Nonetheless, it must have been extremely difficult for any Catholic who was not in heresy to complete his adult education in England, and even those who were not destined for the priesthood found it necessary to go to one of the English colleges abroad. For a boy just beginning his education there were quite obviously no Catholic village schools; in Durham there would not have been sufficient numbers of Catholics to risk such education in the open; in any case it was fairly common for Catholics to conform under duress, as this was not really regarded as heresy,² and this was often the case in educational matters. What was available then was education by a private tutor, either at home or at the house of a relative, with perhaps a more formal classical education under a tolerant Protestant teacher.

1. Vol. 54 Catholic Record Society p.374. Records of the English College Rome.
2. Catholic Record Society Vol. 22 1921. Diocesan Returns of Recusants in England and Wales 1577.

The same Calvinist teacher who taught Forcer most probably also instructed the second recorded student at the English College, Cuthbert Raine, who entered the Venerable in 1613, at the age of 22. He had been born in Gainford about six miles from Darlington into a fairly rich family, and he had been taught for eight years by an aged Calvinist Oxford Graduate. Under his teacher he had studied Cicero, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as well as the classical poets. The remainder of his education had been completed abroad in Poland, where he studied rhetoric, and then he had spent a further year with the Jesuits at Cadiz. Raine confesses that through ignorance he had been living in heresy for some years, and that when his education was complete he had planned to go to court with his brother, but his desire to become a Catholic had become known to "a noble Catholic Lord in Northumberland," through his cousin Hobson, who was already a Catholic. This Nobleman engaged Raine to "teach his son his letters" and during his stay of two years in the post of tutor he had been reconciled to Catholicism and then had carried on his studies abroad.¹ This sort of confusion in belief before settling to a vocation was not uncommon, one of the

1. Catholic Record Society Vol. 54 p.524

Martyrs executed with Boste, George Swallow after being ordained into the Anglican Church as a deacon and appointed as assistant schoolmaster at Houghton-le-Spring, declared from his own pulpit, after he had visited a recusant at Durham, "that he had hitherto been in error but was now convinced that they had no true mission and therefore he would no longer officiate there."¹

The next recorded Durham student to make his "responsa", Francis Mayson, was born and brought up in Durham gaol, where his parents, deprived of their fortune, were serving terms of imprisonment for their recusancy. He had two other brothers, one of whom had apostatised, and three sisters, all of whom were raised as Catholics. Despite his stay in the gaol he managed to study for two years in England, before going to an English College in Belgium.² There is no indication whether Mayson was able to attend school or whether he received his education privately, but one of his contemporaries admitted to the English College Rome four years after him, in 1620, could tell of an open education at the grammar school in Durham City. Ralph Salvin of Croxdale had been

1. Fordyce. p.453.

2. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 54. p.553.

brought up at Chilton to avoid the plague, but when he returned home he had been sent to school in nearby Durham where he had studied the humanities for three years, before being expelled for striking the son of a Justice, one Wrenn, or the son of a Bishop, (he could not say which) who had called him a papist. A papist of course he was, and after being expelled he studied five years at St. Omer at the suggestion of a Father Holtby.¹ A year later John Hodgson, alias Langley, was admitted to the English College at the age of 17. A native of Hebburn he had lived at Newcastle and "after studying letters privately in England" spent seven years at St. Omer where he had not progressed as expected.²

An education in the humanities whilst not easy to come by could be obtained in England as these examples of County Durham men show, but the period of private study under a tutor seems to have had limitations, which for a Catholic young man could only be overcome by an extended period of study at one of the Catholic colleges abroad. Yet there is no doubt at all that in their own county they were able to get some sort of an education that was Catholic in bias, when persecution was at its height. Dr. W. James sums up his opinion of Catholicism

1. IBID p.608.

2. IBID p.609.

in the County in a letter to Cecil in May 1597. "This country has many recusants men and women of good peace, who are almost all ignorant and obstinate, generally refuse all conference and not only do not come to church but when prayers are had before us the Commissioners, for her Majesty's safety and protection from all her enemies, the Pope and the Spaniard, they have denied to say Amen. Many of them are married if not by Seminaries and Jesuits, by Old Mass Priests and by the words of the Mass Book; their children are not christened in the churches neither do their wives go there to return thanks for deliverance, their education is, in the same way not being brought up in common or good schools, but at home and in secret, and with their nurses' milk they suck dislike and disloyalty and learn first to hate the truth before they know it."¹ Despite the comments on education it has been shown that a Catholic could in fact receive an education openly, as well as in secret, both at Durham and at Darlington. The actual numbers of recusants however do not justify one to assume that there was a definite plan of education in the country, but rather a haphazard method of gaining whatever education was available, and this for the most part in private. The early returns of papists show, if not a marked reluctance to collect

1. Foley. Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. Series V. p.62. (Dom. Eliz. Vol. cclxiii May 26, 1597.)

information, at least an attitude that tended towards the lenient. Returns were asked for in 1577 and 1580 but in no way could these returns be classified as a census; one week only was allowed to compile the return of 1577 and it was undoubtedly asked for so that property owners could be fined for their recusancy.¹

In marked contrast to Dr. James' belief that there were many recusants is the return of 1585 made by Bishop Barnes to the Privy Council; "a schedule there inclosed we have receyved and the same accordinge to oure duties diligently weighed the wch schedule conteyneth the names of sixe persons recusants (and their state and condition and how they stand at present.) No other recusants other than those indicted and if there are any then they have nothing to contribute." The names of Anthony Preston of East Morton, Clement Lambert of Bishop Middleham, Robert Collingwood of Ffawdham, Henrey Thornell of Darlington and Roger Trollope of Kelloe are contained in the schedule but of the six two were dead, one was in prison, one had taken the oath and another was outlawed in Scotland.² Some idea of the actual numbers of recusants in the county is available by 1595 and

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 22. Diocesan Returns of Recusants in England & Wales 1577.
2. IBID p.118.

for the first time some details are given of the richer class of residents in the county, and for once an unlicensed tutor is taken note of in the returns. "Norton. William Blaikeston of Blaikeston esquire and Allice his wife householders there. He is seized of lands yearlie worth cccli and hath goods worth cli.

Ralph Gargrave servant to the said William Blaikeston and Scholem to his children without lycense.

Rebecca Collingwood spinster daughter of Sir Cuthbert Collingwood knight, she remayneth at Blaikeston with the said William Blaikeston."²

Evidently Blaikeston was sufficiently rich to be one of those Catholic gentlemen who were able to employ a private tutor who lived with the family and educated the young children. Mention of such men is rare, despite the fact that the Privy Council had asked not only for lists of recusants, but for their worth as well as their movements. Either there were not many of these private tutors, or their identity

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 53. Book of Recusants (Cecil Papers) Stockton Deanery.

is concealed amongst that of the ordinary household servants, which would not have been particularly hard. Despite the complaints of Dr. James concerning the numbers and behaviour of recusants the Ecclesiastical list of 1595 lists only 72 for the Darlington Deanery, 45 for Stockton, 41 for Easington and 65 for Chester and states that "all and evrie the persons before named within the Bishoprick of Durehame doe stand indyted for their recusancie but upon their severall indytements no penalties have been levied according to the lawe for ought I can learne. The said parties doe refuse all conference in religion verie obstinatelie and as it were with one consent especially of late."¹

It is difficult during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries to dissociate educational activity from the activities of the Catholic gentry and the mission of the seminary priests from abroad. The natives of County Durham who went on to the priesthood were able to obtain the beginnings of their education at home before illegally crossing the sea to complete their clerical studies. In some cases they themselves acted as tutors to the children of the gentry before

1. IBID.

going abroad, as is shown by the "responsa" of Cuthbert Raine, and some even accompanied their Catholic tutor abroad, as did John Forcer. Together with this kind of education went the kind that enabled Ralph Salvin to state "I was ... brought up in the Catholic faith and in such learning as is usual to boys of my class. I made humanity courses at Durham, in the greatest peace and liberty of conscience for 3 years ..." ¹ a peace of course brought to an end by expulsion after striking another pupil. Yet the peace that Salvin could recall in retrospect in 1620 could often be rudely shattered when the allies of good birth of the seminary priests were persecuted by an active supporter of the policy of the Council like Tobie Mathew, who was responsible for the return quoted above. In 1598 he could report to Burghley in a famous letter that he had taken into custody "the lady Katherine Gray, widdow, one of Westmorland's daughters," and that he was keeping her in the custody of Chris Glover, the gaoler at Durham, in a private house near the prison. Lady Katherine had rented a farmhouse and land called Greencroft near Lanchester and there she had allegedly given shelter to seminary priests "as Stafferton, Bost who was since executed, Mushe and Patterson." Mrs. Hall the owner of Greencroft was also a recusant being a sister of

1. Victoria County History. Vol.III p.164.

Nicholas Tempest's wife, and of course the Tempests of Stella were notorious for the help they gave their co-religionists. At Greencroft all the recusants friends of Lady Katherine were entertained; sometimes as many as twenty stayed there and made "goode cheere" particularly at Christmas. The persecution that Lady Katherine Gray experienced was extended to those of her neighbours who were also recusants, and a certain Lancelott Hodeson, "a dangerous person and not unlerned", a man who had been married by a self confessed old popish priest, was also imprisoned for his recusancy.¹ The families named by the Bishop of Durham were just the ones where a recusant tradition was to continue, and in 1642 when the returns were made of those who made the protestation to uphold and defend the Protestant religion, the Hall family still lived at Greencroft, and there was a Hodgshon residing at the manor house.² It certainly appears that despite persecution and deprivation the Catholic gentry were able to survive, and continue giving the support to priests and tutors that they had always been accustomed to giving. If education seems almost a very small part of a Catholic revival in England after 1580, without it there could have been no youhg Catholic men to take up studies for the priesthood, and

1. Surtees. Vol. 2 p.322 Lanchester. Tobie Mathew to Burghley. 25.5.1598.
2. Surtees Society Vol. 135 1922 H.M. Wood.

consequently no missionary priests; "the Jesuit and the mission priest and ... the lay Catholic schoolmaster were consecrated to a double task; the basic schooling of those unable, and the preparatory humanities of those able, to go to the colleges abroad."¹

By the turn of the century the Colleges abroad were on a very firm footing and had many years of tradition behind them. Douai was founded in 1568, the English College Rome in 1579, and besides the Scottish Colleges at Tournai and Douai there were English Colleges founded by Persons at Valladolid and Seville. Two schools for boys had also been founded by Persons at Eu in 1582, and the predecessor of Stonyhurst, Saint Omer in 1593. To receive one's basic education at home, and then proceed to one of the Colleges, probably by way of St. Omer, was the usual way open to a boy with a vocation to the priesthood, and part of the story of education in the county, as well as in other parts of the country, is the way in which boys were conducted, if not smuggled, out of the country for their illicit education abroad. In Durham the most revealing case that illustrates the contact between the Colleges abroad and the home mission, is that of William Singleton who was arrested at

1. Beales. p.86

Durham in 1625, on his way, as he said, from Yarmouth to Berwick on Tweed. After being arrested Singleton was examined before Richard Hunt and John Cradocke, to whom he confessed that he was in fact a Catholic, yet not an ordained priest but a Benedictine brother. He was 29 years old, a native of Prescott in Lancashire, where he had been brought up and educated in the local school until he was 12 years old. After finishing school he had entered the service of a local gentleman, Mr. Robert Hindley of Hindley, with whom he had remained for seven years, first as attendant, and later as butler. He was then appointed to serve Mr. Hindley's son Robert and travelled to Ireland with him, and remained there for some four months, after which he had gone abroad to the Low Countries, where he served for a short time as a soldier. Singleton readily admitted that he had travelled from Calais to Yarmouth, and after landing there on Boxing Day 1625 he had obtained a passport from the bailiffs of the town, Robert Norgate and Edward Owner, to travel to Berwick within the space of forty eight days. He refused to give the names of anyone to whom he was to deliver a message, and stated that he was prepared to face any torture, and further maintained that as a lay brother of the Order of Saint Benedict, and a Catholic, he would not attend Divine Service in the Church of England.¹

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 53. 1960. (Mickleton Spearman Ms.2.)

On his own admission Singleton was a recusant who had been illegally abroad, but he would only give information that least incriminated himself and his masters. Despite this his mission was obvious to his captors and inquisitors. A letter had been found on his person that made it clear that Singleton was a man trusted by absentee clergy to escort children abroad, and priests to England, and such men as he were very necessary if Catholic youths were to be able to take up their education, for it must have been very difficult for a father to make the necessary arrangements for his son to go abroad unless there was active contact and co-operation from those actually on the Continent. The letter which Singleton was carrying bears out these views, but does not confirm that his destination was in fact Berwick, which could of course have been a blind if Singleton was playing the part of a conspirator in earnest.

"Worthie Sr.,

The bearer hereof hath been with us in Brabant and delivered your lres. very carefully. And whereas you wryte to us concerninge your sonnes safe bringing over, take our word, the bearer is sufficient

and wise enough for their safe conducting to Antwerpe, and so to Rome by our direction, yet in any case be carefull how you send any other mens (sons) but your owne because the time is like to be dangerous. And when they come wch must be at March, let them come souldier like as this bearer Wllm Singleton will direct them until they come to Gallic: and when the bearer hereof knoweth how to receive a passe for their more safe travaile by land unto us. And at his return from Rome will send you (God willing) two reverend and learned fathers, the one is Jesuit, and the other a learned father of your owne name. And this with our dayly prayers for your prosperity and libertie of conscience wee leave you to the Allmighty God and the blessed Virgin Marie, and Holy Angels of God. Antwerp this instant Dec. xvth. the new style Anno Dm. 1625.

Your faithfull poore beadsman

John Laver,

Tho. Lyegh."¹

A courier such as Singleton was evidently not regarded as small fry, for Secretary Coke took considerable interest in the case, and on

1. IBID. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 53. 1960.
Letter found on William Singleton Jan. 1625/6.

learning of the apprehension of Singleton, and of the letter he was carrying to enable him to take the son of an un-named person to Rome, he asked the Bishop of Durham to make very sure that Singleton's luggage was searched. He also urged the Bishop to question Singleton with regard to his intentions and his practices and instructed that when such information had been gained it should be sent to him in London.¹ Evidently Coke was not complacent at the traffic that took place between the recusants abroad and their brothers in England. The Archbishop of Canterbury voiced what everybody was thinking when he wrote to the Bishop of Durham in these words. "These papers do purpose that this Singleton is a man employed by Papistes in England to the partes beyond the seas, and so backe from thence in conveying Preestes and Jesuits, as also other younge schollers to be nuzzled in their Popery. And this I should judge to be his practize wch is bad enough, but I finde two things that give suspition of some great matter; the one is that he will by no means reveale unto whom the surprized letter was to be delivered; and the other is that he resolutely affirmeth that he will submit himselfe to any torture rather than make known for whome hee is employed."² These deeper suspicions are perhaps very natural

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 53. 1960. (Mickleton Spearman Ms.2. Secretary Coke to Bishop of Durham.)
2. IBID Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop of Durham.

in an Anglican archbishop but it appears that Singleton's mission was neither more nor less than what it appeared to be, that of a trusted and capable courier and escort for young men going abroad for their education, and of priests returning to the mission. In any case the sort of activity that Singleton was carrying on was not uncommon and was often combined with the bringing over of books for which men were often committed to prison. What was perhaps unusual about Singleton, was the fact that this was the first time he had come to the notice of the authorities, when he had obviously been operating quite openly for some time. Usually this sort of courier would have a known record; Ralph Emerson another lay brother imprisoned for bringing books from abroad had been in prison for 9 years, (three-and-a-quarter in the Poultry and the rest in the Clink), during the period before 1593 when he was arrested.¹

There is little doubt that the intensity of the persecution made such men as Singleton necessary if Catholicism and Catholic education were to continue. It was not solely the priests who were punished, but as we have seen those who harboured them, and when Thomas

1. Foley. Vol. V. p.35.

Palliser was executed on August 9th 1600 two laymen John Norton of Skinnington and John Talbot were executed with him for the shelter they had offered. Out of the persecution, of course, often came unexpected fruits; the execution of four missionary priests at Durham in 1590 not only gave us the legend of Dryburn, which was supposed to have been a brook near the common gallows which ceased to flow after the execution, but also gave to Durham a Catholic family, the Maires, whose efforts for their faith gave a solid foundation to education in the south of the county at Hardwick and Hartlepoons.¹ Singleton's mission must always be thought of with this background of persecution in mind. The Church of England authorities and the central government were bound to treat with suspicion all activity that meant contact with the schools abroad by the local Catholic gentry. At the same time, when a Catholic education was desired, that went beyond the basic humanities, men such as Singleton were needed at home simply for the convenience of contact that Catholics required with their friends abroad.

1. Challoner, R. Memorials of Missionary Priests, 1741 ed. J.H.Pollen 1924. Mr. John Yaxley, a priest of Coxhoe, married Robert Maire of Hardwick and Grace Smith, daughter of an eminent lawyer of Durham. Both had seen the priests (Messrs. Hogge, Hille, Holiday and Duke) executed, and because of the experience had been converted to Catholicism. Mr. Smith disinherited "his graceless daughter Grace", unless she conformed and in the event all his money went to charity.

Friends abroad, of course, were the very men who would be returning on the mission, and included in the lists of secular and regular priests serving in Durham in 1623 are Francis Forcer and Francis Mason, whose early education has been examined, and indeed Forcer was still serving the province in 1642.¹

Despite the lapses that occurred under pressure and the occasional conformity that Catholics could often practice with an upright conscience, there must have been a very strong desire on the part of the wealthier recusant to see that a Catholic education was available to the family, and there is a recorded instance of this being almost insured for in the Tempest family. In June 1626 Henry Clifford, the nephew of Robert Tempest, and his executor, made an agreement with Douai to pay £3 or 30 florins per annum and in perpetuity, so that the burden of his uncle's will would not fall on the college, and in order that his uncle's wishes as expressed in the will would not be frustrated. Robert Tempest, his uncle and a native of Durham, had left several rents on condition that, "the saide Colledge shall maintain an breede up in learning one of his family, from seeven years to seeven years to be

1. Foley. Vol. 5.

named and sent to the colledge by William Tempest Esq., now of Sommerton in Oxfordshire; if England be converted the maintenance to be at Oxford."¹ It seems fairly clear that the education received abroad was thought of in the minds of such men as Tempest as replacing the education that had been available in more tolerant times at the universities, and this would be a very strong reason for the numbers of young Catholic gentlemen seeking a similar course abroad. Thus we find a varying pattern of education in the local sense before a boy went abroad, but a fairly consistent pattern once a boy was across the sea. This was obviously a question of attitude, of attempting to fulfil obligations to children at home, until such time as they could receive a more settled education abroad.

This pattern is hardly varied after 1630 except in the cases of converts who received their education before entering the church, and such men usually include in their record the fact that they had been to one of the English universities. The "responsa" of students entering the English College Rome after 1621 are not so detailed as they were previously, nor as they were to become after 1658, when a more

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol.11. 1911 3rd Douai Diary.

comprehensive questionnaire was introduced, but the brief information that is given gives us some clues to the education of Catholic youth. Except in the cases of converts to Catholicism, the pattern of education shows no signs of having altered from that of the late sixteenth century. Over a period of fifty years this is not particularly surprising when we consider that in a similar period of time in the nineteenth century, when there was no persecution, education progressed slowly, and showed very little change in method. Unfortunately students entering colleges abroad do not seem particularly concerned to give a breadth of detail about their early education, being more concerned to give their immediate past history in one of the Catholic schools abroad.

Cuthbert Clopton, alias Green, had left England in 1627 and for four years had studied at St. Omer before entering the English College; he was a native of Sledwick, County Durham where his father seems to have been a local squire. Of his education at home, after mentioning his place of birth he felt it sufficient to say "et locus idem educationis", and no doubt a student answering questions on his

education today would not often go into detail about his primary education, important though it is. Clopton then, like many others must have been educated privately at home by a tutor, with some help from his own parents, and possibly sometimes by an itinerant missionary.¹ Three of the children of Thomas Salkeld of Coniscliffe were educated in much the same way as Clopton, St. Omer being the school where they studied humanities. The eldest of twelve children John Salkeld, alias Anderton, entered the Venerabile at the age of 20, having previously spent five years at St. Omer, and two of his younger brothers Francis and Thomas spent a similar time at St. Omer before proceeding to Rome in 1647 and 1648 respectively. Both Francis and Thomas had returned home after studying at St. Omer, Francis for 2 years, and Thomas for $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, before they took up their studies again in Rome, and Thomas even went so far as to say that up to the point of entering the English College he had no great desire to be an ecclesiastic.² This would seem to bear out the thesis that Catholic young men could only receive their initial grounding in education at home, but for their humanities they were almost forced to go abroad unless they were to receive what they considered to be an heretical

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 55. p.713. Records of the English College Rome 1622-85.

2. IBID pp. 794, 842 & 848.

education. The convert to the faith had not experienced the same difficulties, and Francis Blakiston who entered the English College in 1647, had studied humanities and then philosophy at Durham and Cambridge between the ages of 14 and 20, and at 26 was considered a suitable candidate for the English College.¹ The higher education received by Blakiston at home was precisely the type of education denied to the recusant, and it was in search of it that so many Catholic young men crossed the sea. St. Omer of course did not take the illiterate, and whilst it provided the Jesuits with very many vocations, its main purpose was to provide an education for those boys whose parents wished them to escape an heretical education at home. Michael Jennison alias Gray, a relative of the Bowes family on his mother's side, had studied at St. Omer and La Fleche, and though he had never paid much attention to Greek or Poetry he had nonetheless always been amongst the first in the class, and his academic achievements could not have been gained without a prior grounding at home in England. From the religious point of view his family were quite a mixture; his younger brother was still at home as a recusant, his eldest brother was a heretic, whilst another brother was a priest, probably resident in Spain. A paternal

1. IBID. p.851.

uncle of Michael Jennison was a Jesuit, whilst another had been a general in the Spanish Army and had been killed.¹ In general the family were very well connected but were conformists rather than recusants, and this type of situation was becoming quite common as conversions increased. The records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus claim an average conversion rate of between forty and fifty by the Jesuit Fathers serving Durham, who themselves averaged about nine priests in any one year until 1677, when they increased somewhat.

Conversions account for the confused situation in families such as the Jennisons, but at least converts were able to be fairly definitive about their early education received in England. Cuthbert Kennet of Coxhoe, the son of a wealthy Protestant who made him an allowance of £26 per annum, was converted, probably together with his eldest and youngest brothers, by Fr. Laurence Raynor, but before his conversion and his philosophy studies at Douai he had spent seven years at Durham learning the humanities.² It is possible in cases such as Kennet's, that even after conversion, studies at the Protestant grammar

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 55. p.859.

2. IBID. p.902.

school were not interrupted, and this would be most likely in the case of the younger brother, especially so if the father was such a well known Protestant. Where conversion occurred fairly late in life as regards education, the convert could show a completed education that took him past the humanities stage and to the university; "Ex Anglia ad Collegium accessit Joannes Leckonby, hic Hawley, 29 annum agens Dunelmensis, qui aliquamdiu studiis operam dedit Oxoniae, iam super ad fidem Catholicam conversus."¹

Of all the convert families perhaps the most remarkable [one] was the Corbys. The original convert was Gerard Corby a man born in 1558, who received his own father into the church when the latter was 100 years old; he himself became a Jesuit lay brother at the age of 70 in 1628, and his own wife became a Benedictine nun at the age of 80 in 1633. Gerard and his wife, Isabella Richardson, had seven children, four boys and three girls one of whom died in infancy and all the surviving children became religious. Of the boys, Richard died at St. Omer whilst preparing for the Jesuit novitiate, whilst Robert, Ralph and Ambrose all became members of the Society of Jesus. Ralph returned to Durham as a missionary and served from 1626, no doubt

1. Catholic Record Society. Vol. 11. p.502.
Third Douai Diary.

including some teaching amongst his priestly duties, but he was captured in 1644, taken to London on a Sunderland boat and martyred in the same year at Tyburn. Like all clerical students the education of the Corby children was undertaken abroad, but they must all have received some private education for a time in Ireland, where Ralph was born, when his parents were fugitives from Durham. The only clue to their education at home comes from the youngest son Ambrose who answered his interrogation at the English College Rome by saying that he was almost entirely brought up and educated in Yorkshire. Perhaps this is not so surprising when we consider the previous flight of the family to Ireland; a family so well known would hardly be allowed the luxury of a private education unmolested.¹

This must often have been the case with the children of recusants; the shortage of Catholic schoolmasters and the fact that a family were known recusants could lead to a youth making the following statement when entering the Jesuit College in Flanders; "My name is Thomas Riddell. I am the son of Thomas Riddell of Durham, where I was born. As a boy I lived at home but in my youth among various uncles in

1. Oliver. G. Biography of Members of Society of Jesus 1845.

the country and the last three years I spent at Antwerp I have studied in various places in England, and for the last two years in the College of the Society of Jesus at Antwerp ... my father wished me to seek admittance to this seminary for the sake of my education."

Riddell entered the College in 1651 and stayed there until 1654 when he left for Paris to study philosophy. In this case a man with no intentions of entering the church is found seeking admittance for education abroad after his humanity studies in England, as he says, "For the sake of my education."

Certainly during the Civil War and Interregnum it must have become well nigh impossible to receive a Catholic education at home. Before the war started in 1642 a Protestation against Popery and a declaration of support for the Protestant Religion was circulated for adoption in every parish, to be made by every adult male. The returns for County Durham, Staindrop apart, are extant and will be considered in assessing the strength of Catholicism in the area, but there were other moves that were more invidious and aimed at destroying every attempt to practise according to conscience, and by specifically dealing with the

children of recusants, were aimed at destroying Catholic education completely. All priests were ordered to leave the country by April 1642 and priests in prison were released on condition that they immediately went abroad.¹ Measures such as these only increased the flow of youths abroad, and it is therefore not surprising that a youth could travel to Flanders for the sake of his education.

The Parliamentary campaign against Papists is shown at its height in the returns made to the House of Commons of the "Protestations for the maintenance of the Protestant Religion in the County Palatine of Durham". The wording of the proclamation was drawn up by a Parliamentary Committee of 1641 which contained Pym, Hampden and Hollis, and whilst this committee was sitting no member could "stir out of the House" without leave. The Bill itself making the protestation compulsory, was rushed through between May and August, and the Protestation itself was printed and sent down to the country in January 1642, and so far as Durham is concerned the names of those who had refused to take it were being scrutinised by Parliament when the Civil War broke out. The Commons maintained that because of the threats to

1. For ⁿNational ^sSituation V. Beales 101-109.

Parliament by the King and by Papists, such a protestation was necessary, and accordingly they ordered that the High Sheriff and the Justices of the Peace should meet together and take the protestation as soon as possible. They were then to gather together the Poor and tender the protestation to them. It was then the responsibility of these parish officials to take the protestation from all the inhabitants of their several parishes over 18 years of age, and to note the names of all those who refused to take it. A Committee of the Commons comprising Sir Henry Vane, Sir Gerald Green and Cromwell would then meet, "to consider the number of persons refusing" and what course "is fit to be held towards them." The preamble to the Bill stated that "We knights, Citizens and Burgesses finding that the Designs of the Priests and Jesuits and other adherents to the See of Rome of late more boldly and frequently put into Practice than formerly, to the undermining and Danger of the true reformed Religion by the most pernicious and wicked Counsels, Plots and Conspiracies make this ensuing proclamation." This was followed by the form of protestation which was to be taken as follows, "I A.B. do in the presence of A.G. promise vow and protest to maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may with my Life,

Power and Estate, the true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England against all Popery and Popish Innovations and according to the duty of my Allegiance to his Majesty's Royal Person, Honour and Estate and as far as lawfully I may I will oppose and endeavour to bring to punishment all such as shall do anything to the contrary in this present Protestation contained and promise to preserve Union and Peace between England, Ireland and Scotland."¹

The protestation was taken throughout Durham and the names of those who refused are recorded, thus giving us a fairly comprehensive idea of the numbers of all adult male recusants in the county. As well as the numbers of male recusants the protestation uncovered what seems to have been the only clandestine school in Durham before the Jesuit foundations at Durham and Gateshead. In the Easington Ward at Dalton-le-Dale not far from Sunderland, 171 took the protestation and 10 refused; "A note of all them that refuseth to take this protestation being Romishe Catholiques. Dalden - George Collingwood Esquire, Mr. William Wytham gent., George Collingwood gent. William Swinburne,

1. Surtees Soc. Vol. 135. Ed. by H.M. Wood. Durham Protestations & Return made to House of Commons 1641/42.

Martyn Collingwood, Robert Horsley, Adam Robinson, Geo. the Schoolmr. Thomas Collingwood, John Collingwood. All these are popish recusants." Unfortunately the schoolmaster's surname is not recorded, but at least a schoolmaster presupposes a school, which must in any case have been a small one if only the children of recusants were taught. Dalton-le-Dale included the villages of Heseldon and Morton, and if children were to come from as far as Castle Eden, Easington and Bishop Wearmouth (which would be rather far) the numbers could not be substantially increased, for those not taking the protestation from these places amounted to six only. The more tolerant religious climate in the early years of the reign of Charles I had probably encouraged schoolmasters to teach school openly, and schools could be found in 31 separate places up to the outbreak of the Civil War.¹ Nonetheless the numbers of recusants in Durham could not be said to be particularly high if the numbers of those refusing the protestation are anything to go on. In the Chester Ward almost 5000 took the protestation with only 208 refusing; South Shields could report "no papists and none that refuseth the protestation", and they were not alone, the parishes of Boldon, Whitburn, Urpeth, Edmondbyers, Walrush and Hunstonworth could all report the same thing. In any case

1. Beales. p.215.

the number of 208 is inflated by the notorious papists' strongholds of Lanchester and Ryton, where 65 and 20 respectively refused the protestation. The continuity of the Hall family at Greencroft has been previously mentioned, and it is not surprising to find the name of William Tempest of Stella amongst those who refused at Ryton.¹

An analysis of the returns to the House of Commons is not particularly encouraging to the student of recusant history, for if the 1642 return is correct, and it certainly gives the appearance of being so, for in some parishes the names of absentees are given, there would appear to be fewer recusants in the mid-seventeenth century than one would have thought. The early returns of 1577 and 1585, because they were not really concerned with a census of recusants, but more with the assessment of property for recusancy fines, contain the names of very few recusants, and are not really very reliable in assessing the actual number of recusants in the county at that time. Consequently there is very little point in making a comparison between these returns and the returns to the Commons of 1642.

In 1642 the names of all those who refused the protestation

1. Surtees Soc. Vol. 135 ed. H.M. Wood.

were recorded, and generally the returns of the parish stated quite emphatically whether or not the parishioners who were classed as not taking the protestation were recusants, or delinquents, if they happened to be Non-Conformists of another kind. There would be many Catholics who no doubt felt it to be more prudent to take the necessary form of protestation as would many Non-Conformists, but the actual returns must bear a fairly close relationship to the actual number of recusants in Durham, and from this number of adult males, a rough idea of the actual number of Catholics could probably be worked out. The table below has been worked out on the 1642 returns for Durham and is accurate as to the actual numbers of those who refused to make their protestation. In some cases the numbers of those who did make it are approximations based on a sample count from the lists, but this method was only used when there were more than 200 in the parish that was being dealt with.

<u>WARD</u>		<u>THOSE TAKING PROTESTATION</u>	<u>THOSE REFUSING</u>
Chester	c	4850	208
Darlington	c	4589	107
Easington	c	3360	146
Stockton	c	2665	62
	c	15464	523 ¹

1. IBID The figure of 523 includes 3 women at Auckland St. Helen's in the Darlington Ward. (Mabel Silvertop, Anne Gibban and Elizabeth Hodson.)

Throughout the county then about 1 in 30 refused the order that they should promise to maintain the Protestant religion, and these were mainly recusants. What is significant about the numbers for the various wards is the fact that recusancy was more prominent in the two northern wards of Chester and Easington than it was in the south of the county. In Stockton for instance there were only 4 recorded papists and three of these were from the country area of Preston Park, whilst at the Hartlepoons there were only 5. The concentration of Catholics could have altered little before the Industrial Revolution and before the Irish immigrants affected the Catholic population of towns, and it is therefore not surprising that the most militant Catholicity was to be found around Durham itself, and northwards. The concentration of schools in the early nineteenth century reflects this particular point, Houghton, Durham, Stella and Sunderland being the advance guard in the north, whilst only Darlington in the south was initially to the forefront in Catholic education, before the Irish immigrants to the Hartlepoons made their needs felt.

Nowhere in the county with the exception of Lanchester, (65),

Ryton (20), Brancepeth (21), or Durham (46), were there sufficient Catholics to warrant a school, which makes the records of the school at Dalton-le-Dale even more surprising, when there were only 10 adult male recusants there. What would seem likely in Dalton would be that the school was supported by the local Catholic family of Collingwood, and that children from the surrounding constabularies and parishes would travel to attend the school. Though the numbers of recusants, scattered as they were all over the county, preclude any possibility of a number of clandestine schools let alone a definitive pattern of Catholic education, this does not mean that there was no education at all. The itinerant missionaries as well as the private tutor must have done admirable work to keep alive the faith until lenient times allowed it to flourish.

The numbers of Catholics as shown in the 1642 Protestations would appear to be a remarkably accurate assessment of recusant strength in the county if it is compared with the numbers who were confirmed in Durham in 1687, when Bishop Leyburn made his visitation to the north. In Durham alone, 1,083 were confirmed and no doubt many of the recusants

in the south of the county at Darlington and Stockton would have travelled to Cliffe, just the other side of the Tees, where 640 were confirmed. At any rate over 1,000 recusants from Durham were confirmed in 1687 and this would make the figure of 520 adult male recusants in 1642 seem to be a very accurate one indeed, despite the fact that it had been compiled over 40 years before.¹

Not all of the people who were confirmed, nor yet those who refused the 1642 Protestation, were of the gentry, and very little is known of how these people were able to provide an education for their children. The only way that many Catholic children could receive any learning at all was from the itinerant priests, who themselves had to receive financial support from their widely spread parishioners.

Durham was always well served by the secular clergy and as early as 1623 there were eight of them serving in Durham, as well as two Benedictines and five Jesuits, but the itinerant missionary work was conducted in the main by priests who were of the Society of Jesus. Durham and Northumberland generally went by the name of "Mrs. Durham",

1. Bishop Leyburn's Visitation 1687. Brigadier T.B. Trappes-Lomax. (Summarised in Newsletter for students of Recusants History, 1962.)

and the district was amongst the first created by the first Provincial, Father Richard Blount, when England became a Province of the Society in 1623. Depending on the dangers of the area, the missionary priests had three different modes of carrying out their work. Some of the missionaries were virtually resident priests, being hidden in the attics or top floors of the houses of the family that gave them shelter. They seldom went out of doors and through the mistrust that often surrounded their concealment, their duties were confined to saying Mass and administering the sacraments.¹ Some fortunate priests enjoyed a wider freedom that sometimes arose through the special circumstances that attached to their patrons, and the example that readily springs to mind is that of the Chapel in the Savoy opened by permission of the King in 1685; but this liberty was thought to have been turned into licence when the superior Father Andrew Poulter opened a charity grammar school for the education of the poor. About 400 children attended, of whom about half were of Protestant parentage. This quite naturally stung the Anglican clergy to provide a counter attraction, "The Jesuits set up a school to teach youths for nothing which we thought would drive many into their snare we agreed to do the same."² Probably the

1. Foley. Vol. VII. Part 1. Statistics.

2. Autobiography of Bp. of Ely 1839 Symon p.127.

Quoted in Charity School Movement, M.G. Jones, 1938.

most important work was done by those priests who followed the third way of living. These were the travelling missionaries who, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, travelled about their particular districts instructing, catechising, preaching as well as administering the sacraments and saying Mass. In general this type of missioner would find himself a base from which to work and would travel from this base each day. In Durham such places were Harber House, the home of the Forcer family, Stella Hall, where the Tempest and Widdrington families lived, and Durham itself. The question that is most difficult to answer is, how far did these missionary priests concern themselves with the education of children before schools were established in the reign of James II? Many of them were concerned with simply avoiding capture and carrying on their priestly ministry as far as they were able, for Jesuit priests were still suffering in prison long after James II fled, and many had been executed in 1679 at the time of the Titus Oates plot. The temporal returns for the various residences throughout England are chiefly concerned with the finances of the missions, but here and there we get a faint glimmer of the work that the missioners carried out. The financial returns are always given in

Roman scudi which Bro. Foley estimated at about 4/6d. each in 1862, and they reflect the varying fortunes of the Jesuit missionaries in County Durham. In 1625 the alms that the Jesuits received amounted to 360 scudi "from which seven fathers were enabled to live without inconvenience", and in 1628 an income of 500 scudi supported 8 fathers "abundantly". The returns of 1636 give a clear indication that the fathers on the mission undertook educational work, for they stated that the work of the missionaries consisted mainly in taking long journeys to instruct the poor, but that they were supported rather by Divine Providence than by any temporal sources. Between 1642 and 1672 the mission in Durham received subsidies from the provincial of the Society in England, and it was not until after the Restoration that the Jesuits had any fixed permanent income, which in any case they had lost after the Revolution, and there would appear to have been no financial solvency until about 1705.¹ As the only record of a school in Durham during the early part of the seventeenth century is at Dalton, we have to assume that the instruction of the poor was undertaken in the main by Jesuit fathers who worked in the county, as the return of 1636 makes clear. Much of the educational work would of course have been concerned

1. Foley. Vol. VII. Statistics p.cxxxix to p.clxi.
Temporal Returns of Jesuits in England.

with catechising and instruction for the sacraments, but bound up with this instruction must have been fundamental help with reading and writing. The various attempts that were made to educate Catholic children in the Anglican belief sometimes brought to light the fact that the Jesuits were prepared to do their work within the conditions that existed in the ordinary small communities. It seemed quite acceptable to have a child given his basic education in an Anglican school, and then see that he was catechised by a Jesuit missionary. The outstanding example of this kind of schooling occurred in the Durham Diocese, but in a small village called Abberwick in Northumberland where there was one Catholic pupil. In 1654 this child stayed away from school rather than receive instruction from Protestant ministers, who had given notice that they intended to visit the school and catechise the children. The child was of course flogged when he returned to school, and was later withdrawn from the school when his parents learned of the incident. When the Jesuit missionary father was informed of the child's courage, without further instruction he allowed the child to make his First Communion. The interesting thing here is that the child was already under instruction from the missionary priest who had deferred

the child's Communion "on account of his tender age".¹

The striking feature of the work done by the Jesuits, not only in Durham but in the other districts which they served in England, is the continuity of service which they provided to the faithful. At their lowest ebb in 1674 and 1681 they had six priests serving in the county, and during the interregnum their numbers never fell below seven, and of course with the more favourable climate created by the Declaration of Indulgence, when James II came to the throne, their numbers increased to ten, and were not to fall below that number until 1725 when nine priests were serving.² Whilst their work of catechising and instruction was carried on by the itinerant missionaries, the order was not able to establish schools in Durham until the time of James II, and of course the ones established at Durham and Gateshead were to last only until the Revolution. The school at Durham was to provide a foundation that the Jesuits were able to build on once order was restored, and the premises purchased by Father Widdrington, (a native of Durham born at Stella Hall), in Old Elvet, were to remain occupied by the Jesuits until 1827.³

1. Foley. Annual Letters 1654 p.124 Vol. III. Series V.
2. Foley. Collectanea. Analytical Catalogue. Vol. VII.
3. Oliver. Biog. of Members of Society of Jesus. 1845. p.223.

The establishment of schools would not have been possible without the Declaration of Indulgence, which dispensed with all the penalties in force against both Catholic and Non-Conformist subjects. Despite the fact that James had to dissolve Parliament to frustrate the opposition of the Legislature, the Declaration gave Catholics the opportunity to practice their religion openly, and this freedom of worship led to similar opportunities in the field of education. Yet the time was short and so the achievements of Catholics in the reign of James do not seem to be very extensive, and Catholics were unused to the freedom that James' dispensations gave them. "The Declaration of Indulgence gave them infinitely more than they hoped for, certainly all they wanted. The suspending power inhibited the penalties on Catholic religious observance. The dispensing power could furnish them with passports into professions and livelihoods long closed to them - and among these, that of teacher of youth."¹ In addition the appointment of a spiritual leader for the Catholics of England in the person of Dr. Leyburn brought a visible assurance that the reconstruction of the Church in England was under way, an assurance underlined by the prodigious feat undertaken by Bishop Leyburn on his Visitation, when Catholics

1. Beales. p.245.

gathered together from their Mass centres into larger congregations to be confirmed in such places as Durham and Newcastle.

Undoubtedly the most famous of the Jesuit schools was the one in London, in the Savoy, but the provincial schools at Durham and Gateshead were just as successful for the areas which they served. Father Thomas Pearson was the incumbent at Durham in the reign of James II, and "here he had erected a chapel 'satis amplum' which was numerously attended; here by his zealous endeavours was opened a public school which he called a 'gymnasium publicam'". At the revolution all was to be destroyed. "In the beginning of December 1688 a storm burst forth which had been impending for several days. A numerous and violent mob rushed into the chapel with such fury that in a few moments everything was destroyed from top to bottom. The roofs, walls, floor and altar were reduced to ruins. The cross itself was publicly burnt and they did not even spare the beams and rafters, which were also burned, and the tiles smashed to pieces. From the chapel the mob turned to the houses of the Catholics where they rioted with almost equal violence: entering with drawn swords not only in the daytime, but at night also breaking open all

the boxed chests, cupboards etc: and plundering whatever furniture they could lay their hands upon and sacrilegiously mutilating all sacred pictures, images and books. During the riots a very marked incident occurred. Whilst the holy crucifix of Our Lord together with other Catholic and sacred articles were being consumed in the bonfire, some woman who had conducted herself more insolently than the rest fell into the flames, from what cause did not appear, and before the bystanders could rescue her, her whole body was so burned that she shortly afterwards expired. During the raging of the mob of incendiaries and robbers, not only the Catholics, but many of the Protestant inhabitants feared for their lives. Several of the principal Catholics were thrown into prison and others carried off to London by the Constables. The resident Fathers of Durham were compelled to fly and wander up and down in disguise keeping to the most difficult and unfrequented roads and venturing out only at nights. They passed their days, sometimes their nights also in the open woods, though it was now winter."¹ Father Pearson himself was compelled to flee and he left the country for a time, for in 1701 he was procurator at Watten, but he had returned to Durham by 1724 when his address was "at Mr. Woods, Draper, Durham"² and it was at

1. Annual Letters. Foley Vol. V. Series XII.
2. Foley Collectanea. Vol. VII.

Durham that he died in February 1732 at the age of 87. The fury of the anti-Catholic mob was directed equally against the school and the church, and must have been one of the last acts of destruction in the revolution, for the school at the Savoy had been broken up in October and the one in Fenchurch Street had been razed in the same month; James himself had left London for France on December 11th. Thus the first organised school in the county that was established after the reformation came to an end. The school that had existed at Dalton-le-Dale in the 1640's could certainly not have been organised on the same scale, and as has been suggested owed its existence primarily to the activities of an unlicensed schoolmaster.

A similar fate was experienced by the other Jesuit school established at Gateshead, in the reign of James II. The resident priest there was Father Philip Leigh, alias Layton, who himself was a distinguished scholar and a zealous missionary who converted many to the Catholic faith and presented 300 for confirmation at Gateshead in 1687. The Annual Letters of 1688 state that there was a well frequented school there as well as a spacious chapel and "crowds flocked to the chapel and numerous scholars came to the school." At the Revolution the mission

was destroyed, but Father Leigh managed to stay in Durham and was still in Gateshead in 1704. He moved to Holywell in Wales about 1710 where he died seven years later.¹

The efforts at organised education in the county seem to have little significance if one is to judge by their permanence, and the scant chance that they had of doing any constructive work. To add to this the Revolutionary settlement seemed to doom English Catholics to an age of virtual extinction both in education and religious practice; the reward for informers was increased, and heirs to estates could be disinherited at eighteen if they had not conformed. Despite the fact that the penal code was increased in the severity of its application, as regards property, the savage treatment of the person of the recusant was not to occur as it had in the past, and there is real evidence of a measure of toleration for Catholics in some parts of the county that had not experienced this mercy before. The brief indulgence under James far from being an end was in effect a beginning for education in Durham. If the indulgence had been quickly changed at the Revolution, Catholics had at least had a taste of some freedom of worship, and of education,

1. Foley. Vol. VII. Collectanea and Vol. V. p.661.

which they had not had in the past. To be able to hear Mass openly, to have Catholic schools openly established was going to be more than a memory for the Catholics who had to live on after the Revolution. Since the Elizabethan suppression Catholics had been used to being a minority, who were not simply persecuted, but a minority who had no rights whatsoever. Catholic education even at the primary level was not to be had openly and higher studies of any kind had to be sought abroad, although even to seek this learning was banned. No Catholic schoolmasters could be licensed, and the teaching missionary priests were liable to be put to death if they were caught, but the brief dawn of hope under James II, even though it was a hope that was to be quickly extinguished, had shown English Catholics what could be made available to them if times were more tolerant. There were to be further burnings of Catholic property, including schools, during the eighteenth century but at no time was there to be a long period such as there was during the seventeenth century when no educational efforts were being made at all. Children were still forced to go abroad to receive a higher education, and there was no attempt at any sort of organised schooling, but the patronage of the gentry as well as the individual efforts of Catholic schoolmasters

and mistresses, was to ensure that henceforth Catholicism was to be a live if not active force in Durham.

Only six years after the Revolution Thomas Salvin of Croxdale established a preaching fund of £100 for the City of Durham "so long as a publique Chappell for the Catholique clergy could be kept open there." In 1696 the preaching fund stood at £350 and Nicholas Salvin added a further £150, which total was expected to yield £20 per annum "for ye maintenance of a clergyman to live and reside in or about the city of Durham to help ye poor who come to him."¹ In addition Nicholas Salvin settled for charitable purposes a sum of money to keep "a youth at Lysbon or some other seminary of yr clergy as my nephew Jerrard Salvin and Thomas Maire think fit." £400 was reserved for this purpose and was eventually used to keep a youth at Douai by mutual agreement of terms between Jerrard Salvin and the President of Douai the Rev. Edward Baston D.D.² One wonders if these arrangements would have been considered before the temporary revival under James, and they were just a beginning to similar benevolence throughout the eighteenth century. English Catholicism was dealt a severe blow at the Revolution and in

1. Salvin Papers. D/SA/F 25 1694. Durham Record Office.
2. IBID. D/SA/F 26.

some parts of the country it must have seemed like a death blow that would lead to extinction of all Catholicity in Durham, sometimes with the collusion of tolerant Protestants, Catholics were able to prepare for the true revival that came towards the end of the eighteenth century.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN DURHAM

DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Probably the most active school in Durham was in the city itself, and it seems to have flourished until the second Jacobite rising in 1745. The school was opened by the Jesuits in 1685, one of the 16 which the English Province of the Society had opened in various parts of the country and, though it had a chequered career, it was both well known and well used. Father Pearson was the superior in Durham, which was the principal residence for the Society in the North East, and in addition to opening a chapel he had also established a college. "Crowds it is said flocked to the chapel and numerous scholars frequented the college. The Father had erected a chapel and by his zealous efforts a public school had been opened which was well attended." The Revolution of 1688 saw a temporary end to the school in the city for an "excited mob inflamed with the cry of No Popery", burnt both the school and the chapel to the ground.¹ Despite the fact that the mob had razed the Durham college, some measure of toleration with regard to

1. Foley Records of Eng. Province of Society of Jesus. Vol. V. Series XII.

education must have existed for Catholics as is shown in an account in 1702 of "Popish Chappels within 7 miles of ye Bpp. of Durhams Palace at Durham".

"6. Mr. Rowells in Durham and a school taught there.

11. Mr. Jo. Hildridge at B. Midlam & a publick School or Seminary there in ye Bps. Manor House. 26 Boys taught openly. Some children baptised there publickly."¹

This is a bald enough statement of facts but to the list of papists and their places of residence is added a fact with regard to schools that shows some evidence that at least they were not unpopular.

"And Mr. Archdeacon of Durham was publickly slighted and affronted for taking notice of them and endeavouring to Suppress ye Schools and Chappels, and Discouraging their perverting protestants."²

If the law had been applied stringently to these establishments there could have been no possibility of them staying open for even a very

1. Mickleton Spearman MS. 91 f. 135 (Item 41).

By courtesy of the Librarian.

2. IBID.

short time, and the fact that the compiler mentions [the fact] that children were being baptised publicly shows some awareness of the law, for the children of recusants were by law compelled to be baptised by the lawful minister within one month of birth, on pain of a fine of £100. (3 Jac. 1. Cap.5). As for keeping a schoolmaster who was unlicensed and non-churchgoing, an Act of 1507 (23. Eliz. Cap.1) had laid down a fine of £10 per month, which had been increased to 40 shillings a day in 1604. (1 Jac. 1. Cap.4). These acts had obviously not been effective for the penalty for being, or keeping an unlicensed schoolmaster in a private house, was three months' imprisonment for first and subsequent offences as well as a £5 fine for each offence after the first, under an act imposed in 1662 (13 & 14. Car. Cap.4); and after 1665 (17 Car. 11. Cap.2) recusants teaching school were liable for a fine of £40 for each offence.¹

Whilst the account of 1702 takes note of the evident toleration, its tone nonetheless is an anti-Catholic one, and records the fact that "Divers popish children (have been) lately sent out from this country to Seminaries beyond the seas,"² a journey that had been

1. Quoted in A.C.F. Beales "Education under Penalty" Appendix 3. p.272-3.
2. Mickleton Spearman MSS. 91 F 135 (Item 41).

very common since the time of Elizabeth, and forbidden by stringent penalties in each reign from 1570 onwards. More hostile still was the report that "There is now standing at Durham a noble structure said to be for Madam Radcliffe but really designed for a Nunnery for entertainment of young Ladyes of that perswasion."¹ The lady in question was Lady Mary Radcliffe, a daughter of the Earl of Derwentwater who built the house in Durham for her own use and died there in 1725. Perhaps this account of a nunnery, or a type of school that prepared young ladies for vows, was exaggerated, but in 1704-5 a return was demanded by Parliament from the Anglican clergy to account for the Papists in the various dioceses, and that for Cockfield mentions Durham once more. Details are given of three Catholic women living there and of one it states, "... and ye 3d is a young Gentlewoman who lives at present with one of the Protestant relations, in the nature of a visitor or a boarder, and was not long ago seduced to that Religion in a kind of Popish seminary or School at Durham, as I understand...."² Was this seduction at the instance of the Jesuit school rebuilt once more or the suspected nunnery of Madam Radcliffe? Both would have been opened in 1704 and it is unlikely that the college run by the Jesuits would have

1. Mickleton Spearman MSS. 91 F 135 (Item 41).
2. House of Lords MSS. 1705 (Transcribed by A.M.C. Forster and quoted in Ushaw Mag. 1963 Vol. LXXIII. 18th Century Catholic Education in Co. Durham by W.V. Smith.)

taken women, and any conversions would have been undertaken amongst gentlewomen by preaching rather than by schooling. There is no other extant reference to a dwelling really designed for a nunnery at Durham but it would be significant if the return of 1704 for Cockfield really did support this theory, for at the end of the seventeenth century there were only two Catholic schools for girls in the whole of England, at Hammersmith and York.

One other return of 1704-5 concerns a Catholic school in the county. The return for Bishop Middleham of 28th September 1705 states, "..... Smith a School Mr. Now dwelling with the said John Hildreth but as to scholars I (cannot) learn their names."¹ If it was difficult to learn the names of the scholars it would seem that here we have the case of a schoolmaster teaching not only without a license, but probably conducting his classes from a dwelling owned in 1705 by a Protestant landlord. In 1702 the manor was owned by a Catholic, William Bradshaw of Haigh in Lancashire who had bought it in 1668; his catholicity is evident from the fines he suffered for his recusancy, and the imprisonment he underwent in 1689 for refusing the Oath of Allegiance. In 1704 he

1. IBID.

sold the manor to one Nicholas Hall of Furniss Inn, but it would appear likely that the Catholic tenant would have remained for some little time if a school was being taught openly at Bishop Middleham.¹

Despite being burned down the school at Durham must soon have been functioning once more. There is ample evidence of its existence in 1740 but no reference at all to its activities between 1702 and that date. It is necessary therefore to return to "Mr. Rowells in Durham and a school taught there", of whom there is no record of any kind, either priest or layman. There was however a Mrs. Rowells included in a list of Catholics in Durham about 1728, and it was noted that she was living with a grandchild. One can suppose that there was a Mr. Rowells at one time, and the grandchild could have been her own son's child, and if the informant was not mistaken about the sex of the teacher then it could have been either of Mrs. Rowell's male relations.² What is more definite is that the school at Durham did exist in the old Jesuit tradition at Durham in the 1740's, and if the priest in charge of the area kept the school all the time he was a priest at Durham, then there would have been a small boarding school there from 1730-66 when the Rev. Charles

1. Ushaw Mag. 1963. 18th Century Catholic Education in County Durham.
2. IBID.

Waterton was president. On 9th July 1740 Sir Marmaduke Constable wrote from St. Omer to his nephew Sir Carnaby Haggerston about Sir Carnaby's two younger sons who were still at home, "Why do you not send your two sons to Durham under the care of Mr. Waterton. Mr. Jenison who is now here, came from thence very forward and does very well. They will be nigh to you and from thence a greater satisfaction to you and my Lady."¹ It is very likely that this school at Durham was for a second time a victim of mob violence after the Jacobite rising of '45. The Jacobite retreat was greeted with celebrations in Durham and "The populace behaved on Monday much the same as yours though not quite so violent," wrote Thomas Liddell to his friend at Gateshead on 31st January 1746, "they broke ye windows of one of ye Popish Chappels and plundered the house adjoining, which belonged to ye priest. They would not have finished so but that His Royal Highness (Cumberland) had desired the Commander-in-Chief that he would at the request of the High Sheriff or any two justices, assist with such a body of men as they should desire upon disturbance. This had success in that affair and I hope will put a stop to the like hereabout..... It is known that Mr. Salvin of Croxdale and Meagher the Durham Priest had got in touch with Bishop

1. Everingham Park MS. York Record Office, Beverley.
Transcript from Fr. W. V. Smith, Lanchester.

Chandler and sought his protection for their co-religionists."¹ The school at Durham, though, was not the kind of school that could be patronised by the poorer Catholics, and as it was a boarding school, fairly substantial fees would be needed to maintain^{it} [the school] and scholars [at it]. A receipt to Bryan Salvin from Thomas Maire (Meagher of Liddell's letter above) would probably have been for the more expensive kind of education available in Durham City, and as Maire was a secular priest in Durham both at Gilesgate and Old Elvet between 1740 and 1768, it is more than likely that he was arranging for the education of boys at the Jesuit School in Durham, and even possible that where charitable bequests were concerned he was arranging for day scholars to attend the school. "Nov. 1740. Received of Bryan Salvin Esq. of Croxdale Hall ye sum of five pounds promised to Thomas Maire Esq. of Lartington towards ye education of John Bell's child by me William Maire."² So runs the receipt, but if taken literally it means that the education was being given by Maire, and of course this is a possibility, when the education of Catholics was very often undertaken by private tutors. In Durham though, it was more than likely that Maire was undertaking the arranging of the education of John Bell's child.

1. Ellison MS. Gateshead Public Lib. and Hughes North Country Life in 18th Century. 23-25.
2. Salvin Papers. Durham Record Office. D/SA/F/144/5.

What presents a greater problem than the education of the fairly well to do is the education of the poor, for sometimes charitable bequests made provision for their education. The will of Laurence Riddell (buried at Saint Oswald's, Durham), registered in 1717 directed that, "out of the rent and profits of my cottage and ground rent at Greatham my executor shall yearly or so often as the proffits of the sd. estate will doe the same, put and bind one or more Roman Catholicke boy or boys to some convenient trade or trades; or to the sea whether shall be thought most convenient."¹ This is a specific and very practical application of money used for vocational education, but charitable bequests were not usually so far sighted as the one made by Riddell and would merely specify education generally; so it was with the will of another Laurence, Laurence Liddell, who was a family retainer at Croxdale Hall to the Salvin family. His will of 1730 left £20 to the Jesuits and Mr. Collingwood, and went on to make the following bequest, "I likewise give £5 to put poor Catholick children of Sunderland to the school."²

Sunderland of course is Sunderland Bridge below Croxdale and not

1. Surtees Soc. 1958. No. 173 Durham Recusants Estates.
2. Salvin Papers D/SA/F. 116-119 1730. Durham Record Office.

the large town of Sunderland. The first record of the terms of the will being carried out is in 1738 when the accounts of Bryan Salvin note that, "December 1738, Taken out against Mr. Liddels anavarsary of 23 istan for Prayer and the Poor as his will and Codasells Dericks.....

12. Dec. Delivered to Wm. Farmen (Salvin's steward) to pay for the schooline Wm. Clifton's boy for one year. 12.6." The same grant was made to Clifton each year until 1740. On December 12th 1741 Ralph Craggs received the grant for one of his children, and in 1742 the money was used to educate the second son of Thomas Hull. From 1743 to 1750 there was one recipient Christopher Hixon who must have had a fairly large family and who is the proof that indeed all the recipients were very poor, for each year between 1745 and 1750 he received 1/- from a small bequest that had been made by another of the Salvin servants, Margaret Parke, to be made to "such Poor Catholickes as my ... master Bryan Salvin ... shall think proper." The last records of the Liddell bequest being made are from 1748-50 inclusive when 10/- was paid for the "shouling of a boy of William Wilkinsons",¹ Bryan Salvin died during 1751 and there is no further record of monies being paid out for the education of the Catholic

1. Salvin Papers. D/SA/F. 144/5. Durham Record Office.

poor. Where these children received their education is problematical, it is hardly likely that they would have been educated in Sunderland Bridge, even though the Salvin family supported a priest there. The answer most likely lies at Durham itself, only three miles away, where there was the Jesuit private school, and where the Rev. William Maire could make arrangements for the education of John Bell's child. It is quite possible that there was a school for poorer children at Durham taught by a laywoman, and it is this school that the children who profited from Laurence Liddell's bequest would attend. The return of Papists made to the House of Lords in 1767 mentions two Catholic schoolmistresses at Durham, and where there are Catholic schoolmistresses we are entitled to assume that there was a Catholic school. The teachers concerned were:

"St. Oswald's Durham. New Elvet. Dorothy Joplin
widow aged 35. teaches school. always lived in the
parish. 1 son aged 7.

Gillygate. Durham. Margery Laidler aged 60
Schoolmistress resident 60 years."¹

1. House of Lords Return of Papists 1767.
Transcript from W. V. Smith.

It certainly seems likely that these ladies taught in a Catholic school when one considers that they were both resident and would both be well known, and it is hardly likely that known Papists would be allowed to teach Anglican children or even the children of Non-Conformists. (Miss?) Margery Laidler's age almost gives us some continuity with the school reported in 1702 and taught by Mr. Rowells, and drawing a wider conclusion it would mean that there had been a Roman Catholic school, with small gaps for rebuilding destroyed and damaged premises, almost continuously from the reign of James II.

Durham was not the only boarding school open to the families of the Catholic gentry. Early in the century there existed on the Yorkshire side of the Tees a small school at Cliffe a village near Piercebridge kept at the residence of a former bishop, George Witham V.A. In April 1726 Mrs. Anne Haggerston wrote to her brother Sir Marmaduke Constable, "All well at Croxdale. Master goes to Scoule at Cliffe."¹ The young man she refers to would have been her grandson the child of her own daughter Anne, and Bryan Salvin of Croxdale Hall. The child could have been no more than nine years old, as Salvin's marriage settlement was

1. Everingham Park MS. Record Office Beverley. Quoted in 18th Century Catholic Education in Durham. (Ushaw Magazine 1963).

dated May 1716, so it would seem that from the point of view of preparatory education for a child of the gentry, it was necessary in the early years of the century to go out of Durham itself and into Yorkshire, so perhaps the Jesuit School at Durham had not re-established itself fully after its tragic burning in 1688. It is possible that during the next twenty years or so the school at Cliffe could have been used to teach the children of the poor as well as those of the rich. In 1736 the Vicar of Gainford petitioned the Bishop of Durham over the difficulties he was experiencing with regard to "mixed marriages". He quoted the case of "Francis Jakes, a poor man.....lately seduced to the Roman Catholic Religion probably by some of the family at Cliffe, 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 of their being taught to read and write gratis".¹ This education would no doubt be given at Cliffe, which would be very accessible for the children of Darlington and the surrounding district. The Vicar of Gainford completing his return of Papists in 1767 wrote, "There is no Papist in any other Township but at Piercebridge which is but a stone's cast from Cliffe (ye mansion house of Mr. Witham) who has

1. Diocesan Archives of Hexham and Newcastle. Quoted in 18th Century Catholic Education in Durham. (Ushaw Magazine 1963).

a priest in his house & a Chapell where Mass is regularly performed and their votarys come from miles round to attend the service".¹ When the school at Cliffe was functioning it must also have been the case that children came from miles around.

The Return of Papists called for in 1767 has already been quoted and it is useful in so far as it gives details of the occupations of the Catholic families in Durham. Unfortunately in the few cases where Catholic teachers are listed there is no mention of whether they taught in Catholic schools, and one can only surmise; but the fact that it was thought noteworthy to list the occupation of a teacher does indicate education by Catholics without license, and thus in some places, education for Catholics. With all of the six people named as teachers in the return such surmise is necessary.

"St. Andrew Auckland. Mary Emmerson aged 60 Schoolmistress Resident 10 years."² A Catholic and a schoolmistress; the two facts together are not really sufficient to establish that a Catholic school existed in Bishop Auckland before 1767, but there was a Jesuit Mission

1. House of Lords MS. Return of Papists.
Quoted in Ushaw Magazine 1962 by A.C.M. Foster.
2. House of Lords MS. Return of Papists 1767.

there in the middle of the century, and with a Catholic schoolmistress in residence, it would be more than likely that her services would have been used to the advantage of the small Catholic population of thirty-one. The Jesuits served Bishop Auckland from Durham, and Mass was said in the house of one Lancelot Bradford,¹ and no doubt with no resident priest the Jesuits would have made sure that the child population would at least be catechised, and one would think that this is where Mary Emmerson would have been a great help.

Similar facts are offered with respect to Sunderland whose return for 1767 shows 32 Papists including a schoolmaster and his wife. "Bishop Wearmouth. John Thompson aged 68 Schoolmaster Resident 6 years. Esther Thompson aged 58 Resident 6 years."²

Sunderland like Bishop Auckland had been served from Durham and had no resident priest after 1746 when the chapel, like others in the county, (Durham and Gateshead), had been plundered after the Jacobite retreat in 1746. A secular priest, the Reverend John Bamber, supplied at Sunderland until 1769, when his mission at Gilesgate was closed and he

1. Ushaw Magazine. 1962. Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham 1767. A.C.M. Foster.
2. House of Lords MS. Return of Papists. 1767.

went to live at Sunderland. The original chapel had belonged to a Francis Whitehead, who is listed in the return for 1767, but in 1769 Mr. Bamber rented a house in High Southwick (Sunderland), which had a large room used for a chapel. Here he stayed until 1780 when a room was offered in a new house at Bishopwearmouth built by the son of "John Galley, Common Brewer, resident in Suddick upwards of 8 years, about 50".¹ Evidently the Catholic population of Sunderland though a small one, at that time was both active, and, as far as the priest was concerned, very co-operative. As was the case in Bishop Auckland it would be unlikely that the services of a Catholic teacher would be overlooked; a teacher does suggest a school even though it was only a room, and it would not be unlikely that the schoolroom would be the very room used as a Mass centre, a practice that is not unknown in the twentieth century.

Dorothy Joplin and Margery Laidler have already been mentioned as Catholic teachers in Durham City, who were noted as such in the 1767 returns. In the mid eighteenth century there were three missions in Durham City, two secular, as well as the Jesuit one. The Jesuit in residence in 1766-7 was the Fr. Henry Brent S.J. The Vicar of Saint

1. Ushaw Magazine 1962. . Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham 1767.

Oswald's describes him in his return as: "Henry Brent, abt 50 suppos'd to be a Jesuit priest, resident in the parish about 1 year."¹ There is no mention of a school, but then the return was concerned with Papists and their occupations rather than with their property. What is certain is that the Jesuit Mission under Fr. Waterton had included a school, and there is no reason to suppose that a change of priest meant a change of policy in this connection. In any event with the return showing 420 Papists in Durham City² it would be exceedingly strange if there was no education for children, and with two teachers mentioned, it would seem fairly conclusive that there was one other school beside that run by the Jesuits. This would very likely be fairly close to the Jesuit chapel in Old Elvet, the priest at the time of the return being Father William Maire. The Vicar of Saint Oswald's lists him as follows; "William Maire, aged 63, suppos'd to be a secular Priest, resident in the parish 26 years." Dr. Ann Foster suggests that this mission originated "as a private chaplaincy in the house of the Withams in Old Elvet. In 1709 members of the family sold two houses on the north side of Old Elvet to William Witham of Cliffe, in trust for Bishop Smith, and the premises henceforth became mission property."³ Cliffe to Sunderland, Bishop Auckland and Durham ... where schools are suggested close links

1. House of Lords MS. 1767.

2. IBID. and Ushaw Magazine 1962. "Catholicism in Diocese of Durham 1767".

3. IBID.

can be found between all these places, and one would like to think that the educational example was spreading from the centre at Durham City.

The two missions at Durham were certainly well supported by the local gentry, and would have been well able to undertake the varied help that would be needed to establish the rudimentary system of education that the relationship of the various centres named suggests. As early as 1696, Nicholas Salvin was making a bequest for the ^eEducation of a youth at Lisbon, (v. Chapter on 16th C.), and adding a sum of £150 to bring the preaching fund for the Durham mission to £500, which was to be dispensed in the form of an annuity.¹ Laurence Liddell's will states that "The twenty pounds in my will for Mr. Pudsey (presumably dead) is given to the Jesuits and Mr. Collingwood,"² this bequest being coupled with the charitable fund for the education of the Catholic poor of Sunderland Bridge. In 1762 William Salvin secured to William Maire of Old Elvet the capital sum of £350 at 4%. Two hundred and fifty was to be "ye property of incumbent of Old Elvet Durham ... and ye other £100 is to be applied to ye use of ye incumbent at Sunderland by ye bridge."³ Major endowments made by the Salvins and the smaller ones made in cases like

1. Salvin Papers. Record Office Durham. D/SA/F/26.
2. IBID. D/SA/F. 116-19.
3. IBID. 144-45.

Liddell's do not of course suggest that the money was specifically designed for educational purposes, but the general uses to which money of this kind would be put, besides the upkeep of the home mission, would include the expenses of supporting the missions in other parts of the country. Where there were resident schoolteachers with a mission served from Durham, (such as Bishop Auckland and Sunderland), it would be reasonable to assume that some of the money was used for the support of schools.

There is one unnamed Catholic schoolmistress in the 1767 returns whose full name is not recorded, "Esh Mrs. Gr.....(erased) 52, Schoolmistress 26 years in par."¹ Now there was no Catholic mission at Esh until the new church was built there in 1798, a school having been built between 1795 and 1796, endowed by Mr. Holford. There was a mission at Newhouse about twenty minutes' walk from Esh itself, and the resident priest Rev. Ferdinando Ashmall had served there since 1745. He is included in the list of Catholics for the district of Esh as, "Mr. Ashmon, aged 70, Priest resident 23 years." Fr. Ashmall lived to the ripe age of 104 and died in the year that the foundation stone of the Esh chapel

1. House of Lords MS. Return of Papists 1767.

was laid in 1798, having served at Newhouse for 53 years. As was the case with many of the Catholic missions Newhouse depended for support on the Catholic gentry, and in this case it was the Smythe family of Esh Hall. In 1751 the family had moved from the north to Acton Burnell and provided a fund "that one Pr. of ye Sec. Cler. of Eng. may for ye comfort of our Neigh. have a convenient lodging with provision for fire and meat for 1 horse and 2 kine in ye most convenient place for ye purpose with a Stip.....of ten pds. yearly....."¹

Here there is a similar pattern with Durham, Bishop Auckland and Sunderland, except that instead of the mission being served from a centre there was a resident priest. The schoolmistress had lived in the village, according to the return, from 1741, and presumably was engaged to educate the Catholic tenants of the Smythe family, and with a flourishing, well-supported Catholic mission she would have the support of the priest. Very soon after the Emancipation Act of 1791 a school-building was actually endowed at Esh, "The school at Esh was begun in 1795 or 1796. Mr. Holford endowed the school at Esh - his daughter Lady Smythe was the patroness - he managed the £20 - he had always plenty

1. Ushaw Magazine 1962. A.M.C. Foster. 'Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham 1767'.

of money for charitable purposes - he spent some time at Esh every year - he was most active about the School."¹

About the same time in Durham there is another mention of a day school by the Vicar of Saint Oswald's who in his report of Papists included, "A small school kept by a reputed Papist but no children of Protestants admitted."² This must have been the school that had benefited in 1787 from £50 repaid to a Charity fund by a Catholic bookseller who had borrowed it. The money was repaid to Henry Maire the trustee, who agreed that, "the interest of the said £50 be appropriated in future to the Durham Sunday Schools."³ This is obviously the forerunner of Saint Cuthbert's opened in 1827 when the Jesuits left Durham, and the secular parish was amalgamated with the Jesuit one on the opening of the new church of Saint Cuthbert. The names of schoolteachers living and perhaps operating in Mass centres is not conclusive proof that active Catholic schools existed in such places as, Durham, Sunderland, Esh and Bishop Auckland. What is most interesting is that in each of these places flourishing day schools arose

1. Archives Dioc. Hexham & Newcastle. Memo of Mrs. P.B. Taylor wife of Estate Steward at Esh. Quoted by Fr. W.V. Smith in 18th Century Catholic Education in County Durham. (Ushaw Magazine 1963.)
2. Survey of Durham 1793. Priors Kitchen Durham.
3. Account Book of Clergy Agent. Archives of Hexham & Newcastle. By courtesy of W.V. Smith.

in the early days of grant aided schools in the nineteenth century. The places which by tradition and report had provided education in the eighteenth century were well to the fore when it came to establishing the regular grant aided schools of the nineteenth century. The pattern for Catholic education must have been very similar to that of the parochial schools of the Church of England, and even well into the nineteenth century there were schools such as Croxdale Hall with a Catholic population of 280, and possessing a fairly large schoolroom, which reported themselves as giving education on Sundays only.¹

The most famous of the schools for Catholics in the eighteenth century was of course Tudhoe Academy, and some account of the history of Tudhoe and the type of education given is dealt with separately. The school was founded in 1788² by Rev. Arthur Storey and far from being a haphazard foundation was one in which the clergy of the Northern District, not excepting the Bishop, were very much concerned. The scheme for the foundation of Tudhoe must have been under way as early as 1785, for on January 1st 1786 Rev. Henry Rutter of Minster Acres was writing to his friend, the Rev. Robert Bannister, at Fernyhalgh in Lancashire, concerning

1. Report of Catholic Poor Schools Committee 1852.
2. Rutter to Bannister 10 Feb. 1788. Upholland Library College MS.

the foundation, "The establishing of a new school seems as far off as ever though it is often spoken of and much wished for in these parts."¹ Bannister came from a staunch recusant Lancashire family, and had been for several years the senior professor at Douai and afterwards professor of divinity, then prefect of studies, and in 1773 vice-president of the Seminary.² The foundation was evidently very much in Rutter's mind and it is apparent that in mentioning it to Bannister it was in the firm belief that Bannister would be the first president of the new foundation. Bannister's reply confirms this point of view, for on 12th January 1787 he told Rutter that it was probable that unless he, (Bannister), agreed to take over the foundation then the whole affair would be dropped, "It was the proposal of Thomas Eyre made me of undertaking the administration and presidency of a new school and affirming that, if I refused it the design would be dropped. I commended the design as exceeding useful and pious, but never consented to engage in it, but only at most to deliberate on it, foreseeing that my deliberation would always conclude in the negative. I have asked two, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Barrow, (neighbouring priests of Bannister) what their advice is? They did not reject it, they remind of the Douay affair ... Mr. Wilson is of the opinion that

1. IBID. Rutter to Bannister. January 1st 1786.

2. Gillow. Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics, 1534 onwards.

the Bishop wishes to get me out of Lancashire."¹ Bannister was certainly a powerful influence amongst Lancashire clergy and had been a critic of Gibson when the Bishop had been president of Douai, so possibly he was right about the Bishop's wish to remove him from his sphere of influence. In the event it became clear that Bannister was not going to leave Lancashire to take over a new school in Durham, whatever the wish of the Bishop might have been. The idea of installing Bannister as the president of a new school in Durham, and by so doing deprive him of his position in Lancashire, seems a rather devious way of removing him from the county, but Bannister's friend Rutter certainly thought that this was behind the proposal, and that a refusal would mean an end of the affair. "I find that there is no prospect of your coming to settle in these parts in order to undertake the direction of the new school, and though I should have been glad to have had you a little nearer, yet I cannot but think that you were perfectly right in declining the honour of it; for I entertain the same opinion (and perhaps with better reason) as Mr. Wilson in regard to his Lordship's manoeuvre, and that he wishes to get you out of Lancashire, not solely for the purpose of making you President of his school.

1. Bannister to Rutter. 25th April 1787. Upholland Library MSS.

The matter does not seem to be any great secret; for a gentleman here was speaking of it the other day and of you, as being appointed to the administration of it; but the whole design will I dare say be dropped."¹ This was assuming that the matter was simply a politic move on the Bishop's part, and that there was little that was serious behind it. By August of 1787, although there was some lack of feeling for the new school by Rutter, he reluctantly recognised that there was another contender for its presidency, and for the first time a definite place for its establishment is named. "Mr. Arthur Storey would probably acquaint you with his design for setting up a school at Tudhoe about 4 miles from Durham: the undertaking I hear is encouraged by Sir John Lawson, but I have some doubt as to its succeeding."² The foundation then was fairly imminent, a principal had been found, the place was decided upon and all that remained were the details. By 1788 despite lack of encouragement, and it seems not a little jealousy, the Rev. Arthur Storey was either in the last stages of establishing Tudhoe Academy or had already commenced teaching there, and this would put its foundation before the Emancipation Act of 1791, when it has been generally thought that Tudhoe was established after the Act. Early in 1788 the

1. Rutter to Bannister. 25th April 1787. Upholland College Library MS.
2. IBID. 23rd August, 1787.

Rev. Henry Rutter wrote once more of the matter to his friend with regard to the Academy; "I suppose you have heard of our Arthur Storey's undertaking a new school at Tudhoe; but it does not seem to go forward because Gentlemen are sensible that one person cannot at the same time take proper care of his scholars and attend a wide and numerous congregation. The Bishop hitherto has had nothing to do in the matter; but I believe he soon will have and then probably you will be the person to preside over it."¹ The Rev. Arthur Storey however was to bring the foundation to such a successful conclusion that it was several times contemplated to use Tudhoe as a general seminary to replace Douai itself, (v.ch. on Tudhoe Academy). As a result of the schemes that were put forward towards this end, the fame, (in the South something a deal less than this), of Tudhoe spread throughout the whole of Catholic England, between 1794 and 1798.

1. IBID. 10th February 1788. (References to Tudhoe from Upholland Manuscripts by courtesy of Rev. W.V. Smith of Lanchester.)

THE EDUCATION OF WILLIAM THOMAS SALVIN

From the reign of Elizabeth until the Catholic Relief Acts of 1778 and 1791 the opportunities for Catholics to be educated in their faith were practically non-existent. For the bulk of the Catholic population there were no openings at all except for the occasional Sunday school and the small local schools that sprang up from time to time, or were allowed to exist after the temporary relief experienced under James II. Yet throughout the penal years the flow of educated Catholic priests never stopped, and to a limited extent the education open to a young man training for the priesthood was also open to the sons of gentlemen, providing that the necessary funds were available. Education of this kind was of course against the law and carried heavy penalties which, like many of the penal laws, were held as threats in the latter half of the eighteenth century rather than put into effect.

27 Eliz. Cap. 2 stated "All other brought up in Seminaries beyond the sea (and not in orders) not returning in six months after the proclamation in London, and within two days after their return submitting and taking the oath of Supremacy ... High Treason."

1. Jac.1. Cap. 4. "Whoever shall send a child or other person under their government beyond the sea, to the intent to enter into, or to be resident in any popish College or Seminary, or to repair to the same to be instructed in Popery forfeits £100.

Any person so passing or being sent beyond the sea is disabled to inherit, purchase, take or enjoy any Lands, Annuities, Profits, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, Debts, Legacies, or sums of money within this realm.

A child under the age of 21 being suffered to pass the seas without licence from the King or six of the council ... The Officers of the Ports shall forfeit all offices and goods; the owner of the ship his ship and tackle and the Master and Mariners, all their goods and shall

suffer a year's imprisonment."

3 Jac. 1. Cap. 5. "A child being sent beyond the sea without the King's licence, or six of the Privy Council ... incapable to enjoy any Land or Goods ... until he being 18 years of age take the Oath of Allegiance."

"The person sending such a child to forfeit £100."

"Whoever shall convict a person of sending his child beyond the seas to be educated in Popery to receive as a reward the whole of the penalty inflicted."

3 Car. 1. Cap. 2. "Whoever shall pass or go or convey any Child or other person beyond the sea to the intent to enter into, be resident, or trained up in any Convent, College or School or Popish family and shall be instructed there in the Popish Religion or shall convey or cause to be convey'd or send any relief to such person, or to the relief of any such College ... if convicted ... disabled to prosecute any suit in law

or equity, to be Guardian, Executor or Administrator, or capable of, a Legacy or deed or gift, or to bear office, forfeit all their goods and chattels, and forfeit their lands, Rents and Annuities for life."¹

The popish menace was well regulated by law, seemingly to keep the influential landed gentry who remained loyal to Catholicism from obtaining a Catholic education for their sons. Despite the law the gentry took advantage of the seminaries and colleges on the Continent, and probably the idea that by so doing they would break the law hardly occurred to anyone by the time of George III. Nonetheless the penalties were always real, and could be invoked if needed, and often it was a real danger for a Catholic of means to send his son abroad. It is not surprising to find that little evidence exists in detail of the education abroad of particular Catholic families. It is reasonably simple to find out the names and the numbers of priests educated at the various English and Irish Colleges, as they exist in the form of diaries, but of course these were not for publication in penal times.

Fairly detailed correspondence does however exist in connection

1. Extracts from Penal Laws against Papists and Non Jurors, 1723, published for R. Gosling at the Middle Temple in Fleet Street. (Durham University Library).

with education received abroad within two years of the first Catholic Relief Act. One would suppose that this is somewhat coincidental, but it is nonetheless true that little detailed evidence exists before this date, and this cannot merely be accidental. The Salvin family have a long history as prominent Catholics in County Durham and as squires of Croxdale just outside Durham, and it is this family that provides us with a fair amount of written evidence to show how a Catholic of sufficient means received an education abroad.

William Thomas Salvin born 4th July 1767 was sent abroad to Liege Academy in 1780 at the age of 13, to receive the beginnings of his education from the Jesuits. It is from Liege that the first documented reports on Salvin were written to his parents by the two Jesuit priests, Father William Strickland and Father Thomas Talbot, the former being no doubt known to the family, as he had worked in the North East.

13. Feb. 1785.

"Dear Sir,

I fear that you have conceived too bad an opinion of your son's

proficiency in Literature from what I have formerly said of him. He is now in Syntax and though by no means equal to some of his schoolfellows in the knowledge of the dead languages yet he is not totally unfurnished with classical learning. He understands French pretty well and speaks it so as to make himself understood, in geography he has made considerable progress. He is good tempered and by encouragement may be made to apply; harsh measures in my opinion would answer no good end. As he advances in years and understanding it is to be hoped that he will see that advantages may be derived from external accomplishments, at present even the graces have not charms sufficient to draw his attention. I hope to be able to return to Liege soon after Easter, when every attention in my power shall be pay'd him. I called upon your daughter in Brussels in my road through Brabant.

Your Obedient and Humble Servant

W. Strickland."¹

Evidently William Thomas was not going to be the easiest youth to educate; he seems to have lacked something in application as well as scholarship, and whilst the cost of his education at Liege is small

1. Salvin Papers. Durham Record Office D/SA/C/84-88 under Education of William Thomas Salvin.

compared with his subsequent years at Douai and Paris, it was nonetheless quite a heavy burden for education. Rev. Thomas Talbot seems to have acted as a go-between in England for the parents' contact with Liege; writing from Bloomsbury Square in February of 1785 he assures the parents that "the letter concerning which you enquire was written entirely by your son: but the first time he wrote it, it was so full of faults that after pointing them out to him I made him write it over again."¹ This of course confirms the rather indifferent report that Strickland was writing at the same time from Liege. Talbot also was the priest, who in his capacity of go-between, presented and sometimes pressed for the settlement of the outstanding accounts owed at Liege.

"25th February 1785

To half year's pension January 22nd. 1785	£16.16. 0.
To half year's pension July 22nd. 1785	£18. 7. 6.
To private chamber for a year	£5. 5. 0.
To lessons of Drawing	£8. 8. 6.
To pocket and postage	£2. 2. 1.
	<hr/>
	£50.19. 1.

1. IBID.

Dear Sir,

You will observe a difference in the charges for the two halves of the year above. He (Strickland) is pressing for money and I believe it is much wanted and he hopes that you will be early in relieving their necessities.

Your most obedient and humble servant,

Thos. Talbot."¹

Salvin was altogether 5 years at Liege before he eventually went on to Douai at the age of 18. There appears to have been some long drawn out dispute over the final accounts for the education of young Salvin at Liege, but at least it gives us a fair idea of what this sort of education abroad would cost an English gentleman. Writing from the Edgware Road in December 1785 Strickland once more submits his account for that year, which had obviously not been paid, and he explains in some detail the various charges which were probably in dispute between himself and the Salvins.

"You will observe that the pension is raised from 32 guineas to

1. IBID.

35 and that the private rooms will be in future charged at £10.10. 0. if the young men have a fire in their rooms and £8. 8. 0. if they have none, which is the case of your son. You will give me leave to add a small charge for the ensuing year (pension in advance)..." This account amounted to £100.11. 5. but included the detailed bill already presented by Talbot.¹ The family were very slow to settle this account, perhaps because they had already determined to remove William Thomas from Liege, and during May 1785 were receiving advice on other schools in France from Dom George Walker, a Benedictine. Salvin's parents seem to have objected to the inordinate amount which was spent on drawing lessons and Strickland is still explaining and asking for settlement in January 1786.

"I observe that your son neglected all other studies to indulge in his favourite pursuit. I wished him to improve also in other subjects and gave orders that he should take fewer drawing lessons. Your son is a good young man and I hope he will give satisfaction.

1. IBID.

1783	£2. 8. 3.	Art materials
1784	£7. 6.11.	Drawing Lessons
1784/85	£8. 8. 6.	Drawing Lessons and Materials
Sept. 1785	£2. 8. 6.	Drawing Lessons." ¹

Evidently such an expenditure on Art and materials had not pleased the Salvins and they disputed this part of the account for a long time, and as late as 1787 when William Thomas had left Liege a year previously, Strickland was still owed the sum of £18. 4. 0. Compared to the subsequent education of the boy Salvin, his years at Liege were comparatively cheap. Mr. Salvin's accounts from July 22nd 1780 until January 22nd 1785 show that the pension for $4\frac{1}{2}$ years amounted to £151. 4. 0. with £54.14. 0. spent on extras, an average cost of about £50 per annum. This of course might seem inexpensive, but compared to the wages of an agricultural worker on the land of Salvin's father, which would not have been more than ls. 2d. a day, it was very expensive indeed. After leaving Liege, Salvin was to spend about 11 months in Douai which were to cost £134, and nine months in Paris which were to cost the staggering sum of £340. Whilst this included heavy medical

1. IBID.

expenses as well as all travelling, it appears that this kind of education abroad could be very expensive for an English Catholic gentleman who wanted the best available for his son.

Even before Strickland presented his half yearly account for 1785 Mrs. Salvin had been thinking in terms of a change from Liege, and she had been corresponding with the Benedictine Dom George Walker asking for advice on the future education of her son. He, in his turn, gave a fair account of what was available for an English youth abroad, even though he appeared satisfied with none of the opportunities that presented themselves, and rather advocated private tutelage for anyone of means.

Cambray May 9th 1785.

"Madam,

I received a few days ago from Paris your very obliging favour and I should think myself very happy to be able to give you any light that may be of service to you in settling your son in a proper place of education. The happiness of his life both as a Christian and a gentleman depends very much on his first setting out and should he fall in

with profligates, gamesters etc; of which there is a very great danger almost everywhere, it might prove of the worst consequence to him both of his regard of his fortune in this world and of his happiness hereafter. There is an Academy for young gentlemen at Paris, but Paris is a very dangerous place for young people; there is also another at Angers which has had a considerable reputation formerly, but it is full of English, and on enquiry I have been told that several very bad subjects have of late come from that place; there is another Academy at Caen in Normandy, but I do not hear so favourable account of it as Angers. There are also many English there as indeed everywhere. As for what you mention of getting anyone to have an eye on him, unless he be always with him, I can assure you from long experience that it will be to no purpose. I know of no other Academy in France of any considerable reputation.

Could I be allowed to offer my opinion I should advise you to find a prudent person and make him a constant companion to your son but the tutor must be well supported by his parents, for if the young man should once find that any complaint he may make against his tutor has an effect upon his parents, he will soon find

means to get rid of his constraint."¹

Dom Walker gave more advice about the choice and the authority of a suitable tutor and finally came down in favour of Angers if an Academy was going to be the choice of the Salvin parents.

One is rather given the impression that though the boy was by now eighteen he was not altogether trusted by his parents. This may have been just natural anxiety for a child who was away from home, but Walker's criticisms of the various schools as being not really suitable for Salvin seem to indicate that he too felt that there was a certain lack of trust in the parents for the son.

In the event the solution though only a temporary one was both surprising and satisfactory. William Thomas Salvin entered Douai as a lay student for a general education at the age of eighteen in 1786, and this fact alone is surprising. The President of Douai at the time was William Gibson, the future Bishop of the Northern District, who was later to be instrumental in the founding of Ushaw, and it was he who admitted

1. IBID.

Salvin to the College. It is not unlikely of course that being a northerner he knew the parents and was prepared to do them a favour, especially as it was probably only a short term measure, for within the year Salvin had left Douai for Paris, there to study under a private tutor.

"

4th Jan. 1787.

From Rev. William Gibson to Mrs. Salvin.

(William Thomas had left for Paris on 8th promising to obey all his father's instructions.)

He will soon know how to speak French well. It will be more difficult to persuade him to write it."¹

Gibson includes his account for the eleven months and whilst it is expensive particularly in the matter of clothing and linen, (£32.19. 6d.), and Hairdressing (£2.10. 4d.), at least he had not made the mistakes that Strickland had made over drawing, and the bill for this is limited to the modest amount of 16/3d. Of course it is evident that William Thomas was hardly a brilliant scholar. He had been in France for the best part of five years, and here is Gibson telling his mother

1. IBID.

that he would be able to speak French well soon, but it is evident that his skill in the language did not extend to the written word, and that little return could be expected by the parents for the extensive bills they had had to meet.

The most expensive part of the youth's education was still to come. Salvin arrived in Paris on 9th January 1787, and his parents' adviser, the Benedictine monk George Walker, recorded the arrival as well as his views on the youth.

Paris January 14th 1787.

....."I conducted him to his tutor's lodgings where he remains. I have called upon him two or three times and I have just had a vow from them both, I believe he is resigned not to go about without his tutor." Apparently William Thomas had been keeping rather bad company. "I fear that he has profited very little hitherto in any kind of improvement. Latin must I believe be out of the question for he owed to me that he had lost his time while he ought to have acquired it. I have done all that I can to persuade him to use all his endeavours to make up for so great a loss by applying himself to French Literature, History etc;"¹

1. IBID.

The tutor was Monsieur Auzolles, Rue de la Paspe, at an overall fee of £131 per annum, a sum considerably in excess of the fees that had been paid at Liege. On top of this sum for tutelage and rooms, the extra lessons in the gentlemanly accomplishments had to be provided at an added cost. "I have spoken of the best fencing and dancing masters each of which will cost 3 Louis per month, which is something less than £3 each. I have not yet agreed with the drawing master. I imagine I shall get one for 40/- per month."¹

The education of a Catholic youth abroad was by no means inexpensive, and it could be, as was the case here, that little profit from the educational point of view was to be gained by a youth whose ability seems to have been limited to a talent for art, a talent moreover which his parents did not indulge kindly. To add to the financial burden, in March 1787 Salvin became ill and had to have expert medical attention, as it was feared that he had contracted consumption to which the family had been prone. The exchange rate was poor; the pound was worth little more than one louis d'or and Salvin, even when recovering, was apt to be irresponsible, and by April he had started to go out without

1. IBID.

his tutor. Dom Walker's letters complain about this failing again in April when Salvin caught a cold when out alone. Monsieur Auzolles was of the opinion that the malign influence on Salvin was the servant he had brought with him from Douai, whom he considered to be "a bad counsellor and the cause of all the trouble."¹ Despite all the trouble with his tutor, by June of 1787 Walker could report of Salvin, "His masters of drawing, fencing and dancing are content with him, and Monsieur Auzolles who accompanies him everywhere says that he makes some progress in his French."² Late in the same month when Walker was going away for three months and leaving Salvin in the care of the prior of the Benedictine house, Dom Cowley, he was to send a favourable report on the one accomplishment that Salvin possessed. "Your son showed me a drawing or two near finished, they were very well copied in so much that at first sight it was not easy to distinguish them from the originals. I asked him if they had been touched by the master and he assured me that they had not. The dancing and fencing masters give a good account of your son in their branches. M. Auzolles finds him much improved in his French, but he adds that he is very soon tired of reading. He has not begun a course in experimental philosophy but he is to begin in August

1. IBID.

2. IBID.

when his French is better."¹

By late September or early October Walker had returned to Paris to find that things had reached a crucial stage in the lack of education that Salvin was receiving abroad. Mr. Salvin had written from Croxdale about the return home of his son, who was apparently in bad company once more; despite the fact that Salvin quickly got over his escapades and tended to behave well for a while, Monsieur Auzolles had finally given up, and given notice to young Salvin. Auzolles had also written to Walker who had passed the letter on to Croxdale, and consequently William Thomas was summoned home for bad behaviour, and arrangements were put in hand for a final tally of accounts and for the return home. According to Walker, of course, all was not lost, "Notwithstanding that your son has not answered all your expectations and expense in regard to his education and improvement, I cannot but think that you will meet with comfort in his manners and good nature." He goes on to say that the early lack of opportunity that Salvin had experienced, and the lack of application that had been formerly tolerated, (at Liege no doubt), had made study very difficult for Salvin. So on October 8th 1787 William Thomas Salvin left

1. IBID.

for Douai and home.¹

The Catholic layman who wanted an education abroad for his son, first of all had to be prepared to pay a substantial price for what would seem to be rather suspect goods. His arrangements for education had to be made through priests resident in France or Belgium, who seem to have had poor opinions of the various academies, and if the young Salvin is taken as the typical product this is not surprising. After almost seven years in France he could not undertake serious studies because his French was not sufficient, even when it came to ordinary speech. This does strike one as rather deplorable, and it would seem that the apparent emphasis was on what might be termed gentlemanly arts, rather than real education. The seminaries abroad could of course provide a systematic and thorough education for an English boy, but in general they were not able to provide the type of education that a layman would want for a son who was not entering the church. Indeed they probably did not wish to cater for other than church students, and it could only have been a favour to the family that prompted the president of Douai to take Salvin for 11 months. The system that recommended

1. IBID.

itself was of course the highly expensive and sophisticated tutelage system. Private education of this kind was only available to the very rich, and as in the case examined, was open to abuse if a youth of spirit, or even indolence, wished to avoid work and enjoy a high social life. Apart from his facility in drawing Salvin must have been rather dull to spend so long abroad without picking up, even by accident, the rudiments of French. Whilst there is a fair indication that the truth of the matter was not concealed, a valuable property that a rich man's son could become, was not easily relinquished, and the merest sign of improvement was reported to give hope that the money spent on this expensive education would eventually bring some return.

The Catholic gentlemen of means, like their counterparts in the rest of the country, had to face the problem of how to get a suitable Catholic education for their heirs, and the fact that they did send their children abroad is some indication that the level of education they could expect in England, as Catholics, was not always very high. It would always be furtive and for that reason alone would lack security and continuity. Perhaps the only well known Catholic boys'

school in England in the eighteenth century was at Twyford in Hampshire, which had been founded about 1736 and to which the sons of Sir Carnaby Haggerston were sent in the 1740's.¹

1. Everingham Park MS. Beverley, Yorks.
Constable to Haggerston.
St. Omer 9.8.1741.
14.3.1743.

TUDHOE ACADEMY 1788-1808

One of the indirect results of the revolt of the American Colonies was a certain measure of relief for Catholics from some of the more stringent penal laws which, by proscribing the activities of priests and schoolmasters, had sought to contain popery if not to suppress it. The urgent need for recruits to fight in the American Colonies was the incidental cause of the first lasting Catholic Relief Act in 1778, which repealed the Statutes of William III, which had been particularly aimed at bishops, priests and schoolmasters. Henceforth the penalty of life imprisonment for teaching school unlicensed, or for sending popish children to be educated beyond the seas, would no longer be held over the heads of Catholic schoolmasters. By law Catholics were once again allowed to hold property and the reward of £100 to informers was cancelled.

The Act of 1791, despite the Gordon Riots, gave a much fuller

measure of relief to those Catholics who would take the oath of allegiance, the Mass was once more able to be said legally, public sermons could be preached in all registered chapels, and from the point of view of education no one who took the oath of allegiance would ever be prosecuted for teaching and instructing as either schoolmaster or tutor; in fact the Act required that all headteachers should register as such at the local Quarter Sessions. Clearly the way was open for a resurgence in Catholic public education and the history of the next hundred years clearly shows the pre-occupation of Catholics, both lay and clerk, in providing efficient schooling for Catholic children.

In the late eighteenth century education was still regarded as a privilege in Catholic circles, and it is not until the Catholic Poor School Committee was founded in 1847 that a wider purpose in schooling was thought of. One of the first Catholic schools in the country to be founded after the Relief Act of 1778 was Tudhoe Academy, whose one headmaster was the Reverend Arthur Storey. The school was probably founded in 1788¹, and was certainly flourishing in 1792, Charles Waterton the naturalist being sent there by his father in that year. In late

1. Rutter to Bannister. 10th February 1788.
Upholland College Library MSS.

life he was asked to write his memoirs of Tudhoe by his cousin, then a student at Ushaw College, and although the memoirs are written in 1862 they give a vivid account of life at Tudhoe in the late eighteenth century. "Towards the close of the last century," writes Waterton, "a Catholic School was founded at Tudhoe village, some four or five miles from the venerable city of Durham. The Reverend Arthur Storey was the master and he had a lay tutor under him called Sanderson." According to Waterton Mr. Storey soon tired of lay tutors, Sanderson being dismissed for trifling with the affections of "the handsome daughter of lame Joe Russell the cobbler", and after a tutor named Tissons and one Meynell had been tried and found wanting, Mr. Storey engaged another priest, one Robert Blacoe, who had been crippled in escaping from prison at Doullens. Blacoe was succeeded by another priest the Reverend Jos. Shepherd "a very correct disciplinarian".¹

Mr. Storey and his assistant evidently ran the academic life of the school, but they were not sufficient in themselves to conduct an academy, which would probably be educating between 20 and 30 boys of varying ages. By 1797 Mr. Storey was advertising his academy in the

1. Ushaw College History Collection, 250.
Memoirs of Tudhoe 1802.

Catholic Directory, and it is evident that he was employing help inside the school, as well as domestic help for the bodily needs of his pupils, although according to Waterton the domestic staff consisted of a housekeeper, "fat, oily and on the wrong side of fifty, (her name was Winifred Atkinson), and Mr. Storey's farming man". The advertisement in the Catholic Directory ran as follows:

"TUDHOE ACADEMY Reverend Mr. Storey.

Terms. Board. Washing.

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin and Greek.

Languages and lessons given in Geography and History for

£22 p.a. $\frac{1}{2}$ yearly.

First quarter to be advanced at admission.

2 guineas entrance.

6 hand towels, knife, fork and silver spoon.

Dancing $\frac{1}{2}$ guinea entrance and $\frac{1}{2}$ guinea quarter.

Recreation Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. On these days

students walk out attended by Instructors and proper care

taken that no injury is received from intense cold or rain.

Parents who wish to place their children in the care of the president of this school may depend upon due attention to morals, behaviour and mental improvement."¹

Mr. Storey could have added that drawing was also taught, but this no doubt like dancing was an optional extra. Charles Waterton describes the auxiliary staff as follows. "We had a smart and handsome dancing master named Forsett and so active that he sprang up and down, like a parched pea on a sounding board. The first dance that he taught us was to the strains of the 'Lass of Richmond Hill'." Drawing was taught by a Mr. Pether "a fair artist enough in his own way" whilst Sergeant Newton, who travelled in from Durham, taught military exercises, "he was a magnificent soldier every inch of him possessing brain, spirit and tact enough to command a regiment on the field of battle."

Looking back sixty years with a great deal of nostalgia, life at Tudhoe did not seem at all bad to Charles Waterton, and pleasant memories are recalled of the happy evenings spent at Tudhoe when Mr. Storey, as a reward, would send for Charles the painter, who lived at Bishop

1. Catholic Directory 1797.

Auckland, a highly skilled performer on the Northumberland bagpipes. He would bring a partner with him who was particularly good on the flageolet, and together they would give "a delightful evening concert in the general playroom, Mr. Storey himself supplying an extra treat of fruit, cakes and tea." Other entertainment was provided by the village tailor one Lawrence Thompson who was sometimes invited to the school, "he could sing a good song and sang us the popular song of the White House, but I only remember one stanza viz;

Squire Salvin rode up the hill,
 And damned them for they were all blind,
 Do you see how my bitch Cruel leads
 Do you see how she leaves them behind."¹

The mention of the name of Salvin is particularly interesting as the family had been owners of Tudhoe before it opened as a school, and probably Tudhoe was only held on lease by the Reverend Mr. Storey. At various times between 1794 and 1798 there were proposals to use Tudhoe Academy as a replacement in the north for Douai, and it was confidently expected that the school would be handed over for this purpose, if the

1. Memoirs of Tudhoe. Charles Waterton.
 Ushaw College History. Collection 250.

Bishop concerned would agree. The last President of Douai wrote thus to Bishop Douglass of the Southern District concerning "an advantageous offer to be made to us in these parts ... I have it now in my power to lay the proposal before your Lordship.

The house of Tudhoe, with all the lands and appurtenances, will certainly be made over instantly to Bishop Gibson, Mr. Thomas Eyre, and Mr. Arthur Storey; all the papers requisite for this purpose are now in the hands of the lawyer, who is drawing up the deeds. Moreover, Sir John Lawson has been so kind as to give a legal and written promise, under heavy penalty in case of failure for the due discharge of the above mentioned agreement." The Reverend John Daniel goes on to outline the plans that have been made if Bishop Douglass would agree to the use of Tudhoe as general seminary even going so far as to point out, "there is already an extensive plan for the enlarging of Tudhoe, that could be executed for £900 according to the estimate of an experienced architect.

If your Lordship and Mr. Stapleton continue in the same sentiment of settling a school at Old Hall, I do not see anything better for me to

do than begin Douai College at Crook. Tudhoe will be a subsidiary school to it."¹ In the event nothing was to come of this plan as the Reverend John Daniel was dissuaded from forming a general seminary in the north to replace Douai, by Mgr. Charles Erskine, a representative of Pius VI. This decision taken in 1795 had a direct effect upon the future of Tudhoe Academy, for if it was not to be used as a general seminary, then the foundation at Crook, and later Ushaw, meant that there would be little place for a small academy educating the sons of gentlemen. The seminary itself would undertake this function with more staff, and presumably better quarters.

How was it then that a school which was relatively small was ever thought fit to undertake the function of a general seminary.¹ It was obviously not a practical proposition if the seminary was to expand in any way, but in 1794 the Bishop of the Northern District faced with the problem of what to do with the students returning from Douai, rather than send them home and lose vocations, sent them to the lay school at Tudhoe. In this he was following the example set by Bishop Douglass, who was already using a lay school at Old Hall Green in Hertfordshire for

1. Letter from John Daniel to Bishop Douglass. June 24th 1795. History of St. Edmund's College Ware. (Ward) p.132-3. History of Ushaw (Milburn).

the same purpose. In fact six students from the Northern District, George Leo Haydock, Charles Saul, Edward Monk, Richard Thompson, Thomas Gillow and Thomas Penswick were amongst the 21 Douai students lodging at Old Hall at this time and the presence of the students from Douai was somewhat resented, consequently when the numbers arriving from Douai in 1794 became too great for the accommodation at Old Hall, Bishop Douglass had to send them home. Thus it was that the Bishop of the Northern District came to send church students to the academy at Tudhoe.¹

The students from Douai arrived at Tudhoe during 1794; Thomas Cock was the first to arrive there on March 10th and he was followed by Thomas Dawson and Thomas Storey, a nephew of the master at Tudhoe, (who was later to open a school at Stockton) and the brothers Thomas and John Lupton. There they were joined by a divine, John Lingard, who had travelled back from Douai as the guide of Lord Stourton's son, and who was invited by the Bishop to be master to the students newly arrived at Tudhoe.² Charles Waterton, still a student there, recalled their arrival; "Sometime about the year 1794 there came to Tudhoe four young men to study for the church". The same four "were endowed with giant

1. Milburn. History of Ushaw. p.31-33.
2. Ushaw Magazine. IV (1894) Milburn 33.

appetites but oily Mrs. Atkinson thought they might struggle on with short allowance I stormed the larder and filled my pockets with bread and cheese etc; my exertions were always successful and my movements were never suspected In due time these four promising young men left Tudhoe and were located at a place called Crook Hall. Thence to Ushaw where they might be said to have been the foundation stones of the future college. I myself consider too, that I have a right to claim a mite of merit, having contributed to the bodily support of those who laboured at Ushaw at its birth."¹

Even though the use of Tudhoe was only makeshift, and consultations were taking place at Darlington with a view to leasing Crook Hall, nonetheless in June 1794 the conversion of Tudhoe to a general seminary to replace Douai was again being put forward.² At a meeting in London, Bishop Gibson, Bishop Douglass and Bishop Walmesley agreed to launch an appeal for funds to reconstruct the school at Tudhoe in such a way as to make it fit to become the general seminary to replace Douai. [Their appeal for money stressed their failure so far to replace

1. Memoirs of Tudhoe (Waterton). Ushaw History Collection 250.
2. History of Ushaw (Milburn) 34.

Douai.] Their appeal for money stressed their failure so far to replace Douai in educating both priests and laymen, and announced to the English laity their proposals to begin at once with a college at Tudhoe, "in the County of Durham which for cheapness of fuel and provisions, healthiness of climate, and other consideration, has been an eligible situation for such an undertaking.

The plan of studies will be the same as that which was pursued in the English College at Douai. Such alterations only will be admitted as shall appear from circumstances to be advisable."¹

However when Bishop Gibson returned to Durham and once more inspected the premises at Tudhoe he became convinced that it would not be possible to effect the necessary alterations, and the scheme was therefore abandoned. In August of the same year the Bishop finally made up his mind to rent Crook, the necessary alterations to the amount of £500 were put into effect; the whole sum was subscribed by the laity, except for one or two small donations by the clergy, and one of £33. 7.10. from the Bishop,² and the students lodging at Tudhoe were moved to the

1. Ushaw College History Collection (6).
2. IBID. 220 and Milburn p.36.

nearby mission at Pontop. The Rev. Thomas Eyre was the missionary here, and he it was who was to be placed in charge of the new seminary. On September 9th the first two students arrived at Crook Hall and a month later all those who had been lodging at Tudhoe were in residence at Crook.¹

Despite the fact that the Douai students lodged at Tudhoe for the best part of six months only, it is reasonable to assume that their studies were quite separate from those of the Academy itself, and were carried on in much the same fashion as they had been at Douai. A copy of the rules for Tudhoe has been preserved, and it gives a fair indication that what had been the mode of life at Douai, and what was to be the mode of life at Crook, was carried on here.

"DIVISION AND EMPLOYMENT OF TIME

All rise at 6 are washed and retire to study till a quarter before eight. Breakfast at eight. All hear Mass. Play till nine, study till ten, quarter hour recreation, study till 12. Dinner. Play till 2 o'clock study till 4. Quarter hours recreation. Study till six.

1. Milburn. History of Ushaw College, p.36.

Play till 7. Supper. Evening Prayers at eight.

After which all retire to rest.

From these rules no one is exempted without assigning some good reason which reason must always be signified to the superior and submitted to his final decision."¹

For the ordinary pupil at Tudhoe life could not have been too unpleasant and judging from the memoirs of Waterton there seems to have been a fair amount of freedom to enjoy the countryside around Tudhoe, "the vicinity was charming, and it afforded an ample supply of woods and hedge-row trees to ensure a sufficient stock of carrion crows, jackdaws, jays, magpies, brown owls, kestrels, merlins and sparrow hawks for the benefit of natural history and for my own instruction and amusement." Mr. Storey himself seems to have been a benevolent master and was held in high esteem by Waterton, for as well as the regular entertainment, "On Easter Sunday Mr. Storey always treated us to Pasche eggs. Each Boy received two. They were boiled hard in a decoction of whin flowers

1. Ushaw History Collection No. 237. Undated.

which rendered them beautifully purple." Nor was Mr. Storey one who would mete out rough justice, for during Waterton's first year at Tudhoe he stayed on at the Academy during the summer vacation with two other older boys, who lured him into a field full of geese and persuaded him that they were trespassing on the Master's property. They gave him a hedge stake and told him to kill the geese, and when Waterton went towards the trespassers, the gander attacked him and he did indeed kill it with the hedge stake. The two older boys crowned their cruel prank by informing Mr. Storey of Waterton's misdeed, but the true story came out and they were the ones to be reprimanded. In closing his memoirs of Tudhoe Waterton recalled that "many years ago I received a letter from good old Mr. Storey of Garstang in Lancashire, begging a little assistance in his evening hour. He had been so disinterested that he never once thought of putting a mite or two aside for the wants of old age."¹

Tudhoe was still to play a small part in determining the opening of Ushaw College itself, for it was the closing of Tudhoe as an academy which provided the occasion for the transfer of pupils from Crook Hall to Ushaw. It was realised by all concerned that once Ushaw was opened

1. IBID. No. 250.

there would be no need of an academy as close as Tudhoe, and so the Bishop had promised the property to the Poor Clares of Rouen, who had been the guests of Sir Carnaby Haggerston at Ellingham in Northumberland, where they had conducted a girls' school.¹ Sir Carnaby evidently needed his property and wrote to the Bishop saying he could no longer house the nuns, and that they would have to move to Tudhoe immediately. Consequently in May 1808 Tudhoe Academy was closed as a boys' school and the twenty or so pupils eventually went on to Ushaw. The Poor Clares stayed at Tudhoe no longer than a year, and eventually left to open a girls' school at Scorton in Yorkshire.²

As the college at Ushaw always took a fair number of lay students and as Tudhoe was fairly near, the need for a private academy for boys was no longer present. During the nineteenth century the only school to be run on similar lines to Tudhoe was Stockton, where another Reverend Mr. Storey, once a seminarian at his uncle's school, ran a private school very much on the same lines as the Academy.³ Yet the history of Tudhoe as an educational establishment was not ended, for sixty years later it was to re-open as a Certified Poor Law School for

1. Catholic Directory 1798.
2. History of Ushaw College. Milburn. p.109-10.
3. Catholic Directory 1814.

Catholic boys.

?

In April 1868 Bishop Chadwick sent out an appeal for funds to put Tudhoe for use as a Poor Law School. The clergy had long been concerned that no school of this kind was available to Catholics, and considered it their duty to remedy the situation, and thus safeguard the faith of those children who would normally have been in the care of the parish. Consequently a meeting of Catholic gentry and a few clergymen was held in Durham on 24th October 1867[?] to determine what was the best way of raising a sufficient sum of money for a Catholic Certified Poor Law School, and thus gather together all the needy, to the number of about 300, in one place. At the meeting it was pointed out that the school, once it was established, would automatically become self supporting as 25th and 26th Vic. Cap 43 Sec. 1 guaranteed that the Poor Law Board would pay a capitation allowance for every child placed in a school certified under the Poor Law as being a Poor Law School.¹

It was during the course of this meeting that Mr. Salvin of Burn Hall made an offer to sell the old Tudhoe property, comprising the

1. No. 368. Letters and Circulars of Vicars Apostolic and Bishops of Northern District. Ushaw College Library Collection of Manuscripts. Bishop Chadwick to Clergy of Diocese, April 1868.

priest's residence and other tenements together with a paddock and a garden,"for the purpose of establishing a Catholic Certified Poor Law School for the Diocese, the money received to be applied towards the erection of a new church and presbytery on the adjoining land." The meeting decided that as there was already a building there, which had formerly been used as a school, to accept Mr. Salvin's offer of sale and his valuation at £1000. Mr. Salvin also offered the lease of the adjoining farm land for cultivation, and as the Poor Law Commissioners had already visited the place and pronounced favourably, all that remained was to launch an appeal for £1000 to purchase, and £1500 to equip and "fit up" the school.¹

Things moved slowly, and by September 1868 the sum of £293.8.0. had been raised from 18 subscribers, the principal benefactors being

Thomas Riddell	£50	John Errington	£20
Henry Liddell	£20	Edgar Meynell	£5
T. Smith	£5	Edward Charlton M.D.	£10 and
Francis Charlton	£10 ²		

1. IBID.

2. IBID. No. 370. September 1868.

However, by October things had taken a turn for the betterment of the project, and the preliminary difficulties in establishing a Certified Poor Law School had been overcome. In a letter to the clergy of the Diocese, Bishop Chadwick told of an anonymous but conditional donation of £400 if a further £250 was subscribed from private donations before 1st May 1869. Up to October 1868 the paid subscriptions amounted to £527. 1. 0. with promise of another £236. 11. 0., so the conditional offer of £400 was a certainty, and any financial worries attendant on the establishment of a Poor Law School were now removed.¹

In July 1869 the Catholic Certified Poor Law School Committee met to finalise the arrangements for the setting up of the Poor Law School at Tudhoe. The premises at Tudhoe including houses, paddock and garden had been transferred from M. C. Salvin Esq. to His Lordship the Bishop and 3 co-trustees. The entire purchase money was left by Mr. Salvin in the hands of the Treasurer to be placed to the credit of the Building Fund for the chapel and presbytery at Tudhoe, which itself was to be in the immediate vicinity of the school. The purchase price had been oversubscribed by £282. 3. 3., but the balance of all monies

1. IBID. No. 371. 23rd October, 1868.

after expenses was £5. 6. 3., and there were still outstanding promises to the amount of £157.12. 0.¹ All things considered, the Committee had moved with considerable speed; in just sixteen months they had not only launched an appeal for funds but had purchased a site, had it inspected by the Poor Law Commissioners, and by the generosity of Mr. Salvin were to profit by a new church at Tudhoe. It is interesting to note that the biggest financial support for the Poor Law School was private, and in fact £890.16. 0. came from such donations whilst parish collections realised £391. 7. 3.

(The Poor Law School of course no longer exists but the premises served as St. Mary's home for destitute boys until it was closed in 1966.)

Tudhoe has had a long and proud history in Catholic education in the county and if any one factor has contributed to this it has been the support given to education by the Salvin family of Croxdale. As can be readily seen it has not just been support for private education in the late eighteenth century, but generous and open handed support for the type of unfortunate, who in the nineteenth century was being cared

1. IBID. Account of Proceedings of Catholic Poor Law School Committee. No. 378. 1.7.1869.

for by his parish. Throughout the whole history of the Catholic Poor School movement it is the active support of the Catholic gentry which laid the foundation of the voluntary school system which Catholics enjoy to this day. They gave freely of their time and services, as well as their money, and their efforts were not simply local and unco-ordinated, but national and highly organised.

The material concerning the use of Tudhoe as a Poor Law School is unprinted, but to be found in extracts of letters of Vicars Apostolic, and Bishops of the Northern Districts kept at Ushaw. The letters and circulars, are numbered and these are the numbers given with the references.

CROOK HALL AND USHAW COLLEGETHE SEMINARY IN THE NORTH

In January 1793 Louis XVI was executed by the French revolutionaries, England declared war on France and the protection given to the five British establishments at Douai came rapidly to an end. The English College had been founded more than 200 years previously in 1568 by William Allen, and in that time it had been responsible for the education of about 2000 priests as well as numerous laymen.

Whilst a fair number of students managed to evade the restrictions placed upon them and return to England, it was not until 1795 through the constant efforts of Dr. Stapleton, the president of

St. Omer, that all the Douatians as they called themselves, finally returned to England. The first trickle of refugees from Douai arrived in England in 1792, and any possible solution of replacing Douai in England had to be shelved to deal immediately with the problem. Various solutions had been put forward including the idea of transferring the students to universities abroad, which was never a practical possibility when the students started to arrive in England, and arrangements had to be made for them on the spot. In the north the first travelling point decided on by the authorities "for those students who intended to continue their ecclesiastical studies", was Flass Hall near the present site of Ushaw College, and Bishop Gibson and the Rev. Thomas Eyre inspected the Hall and decided "it would answer the purpose of collecting all our youth disposed up and down the kingdom." A lease was promised by Mr. Taylor the agent, on behalf of the owner Sir Edward Smythe of Acton Burnell, and a second choice, Crook Hall near Durham, was offered should there be any difficulty in leasing Flass Hall.¹

In the event the lease on Flass Hall was never taken up, presumably because of the opposition of the senior English Bishop

1. Ushaw Magazine iv. 1894 and History of Ushaw College. Milburn 30-31.

Dr. Walmesley, the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, who was less than eager to see the seminaries abroad replaced by an English one. The idea of using Flass Hall as a rallying point was given up some time before November 11th. 1793, and Bishop Gibson accepted an offer made by Dr. Douglass to house as many as possible of the northern students at Old Hall Green Academy in Hertfordshire. This was a sensible temporary measure as Old Hall was within easy reach of London, and it was a college where students could resume their studies very quickly. The academy itself could trace its origins to the time of James II, and in 1793 its director was a former Douai priest Rev. John Poitier, who offered to take 12 refugee students at a day's notice. The first students arrived on November 12th 1793, and by February 1794 there were 21 Douai men at Old Hall, six of whom (George Leo Haydock, Charles Saul, Edward Monk, Richard Thompson, Thomas Gillow and Thomas Penswick) were from the northern district.¹

By the end of 1793 it was apparent that housing the students at Old Hall was indeed only a temporary solution, as by that time the boys at the academy were beginning to resent the presence of the

1. Milburn, 31-32, and Ward, History of St. Edmund's College, Ware.

seminarians and some segregation had already taken place. In any case the demand for accommodation for Douai men far exceeded Mr. Poitier's ability to supply it, and when in January 1794 eleven students arrived from Douai they had to be sent home by Bishop Douglass.¹ For Bishop Gibson this was a serious matter for five of these students were from the northern district.

Rather than risk losing the vocation of these young men, Bishop Gibson sent them to the lay school at Tudhoe, about 5 miles from Durham. These first five were placed in the care of John Lingard, a divine, who had travelled back from Douai as the guide for Lord Stourton's son, and who left a post at Ollerton Hall near York to take up his duties as master at Tudhoe.² There always seemed to be an awareness that Tudhoe could only be a temporary solution to a growing problem, and though Bishop Gibson was always thinking in terms of the adaptation of Tudhoe, he scoured the northern district for a site for a seminary in the north that would be acceptable to Bishop Douglass in London. A former residence of the Bishop's own brother at Stella Hall was considered, but when this fell through Gibson and Rev. Thomas Eyre met Mr. John Silvertops

1. IBID.

2. Haile & Bonney. Life and Letters of John Lingard.
Quoted in Milburn, 33.

of Minsteracres, Sir John Lawson and Mr. Henry Maire at Lartington Hall, and decided to approach George Baker of Ellmore, near Durham, to negotiate the lease of Crook Hall as a temporary college until a new site was found. Within a week another meeting was held at York, and after the Bishop had returned to Durham to discuss the decisions that had been made, he went on to London to see Bishops Douglass and Walmesley. The outcome of this meeting was a firm proposal to revert to the old idea of reconstructing Tudhoe school to make it fit for use as a general college for the whole of England. Consequently the three Bishops launched a general appeal for funds to the clergy and laity of England. They stressed their failure so far to replace Douai for both clerk and layman, and announced to the Catholics of England their present proposals. They intended to begin a college at Tudhoe, "in the County of Durham, which for cheapness of fuel and provisions, healthiness of climate and other considerations" presented a suitable site for the proposals. The plan of studies was to follow the Douai pattern and contributions towards the beginning of the scheme were to be received by the Bishops themselves, Wrights bankers of Covent Garden or Sir John Lawson's bank at Richmond.¹

Despite this apparent unity the choice of Tudhoe only heightened

1. Milburn, 34. (Westminster Archives).

the differences between the north and the south. Bishop Gibson writing in 1793 to Thomas Eyre pointed out that all the people he had consulted in the north wanted to have any replacement for Douai sited in the north rather than the south. Yet even whilst the Bishops were in apparent agreement, and the negotiations were taking place to set up a new Douai at Tudhoe, Bishop Douglass was putting the case as many people saw it in the south... "Many families of the south wish Old Hall Green to be placed on such a footing, or to be opened on such an extensive plan that their children may receive a full classical education in the south... This will be the nursery for the great school (i.e. Douai or a substitute for it) to which we shall look from all parts of the kingdom."¹ The northerners were thus looking for a restoration of a new Douai in the north on the traditional plan, whilst those in the south who thought the idea of continuing on the Douai principles rather antiquated "were prepared to accept the Old Hall as a classical school preparatory to higher studies".² In any case southerners were unlikely to have heard of Tudhoe, and the idea of their sons going off to the north for their education could hardly have been attractive.

1. Ushaw Magazine iv. 1894.

2. Milburn, 35.

When Bishop Gibson returned north he once more inspected Tudhoe, and found what he must have realised all along, that Tudhoe was far too small for a national seminary, and the limited resources available precluded any extensive alterations. With this realisation the plan for Tudhoe was finally abandoned, but not the plan for housing the refugee students lodged at Old Hall and Tudhoe. Temporary sites were considered at Newton Cap near Auckland, at Saint Helen's, Auckland, Bishop Middleham, Hilton near Sunderland, Crathorne near Yarm, and Croft upon Tees, but finally it was Crook Hall that was rented in August 1794. £500 was needed to put Crook Hall in order and the laity and the clergy readily subscribed the sum of £588.18. 7, so pleased were they that the college had really been started.¹ In September it was possibly thought that the students themselves could help with the preparations, and consequently the 5 refugee students from Tudhoe were ordered to the nearby Pontop Hall and on the actual day that the students received this order, Messrs. Lingard and Rickaby set out to be joined later by the others, and it is with an account of this that the Crook Hall diary opens:

"Post graves et diuturnos dolores, omnibus praeter quam in Deo

1. Milburn 36 (Ushaw College History Collection).

fiduciam deperditis, ad sacros ignes refovendos, tamquam in locum quietis et tranquillitatis plenum ad Pontop Hall, dum sedes quaereretur (non admodum longe a Pontop et Broom in comitatu Dunelmensi) convolarunt:

Anno 1794.

Mag.	Joannes Lingard	venit Sept. 9, aet.24.
"	Joannes Rickaby	venit Sept. 9, aet.28.
"	Thomas Lupton	venit Sept.22, aet.19.
"	Joannes Bradley	venit Sept.22, aet.21.
"	Thomas Dawson	venit Oct. 9, aet.18.
"	Thomas Storey	venit Oct. 9, aet.19.
"	Thomas Cock	venit Oct. 9, aet.21. "

The Reverend Thomas Eyre, the missionary at Pontop, a man who had refused the presidency of Douai was put in charge of the new premises and the students. Eyre was a man trusted by the clergy of the diocese as well as by the Bishop; he had acted as bishop's treasurer, secretary, and Vicar General, and the clergy had named him as treasurer of their fund (The Northern Brethren's Fund) in 1787.¹ The transfer to Crook took place on October 15th 1794, that is the Saturday following the last

1. Milburn 37. (The Northern Brethren's Fund was established by the Secular Clergy of the Counties of Northumberland and Durham about the year 1660 - Northern Catholic Calendar 1968.)

arrival from Tudhoe to Pontop. On this date the Reverend Thomas Eyre, then aged 46, led the seven students, and he was later joined by the Reverend John Bell who had been acting as the tutor to the son of Mr. John Silvertop at Minsteracres. This priest was to act as prefect of discipline, as well as professor of the schools of Rhetoric, Poetry, Syntax and Grammar, and Rudiments during the whole of the first year, but as there were only 14 boys it was not perhaps as arduous as it seems. By the end of the first three months however, the number of students had increased, and there were altogether 28 boys and professors, including the students who had arrived from Old Hall Green.¹

It was no doubt inevitable that all the northern students should eventually be gathered together under one roof, but the delicate position of the church students at Old Hall Green made the inevitable more immediate. They had always been treated with some condescension by the other students, and when Bishop Douglass heard of a practical joke which the seminarians had played on the boys, "he styled them low vulgar fellows and was pleased to call them a parcel of Lancashire blackguards". This was badly received by the students, particularly as 6 of the ex Douai men

1. IBID 38.

actually came from Lancashire. The outcome of this incident combined with Bishop Gibson's obvious desire to replace Douai with a northern college, and the difficulties which Mr. Poitier found at Old Hall Green in housing the Douai men, led to five of them leaving the academy. Four of these fugitives, (Charles Saul, Richard Thompson, Edward Monk and Thomas Penswick), arrived at Crook on November 11th. 1794, and Thomas Gillow a month later on December 6th.¹ The feelings of these students who had moved from the south were expressed by a student named Thomas Saul, who later became a professor at Crook, "After escaping Egyptian slavery we arrived safely at the land of promise; at the same time I wish I could say it flowed with milk and honey. Crook Hall is a spacious stone building, situated in a vale whose adjoining hills are bleak and barren. It had this singularity attending it which few other houses can boast; I mean it has no road to it. We came in a chaise from Durham amidst the greatest danger of being overturned. You will be surprised if I tell you we have not everyone a room to himself. We sleep about three in a room and have a perpetual fire. When I say fire I do not mean as you have at Old Hall; they are but chauffer pots. Our kitchen grate is so large that I don't believe old Stacey with his three horses would be able

1. Milburn 38 - 41.

to draw coals enough to fill it... Besides the fire in our rooms we, the divines, who are distinguished from the vulgar world, are allowed the benefit of a fire in the refectory, so that two can study together by the same fire the whole day through without being molested. I hope you will be kind enough not to measure our rooms by the narrow limits of those with you. They are far more spacious in every dimension than the divine's room at Douai. More room may be naturally expected as soon as the top rooms are repaired. Mr. Lingard is the factotum, a great man with the Bishop. He is professor of Rhetoric and Poetry and has the care of the cellar. Our regulations are the same as Douai, but an hour later in everything. Our table is good, especially on meagre days, when fish abounds at two pence halfpenny a pound. The Bishop and Mr. Eyre sleep in the same room."¹

In 1795 the remainder of the Douai students (26 in all) returned to England, and seven of them were from the north. Of those, William Crockell was ordained priest at York shortly afterwards, one decided not to carry on with his studies, and the rest entered Crook Hall. With the Reverend John Daniel also in England, and the temporary colleges set up at

1. Milburn 41-2 and Ward. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware. p.115.

Crook and Old Hall, an immediate solution to the problem of a general college in England to replace Douai was not an easy one, but nonetheless a problem that exercised the minds of many prelates, and caused a great deal of acrimony between the north and the south.

In any case the legal position of any general college built in England was not clearly determined, and before definite plans could be agreed on, political advice had to be taken. Many of the penal laws against Catholics were not enforced, but merely held as a threat in case they were ever needed. As one revolution was to drive the Douai men to England, so it was another revolt, previous to their arrival, that gave Catholics the first measure of relief from the harsh statutes of William III. The war in America had made extensive calls on British troops, and it had been decided to recruit in the Scottish Highlands, and as many of the possible recruits were Catholics, a measure of relief was decided upon to attract them to the army. Consequently the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 removed the penalty of life imprisonment on bishops, priests and schoolmasters, and allowed Catholics to own property once more, and cancelled the £100 that could be claimed by informers. In 1791

it became legal to say Mass once more, "provided that the chapel in which Mass was to be celebrated was duly registered and provided the priest had taken the oath of allegiance".¹ Yet the act was obscure on some important points that would affect the setting up of any seminary in England. Clause XII stated that no one who took the oath of supremacy could be prosecuted for teaching and instructing as a tutor or as a schoolmaster, and clause XIV required the registration of all headteachers at the Quarter Sessions. On the other hand, clause XV seemed to proscribe the setting up of seminaries, when it stated that nothing in the act should make it lawful to found, endow or establish any religious order or society of persons bound by monastic or religious vows, or to found, endow or establish any school, academy or college by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion. Clearly this could be interpreted as withholding the right to have schools or colleges that were given over to the training of priests.²

The man who was to deal with this aspect of the matter was Dr. Stapleton, the former president of St. Omer, who favoured the setting up of a divinity school at Old Hall Green. He had written to Mr. Daniel

1. Milburn 27.

2. IBID.

on June 9th. 1795, informing him of his intention to start such a school, and Daniel had urged delay as he wished to have one single school to replace Douai.¹ Delay, of course, was precisely the factor that suited Stapleton's plans; it was still legally something of a risk to build a Catholic seminary in England, and so together with Bishop Douglass, Stapleton called on Pitt, and the Duke of Portland, his Home Secretary. Stapleton assumed the role of spokesman, and pointed out that the laws against Catholics made it very difficult for them to achieve their wish of being able to educate both priests and laity at home in England. He argued that the country would benefit from the money that would be spent on Catholic educational projects, and this seemed to interest the statesmen. Pitt remarked that it would be much better if projects that were already in being should be enlarged by extending existing buildings, rather than creating possible trouble by making new foundations, and he suggested that Old Hall Green should be developed.²

Within a month plans were being drawn up for the development of Old Hall Green, due not only to the statement of preference by the government, but also to a legacy to Bishop Douglass from a Mr. Sone of £10,000,

1. Ward. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 127.
2. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 127, and Milburn, 44.

£2,000 of which was to be paid at once, and before the death of the benefactor.¹ Daniel, still president of Douai, knew nothing of the arrangements that were being made, and favoured the setting up of a general college in the north, which after all was still the strongest centre of English catholicism. In late June he wrote to Bishop Douglass about his plans, and once more the school at Tudhoe was considered as the site for a general college. Indeed the negotiations were far advanced; "The house of Tudhoe with all the lands and appurtenances, will certainly be made over instantly to Bishop Gibson, Mr. Thomas Eyre and Mr. Arthur Story; all the papers requisite for this are in the hands of a lawyer, who is drawing up the deed.

..... To come directly to the point in question Bishop Gibson, Messrs. Eyre and Story are willing to make over the said house lands and appurtenances for the purpose of establishing a general college.... If we think proper to build (I shall willingly consent) Bishop Gibson, Messrs. Eyre and Story agree to refund one half of the sum we expend on building if we should afterwards return to Douai or St. Omer, or remove our college to a more eligible position..... If your Lordship and Mr. Stapleton continue

1. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware 128.

in the same sentiments of settling a school at Old Hall Green I do not see anything better for me to do than begin Douai College at Crook. Tudhoe will be a subsidiary to it."¹ In the event, Daniel's schemes were to come to naught, for with the issue of extending Old Hall Green virtually settled, Stapleton brought pressure to bear on Daniel in the shape of a papal representative, Mgr. Charles Erskine, who supported the southern scheme, and Daniel capitulated when the wishes of Erskine were represented as being those of the Pope himself. Consequently, Daniel's scheme for Crook and Tudhoe was dropped, Stapleton assumed the presidency of Old Hall Green, with an apparent proviso that he would surrender this to Douai should the northern bishops decide to recognise the foundation as the site for a general college. On August 19th, 1795, the stone was laid for the founding of the new building at Old Hall, or Saint Edmunds as it was to be called in the future.²

Dr. Gibson was far from giving up the idea of a northern college, and thus there was no recognition coming from the north that Saint Edmund's was to be the new general college, and in his campaign for a college in the north, he continued to have the help and support of some eighty of the

1. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 132-3 and Milburn 45-6.
2. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 148 ff. and Milburn 48-50.

northern clergy. Indeed, the clergy in the north were prepared to act independently of the Bishop, and seven of the priests in charge of missions in Northumberland and Durham met at Newcastle, and were responsible for producing "an address to the clergy of Northumberland and Durham", which stated the reasons that made it seem prudent to them to found a college in the north. Both clergy and lay Catholics were more numerous in the north, and indeed many of the priests serving the other missions in England were born in the north, and if the north was to continue providing the high percentage of priests, which it had provided in the past, then there was a lot to be said for local training. Besides, from the economic point of view, there were considerations which favoured the north as opposed to the south; parents would save on the cost of travel to and from the college, and in any case £20 in Durham was certainly worth £25 in the south. Having made these observations, they went on to frame resolutions, which first of all stated that it was imperative that a college for the training of priests should be set up in the northern district, and that this college should be open to laymen. They were resolved to support a college for the north, not out of opposition to Dr. Stapleton, but from the conviction that students should be trained in

the surroundings where they would eventually labour. Finally, they expressed the hope that the Lord Bishop of the district would hold to those sentiments expressed by himself, and by Bishops Walmesley and Douglass, in their address of June 1794, when they appealed for funds for Tudhoe. These resolves were taken to Preston and put before the Lancashire clergy, when they gained 22 more signatures, and they were then forwarded by John Orrell, the chairman, to Bishop Douglass in the shape of a memorial embodying the general principles on which all were agreed.¹

Bishop Douglass's reply was all that could be expected in the circumstances. He pointed out, as he was bound to do, that steps had already been taken in the south to open a general college, and from the financial point of view, things could be had just as cheaply in the south, and to balance the wishes of the northern clergy for a college in the north, the clergy of three other districts would prefer the general college to be in the south. Despite the apparent finality of Bishop Douglass's letter, Gibson and the northern clergy decided to press on with their scheme for a northern college, and the Bishop went to London

1. Milburn, 49-51.

in late November to consult with the other vicars apostolic. Whilst he was in London he received an important letter from Mr. Bannister, who was prominent amongst the northern clergy, putting forward the thesis that when the war was ended and peace made with France, the French authorities would agree to restore British property, in which case, "Douai college will return to its ancient walls and recover its Paris actions and rents and the arrears ... which at the present date amount to £7000".¹ The tone of the letter is one that urged patience, so that time would solve the matter of a general college, particularly as Bannister thought that Stapleton wished to return to St. Omer, and Daniel himself was still president of Douai, in receipt of the Pope's pension, and all actions at Paris were still in his name. Bannister went on to summarise clearly and precisely the exact differences over the matter of foundation between the north and the south.

"In writing this I am astonished on recollecting what has past, since Mr. Daniel and his remnants of Douai College returned. Bishop Douglass names Gregory Stapleton President of Old Hall Green and will have it to be the General College and Douai College. - You contend for

1. Ushaw College Manuscripts 455. Bannister to Gibson.
November 16th 1795 (Milburn 53-54.)

Crook or Thorparch or somewhere in the North, but the President of Douai College wishes first to wait for the issues of the war, and for a more hopeful prospect and secondly to claim what he may do without ambition (as he is President of Douai College and not either Gregory Stapleton or Bishop Douglass) a deliberate voice (if not a casting one) in fixing the site of Douai College."¹

The idea that Douai would eventually return to English hands suggested a way out of the impasse to Bishop Gibson, and on January 9th. 1796, he used this argument furnished by the clergy of the north when he wrote to Bishop Douglass to say that Mr. Daniel was still the proprietor of Douai monies, and consequently the Bishops could not lawfully act without him.² Mgr. Erskine, who had been formerly used to dissuade Daniel from supporting Tudhoe and Crook, received a letter from Gibson as well, once more advocating a general college in the north for the whole country. This seems to have infuriated Erskine, who replied that if Gibson was to "have a college in the north he would be left to himself; and for the people of Douai it did not belong to them to choose where to have their college but to go whither they should be sent. Also that Mr. Daniel

1. IBID.

2. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 158. Milburn 55.

should be ordered to Old Hall Green, but that he would wait another letter from Rome before he would send the order....."¹

The quarrel between the north and the south had gone on for a long time with acrimony, and much jealousy on both sides; it was now to be resolved as so often quarrels of this kind are, with a compromise that really suited no one, but which did in the event bring some financial benefit to Crook Hall. Daniel was summoned to London, where he had two interviews with Erskine, but the President of Douai was to be stubborn this time, and he wrote to Bishop Gibson that, "After some general conversation he (Erskine) let drop a word about the seminary at Old Hall Green, to which I observed that the seminary was rather Crook Hall, where 30 boys are under instruction for an ecclesiastical state. He expressed great surprise at the number and concluded by observing THAT THINGS MUST GO ON AS THEY ARE"² This final remark became clear when it was decided to divide the papal pension granted to Douai between Old Hall Green and Crook Hall.³ The immediate effects were to ensure at least a separate development for a seminary in the north, especially now that some measure of financial relief was at hand, but the division of the pension also

1. IBID. (Diary of Bishop Douglass.)

2. Leeds Archives. Daniel to Gibson. May 30th. 1796. Milburn 56.

3. Milburn 56. History of St. Edmund's College, Ware, 159-60.

marked a final cleavage between the north and the south in the whole matter of a general college.

EDUCATION AT CROOK HALL

The solitary position of Crook was a feature that recommended itself to the northern clergy, for criticism had been levelled at Douai and at Old Hall Green, that being so accessible they were not really suited for the rigorous life needed to be led by the clerical students. The daily routine at Crook is described in some detail by George Leo Haydock who had arrived at Crook from Old Hall Green in January 1795; at six o'clock in the morning everyone got up and at 6.30 meditation was held until 7, when Mass was said. Presumably after Mass breakfast was taken and then there was study until a quarter to nine. From half past nine until eleven o'clock there was school; dinner was taken at one, followed by study at three. At seven o'clock prayers were said followed by supper and second prayers at 9.15, "and thence immediately we repose our weary or lazy limbs on a pretty hard mattress and sleep if we can. Our living is very good as much as I can tell you of it from report and the little experience I have already had of it; our drink is very much

like your small drink but not so sour, so we can do very well with it. We have two play days a week and are in number 28 students and masters."¹

By 1797 the college was on a firm enough footing for an advertisement to be placed in the Catholic Directory:

"CROOK HALL COLLEGE, in the County of Durham. The Rev. Thomas Eyre president. The plan of education and terms as usual. Parcels to be addressed to the care of Mr. Crawford, Grocer, Moseley St., Newcastle.Northumberland."

The plan of education at Crook Hall was based on the educational system that had operated at Douai, and prayers and study formed by far the greatest part of the curriculum, but even so "the miserable cramped quarters at Crook Hall produced some of the greatest priests of their generation, a Lingard, a Gillow, a Newsham, in exactly the same fashion as the Ushaw factory (a term used by Lingard) produced a Wiseman, a Walker, a Tate."² At Douai the education of a student for the church took some 12 years, 5 years of this time were spent on the humanities

1. Milburn 57-8 (Haydock Papers).
2. Milburn 59.

which comprised Low and High figures (known as Accidence), Grammar, Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric. Two years of Philosophy followed this basic education, and this was succeeded by four years Theology. In addition there were regular experiments in learning conducted both in public and private. On the administrative side Douai was ruled by a president appointed for life by the Pope, and it was the president who named his own staff viz; a vice-president, a procurator, a general prefect, a prefect of the infirmary, prefect of the wardrobe, resident of kitchen and nine teachers.¹ The system of learning was very dependent on the notes dictated by the professors, and these notes were taken down verbatim in Latin by the students. Thus at the end of two years the student would have a great amount of written work committed to paper, and these notes went by the name of 'dictates'. At Crook Hall Mgr. Eyre took a great pride in following the Douai system, and dictates were much relied on, particularly as there were so few books in the college library. Mgr. Eyre himself was called upon to teach theology without previous experience, and relied almost entirely on a set of dictates taken down during the latter half of the century.² Besides the dictates another form of education followed at Douai was pursued in almost the same manner

1. History of English College Douai. H. Tootell 3-7. Milburn 7-8.
 2. Milburn 60.

at Crook. Professors at Douai besides lecturing for about two hours each day were expected to preside over frequent discussions and debates, and after each day disputations were held for an hour. These disputations were extended to somewhat lengthy debates, and it was the task of the professor to sum up at the end of a series of such debates, and put forward his judgement on the points that had been considered, attacked and defended. At the end of a week a further discussion was held which was more formal in nature, and at which time the discussions of the previous week were reviewed. The culmination of this form of education was the "defensions" which were, in effect, a public display of knowledge.¹

"Before they were held, large posters bearing the propositions to be defended, and the names of the students who would uphold them, with the time and place of defence, would be drafted by the professor, then printed, and brought to the notice of the public at large, so that when a student defended his theses IN AULA COLLEGII ANGLORUM DUACENI, it would be before students from his own and other colleges, members of the university, and superiors of the numerous colleges constituting the

1. Milburn 9.

university or affiliated to it. Fortunately not every student was required to face the ordeal. The constitutions laid down that the *SELECTIORA INGENIA* alone ought to undergo it; and the number in this category varied greatly from year to year. But those who were chosen had to defend on three occasions during the two year course."¹

This type of "defension" was introduced, with the same basic idea behind it, at Crook Hall. Defensions were held in the only room available, which was the refectory, and printed invitations were sent out to the clergy in the diocese, and on these occasions it was usual for French emigré clergy to assist. Many of the leading clergy would of course be Douai men, and would feel themselves sufficiently well educated to play the part of examiner at the "defensions". In any case it was a system of education which, as Douai men, they would approve, and it would serve as demonstration that the only place for a general college was in the north.

If the education received by the students seems to be austere by modern standards, it is pleasing to note that affairs physical were not

1. Milburn 9-10. (Ushaw Magazine LXIII 1953 Hoban. The Philosophical Tradition of Douai.)

neglected by the college authorities. A football field was hired near to Crook Hall where the students could play both football and cat, and inside the boundary walls a "ballplace" was built. Skating in the winter had been popular with the students at Douai, and the keen skaters were able to carry on with their sport at Ebchester, about 4 miles from Crook Hall. The privileged students, called divines, were also able to enjoy walking in the college vegetable garden.¹

It must not be thought that Crook only catered for the church student, and indeed from a financial point of view, it was very necessary that lay students should be attracted to Crook. Consequently, whilst much of the work needed for the training of a priest required an excellent grounding in classical studies, in the lower school English, Arithmetic and French were taught. Whilst these subjects were also taught at Douai, it was necessary in England to compete with other Catholic schools and colleges which, like Tudhoe, advertised in the laity's directory the educational wares they had to offer. Even though fee-paying students were admitted, the economics of running Crook Hall were always a problem for the president, and there were sharp differences of

1. Milburn, 59.

opinion between the bishop and the president over the running of Crook. Mgr. Eyre took a very independent line which the bishop resented, and it appears that he would have liked Eyre to regard himself, though president, as the bishop's subordinate when it came to running the college. The bishop himself gave no direct financial support to the college, and at the end of the first year there was a deficit of £47. 1. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. After two years it was becoming increasingly clear that unless money was found from somewhere to run Crook, then it would have to close altogether. An urgent appeal for funds was made throughout England, and just sufficient was raised to stave off immediate disaster. The financial state of Crook was to get even worse, for the part of the Douai pension that had been previously received was withheld in 1799; this meant that the salaries of the professors could not be paid, and the crisis was only averted by many generous donations, and by the president very generously selling a part of his personal estate, and applying the money raised to the support of Crook.¹

EDUCATION AT USHAW

Despite the various financial difficulties Crook was to survive,

1. Milburn 62-3.

and to some extent flourish, and by 1804 when the foundations were laid for Ushaw, there were some 40 students at Crook, and more were to come before 1808, when Ushaw opened its doors for the first time. The actual building of a seminary and lay school of the size of Ushaw meant, too, that Tudhoe school would no longer be needed, and the numbers entering Ushaw in 1808 were swollen by the intake of about 20 boys from Mr. Storey's school.¹ In any case the bishop had promised the premises at Tudhoe to the Poor Clares from Rouen, who had been staying at Ellingham on the property of Sir Carnaby Haggerston.² Tudhoe closed its doors in May 1808, and 20 of the boys who were attending the school were to carry on their studies at Ushaw, when it opened two months later on July 19th. Initially there was room for 52 students, but after being opened only a year, and despite the fears caused by a typhus epidemic when 5 students died, there were 80 students in residence.³ The college grew at such a rate that by 1814 extensions to the buildings were needed, and a public appeal from the bishop raised about £1900, the bulk of the money being collected "from the small country congregations which undoubtedly formed the heart of English Catholicism at that time".⁴ The one besetting worry for the Catholic authorities in the north was without doubt the financial one,

1. Milburn 104 ff.
2. Milburn 109, and Eyre Correspondence.
3. Milburn 109-10.
4. Milburn 118.

and it has been estimated that between 1799 and 1814 the sum of £65,965.18. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was spent on land and buildings.¹

The main purpose of Crook, and of Saint Cuthbert's College Ushaw, was always to train young men for the priesthood, but one of the very necessary secondary purposes was to educate the sons of Catholic gentlemen to university level, for of course Catholics were still at this time barred from the universities. The admission of lay students was necessary, not simply to provide an educated and articulate Catholic laity, but also to provide funds for the upkeep of the college. Between 1809 and 1830 the college was briefly advertised in the Catholic Directory, but other Catholic colleges had grown up in England since the French Revolution, and the growing competition that they provided made it necessary for Ushaw to advertise its wares in a more ambitious way to attract lay scholars. The expansion in education that became necessary, led to the consequent rise in fees, which occurred in 1834, when the pension was raised to £50.² Latin and Greek were to be the foundations on which everything else was built, but in addition the curriculum included English, French, and Italian. Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping,

1. IBID. 119. Records and Recollections of Saint Cuthbert's College, Ushaw.
2. Milburn 138-9.

History Ancient and Modern, Geography and the use of globes were also available to the students, and after Poetry and Rhetoric the branches of Philosophy were taught. There are no figures available to give any ideas of the number of lay students, "the college diary does not clearly distinguish them, and the procurator's books have not survived. But to judge from the galaxy of foreign names registered in the diary one imagines that they numbered well over half in the lower schools."¹ It is not surprising, if this was the case, that we find Music, Dancing, Drawing and Fencing being offered as optional extras, in the same fashion that they were offered at Tudhoe.

The time-table seems to have been much the same as the one followed at Crook, which had been based on the one at Douai. However on three days in the week there were other arrangements. Thursday was a free day except for special coaching, and Tuesday afternoon was also a holiday. "On Sunday, the period between 9 and 10.15 was reserved for spiritual reading and the prone (a sermon delivered by one of the divines). High Mass took place at 10.30 and between 12 and 1 there was a catechism. Vespers were sung (followed by benediction on the greater feasts) at 3.

1. IBID. 139.

Then at 6 began a period of study lasting until supper time."¹ A form of tutorial system which had been known at Crook as the system of pedagogues, and was in fact used in most of the English public schools, was employed at Ushaw. The pedagogues were appointed by the prefect of studies, and anyone could be appointed from the school of poetry, and upwards, including the professors. A pedagogue would have about 4 pupils under his care, and his functions had varied facets; he was expected to be friend, adviser and helper in all matters, but was chiefly responsible for much of the supervision of a student's work. Not only had he to help him in his difficulties, but he was responsible for supervising both preparation and revision. Pedagogues would see their students either on Tuesday or Thursday between 10 and 12.30, or on Sundays between 4 and 5.30, and so much reliance was placed on the system, that pupils could be taken on full study days between 11.15 and 11.30, to help with their preparation.²

The system of course operated well only whilst the numbers were proportionate to the number of tutors available, but it was bound to fail as soon as expansion disturbed this proportion. The opening of the

1. IBID. and L. Carson. Studies in early days of Ushaw. Ushaw Magazine LVI and LVII, 1946 and 1947.
2. Milburn 139-40.

Junior College in 1859 really saw an end of the system, and the tutorial part of pedagogues' work came to an end in 1883.¹

At first sight the type of education that a student received at Ushaw has the appearance of being both traditional and inward looking, based as it was on the former Douai traditions and time-tables. With the universities closed to Catholics until 1871, when the religious tests were abolished, it would seem that Ushaw would not be able to establish a great educational reputation or enter the field of public examination. Events however were to favour the college in this matter, for the University of London, founded in 1827, and incorporated in 1837, without the religious tests retained in the old universities, was to begin a relationship with Saint Cuthbert's which was to last until 1896, when there was a movement against the London University examinations in Catholic circles. The numbers at Ushaw were of course growing from year to year.

1. Milburn 140.

1810-11	100 Students and Professors.
1819	135.
1841	150 then a slight decline up to
1851	126.
1858	262
1866	324 ¹

and it is not really surprising to find the college authorities seeking a connection with an English university when it became possible.

In February 1840 then, Saint Cuthbert's was affiliated to London University, and with only a few weeks preparation, the first two students, Francis Wilkinson and Richard Wilson, were presented as candidates for degrees.² Wilkinson was a local boy, and had been a pupil at Mr. Kirkley's Catholic school at Darlington, prior to entering Ushaw. Wilson was a Yorkshire man, and was to die seven years later when, in a widespread fever epidemic, 5 priests at Leeds died within eight weeks. Both students were classical scholars and both took firsts, gaining special commendation for the excellence of their written Greek.³ It was as classical scholars that Ushaw men were to excel; in 1849 F. A. Paley wrote to S. N. Stokes,

1. Ushaw College History Collection 281. Corbishley. Catholic University Bulletin.
2. Reported in The Tablet. 6th June 1840.
3. Ushaw College History Collection 281. Corbishley.

a future Inspector of Schools and at that time Secretary of the Poor Schools Committee, and commented on the scholarship at Ushaw.

"I...took part in the public examinations and found an amount of Greek and Latin scholarship which I little expected to meet with... not the least trace of the commercial 2nd rate half plebian spirit, but fully equal to either Oxford or Cambridge in style and managements."¹

In 1863, preparation for the examinations of London University was made a part of the course, and this relationship lasted for 34 years. Whereas individual students had taken their degrees, now active preparation was made for all who were thought capable of the university examinations from Matriculation to the B.A. examination. The details are quite remarkable, and are a fine tribute to the standard of education that the ecclesiastical student and the layman were offered at Saint Cuthbert's.

	<u>CANDIDATES</u>	<u>SUCCESSFUL</u>	<u>HONOURS</u>	<u>1ST.DIV.</u>	<u>2ND.DIV.</u>
Matriculation	430	354	64	257	43
Inter. Arts	167	125	23	63	39
B.A. Exam.	120	68	8	28	32

1. IBID.

A closer study of the results shows that in the Intermediate Arts examination an exhibition of £40 per annum, for two years, was gained four times. In the degree examinations, of the eight who gained honours degrees, six were in classics, whilst the remaining two were in Animal Psychology. The classicists, as usual, were amongst the forefront of all candidates, and three of them took first place, whilst the other three, in their time, took second place. From the three who took first place in their degree examination, two were awarded university scholarships worth £50 per annum, but one student was disqualified by reason of the fact that he was three days too old. Seven students were to proceed to their master's degree, two in Mental and Moral Sciences and five in Classics. Of the latter, three took first place in their examinations, two of them winning the gold medal, awarded in Classics seventeen times only, since the founding of the University.¹

Despite the fine record of success, and the good relations established between the college and the university by Mgr. Tate in 1863, there were many misgivings amongst Catholics, from the hierarchy downwards, about the advisability of the association with the university. There

1. Ushaw College History Collection 281. Corbishley.

were many who considered that London University was a Godless institution, and was not worthy of the efforts that Catholic students would have to make. But if both layman and clerk were to have any sort of higher education, how else were they to achieve it except through London. Some authorities thought that coaching was replacing responsible learning, and indeed, Louis Casartelli, the Bishop of Salford, and a product of the preparatory system for Matriculation and the B.A. examination, condemned in a lecture given at Saint Bede's in Manchester on Catholic higher education, "The setting up of the examination - and worse still, of the written examination as a fetish, a tyrannous fetish, which dominated our whole educational system ... and with it the estimation of the magic initials B.A. and M.A. as the hallmark of all scholarship and the ever-to-be-sought-after crown of the academic career. All idea of what we call "culture" or true scholarship tended to disappear. Real teaching was giving way to cramming. The individual influence of the teacher in the formation of the mind and taste was dying out before mere successful coaching."¹

Some, of course, were to object to certain philosophical books,

1. Milburn 277.

and the indiscriminate choice of classical works by the London examiners, and the numerous objections to London were crystallised in the foundation of the Catholic University of Kensington in 1874, an idea or ideal which rapidly failed. This failure destroyed the resistance the hierarchy had shown to the entry of Catholics to the ancient universities, and permission to attend Oxford and Cambridge was given in 1895. Relations between London and Ushaw had gradually become difficult, due mainly to the necessity of preparing for increasingly difficult examinations, and running a seminary at the same time, and from 1875 students were only being presented for degrees when their parents specifically required it. When permission was given for students to attend Oxford and Cambridge, the association with London came to an end.¹

The table of results over the years shows that the relationship had been a fruitful one, and it was the close ties that came to exist between London and Ushaw, that enabled the first Catholic students to qualify for a degree, without taking the Oath of Supremacy, since the Reformation. Whilst the progress that occurred could hardly have been foreseen when the first Douai students arrived in England, as fugitives

1. Milburn 280-81.

from the reign of terror in France, nonetheless, it is ample evidence that the education received in a Catholic college, which trained priests and educated laymen, was at least equal to the demands placed upon it, and compared favourably with the education that could be received in a more conformist institution. The standard of education achieved at Saint Cuthbert's was ample justification for the tenacity of the early pioneers, in ensuring a separate northern seminary. Ushaw survives today as an inter-diocesan seminary with traditions and records unparalleled since the days of the English College Douai.

PRIVATE EDUCATION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The establishment of the seminary at Ushaw was the immediate cause of the closing of one of the most famous Catholic boys' schools in the country, and one would have thought that the seminary would have served all the private needs of the country. Yet, within six years of the closing of Tudhoe, another private venture in schooling was being launched, and what is more by another Storey, a nephew of the founder of Tudhoe, and one of its first pupils.

The Rev. Thomas Storey first advertised his undertaking in the Catholic Directory of 1814, in terms that made it very clear that he intended his school to be in the nature of a preparation for what we would term a secondary education. "To obviate the difficulty of exposing children at a very early age to the hardships necessarily attendant on large establishments, the Rev. Thomas Storey proposes taking 4 young Catholic gentlemen 7-10. The object of this undertaking being to prepare

the young gentlemen for a college education; they will be instructed in whatever might be requisite to commence a regular course of studies. Particular regard will be paid to their religious and moral duties, and strict attention to cleanliness, and every comfort and indulgence necessary at their tender age allowed them. Terms 50 guineas per annum, $\frac{1}{2}$ yearly in advance, includes Board and Education."¹ It seems likely that Mr. Storey was aware of a gap, created when his uncle closed Tudhoe, and was doing something practical to fill it as well as provide himself with a livelihood as a schoolmaster. The sons of gentlemen, who were going to receive a private education at a seminary, or large public school, still needed the basic groundwork of education before going on to these "larger establishments". Consequently the type of preparatory school that catered for basic education was readily accepted by Catholic gentlemen as an alternative to having a child privately and expensively tutored at home. A similar venture to Mr. Storey's had been begun the previous year at Carlisle;² and at Actonburnal in Shropshire, Sir Edward Smythe, (whose wife had been the patroness of the school and parish at Esh), started a school taught by the priests of Saint Gregory's, Douai, to whom he had given shelter after their expulsion.³

1. Catholic Directory 1814.
2. IBID. 1813.
3. IBID. 1812.

There was to be no rapid development for a school with such limited aims as Mr. Storey's, and indeed by 1821 the school no longer existed, yet within the limits laid down by his advertisement Mr. Storey had some success. By the end of 1814 the school had been in operation at least six months, and reports as well as accounts were being sent out.

"From Rev. Thomas Storey. ed. of Gerard Salvin.

Dear Sir,

I here send you Master Gerard's $\frac{1}{2}$ year account. I am happy to add that he is very well and has of late been a very good boy. The progress which he makes in his studies is not very rapid, yet I flatter myself that it is such as will meet with your and Mrs. Salvin's approbation. Mrs. Salvin in one of her letters said that she had an easy French book, which she would send Gerard; if she has it as yet by her, I would thank her to send it, or its title. Master Gerard desires his love to you, his mamma, brothers and sister.

Bill. William Salvin to Rev. Thos. Storey.

May 17th.	To pocket money	£1-10-11
	To Cyphering and copying	3- 8
	Gloves	2- 0
	Drill Sergt.	£3- 3- 0
	Chaise here	18- 0
	(This item indecipherable)	14- 0
	Various books	3- 0
Oct. 19th.	Dancing $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. and tickets	£2- 1- 0
	Postage	1- 4
	Clothes making etc.	£1-16-10
	Messrs. Dickons Bill	£8-10- 9
	Shoes, making etc	18- 4
Nov. 12th.	$\frac{1}{2}$ years washing	£1- 1- 0
	$\frac{1}{2}$ years board in advance	£26- 5- 0
		<hr/>
		£47- 8-10 ¹

It is easily seen that a half yearly bill of this nature would add about £44 to the actual fees that were paid to a private school each year, and it would only be within the reach of gentlemen of means, such as the Salvin family. In any case, it is certain that Mr. Salvin was both careful and enquiring, and probably thought that the extra fees were a little too high. Though only one side of this short correspondence exists, Mr. Storey's acknowledgment of payment is enlightening for what it shows of Mr. Salvin's attitude towards the expense of educating Gerard.

"Stockton. Dec. 8th. 1814.

Dear Sir,

I hasten to acknowledge receipt of your letter with bill for £47- 8- 6.....

As we have a coach that goes from here to Darlington on Monday, Thursday and Saturday, Gerard might conveniently take some of the morning coaches and proceed to Croxdale.

.. I shall pay attention to what you say about pocket money.

I think the attendance of the drill sergeant useless but I shall certainly attend to what you wish."¹

1. IBID. D.R.O. D/SA/C 127.

Whilst there is no evident financial dis-satisfaction from Mr. Salvin, it seems clear that he was going to keep a strict account of all items that did not come under the head of "yearly board in advance". In consequence, the frills were certainly cut out of Master Gerard's education during his second six months with Mr. Storey; not only was his pocket money halved, but dancing, and the attentions of the drill sergeant seem to have been thought rather wasteful, and were left completely out of his course.

"Account Nov. 12th. 1814 to May 12th. 1815.

May 12th. 1815.

$\frac{1}{2}$ yearly board in advance	£26- 5- 0.
Pocket money 10/2 $\frac{1}{2}$. Postage 1/4	11- 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
Copy book 2/7. Catechism 1/-	3- 7.
Instruction of youth 6/6. Garden of same 1/6.	8- 0.
Murray's Reader 4/6. B.Thanks 4/9.	9- 3.
New Hat 10/- . Cap 2/6. Coach Hire 5/6.	18- 0.
$\frac{1}{2}$ years washing	£1- 1- 0.
Shoes, making and mending	£1- 0- 7.
Clothes mending etc.	3- 3.
	<hr/>
	£31- 0- 2 $\frac{1}{2}$." ¹

Thus some £16 was cut from the previous bill, and although the account for the next half year rose to £38-14- 9 $\frac{1}{2}$., on account of a large clothes bill of £6-13- 3., Mr. Salvin had made his point, and the details of Mr. Storey's accounts almost make one think there was some resentment over the pruning. In the event Gerard was to reap little educational reward for the two years that he spent with Mr. Storey, and Mr. Storey could write that, "the progress he has made in his studies has certainly been slow and far from what I would wish",¹ which must certainly have had a familiar ring for Mr. William Salvin, of whom the same things had been said some thirty years before when he was being educated abroad. However there was to be some return for the outlay on Gerard, for it must have been in Mr. Salvin's mind that some basic education would be necessary before the boy was sent to a higher place of education. In 1816 he made the first approaches to Stonyhurst, where the President, Mr. Stone, was obviously an old friend. His reply to Mr. Salvin's first approach contained a warm invitation to renew old friendship, and spend two or three days in Lancashire, when Master Gerard was first brought across. Colleges, such as Stonyhurst, admitted children under 12, but one supposes that both financial and family consideration would have influenced the

1. IBID. D.R.O. D/SA/C 129.

Salvins in breaking a boy gently into the ways of a school that was far from home. Gerard's passage into Stonyhurst was handled in a fairly straightforward way, as Mr. Stone's letter shows.

"Stonyhurst. Aug. 29th. 1816.

My Dear Sir,

I was favoured with yours of the 25th. inst.. I trust the annexed printed copy of the conditions of this College, will give you all the information you wish to have relative to the placing of your son under our care as he has been at another school 2 years you will observe by the 6th article of the annexed conditions that an attestation of his morals and docility is required, which I doubt not Mr. Storey will readily give at your request."¹

At Stonyhurst the expense was little different from that Mr. Salvin had incurred at Stockton. The pension varied slightly by age, ranging from 40 guineas for a child under 12, to £50 for those over 12, but another £10 was added together with extra lecture fees for those in philosophy. However it must have been quite expensive to provide a

1. Salvin Papers. D.R.O. D/SA/C 130.

growing boy with the elaborate uniform required for a pupil at Stonyhurst; "Plain blue coat of cloth, with yellow buttons, red cloth or Kerseymere waistcoats, and a suit for daily wear, 6 shirts, 6 hankies, six pairs of stockings, 3 pairs of shoes (no silk). Greatcoat extra, if ordered to be charged extra to the parents." Mr. Salvin would no doubt have been pleased to learn that pocket money was laid down and was issued by the master, with extra for Christmas and Shrovetide only. The curriculum was precisely stated, "French, Greek, and all branches of Classical Education. Sacred and Profane History, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry with all other parts of Mathematics. Boys are taught to read well and write a good hand and four times a year are called to public examination."¹ The well ordered life that was laid down for a pupil of this Jesuit College was certainly in marked contrast to the rather amateurish preparation that had been offered at Stockton. Nonetheless there must have been some call for a preparatory school of the type run by the Reverend Mr. Storey, and when the school at Stockton no longer existed a substitute was soon founded at Darlington.

There is no record of how long Mr. Storey conducted his school

1. IBID. D/SA/C 130 from Prospectus of Stonyhurst.

at Stockton, but after 1821 there is no further advertisement for the school, although Mr. Storey remained in Stockton until 1832 when he was succeeded by Rev. J. Dugdale, from Ushaw, as pastor.¹ In any case Saint Mary's, Stockton, was opened on the Norton Road in 1841, and attached to it there were 2 schoolrooms, which were supported locally, until the Act of 1870 compelled Saint Mary's to seek a government grant. The school that took over the role of a preparatory school for the county was conducted by a Mr. Kirkley, "from Ushaw College", and certainly seems to have been both a professionally conducted academy, as well as an eminently successful one, in preparing youths for the life at Ushaw, and other higher Catholic institutions. Mr. Kirkley advertised his school for the first time in 1830;

"Darlington Catholic Academy Young gentlemen will be admitted at the following pension, to be paid half yearly in advance; board and education from 6 to 10 years of age £22, from 10-13 £25; washing 2 guineas per annum.

The course of education will comprise reading, writing and

1. Annals of Stockton, Heavisides p.128.

arithmetic in all its branches, history sacred and profane, geography and the use of globes, the Latin and French languages. French taught by a native, charged extra. Music and Drawing at the usual scholastic terms taught by excellent masters. Each young gentleman will have a separate bed, and must bring with him two pairs of sheets, 2 pillow cases towels, a knife and spoon, to remain at the school. When any young gentleman is removed from the school no notice will be required, but no part of the pension previously paid in advance will be returned. One vacation only will be allowed viz. from the 20th June till the 1st August and if any remain at school during that time he will be charged 2 guineas extra.

Mr. Kirkley at the solicitation of his friends, and with the unquestioning approbation of the Right Rev. Dr. Smith, has undertaken as successor of the late Mr. Porter, to conduct the above establishment and open his school on the 1st September.

Mr. Kirkley after 10 years of public and private tuition ventures to solicit the patronage of Catholic parents and guardians, and

confidently refers for particulars respecting his character and qualifications to the Right Rev. the Vicars Apostolic of the Northern District, to the Right Rev. T. Youens, President of Ushaw College; to the Rev. B. Rayment of York and to the Rev. R. Thompson of Weld Bank Chorley - The Rev. Wm. Hogarth of Darlington has engaged to superintend the moral and religious departments of the establishment."¹

This then was the businesslike way in which Mr. Kirkley intended to run his academy; the pattern of education that was common in higher Catholic institutions was to be followed, and there is some resemblance to the Stonyhurst prospectus. The clergy of the district were not only supporting the venture, but were actively encouraging Mr. Kirkley, and one can believe that a preparatory school for Ushaw was very much in their minds. If success was to be measured by academic achievement, then Mr. Kirkley's academy must have had a very high reputation in the Catholic circles of the whole country, for within ten years of the academy opening, the first two Catholic students to proceed to their Bachelor's degrees at a British university since the Reformation took their examination at London. One of these students was Francis Wilkinson, a former pupil of

1. Catholic Directory 1830.

Mr. Kirkley, and both of the successful candidates were complimented by the examiners on their performance, after a preparation for the examination that had allowed them little more than a week.¹ In 1841 the Tablet reported the further successes of Ushaw students at the London B.A. examinations, when William Allen, Thomas Charlton, William Wrennell and Thomas Wright all gained firsts, and William Grant and James Wilding gained seconds.² Mr. Kirkley had educated three of these men, and noted the fact in the Catholic Directory; "Mr. Kirkley has been induced to call attention to the fact that of those young gentlemen from Saint Cuthbert's College who have distinguished themselves in the London University examinations, 3 were his former pupils ... and he begs also to add that many of his pupils have carried away 1st prizes, and have greatly distinguished themselves not only at Saint Cuthbert's but at other Catholic colleges."³

There can be no doubt that Mr. Kirkley did not regard his academy as preparing boys for Ushaw only. Once the school had settled down, after its move to Belle Vue just outside Darlington in 1833, the curriculum was extended. Boys were prepared for vocations outside the

1. Tablet, Sat. 6th. June 1840.
2. Tablet, June 19th. 1841.
3. Catholic Directory 1842.

priesthood, and for which, in the ordinary course of events, even the large public schools like Stonyhurst would not cater. By 1838 Mr. Kirkley was able to offer "book keeping and practical land surveying, algebra and elements of astronomy," certainly a very forward looking policy in the 1830's. It was also the intention of much of the curriculum to prepare boys for "mercantile pursuits". Obviously this curriculum was attracting boys from outside the county, and Mr. Kirkley found it necessary to state that, "Coaches from the north and south pass within a short distance several times a day, and there is a ready and cheap communication with Lancashire, through Barnard Castle, every day except Sunday, and with London by the Stockton and Darlington Railroad, Middlesbro' and thence by steamer to Saint Cuthbert's dock, London."¹

The academy at Belle Vue must have been well known in Catholic circles, and even receives mention in Pigot's Directory of 1834, "Kirkley, James. (gentlemen's preparatory boarding) Belle Vue Terrace," yet the school seems to have merited very little local notice. Longstaffe's history of Darlington, first compiled in 1854, makes no mention of the academy, and this is not really surprising when he comments that at the

1. Catholic Directory. 1838.

turn of the century the Catholic population "had dwindled to some twenty souls who were accustomed to creep silently into a garret to avoid the insults of bigotry." Even at the time of the compilation of the history the number of communicants was still short of three hundred.¹

There appear to be no extant local records of the academy but the school at Darlington continued to flourish for some years and fairly regular advertisements appeared in the Catholic Directory until 1845, when all trace of the school is lost, and one must presume that Mr. Kirkley had either retired and sold up, or died. Despite the scant information available with regard to the academy, the credit of educating the pupil who was to receive, as a Catholic, the first degree awarded by an English university since the Reformation, must have given the College an enormous boost when there was much competition amongst both seminaries and public schools for the sons of gentlemen.

By 1840 Ushaw found it necessary to broaden its curriculum in the bid to gain the privilege of educating the sons of the Catholic gentry, and even by early twentieth century standards the number of subjects

1. History and Antiquities of the Parish of Darlington. 1854.
W. H. D. Longstaffe, p.250.
(In 1767 the Catholic population had been 84. House of
Lords' Return of Papists.)

offered is quite surprising. Students could take courses in the commercial subjects, Reading and Public Speaking, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology and Botany, as well as the normal classical education.¹ The income as well as the privilege was obviously an important factor to be considered in taking in the young gentlemen.

The emphasis in private education is on the education of boys, and little mention is heard of how a girl from a well-to-do family was to receive an education in the county. Where the family was more than well-to-do an education abroad at one of the numerous convents could be sought, or a girl could go outside the county to the Bar Convent at York. Mr. Salvin of Croxdale could afford to have his son educated at Stockton, Stonyhurst and Ampleforth, and still send his daughter to be educated at Monte Casino, from which he received this report from Mary Norris, the child's governess, in 1815.

"She continues to improve and will I trust give you every satisfaction. Her disposition is perfectly amiable of course which makes her beloved by all.

1. Catholic Directory 1840.

Account.

Pension	£26- 5- 0	
Piano	£5- 5- 0	6 months to 26th May 1815.
Drawing	£5- 5- 0	
Music Books		
and paper	£2-12- 8	
Tea Sugar and		
wine	£2-18-11½	
Washing and		
pocket money	£2- 0- 0	
		£44- 6- 7½ "1

It is interesting to note the differences between the education of a girl and that of a boy. At Stockton Gerard was expected to follow a more formal and classical education, whilst his sister was studying those subjects which were considered ladylike assets.

Whilst there was no girls' school in the county for the daughters

1. Salvin Papers. D.R.O. D/SA/C 132.

of the gentry, a school had been established that served County Durham, and which was eventually to settle permanently at Darlington, after moving from Northumberland, by way of Tudhoe, to Scorton in Yorkshire. Like the emigre clergy, religious orders of nuns had been forced to flee France during the Revolution, and one of these orders, the Poor Clares, had settled, through the hospitality of the Haggerston family, at Haggerston Castle near Belford in Northumberland. Here they opened a school where they not only took in private pupils but also "neighbouring poor children gratis."¹ Their educational plan is expressed in their first advertisement in the Catholic Directory of 1797; "Putting Pitt's works into practise when speaking of the employment of youth (The Poor Clares) have blended education with lessons of industry so that young ladies under their tuition learn everything that can be impressed on their tender minds that is necessary in a Christian Housewife."²

The Poor Clares did not stay very long at Haggerston Castle, and the bishop had promised them that when Tudhoe School closed and Ushaw opened, the school premises there would be made available to them.³ There is no actual record of the nuns staying at Tudhoe, and if they did

1 & 2. Catholic Directory 1797.

3. Milburn History of Ushaw 109. From Eyre Correspondence.

in fact move there in 1808 when Tudhoe closed, their stay must have been very short indeed, for in 1810 an advertisement was placed in the Catholic Directory, which mentioned that the Poor Clares from Ellingham in Northumberland had lately removed to Scorton in Yorkshire. Girls between the ages of 6 and 13 were educated at Scorton, and the school offered History, Geography, Orthography, Accounts and Needlework; the fees were £15 per annum with washing 2 guineas extra, relatively cheap for those able and willing to pay for their daughter's education. The school had a uniform of dark cotton which was "furnished by the school and placed to account," and on Sundays white muslin was worn.¹

The school at Scorton would probably have been attended by daughters of the Durham gentry as well as by children from Northumberland and Yorkshire, and it was destined to remain open for almost fifty years. In 1858 the Catholic Directory published an advertisement offering the school for sale, all transactions to be made through Mrs. Leadbitter, who obviously ran the school for the nuns. By 1860 she had followed the Poor Clares to Darlington, where they had moved round about 1857, and had once more started a small private school attached to the Convent.

1. Catholic Directory 1810.

"St. Clare's Convent Scorton. Nr. Catterick, Yorkshire (uninhabited to be disposed of); removed to St. Clare's Abbey near Darlington, Durham.

For the terms of the school apply to Mrs. Leadbitter as above. Letters to be addressed to St. Clare's Abbey, near Darlington."¹

This convent still exists, but without a school attached, and it must have been most difficult for the Poor Clares to maintain a school when they were not themselves a teaching order. However, many communities fleeing from France were faced with the need to find some way of earning a living, and the example from abroad was in the field of education, where with a number of pupils a fixed income was assured. Another order that had this problem to face in County Durham was the Teresians, who had settled in the late 1790's at Saint Helen's, Auckland, after having fled from Lier. There is only slight evidence for their ever having run a school, in that they advertised with the private schools in the Catholic Directory. In 1809 they removed to Cocken Hall, near Durham, but apparently their order did not allow them to teach in the way that a

1. IBID. 1860.

modern teaching order does, and they thus found themselves in hard financial straits. By 1830 the bishop was advising them to purchase a community house, because they were unable to keep open Cocken Hall, and they had not recovered their own convent at Lier after the end of the war against France. As they were unable to take pupils by the rule of their order, they had no option but to make public their financial distress and appeal for funds.¹ Their appeal must have met with some success for by 1831 they had removed to a community house, Carmel Convent at Darlington, which was consecrated in 1859.²

One could hardly say that the education of girls in private schools made great headway in the county in the nineteenth century, but at least the opportunities were there if they were needed. One has the feeling, however, that wherever possible the greater landowners preferred to send their children abroad, a tradition that had been followed for many years in penal times. Most of the efforts made to educate boys and girls privately seem to be somewhat amateurish, always excepting Ushaw and the boys' academy at Darlington, but it must be remembered that the religious orders of nuns had not usually made their living by teaching, and the

1. IBID. 1830.

2. Northern Catholic Calendar 1966.

efforts made by Mary Ward in the seventeenth century had been found to be against decrees of the Council of Trent,¹ and in consequence many enclosed orders such as the Carmelites found it difficult to ensure financial solvency by teaching school. This difficulty did not arise in the teaching of boys, and this is why the comparative success of those establishments catering for young gentlemen was most marked. Tudhoe, Ushaw and Belle Vue all played a prominent part in the education of the sons of gentlemen, and whilst the only enduring institution is that at Ushaw, it owes something to the fact that private students were educated there. Mr. Kirkley's academy, too, must be seen in its proper perspective as the worthy forerunner of those large private houses and mansions, which were turned into the independent and direct grant Catholic grammar schools that have played a prominent part in the education of Catholic youth.

Saint Cuthbert's having the dual purpose of a seminary and a private school was bound to be the most enduring of all the academies,^{p:} and consequently it is not surprising to find that its record of scholarship and its high academic traditions, established very early in its existence, have persisted to the present day. The development of

1. Beales. Education under Penalty, p.203.

Ushaw as a seminary, as well as in the field of secular education has been dealt with separately, but as an example of the efforts that were made at Ushaw in both the secular and religious field, one could not do better than quote from the recollections of an old alumnus on the foundation of Saint Cuthbert's Society on July 19th. 1854, one year after Mgr. Newsham celebrated his jubilee. The Society was founded, "... with the view of forming a bond and centre union for the alumni and friends of Saint Cuthbert's College ... and for the promotion of religion and learning among the students of the college, by the foundation of scholarships and by grants for prizes and for the expenses of Matriculation and other University examinations."¹ The prizes ranged from £20 to £4 and a council of 25 officers and 5 trustees administered the prizes, whilst the society was under the active patronage of the bishops and archbishops of England.

Saint Cuthbert's Society flourished and prospered because men like the Very Reverend Dean Hogarth gave the society their support and patronage, so that by 1868 it was possessed of a large invested capital, which must have been very useful as the numbers presented for the London

1. Records and Recollections of Saint Cuthbert's by an old Alumnus 1889.

University examination increased.¹ By 1887 the Tablet could report that, "For 5 and 20 years Ushaw has sent a continuous stream of students to the examinations held by the University of London and now proudly claims a greater number of achieved successes than any other Catholic Institution can point to in the same period."² There can be little doubt that Saint Cuthbert's Society contributed greatly to this success, but the fact that student tradition could be fostered in this way was a strong sign that Ushaw was no temporary establishment. The constant need for priests, as the Roman Catholic population grew, would no doubt have ensured that Ushaw continued to exist, but its early dependence on private students, always fairly high in the nineteenth century, ensured that the college proved itself not solely as a seminary, but also as a school, and this was emphasised by the foundation of the society for alumni and students alike, where the one could support the other in the best traditions of all such societies.

The best private education for young men during the 1830's and 40's was to be had at Darlington and Ushaw, and in many cases Ushaw played the role of providing higher education for men such as Dr. Wilkinson,

1. IBID.

2. Tablet. Nov. 19th. 1887.

who stayed at Mr. Kirkley's establishment until he was 12 years old in 1832. If the efforts of others in the private sector do not seem so important because they have elements of self support about them, they should not be discounted for this reason alone, for there can be no doubt of the sincerity that prompted men like Thomas Storey, and the women of the religious orders, to undertake the education of Catholic youth when there was very little provision being made in England.

THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

The strength of Catholic education in the latter part of the eighteenth century was undoubtedly in the private sector. The foundations at Tudhoe and at Crook, and later at Ushaw all fulfilled the needs of the small Roman Catholic population of Durham as well as catering for boys and young men from other parts of the north. The missions of course served the poor of the district but were not really concerned with education as such. More often than not they were dependent on the local patronage of the Catholic squirearchy, but it was out of these missions that the first feeble steps were to be taken, which would lead to the rapid growth of the Catholic poor school as the dominant factor in Roman Catholic education in mid century.

The Catholic population of Durham before the turn of the century could have been little more than that of the returns to the House of Lords of 1767, when it numbered 2,733.¹ Indeed some towns like Darlington without a resident priest until 1802, showed a fairly marked decline in population; numbering 84 in 1767, it was reduced to about 20 souls in 1800 who "were accustomed to creep silently into a garret to avoid the insults of bigotry."² Not unnaturally the larger centres of Catholic population existed in the places that were served by priests, and on the whole these places tended to be in the north of the county rather than the south. The exceptions were Hardwick, Stockton and Darlington. The small Catholic populations of Hartlepool, Stranton and Wolviston were able to attend Mass at Hardwick Hall until the Maire family sold out in 1823, but it wasn't long before a new chapel was opened at Hutton Henry. At Stockton the mission had originated in 1697, and the fund established then had been continued in 1743 by a Mrs. Elizabeth Grange, who had provided that Mass be said at Stockton three Sundays in every four, and on three days in the week. Though this fund was discontinued before 1783, the mission seems to have carried on quite well and also served Darlington till 1802.³

1. Ushaw Magazine 1962.

"Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham in 1767." A.C.M. Forster.

2. History of Darlington. W.H.D. Longstaffe, p.250.

3. Ushaw Magazine 1962.

"Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham in 1767." A.C.M. Forster.

In the north of the county the large centres of Catholics in 1767 were at Durham, (420), Ryton, (457), Lanchester, (284), Chester-le-Street, (172), Brancepeth, (119), Bishopwearmouth and Sunderland, (136), and Croxdale, (104). In total these places accounted for about 65% of the Catholic population of the county, and were also the only places where there was a resident Catholic priest, or where a priest from a nearby mission served the Catholic population. The one exception was Bishop Auckland with a small Catholic population of 31, which was served from Durham. In some cases the connection of the mission with local well-to-do Catholic families is obvious; the Jesuit mission at Durham was of very long standing, but in Old Elvet the secular mission had probably begun as a private chaplaincy to the Witham family. In Stella, in the parish of Ryton, the Tempests and the Widdringtons had been the patrons of the mission, which had existed from the reign of Elizabeth, and at Croxdale the Salvin family supported a secular priest.¹ As late as 1824 a list of missions in Durham, printed in the Catholic Directory, shows no significant changes, and it is not therefore surprising to find that six of the first seven poor schools to come under government inspection were to be found in this list.

1. Ushaw Magazine 1962. IBID.

<u>MISSION</u>	<u>PRIEST</u>
Berkeley, Chester-le-Street.	Rev. J. Rigby.
Cocken Hall.	Rev. J. Roby.
Croxdale Hall.	Rev. T. Smith.
Darlington.	Rev. Mr. Hodgson (succeeded by William Hogarth in 1825).
Durham.	Rev. J. Wheeler and Rev. Mr. Scott.
Hardwick.	Rev. T. Slater.
Esh and Pontop.	Rev. J. Yates.
Stella.	Rev. Mr. Hall.
Stockton.	Rev. J. Carr.
Sunderland.	Rev. P. Wilcock. ¹

Despite this later progress there was certainly no early pre-occupation with the education of the poor, and prominent Catholics were apt to be very introspective about the type of education they wished to set up, as well as clearly defining who the education was meant for. On April 10th 1787 the prominent Catholics of the British Catholic Association committee wrote as follows, to gentlemen throughout the country; "Your committee, considering it their duty to point out to you

1. Catholic Directory 1824.

those things which they think would be of national benefit, beg leave to suggest to you the propriety of establishing a school upon a proper foundation. At present there is no school in this country except for very young boys, who are placed there for a short time, previous to being sent to some place of education on the continent, by which means all those who are destined by their parents for business, who are a considerable number, are deprived of a proper education; that received at any school on the continent being evidently ill-calculated for such as are intended for business in this country. They therefore beg leave to propose to you, the settling of a school, which shall afford a system of education proper for those destined for civil or commercial life."¹ The expense of such a foundation was to be borne by those who were convinced of its benefits, and the actual setting up and running of such an institution were to be left to the trustees who would be appointed. There is little evidence here of general concern for education and the aims are very severely circumscribed.

Happily this attitude was to change, and no doubt the national tolerance beginning to be shown to Catholics accounted in some part for

1. Salvin Papers. D/SA/F 199-224 Durham Record Office.

this change. The early beginnings of the Catholic poor schools are to be found in small Sunday schools, and in the direct foundations that, like the missions, came from the squirearchy. The first of these to be examined seems to be a rather strange mixture of both. The Salvin family of Croxdale owned a schoolroom nearby at Sunderland Bridge, and a small quit rent was paid by the local Anglican incumbent for its use. The Salvin family seem to have insisted on fairly strict rules for the scholars and there always seem to have been a few Catholic children in attendance. In midsummer 1802 there were four Catholic children attending the school, Mary Crysop, aged 12, and her sister May, aged 8, as well as Mary and William Ord, aged 9 and 7 respectively. The rules for all scholars were laid down as follows:

" 1. That every scholar attend at 8 o'clock during summer, and 9 o'clock during the winter season: that all attend with faces and hands clean and washed and their heads combed, likewise that they attend in the same regular manner in the afternoon at 1 o'clock.

2. That the hours of teaching will be from 8 in the morning till 12 noon, and from 1 o'clock in the afternoon until five.

3. That every scholar upon his entrance into, or departure from

school pay due respect to the master, and that no scholar go out or leave school without his permission, and that all observe due silence during the hours of teaching.

4. That the terms of teaching will be for Reading, 6d. entrance and 3sh. per quarter, Writing 6d. entrance and 4 shillings per quarter, Arithmetic 1/- entrance and 5 shillings per quarter.

5. That no scholar be seen playing in, or doing damage to, any of the plantations adjoining to this village belonging to William Thomas Salvin Esq.

July 1802."¹

There is no record of where the schoolroom was situated, but certainly it could not have been a new building, for by 1836 the incumbent, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Peile, had approached Mr. Salvin concerning the dilapidated condition of the room. As Mr. Salvin was the landlord, the expenses for alteration and renovation would have to be met by him, but in the event Dr. Peile found Mr. Salvin fairly amenable, not just with regard to alteration of the existing schoolroom, but in the provision of an entirely new one. "After one or two

1. Salvin Papers. D/SA/X 10 and 11. Durham Record Office.

interviews, "wrote Dr. Peile (Mr. Salvin and I) "had the good fortune to establish between us so amicable an understanding on what we felt to be our common duty of educating the children, whether of Roman Catholic or Protestant parents, in and around Sunderland Bridge, that Mr. Salvin voluntarily offered on his own land, and at his own charge, to build the present commodious schoolroom, for which I was to pay an annual quit rent of £10."¹ The schoolroom was built, and Catholic children continued to be educated alongside their Protestant companions as had been the case in the old schoolroom.

Despite the fact that there was a long and protracted dispute between the wife of Mr. Gerard Salvin and the Rev. Henry Chaytor during the years 1849-55, concerning the use of the Authorised Version of the Bible in teaching Catholic schoolchildren, Protestants and Catholics continued to be educated together. It is very likely that the schoolroom was used for Sunday school for the Roman Catholic children, for the diocesan statistics of 1852 list the Catholic population as 280, who used a schoolroom 20' x 10' x 16' on Sundays only.² Certainly there was no Catholic school which came under government inspection,

1. Salvin Papers. D/SA/C/220. Durham Record Office.
Dr. T. Peile to Rev. H. Chaytor.
2. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1852.

either at Croxdale or Sunderland Bridge, as late as 1875, and those Catholics who did not attend a Catholic day school in Durham must have continued to use the schoolroom built about 1837.

The progress towards educating the children of the poor in the towns was slightly more orthodox than at Croxdale, the pattern usually being the foundation of a mission, then the opening of a chapel followed by a small Sunday school, and sometimes a free day school. From these small beginnings would come one of the first Catholic poor schools that would open its doors to government inspection in 1849. This is very much the pattern at Sunderland. The first Catholic chapel had been opened on the west side of Bridge Street on 15th. September 1835, where the present Saint Mary's church stands, but there had been a resident priest and a Catholic chapel continuously from 1769. A previous chapel had been destroyed by a frenzied mob of sailors taking part in an anti-Jacobite riot. They had entered the church, "where they had found several people at their prayers and a couple about to be married, who, with Mr. Hankins their priest, all fled out; upon which, the sailors immediately pulled down their altar and their crucifix,

together with all the seats and the priest's robes, and burnt them in a fire made for that purpose, and also a large library of books and papers and belongings of the priest."¹

Though a house and chapel had been built in Vine Street, the Rev. John Bamber, who had served Sunderland from Durham for some years, did not take up residence until twenty four years after the disaster of 1745. The Vine Street chapel was eventually closed ~~due~~ to the bankruptcy of the trustees, and the Rev. Michael Fletcher built a new chapel in Dunning Street in 1785, and it was this chapel that was the immediate predecessor of Saint Mary's Sunderland. Schools were not added to the chapel in Dunning Street until 1830, and this first Catholic free school was under the direction of Mr. Joseph T. Bourke.² The school was held in the church and had been established by Fr. Philip Kearney who had come to Sunderland from County Meath, in Ireland, in 1829. Even before the foundation of this free day school there had been a Sunday school in Dunning Street as early as 1819, and there is a distinct possibility that this Catholic Sunday school had been started before the turn of the century. The Sunday school movement promoted by

1. Fordyce p.444. (From 'The Gentleman's Magazine'.)
2. Pigot's Directory 1834.

Robert Raikes had been taken up actively in Sunderland, due to the efforts and enthusiasm of a local Methodist, Mr. Michael Longridge, and schools were in existence as early as 1786, and though there had been a great reduction in numbers by 1803, through lack of funds, there had been some gathering of strength again by 1818. The Methodist chapel at Monkwearmouth, and the Bethel chapel were very strong in numbers, instructing six hundred and two hundred and fifty children respectively, and compared to these the numbers attending the Catholic Sunday school (50), were quite small, but not quite the lowest in the town.¹ It was with this background of a fairly active Sunday school movement that Fr. Kearney established the poor school taught by Mr. Bourke. It was not until 1843 that the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Mercy undertook the teaching of the boys at Saint George's, Pann Lane, and the girls at Saint Bede's, first at Dunning Street and later in Green Street,² and it was these schools that were amongst the first to come under government inspection in the county. Saint Mary's schools today stand on the site of the Old Infirmary purchased in 1851,³ and though the life of the schools is coming to an end, they have one of the longest and proudest traditions of any school in the county.

1. Garbutt. "History of Sunderland", p.359.

2. Fordyce, p.44.

3. Watson. "Voluntary Schools in the Educational System", p.56.

Once Catholic schools came under government inspection the chief impediment to progress, that was continually noted by the inspectors in their reports, was the hopeless poverty of the Roman Catholic communities, and even when the Catholic Poor School Committee was established in 1847, there was always a constant need for the charity of the faithful and of the rich benefactor. Such a benefactor was responsible for the building of both church and school at Hartlepool. The Catholic population at Hartlepool before 1800 had been very small indeed; the 1767 returns of Papists had shown 16~~7~~ Catholics in Hartlepool, 9 in Greatham, 22 in Stranton, 25 in Hart, 1 in Elwick and 1 in Wolviston, a population that would hardly have increased to the size to have need of one school, if there had not been an influx of immigrant labour from Ireland. The sudden upsurge in the Catholic population of Hartlepool in the early part of the century was directly responsible for the foundation of three schools, all under government inspection by 1866. After the sale of Hardwick Hall in 1823, a small Catholic chapel was built at Hutton House in 1825, for what then was a small Roman Catholic population, but ten years later a new church called Saint Hilda's was built and opened through the generosity of Mrs. Cayley

of Scorton. In 1837 a school was built by the same benefactress, and placed under the care of Mr. Joseph Taylor, the very first master, who taught twenty pupils. In 1839 Miss Margaret Hedley began teaching school at the age of 16, and under her tutelage the school was opened for inspection in 1849. It was not until 1853 that a further school was opened in Hartlepool and named Saint Bega's. Saint Bega's was in the first place a ragged school, from which children sometimes graduated to Saint Hilda's, once they were sufficiently respectable. Once again personal generosity was responsible for the opening of this small one-room school in the north of the town, in Chapman Street. The sponsor was once more a lady, and this time the sister of the parish priest of Saint Hilda's, Miss Alice Knight.¹ Despite these acts of personal generosity as to foundation, it was still necessary for Fr. William Knight to appeal for general help for the upkeep of the schools, and consequently he inserted the following appeal in the Catholic Directory of 1842.

"HARTLEPOOLS. Saint Hilda's. There are attached to the Mission two schools, one for boys and another for girls, built at the sole expense of Mrs. Cayley of Scorton. Their pious and truly

1. "The Catholic Church in Hartlepool and West Hartlepool".
Fr. B.C. Sharatt, 1960.

charitable foundress has also given most generously towards their support, but the funds are quite inadequate to the necessities of the schools.....Contributions towards educating the children will be received by the Pastor or by the Very Rev. Wm. Hogarth VG."¹

Father Knight moved from Saint Hilda's in 1851, and became the first parish priest of the church of the Immaculate Conception, and it was to this church that Saint Bega's ragged school, the only Catholic school in the county recorded as such, was attached.² Though the inspection of schools is dealt with later it is worthwhile recording the first report on Saint Bega's, inspected on August 19th. 1853.

"Hartlepool Ragged Mixed. This school owes its existence and success to the continuing piety of Miss Alice Knight, sister of the Reverend William Knight, who daily devotes hours to its superintendence. It is designed for the destitute children, who, many of them orphans and all with no more certain means of subsistence than the sale of chips or cockle affords, wanting decent clothing and sufficient food, could not be at once introduced into an institution of ordinary class. Here the most wretched gain the rudiments of learning, and acquire

1. Catholic Directory 1842.
2. "History of Hartlepoons", Sharp. 1816. (With Supplement to 1851.)

there feelings of self respect, which are so necessary to stimulate them to honest exertion. In bad seasons food is supplied. After a time many of the children improve in condition sufficiently to be passed into the other school, to which it thus acts as feeder."¹

The high principles of the foundress and those who ran Saint Bega's can hardly be called into question, despite our abhorrence of the principle of segregation that might eventually lead to graduation to a Catholic poor school. What of the school to which the graduate from Saint Bega's might aspire? In terms of numbers there were almost twice as many children in the two departments of Saint Hilda's, the boys having six parallel desks and the girls having seven with their slightly higher numbers. The mistress in charge was Miss Margaret Hedley, who had started teaching at Saint Hilda's in 1839 at the age of 16 and thus when Saint Bega's opened would have been thirty years of age.² A master taught the boys' department, and the records of the Poor School Committee show him to have been certified but give no clue to his name; the only man teaching at Hartlepool whose name is mentioned is Mr. J. Knox, a pupil teacher in the first year of his apprenticeship at the same

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1853.
2. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1853.

time as Miss Hedley 1849/50, and it is more than likely that he was the certificated master in charge of the boys. The books, furniture and apparatus in the school were all moderate; there was no playground, and only the influence of Miss Hedley "over the minds and manners of the girls" as well as her "unusually good" teaching of History and Geography come in for special mention. This could hardly be called an enticing prospect for the graduate of the ragged school, but no doubt the social benefits of the move were some incentive. In any case Saint Bega's, once established, was put on a more respectable footing by taking annual government aid in the shape of the books, apparatus and maps award, and by 1861 had received a total sum of £39.13. 4. in addition to this, as annual grants to augment salary.¹

There are certain similarities between the foundations at Hartlepoons, in the south of the county, and the one at Stella in the far north. Both places had existed as Catholic centres through the patronage of local families, the Maires at Hardwick Hall in the case of Hartlepoons, and the Tempests at Stella. There the similarity ends, for whilst Hartlepool was developed chiefly because of the influx of

1. IBID.

immigrants from Ireland, who came to work in the docks and on the railway, there had always been a fairly flourishing native recusant population at Stella. In the sixteenth century a nunnery at Stella, in the parish of Ryton, had passed into the hands of the Tempest family, but they gave over a part of Stella Hall for use as a Catholic chapel, and Mass was celebrated there without a break until 1831, when the church of Saint Mary and Saint Thomas Aquinas was opened.¹ The Catholic population numbered 457 in 1767, had dropped to 324 in 1780, but by 1788 was 350.² By 1792 the number of Catholics was 359 when there were only 120 Methodists and 122 other dissenters.³ There is little doubt that Stella Hall had, from time to time, been used, not only as a Mass centre, but as a school. It is not possible to show any kind of continuous tradition, but what is likely is that itinerant priests and some lay schoolmasters, (vide the case of John Whitfield, Chapter 1), would use the Hall to instruct the young. With a Catholic tradition that was so strong and of such long standing, it is not surprising that there was ample local backing for the building of a new church and school at Stella. The chaplain 1775-92 was Rev. Thomas Eyre, who had been appointed by his namesake and cousin the new squire, a

1. "History of Parish of Ryton". William Bourne.

2. IBID.

3. Durham and Northumberland Parish Register Society. (Vol. F. Ryton).

nephew of the Widdringtons and Tempests. The Rev. Thomas Eyre did not regard his position as simply being that of a paid chaplain. He was the originator of the scheme to found a new church and school at Stella, and he it was who established a firm financial basis for his ideas to be carried out.

The nucleus of the fund for building the new chapel was £500 from Lady Mary Eyre, the daughter of the Countess of Newborough, and this grant was received as early as 1798. By the time the money came to be used the accumulated interest had raised the fund to £900. Large donations were also received from the Silvertop family, and from the Dunns, who were the actual tenants of Stella Hall, to add another £500 to the chapel fund. As well as these large sums there were very many small donations from local Protestant gentlemen, a tribute both to them, and to the longstanding Catholic tradition at Stella.¹ Despite this sound financial basis the chapel was not built until 1830, and was opened by Bishop Penswick with accommodation for 400. There is no record of the actual date that the school was opened, but it could have been no later than 1834, when Pigot's Directory lists a Catholic free school at

1. "History of Parish of Ryton." William Bourne.

Stella taught by John Bowden, where there was accommodation for about 40 children. The old school was amongst the first open to inspection in 1849, when Mr. Marshall could report, "These are pleasing schools, though capable of improvement. Some of the children sing rather difficult music from notes in a creditable style. The reading is particularly good. A monthly list of attendance is hung up on the church door, which may be supposed to produce a good effect upon both parents and children."¹

The conditions and records of grant in aid to Catholic poor schools are dealt with in another chapter, but it is worthwhile mentioning here that Stella was one of only two Catholic schools in the whole country that felt sufficiently confident to accept government aid to build a new school, the other one being at Sheffield. A grant of £279 was made for the building of the school in 1856, and the acceptance of this grant meant that the school at Stella could not be withdrawn from inspection, which would have been the case if augmentation grants only had been received. Obviously Catholic managers felt some reluctance to apply for a grant that seemed to have rigid conditions

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education. 1849.

attached to it, and as late as 1875 the Catholic free school at Stella was the only one in the county to have completed recommended building improvements with aid from the government. There is no record of why the managers at Stella felt able to accept a government building grant, and the consequent condition of permanent inspection, but this condition must have held no terrors for a parish with such a long recusant tradition.

Almost as strong in its recusancy as Stella was Durham City itself. In 1767 there had been 420 recusants recorded in the returns to the House of Lords, and they were listed in their several parishes as follows;

St. Giles	41
St. Margaret	118
St. Mary	5
St. Nicholas	67
St. Oswald	189 ¹

There were three priests in Durham at the time. Fr. Henry Brent S.J. was in charge of the Jesuit mission and had succeeded Fr. Thomas Waterton in

1. Ushaw Magazine 1962.

"Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham in 1767". A.C.M. Forster.

1766, at the Catholic chapel in Old Elvet. There was a secular mission also in Old Elvet, which had probably been a private chaplaincy in the house that belonged to the Witham family, and the priest here was Fr. William Maire. The third priest conducted a mission at Gilesgate, and it was this priest, Rev. John Bamber, who supplied at Sunderland, where he eventually moved. Dorothy Joplin and Margaret Laidler have already been mentioned as Catholic schoolmistresses in Durham City at the time of the 1767 return, but there is no further record of Catholic education until 1793, when the vicar of St. Oswald's had reported a Catholic school, "kept by a reputed Papist, but no children of Protestants admitted."¹ It has been suggested that this was the school that had received the interest from £50 in 1787, the result of a repaid loan to a Charity fund by a Catholic bookseller, (v. Chapter on R.C. education in Durham during the eighteenth century). This loan had been repaid to Henry Maire, a trustee of the fund, and he had agreed that "the interest of the said £50 be appropriated in future to the Durham Sunday schools."²

The Durham Catholic Sunday schools must have carried on until the old Jesuit mission closed in 1827, but there is no existing record of

1. Survey of Durham 1793. Prior's Kitchen Durham.
2. Account book of Clergy Agent. Archives of Hexham and Newcastle (from Rev. W. V. Smith, Lanchester).

their progress, or of the numbers of children they catered for. A new parish, Saint Cuthbert's, was opened in Durham on May 31st. 1827 and was situated in Old Elvet. The church had been built by the Rev. Mr. Croskells, one of the Douai students, who had spent some time in Douellens prison, before being allowed to return to England in 1795. After spending some years in Yorkshire he came to Durham in 1824,¹ and after opening the church he opened a small schoolroom attached to it. By 1845 the school was being supported by local subscriptions and schoolpence, and 60 boys and 45 girls were receiving instruction in separate rooms, but there were also 130 children, in need of free education, not attending school. Despite the fact that the boys' room was dark, damp, low and improperly ventilated,² Saint Cuthbert's came under inspection in 1849, and by 1852 another room was in use,³ making three schoolrooms in all. Despite its interesting educational history in the eighteenth century, the progress towards Catholic free education in Durham City was very orthodox. Whilst other towns were busy establishing a Catholic tradition, and taking their first steps in educational matters, in Durham the established pattern of Sunday school and day school was simply carried on in the same way as it had been

1. Ushaw Magazine 1940. "The Secular Clergy in the City of Durham".
W. V. Smith.
2. Statistics of Schools. 1845 Returns (Report of the Catholic Poor
School Committee).
3. IBID. 1852 Returns.

during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and always had the ability to adapt and change when this became necessary.

One can only admire the tenacity of the flourishing recusant populations at Durham and Stella, but it was probably far more difficult to re-establish a mission and a school in a place such as Houghton-le-Spring, where there had been no resident priest, from the time of Elizabeth until 1833. That such a priest was able to build a church, and open one of the first seven schools in the county that accepted inspection, is very creditable indeed. Fr. James Augustine McEvoy was the priest, and he founded the mission at Houghton in 1831.¹ By 1833 he was appealing for funds to build a church by way of the Catholic Directory, and was so successful that he was able to open a new church in 1837. The school at Houghton was not opened until 1842, and was held in "a room of good dimensions under the chapel."² By 1849 there were only 69 children present for the first inspection (v. Appendix 1. Numbers attending inspected schools in Durham in 1849.), and even four years later only 73 children were under regular instruction. Progress was understandably slow, "Numeration and mental arithmetic have been much

1. Historical Dictionary of English Missions. Kelly.
2. Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1849.

neglected and the amount of instruction hitherto conveyed has been very limited. There is however no want of disposition on the part of the managers to stimulate its further progress," so ran Mr. Marshall's first report of 1849. One would hardly call this an encouraging start, but when we remember that by the time of the revised code there were only eleven places in Durham with schools under inspection, the achievement of Houghton, one of the first six inspected in 1849, can be seen in its real light.

Educationally Houghton made only fair progress; discipline was described in the mid-fifties as satisfactory, and whilst there was good instruction in History and Geography, the teaching of Arithmetic was still weak. John Kean was helped by his wife, who taught the girls needlework with not a great deal of success. Mr. Kean however had gained his certificate of merit before his school was inspected and performed his duties "with industry and ability." Mr. Kean was commended for his teaching of History and Geography particularly to the first class, and for the way he was able to use his reading lessons to good account in other fields.¹ Steadiness then, would seem to be the hallmark of the

1. Report of Committee of Council 1853.

schooling provided at Houghton, yet there was in fact a steady improvement in facilities through capital grants from the Poor School Committee, and when Hannah Rowe left Mount Pleasant as a qualified teacher and joined the staff at Houghton in 1858,¹ things were to be much better. With an awareness from the inspectorate that teaching was hard in a mining district where the attendance was not very regular, and that the children in regular attendance were very young, it must still have been difficult for Mr. Kean and Miss Rowe to make real progress. In 1855 only 9 children out of the 47 attending the Inspection had received the capitation grant, and the reports on the school were as ever moderate. One can only assume, therefore, that the appointment of Miss Rowe must have acted like a transfusion, for in 1861 Mr. Lynch could report that throughout his district there were 27 schools that met with unqualified praise, 101 were making fair progress and 16 were "decidedly inferior". Yet "among the 1st class were ... Hartlepool and Houghton-le-Spring".² There must have been many difficulties to face in starting and opening a school for inspection in a place like Houghton, where there had not been any great local Catholic tradition. Consequently, it must have been a great source of satisfaction to the

1. Catholic Poor Schools Committee Report 1858.
2. Report of Committee of Council 1861.

managers that, in so little time, the reputation of the school with the inspectorate could at least match that of the districts that had a longer history of Catholicity, and service from the clergy.

In the south of the county, Darlington, like Houghton, had preserved very little Catholic tradition, except perhaps at Gainford where the vicars had complained in 1736, and 1767 that Papists were in the habit of crossing the Tees to attend Mass, and sometimes school, at the house owned by the Witham family at Cliffe.¹ Nonetheless, there were only about 20 Catholics in Darlington in 1800, and although there was an emigré priest, M. Pierre Tassou, in residence in 1792, Darlington was supplied from Stockton, certainly until 1802, and very likely until 1824, Mass being celebrated once a month. By 1824 the chapel at Cliffe had been sold for a coaching house, and the congregations in Darlington, Gainford and Cliffe were merged.² In all, the joint congregations amounted to about 400, and the incumbent was the Rev. William Hogarth. In an appeal to the faithful of the district he pointed out that, through sale, the Catholics of the area had been deprived of Cliffe, "where for so many ages their ancestors had been fed with the bread of life," and

1. Vide Chapter 2.

2. Ushaw Magazine 1962. "Catholicism in the Diocese of Durham 1767",
A. C. M. Forster, and
"History of Darlington", W. H. D. Longstaffe, p.250.

that it would now be necessary for those from Cliffe to go to Darlington.¹ St. Augustine's chapel was thus built and opened in 1827, and Rev. William Hogarth made this church his residence, when he was made Bishop of the Northern District in 1848.

The first Catholic day school for the poor at Darlington was opened in the latter half of 1848, as the first tabulated report of Mr. Marshall notes;

"2nd March. Saint Augustine's, Darlington. These schools which have only been in existence a few months, have already attained a high degree of efficiency and may be expected to progress rapidly. The boys' school, of which the Master, who has attained the Certificate of Merit, is a refined and highly educated person, has rather the aspect of a 'middle' rather than a primary school. The instruction may be profitably extended, and it may be reasonably anticipated that the boys will derive in due time, from a teacher so sensible and well informed, more than the usual portion of elementary knowledge. The girls are well and carefully instructed by a mistress whose mode of examination appeared to be both judicious and methodical. Both the schools are in

1. Circulars of Vicars Apostolic. Ushaw College Library No. 216.

a satisfactory condition."¹

The day school at Darlington, like the others in the rest of the diocese, was a direct result of the foundation of a mission there in the early part of the century. The first Catholic charity schools are listed for the first time in the Catholic Directory in 1846, and in every case there was a chapel in 1824, or at least one near by. The one significant omission was Houghton-le-Spring, which had been using the room below the chapel as a school since 1842. The schools listed were named as day or Sunday schools or both;

Birtley was a day and Sunday school.

Brooms, Sunday only.

Durham, No details were given but Saint Cuthbert's was certainly a day school by this time.

Darlington, Sunday only.

Esh Laude, day and Sunday school.

Hartlepool, day and Sunday school.

Stockton, day and Sunday school.

Stella was a day school.

Sunderland was also a day school.²

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1849.
2. Catholic Directory for 1846.

All the schools, Houghton excepted, which were to accept inspection in 1849 are listed here, and one would conclude that where a chapel existed in the early part of the century it would usually have a small Sunday school attached to it, that would eventually become a day school. In Darlington, the inspector's report fixed the date of the opening of the day school, but there was a Sunday school teaching 30 boys and 30 girls in 1845, that was supported by the incumbent.¹ There is no reason to suppose that the school was not opened within a few years of the foundation of the church at Saint Augustine's, and though the evidence is scant in some cases, the development seems logical, when we find the existing missions admitting the inspector and accepting grant as soon as they were able.

So far, all the schools that have been dealt with were those that came under inspection in 1849, where the chief impediment to progress in education continually noted by the inspectors was the hopeless poverty of the Roman Catholic population. Despite the creation of the Catholic Poor School Committee as the agent to negotiate government aid in making existing schools efficient, there were still places with

1. Statistics of Schools 1845 Returns (Catholic Poor School Committee).

sizeable Catholic populations that were unable to afford a day school, and thus were absolutely dependent on charity. Perhaps the most striking case in this connection is Bishop Auckland, where a new mission was opened in 1842, and where there were...."no less than 400 souls of the labouring class." Through the "kindness and liberality of a Protestant gentleman," a large room "unplastered and open to the tiles"¹ had been lent as a temporary chapel. Though Saint Wilfred's church was opened in 1846, there was no school in 1852 of any kind, and as late as 1875 no Catholic school at Bishop Auckland was under government inspection.

Cases such as Bishop Auckland were fortunately rare, but there were still schools in Durham that were so poor that they did not even bother to apply for grant before 1870, and of course there were those founded in mid century that were very late in the field with regard to government aid, but where, in some cases, help had been received from the Catholic Poor School Committee. In this category were schools at Barnard Castle, Birtley, Brooms, South Shields, Gateshead and Thornley. As far as the use of building grants from the Catholic Poor School

1. Catholic Directory 1842.

Committee is concerned, Birtley is the first in time, receiving £10 in 1848, with South Shields receiving £80 in 1849, the rest making application during the 50s.¹ Sometimes, as in the case of Thornley, there was an unusual kind of development. With a Catholic population of about 300 in 1852, with one schoolroom of only reasonable dimensions, (37' x 12'),² Thornley proved to be one of the first Catholic Schools in the country to qualify for a small capitation grant of £8.10. Od., and was one of three schools in Durham to do so. The fact that there were only 12 Roman Catholic schools in the country to gain this grant in 1854 speaks highly of the initiative shown at Thornley, being in advance of the established inspected schools at Sunderland, Durham and Darlington. Yet as late as 1857 with a mixed school already in existence for some years, Thornley could not boast one certificated teacher, and apart from Saint Bega's, Hartlepool, was the only Catholic school in the county receiving some kind of grant and having no qualified staff. Despite the trend setting at Thornley, the handicap of having no qualified teacher was showing by 1861, when the total amount of annual grant received was only £18.15. Od.

1. 13th Annual Report of Catholic Poor School Committees.
2. Diocesan Statistics 1852. Catholic Poor Schools Committee 1852.

The grants received by the schools at Barnard Castle, Birtley and Brooms were only minimal, and by 1861 had amounted in all for the three schools to less than £20.¹ Yet Barnard Castle and Birtley had Catholic populations in the region of 400, and each possessed a room of reasonable if not ample proportions. As a mission, Birtley Saint Joseph's had been founded in 1842, and Barnard Castle a little later in 1847, and it must be assumed that with their foundations some early attempts at Sunday School education must have been tried to be able to gain small government grants, as day schools, during the late 1850's. There is no doubt that this was the early pattern of Poor School education and, in writing of Barnard Castle, Fordyce states that Saint Mary's was the old Union Hall that had been purchased and converted into a chapel; the fresco "above the altar was copied, by Mr. Harvey a talented local artist, from Lartington Hall. There is a Sunday School held in a room adjacent which is also used as a day school."² The mission at Brooms was much older than either Birtley or Barnard Castle, and had been founded in 1802; Mass had been celebrated at Pontop Hall between 1748 and 1802, and in fact if it had not been for the residence of emigré French clergy, who had arrived just in time to occupy the chapel of Our Lady and Saint Joseph

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1861.
2. Fordyce. Vol. 2. p.23.

in 1796, the mission at Pontop would have been replaced by Brooms much earlier. As it was, the 15 French priests together with their housekeeper, delayed the foundation or forming of the Brooms mission until 1802, when they returned to their own diocese of Constance, after the Concordat between Napoleon and the Pope had been signed.¹ The development of Brooms, as far as education is concerned, is disappointing. No building grant was claimed from the Poor School Committee until 1857, and by 1861 the school was only qualifying for the grant given to purchase books, apparatus, maps and diagrams. The school at Brooms qualified for grant in one year only, 1863, and the tables of grants published by the Committee of the Council show that in 1868 the school had been sold. Not until 1873 were there any signs of reawakening interest in education, when Mr. Oakley could report that he had examined 240 children who had qualified for a grant of £153.16. Od.²

The town of Gateshead had had no mission since the second Jacobite rising, and its proximity to Newcastle had more than likely helped to put off the expense of founding a mission till the middle of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1851 that the land was

1. History of Dipton. Fawcett 1911.
2. Report of the Committee of the Council on Education 1873.

purchased for the site of a new church and presbytery, of which the Rev. Frederick Bethan was to be the first incumbent.¹ There was an evident need for this foundation for the Catholic population of Gateshead was 2008, and in the two preceding years there had been 148, and 132 baptisms respectively, underlining the necessity for the school that had been opened at the beginning of the year for girls only.² Here again the formation of a Sunday school had preceded the opening of a day school. The church had been sited in a temporary chapel in Hillgate in 18~~6~~⁵2, and catechism had been held for the children each Sunday at 3.30 p.m. Despite the fact that the school had been placed under inspection, almost from its foundation, it was not until after the revised code that Gateshead was qualifying for anything other than the small allowances for books and apparatus. In a way, though, Gateshead could be considered to be labouring under a handicap from the fact that there was no permanent chapel. Although the school in Melbourne Street had been opened at once to inspection, the siting of the chapel had been a very temporary one on the top floor of a warehouse, and when this was burnt down in 1854 Father Bethan held services in the assembly rooms at the Queen's Head hotel. In 1856 a meeting was held at

1. Catholic Directory 1851.
2. IBID 1854.

the school to promote the building of a church, which he founded in May 1858, and opened and dedicated to Saint Joseph on July 5th. 1859.¹ In a way, then, Gateshead was unusual in the fact that a school was in existence a fairly long time before there was a permanent chapel, which was not the sequence of events in other parishes branching out into the field of education.

The situation at nearby Felling was rather more complex. A new chapel, Saint Patrick's, had been built in 1842,² but despite a census that revealed about 400 Catholics the mission was too poor to support a resident priest, and was served from Newcastle. It was not until 1861 that a school was built and named Saint John the Baptist's,³ and the record of government aid shows that it was first inspected in 1866, when there was an average attendance of 146, and £31. 7.11d. was paid in grant.⁴ What is very confusing about Felling is the fact that in 1845 the statistics, published by the Catholic Poor School Committee, showed that 193 boys and 187 girls were attending school in Felling, and that there were 938 children in need of free education.⁵ These statistics must be inaccurate, for in 1852 the committee was showing a total

1. Lumley, "Story of Gateshead Town". 1932.
2. Catholic Directory 1843.
3. IBID. 1861.
4. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1866/67.
5. Statistics of Schools. 1845 Returns (Report of Catholic Poor School Committee).

Catholic population of only 950.¹ Even though there was a large chemical works which employed a high proportion of immigrants from Ireland, the figures for children receiving or needing free education do not make sense, especially when in 1852 the Poor School Committee, commenting on the lack of schools at Felling, reported that schools were much needed. There could, no doubt, have been some confusion between the Catholic populations at Gateshead and Felling, but all that is certain is that Saint John the Baptist's was not built until 1861 and not inspected until 1866.

By 1852 the Catholic Poor School Committee was listing nineteen places in the county where schools existed, or where there was a need for a school. (Vide statistics at the end of the chapter.) Of these, only Croxdale, Hutton House, Stockton, Esh and Wolsingham were places that did not have a school under government inspection by 1873. Hutton House and Croxdale did not have a school at all, and the others, either through poverty or late foundation, existed outside the system that maintained them through Poor School grants, or government aid. The revised code of 1862 certainly caused some managers to think hard

1. IBID 1852.

before applying for government aid, and Mr. Lynch, the inspector for Catholic schools indicated to the Committee of the Council that, "while future conditions of your Lordships grant in aid of local exertions are matters of doubt and discussion, as they have been during the past year, many managers hesitate in placing schools under inspection."¹ With only three schools not applying for grant in the county, this could hardly be applied to Durham. Saint Mary's, Stockton had a school unsupported by any grant from 1841, and probably the small Catholic population accounted for this lack of application. Thirty years before the school opened, the Catholics in Stockton had been so few that they "assembled in a small chapel at the foot of Finkle Street, the Rev. Mr. Storey being then their minister. He was succeeded in 1832 by Rev. J. Dugdale from Ushaw College."² Mr. Storey's preparatory school at Stockton has been mentioned already, and the number of Catholics in his time must have been very few to have been served by a fairly busy schoolmaster. At Stockton, unlike Middlesbrough and Hartlepool, there had been no sudden upsurge in the number of Catholics due to Irish immigrants, and the school at Stockton would have closed from "extreme destitution"³ if grants had not been forthcoming from the Poor School

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1861.
2. Heavisides. "Annals of Stockton" p.128.
3. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1849.

Committee. The need for support at Stockton must have been great, for the Catholic Institute made a grant of £100 in 1847, before its funds were handed over to the Catholic Poor School Committee.¹

Considering that there was a school at Esh before the turn of the century, it is surprising that there was no inspected school there in 1870. "The school at Esh was begun in 1795 or 1796. Mr. Holford endowed the school at Esh - his daughter, Lady Smythe was the patroness - he managed the £20 - he had always plenty of money for charitable purposes - he spent some time at Esh every year - he was most active about the school."² The school certainly carried on, receiving grants of £50 in 1848 and 1851 from the Poor School Committee, but no doubt the small numbers attending the school, only 37 in 1845, made it impracticable to apply for government support. At Wolsingham too, despite the existence of a schoolroom, the smallness of the attendance from what would be a fairly scattered Catholic population would probably have held the managers back from applying for grant. In any case it is likely that the school at Tow Law would have fulfilled some of the needs of the area. The opening of an ironworks, which gave

1. Report of Catholic Institute 1847.
2. Archives Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle. (v. Ushaw Magazine 1963. "Catholic Education in Durham in the 18th Century". W.V. Smith.)

employment to a number of Catholic families had meant that Tow Law opened an inspected school that more than likely served both villages. This apparent lack of initiative in applying for government aid is certainly the exception rather than the rule, for even very poor parishes such as Saint Benet's, Monkwearmouth, founded in 1865, and Saint Patrick's, Sunderland, founded in 1860, both applied for government aid in 1869 and 1873 respectively. In both cases early ventures in education were handicapped by poverty, and the first schoolroom at Saint Benet's was the vestry which was furnished as a schoolroom at the expense of the parish priest.¹

Whilst managers at times were reluctant to open their schools to inspection, it certainly appears that in Durham, wherever efficient rooms and schoolmasters made it possible, government help of one kind or another was essential if the education of the poor was to be undertaken on a sensible basis. It will be seen in the next chapter how such applications were encouraged by the Catholic Poor School Committee and how the schools that co-operated with this central organisation were to prosper.

1. Watson. "Voluntary Schools in the Educational System".

<u>MISSION</u>	<u>CATHOLIC POPULATION</u>	<u>SCHOOL ROOMS</u>	<u>DIMENSIONS L.B. HEIGHT IN FEET.</u>	<u>DEFICIENCY AND REMARKS</u>
Durham.	1220	3	27x25x12	
Barnard Castle.	414	1	29x21x10	School apparatus deficient.
Birtley.	400	1	30x18x10	
Bishop Auckland.	700	No school.		50 children require education. Schools very much wanted.
Brooms.	-	-	-	-
Croxdale Hall.	280	1	20x16x10	Sunday only.
Darlington.	900 - 1000	2	63x19x13 each.	Infant school wanted.
Esh Laude.	530	1	35x20x12	Support wanted for schoolmistress.
The Felling.	950	No school.		Schools wanted particularly.
Gateshead.	1948	-	48x18x12	School held in chapel and money wanted for girls' school.
Hartlepool.	1000	3	30x18x11 30x18x11 40x30x12	Industrial and night schools are contemplated.

<u>MISSION</u>	<u>CATHOLIC POPULATION</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>DIMENSIONS L.B. HEIGHT IN FEET.</u>	<u>DEFICIENCY AND REMARKS</u>
Houghton.	800	1	42x30	
Hutton House.		No school at present.		
Stella.	900			New schools about to be built.
Stockton.	800 - 900	2	36x18x12	
South Shields and Jarrow.	1200	4		Only half attend.
Sunderland.	No return.			
Thornley.	300	1	37x12x12	
Wolsingham	500	1	37x15x8	

The above table is an abstract from the 1852 Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee.

GOVERNMENT INSPECTION, AND
THE CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOL COMMITTEE

The direct ancestor of the voluntary aided school is the Catholic poor school of the nineteenth century. This is not unknown, but what is surprising is the fact that where now the Catholic voluntary school progresses very much on a local basis, filling local needs, and directed by local managers and governors, the poor schools of the nineteenth century were a direct result of central action by an organised Catholic body acting under the patronage, and indeed the authority of the hierarchy. It took some little time for the Catholic authorities to overcome their mistrust of the central government with regard to grants, the right of inspection and the ultimate control of the schools; but once initial fears had been overcome the Catholic Poor

School Committee acted not only with strength, but provided the spearhead for the effective growth of all Catholic education in the country.

In tracing the development of the growth of education in Durham it is necessary to remember that a similar growth was going on in all areas of the country where responsible Catholics felt obliged to provide an education for those who would not have been able to seek or provide it for themselves. It is the most striking feature of the progress of Catholic education in the nineteenth century that teachers were presenting themselves for examination, and applying for capitation grants, and managers were applying for grants for buildings and the purchase of books, not just in certain areas, and not just as the mood took them, but in all areas, and through the direct agency of the Catholic Poor School Committee. The control of the committee was in every way complete, and the early history of the Roman Catholic school is one of central control in all matters that tended to bring the Catholic school into the state system.

The earliest grant in aid of education was made in 1833, and amounted to £20,000, and this amount was devoted to the aiding of school building. It was allotted in special grants on the request of the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society, and in Scotland through the agency of the minister and kirk session of each parish. There was no way in which Roman Catholics could benefit by this grant in aid, until Lord Melbourne's Ministry made an important change in the administration of the education grant in 1839. The grant itself was raised to £30,000 and in addition he created what was virtually an Education Department, but in name was a committee of the Privy Council, presided over by the vice-president. This committee now administered the grant, and laid down the conditions under which it could be made. In the next twenty years the grant was to rise to a million pounds, and by the time of the first Education Act it had risen to one and a quarter million pounds. In 1839 the conditions under which the grant could be made were altered so that it could be used to maintain existing schools, as well as to build new ones, the one stipulation being that schools receiving the grant be open for inspection.

The Committee of the Privy Council drew up a scheme which evidently intended to make grants available to schools, no matter what the creed, and this evoked a good deal of protest throughout the country. At a meeting of the Protestant Association on 3rd. June 1840 it was resolved to petition the crown to dissolve the Committee of the Council on Education, and to petition parliament not to renew the education grant. National education, the Protestant Association decided, should be founded on scriptural principles, and religious instruction should only be given under the guidance and in accordance with the doctrines of the Established Church. "We regretted to observe that it was intended to introduce a Romish version of the bible to mingle all denominations in the same school; to pay Romish and other heretical teachers and to divide religious instruction into two kinds general and special."¹

Although the Committee of the Council was to abandon its original scheme, another was drawn up embodying the same principles, the important one for Catholics being the intention to make grants without discrimination. The final scheme drawn up by the Council laid down

1. The Tablet. June 1840.

the regulations to be observed to obtain the parliamentary grant for the promotion of public education. Every application had to be in the form of a memorial to the Lords of the Committee of the Council on Education and had to state whether the school was;

1. A Church School i.e. founded on the principles of the Established Church.
2. A National School. One connected with the National Society.
3. A British School of the British and Foreign Schools Society.
4. A school not under any of these heads, in which case it must be specifically defined.

The memorial was to state the nature and the amount of aid sought, for the number of children for whom accommodation would be provided, the amount so far raised by the applicant in support of his aims, and the grounds for representing the case as deserving of assistance. Once a memorial of this nature was presented it was up to the committee to make a recommendation to Her Majesty in Council. With guidance and encouragement the way was open for Catholics to enjoy

the same facilities for progress as the Anglicans and the Non-Conformists.¹

Though Catholics in general were slow to avail themselves of the grant in aid of education, and though there was often reluctance to open the door to inspection as a necessary result of accepting grant, nonetheless between the years 1839 and 1858 the Catholic share of all grants in connection with education rose dramatically through the unifying action taken by the hierarchy in establishing the Catholic Poor School Committee. Between the years 1839-58 the total amount of the education grant for all schools in England amounted to £3,665,067.14.9½d. of which the Catholic share came to £129,890.16. 0d., a ratio of approximately 1 in 28. In the year 1858 itself, the total grant for the year amounted to £668,873. 8. 9d., of which the Catholic schools received £36,258. 7. 8½d. or 1 in 18, so from the point of view of grant won, and of course much of it had to be, at least Catholics were gradually reducing the gap that lay between them and the other grant aided schools.² In some respects of course there was an imbalance that did not reflect the progress made in the whole field of grants, through

1. The Tablet. August 15th. 1840.

2. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1858.

lack of emphasis on what today would be considered important in fields of education. The total amount of grant in aid received for training colleges, or normal schools, as they were called, between 1839-58 was only £5,308.16. 8d. from a total grant of £275,790. 5. 9d., and this grant covered students, Queen's scholars, certificated assistants and lecturers. True this gives a somewhat distorted picture, as no Catholic normal school existed before 1850, but for the year 1858 the ratio of grant was only 1 in 43, as compared with 1 in 52 over the whole of the twenty years 1839-58.¹ It is evident from the reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee that in the battle to provide education, it was considered that the essentials must come first, and efforts were concentrated on encouraging teachers to present themselves for examination and qualify for augmentation of salary. Success in these matters would lead to Catholic schools having accredited pupil teachers, whose salaries would likewise receive augmentation and thus enable a school to be run efficiently and, in time, be able to qualify not only for a support grant but for capitation grant as well.

If this was the national pattern of education for Catholics

1. IBID.

it was also the local one, and in many respects County Durham was in the van of much of the educational progress made in this country during the nineteenth century. Prior to 1847 grants for Catholic education were often made to charity schools by the Catholic Institute, a body of laymen who kept a watchful eye on the various aspects of Catholic life in the country, but whose activities were diverse and not solely directed towards education. However their grants to schools were often generous, £100 being made to the school in Stockton on Tees in 1847, just before its funds were handed over to the Catholic Poor School Committee.¹ Specific help given from the Catholic Institute was more readily given to clergymen ~~rather~~ than to education as such, but an acting committee, dealing with education, was in existence in 1847, but probably only as a committee holding funds for educational purposes, separate from the main finances of the Catholic Institute. The address of the Vicars Apostolic of September 27th. 1847 would seem to support the view that an acting committee had been set up purely as a fund holding committee; this letter named the lay and clerical representatives for each district of the country and asked the Catholic Institute to pass over, "whatever money may be standing in your books exclusively for the

1. Report of Catholic Institute, 1847.

purpose of Education it being the unanimous decision of the Bishops to carry on the work of Religious Education of the children of the poor by the assistance and through the instrumentality of this new subjoined committee."¹

With the Poor School Committee set up, the Bishops turned their attention to fund raising, and thus to the laity, and addressed a joint pastoral to them in February 1848. "We conjointly address you on the important subject of the education of the children of the poor ... this great urgent and necessary work." After comparing the suppression of Elizabeth with that of Julian, the letter goes on "The noble and well endowed universities and public schools were seized and thus closed to Catholics ... Catholics were forbidden under severe penalties either to provide an education for their children either at home or procure it for them abroad. It was then enacted, that if any Catholic should keep or maintain a schoolmaster he should suffer imprisonment for one year; that Catholics directly or indirectly contributing to the maintenance of Catholic seminaries beyond the seas, should forfeit their lands and possessions and be consigned to prison during the pleasure of the

1. Vicars Apostolic to Catholic Institute. 1847.
From 1st Annual Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1848.

sovereign, and that no Catholic should send his child for education beyond the seas without special licence, under forfeiture of £100 for every such offence (Statutes 23 and 27 Eliz.) ... this cruel persecuting state of affairs no longer endures, and disgraces our land," and in the enjoyment of this new freedom, "one of the first moving appeals made to us is from our poorest brethren on behalf of their uneducated children. The munificent endowments provided by our Catholic ancestors for the education of the children of the poor were seized by the civil power about 300 years ago ... we have no resource but ... to appeal to you ... to enable us to give a good religious education to the children of the poorest brethren."¹ Despite the polemics, the purpose is clearly expressed at the end of the letter, and orders a collection to be taken, on a Sunday to be particularly appointed, in every Catholic chapel in England and Wales, for the education of the poor. Private and joint collections were encouraged and were to be directed to the Catholic Poor School Committee. Finally the most important order of the bishops, for the growth of Catholic education in the parishes, directed that all applications for government aid for the support or erection of Catholic schools must be

1. Joint Letter of Bishops to Clergy and Laity. 15.2.1848.
Ushaw Collection No. 8.

made through the Catholic Poor School Committee. It is this specific order which gives a unifying effect to the growth of Catholic education throughout the nineteenth century and makes the history of the locality the history of the whole movement.

The Catholic Poor School Committee was thus established in 1847 and received the following letter of recognition from the Hierarchy;

"We recognise your Committee as the organ sanctioned by us, of communicating with the government and we have every confidence that your committee, in your communications and negotiations with the government, for any government grants will be fully aware of our determination not to yield to the minister of the day any portion, however small, either of ecclesiastical liberty, or of our episcopal control over the religious education of the children of the poorer members of our flock."¹

The Bishops were thus clearly defining their rights, but handing over to what was, in effect, a lay controlled committee full

1. Bishops to Charles Langdale. 1848.

powers of negotiation, under its Chairman Mr. Charles Langdale M.P. The Bishop of the Northern District, the Right Reverend William Gibson, in his pastoral letter of February 1849 said, "We hail with delight the establishment of a society which has united the whole Catholic Body, in this our beloved country in one glorious effort for the education of the poor."¹

The Catholic Poor School Committee was not slow to act, and was in fact making grants to schools as early as 1848. In County Durham building grants were made for schools in Darlington, (£100, with an expectation that up to 120 children would attend,) Esh Laude, Stella and Birtley. In the latter places the average expected attendance was 60 children and the grants were only half that made to Darlington, with Birtley being granted only £10. Perhaps as the town was a large centre of Catholic population and as the baptism rate was high, (about 50 children being baptised in the year 1847), and also as it was the residence of the bishop, it was thought fit to make a much higher grant to Darlington. Even though money was essential for building and support, and schools already established in South and North Shields and

1. Pastoral Letter. Bishop Gibson, 5.2.1849.

Hartlepoons received between £20 and £30 in support grants from the Poor School Committee, nonetheless what the Committee had to encourage was self help, which meant qualifying for the various forms of government aid. The aid most readily available from the government was in the form of augmentation of the salaries of teachers, who, through inspection, had received one of the classes of the certificate of merit, which gave them qualified status.¹ In 1847 Charles Langdale wrote to all the Catholic Managers in the country:

"Rev Sir,

The Catholic Poor School Committee anticipates that in the course of the ensuing summer, Masters of Catholic Schools will be admitted to public examination for certificates of merit entitling them to augmentation of salary, under the subjoined minutes of the Council on Education.

A preliminary step will be the appointment of an inspector of Catholic Schools approved by the Committee."²

The Committee evidently believed in its own strength, as is

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1848.
2. Charles Langdale to Managers. 1848.
Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1848.

evident in the last sentence of the letter, and the Committee of the Council on Education eventually appointed Mr. T.W.M. Marshall as the first inspector of Catholic schools, an appointment that was satisfactory to both sides. Mr. Marshall was to give valued service to the government and to the cause of Catholic schools for many years. The examination for Catholic schoolmasters was arranged to be held in London on 10th. April 1848, and in Newcastle upon Tyne on 23rd. April. However the second of the two examinations came to be held in Sunderland, probably because the majority of the candidates came from south of the Tyne. The examinations were duly held, and for the first time ever there were qualified Catholic teachers in the country. Eleven candidates were eventually declared successful as a result of the two examinations, and four of these were teachers at schools in County Durham, a very high proportion indeed. The certificates of merit were awarded in three classes, with three divisions in each class, and augmentation of salary ranged from £15 to £30 depending upon the class and the division within the class. In the first examination held, only one teacher qualified for the 1st class and this was to be the only first class certificate awarded for five years. It was to a Sunderland

teacher John McSwiney, a Christian Brother, teaching at Saint Mary's, Sunderland. He was placed in the third division of the 1st class, with an annual augmentation of salary of £25. John Dineen, also a Christian Brother of Saint Mary's, Sunderland, was placed in the 3rd division of the 2nd class, with an annual augmentation of £20, whilst the other qualified teachers in the county were laymen. Mr. Thomas Chapman of Saint Cuthbert's, Durham, was placed in the 3rd division of the 2nd class with an annual augmentation of £20. 0. Od., and Mr. Thomas McKenzie of Saint Augustine's, Darlington, received a place in the 2nd division of the same class, with an augmentation of £21. 0. Od. The report of the Poor School Committee for 1849 applauds the efforts made throughout the country and gives notable mention to the progress made in Durham; "Deep indeed will be the joy of the benevolent to find that they have helped to dot the land with fine and capacious schools as at Wapping, Wolverhampton, Liverpool, Saint Helens, Blackburn, Durham and Newport; that they have supported schools which without them, must have closed from extreme destitution as at Deptford, Clerkenwell, Prescott, Barnsley and Stockton Pleasing too must it be to note the progress of particular schools. To see how Durham school built in

1849 by a certificated master and pupil teachers, or again how Darlington school receiving a building grant at the close of 1848 is before a lapse of six months, in possession of the same privileges through the exertions of its clear sighted Bishop, who looks to schools for the sure and steady progress of religion ... One observation must be made before quitting the subject; appearances in the lists of grantees is not in itself a credit to a school. To provide good schoolrooms and to support efficient schools from local resources is, where possible the highest praise. And in this point of view Sunderland sets an example to the nation." Sunderland was to continue to set a fine example by the local support given to schools, and it was not until the report of Mr. Marshall on his 1851 inspection that Sunderland was to apply to the Poor School Committee for aid in building an Infant school which the report stated "has become almost indispensable and its establishment would certainly be accompanied by the happiest result."¹

The augmentation of salaries became the chief way for Catholic schools to increase their share of the government grant, for

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1849.

very often the school would be in existence when the idea of applying for grant came to be accepted, and whilst a school would be able to struggle on with a support grant from the Poor School Committee, many managers of Catholic schools would have experienced grave difficulty in finding the money necessary to pay a teacher. Besides, once a teacher was qualified, the school could then claim the privilege of pupil teachers and in 1848 94 pupil teachers were apprenticed throughout England and Wales in Catholic schools. As the report of the Poor Schools Committee puts it; "94 of the most promising boys and girls between the ages of 13 and 16 have been apprenticed in the best schools throughout Great Britain to serve their time as assistant teachers, with £10 at the end of the first year and ending with £20 at the end of 5"¹ The Committee of the Council on Education, laying down the conditions for grants to Catholic schools, had made provision for the apprenticeship of pupil teachers, and they were allowed to be recruited in the ratio of 1 to 25 children, and the master or mistress to whom they were apprenticed received an allowance of £5 per annum. On the completion of their apprenticeship the pupil teacher could compete for an exhibition (Queen's Scholarship) of £20 - £25 to a normal school or

1. IBID.

alternatively could enter the civil service. Two examples will serve to illustrate how the pattern was followed in the North East.

In 1855 Mary Jane Daghlish completed her apprenticeship at the Roman Catholic school in Stella and became a Queen's Scholar at Mount Pleasant Training College in Liverpool, receiving a second class award valued at £17 p.a. The records of schools inspected by Mr. Marshall in 1855 show that she was still at Stella, and the report of the Poor School Committee for 1857 shows her as a second year student at Mount Pleasant, and she appears to be the first woman pupil teacher from County Durham to have gone to a normal school. She left college in December 1857, as was then the practice, and took up a post at Saint Cuthbert's, Durham in January 1858.¹

Not every career ran as smoothly as this and by 1854 one of the first accredited pupil teachers in the country, and certainly the first in County Durham, had left teaching to take a post with the ordnance survey. B(ernard) Scanlan was apprenticed to Mr. John McSwiney at Saint Mary's, Sunderland, in 1848 and in the statement of grant made by

1. Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee for 1856, '57 and '58.

the government Scanlan is shown as the only pupil teacher in the county serving the second year of his apprenticeship, being indentured in March 1849.¹ His apprenticeship was completed successfully in 1854 and the fact is noted by Mr. Stokes, a previous secretary of the Poor School Committee, and now one of two further inspectors of Catholic schools. Mr. Stokes begs "leave to introduce to favourable notice the names of schools at which apprenticeship has been brought to a successful close." He goes on to name the towns and the teachers and their present employment, and we find Mary Jane Daglish and B. Scanlan figuring in the same list, the one going from her apprenticeship to training college, and the other to a post with the ordnance survey, after teaching for a little time.² Salary of course could have been at the root of the matter, for the maximum amount to be earned by a qualified teacher placed in the 1st Division of the 1st class was £60 with a school house, or £70 without one, including the government augmentation of £30. In the third division of the third class the story was a very different one, and salary was at the rate of £30 with a house or £55 without a house, with an augmentation from the government of £15. This of course was for masters, the scale for mistresses over the same

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1850.
2. "The Catholic School". No. IV, Vol. III.

range being £66 without a house, but with a top class first award, to £30 with a house but with only a certificate of merit in the third division of the third class. Even in the nineteenth century this could not be equated with wealth, and even though the augmentation of salary was conditional on the managers paying twice the augmentation, there was no guarantee that managers always kept this side of the bargain.¹

It will be seen from the accounts of aid and effort so far recorded, that Catholics were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, which the setting up of the Poor School Committee and the agreement to grant aid to Roman Catholic schools had presented to them. The general principles of the government grant were laid down in 1848 at a meeting between Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, the secretary to the Committee of the Council on Education, and Mr. Charles Langdale, the Chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee. Two kinds of grant thus became available to Roman Catholic schools from the government, grant in aid of the erection of schools, and grant towards the annual support of schools. The grants to erect schools varied according to the number of

1: Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1848.

pupils expected to attend, the suitability of the proposed school for instruction, and the provision of a house for the schoolmaster, but in practice the grant was to average between ten and fifteen shillings per child, allowing six square feet for every child. The government required that where leasehold property was to be used for building, then a clause must be inserted in the lease to secure the repayment of the grant, should the lease ever be forfeited. Legal trustees had to be appointed with powers of renewal in case of death, and local managers both clerical and lay were also to be appointed. There seem to have been objections from the Catholic side over the question of lay managers, but eventually the point was conceded, with a proviso that lay managers' powers be restricted to purely secular affairs. With regard to the actual buildings qualifying for grant, it was also agreed that they should not receive any aid if they were to be used as a place of worship; the school had to be efficient and permanent, and open to inspection for all secular instruction, freehold property was preferred and there should be no debt left on the premises once they had been erected.¹ It is not surprising that the Catholic managers found these conditions for building grant far too stringent, and in the whole of the period 1840-58

1. IBID. (Report of Meeting and Correspondence between Kay Shuttleworth and Charles Langdale.)

the total building grant made to Catholic schools throughout the whole country amounted to only £21,442.11. 1d. out of a total of just less than a million pounds. This grant covered 28 schools and 12 houses for schoolmasters. In the whole of County Durham the only school to gain a Privy Council building grant was the Catholic school at Stella, which in 1856 was awarded a grant of £279. 0. Od.¹ From the point of view of school building, the managers throughout the country preferred to apply for money to the Poor School Committee and qualify for government aid in other ways. This was the pattern throughout County Durham, where managers applied to the Poor School Committee for grants to enable them to erect the schools, and once they were established, applied for aid in support of the school from the government. The following table gives an idea of the independence Roman Catholics felt was necessary in the building of schools. It seems that it was the question of independence which was involved, for once a building grant had been accepted from the Privy Council, then the right of inspection was absolute and could not be refused as it could in the matter of support, if this was not accepted.

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1858.

BUILDING GRANTS FROM CATHOLIC POOR SCHOOL COMMITTEE 1848-60.

	Amount of Grant.	Granted.	Paid.
Birtley	£10	1848	1848
Bishop Auckland	£80	1849	Not Claimed.
	£50	1856	Not Claimed.
	£16	1857	Not Claimed.
Brooms	£50	1856	1857
Crook	£100	1854	1854
Darlington	Boys £100	1848	1848
	Girls £25	1858	1858
Esh Laude	£50	1848	1848
	£50	1851	1851
South Shields	£80	1849	1850
Stella	£50	1848	1854
	£35	1855	1855
Sunderland	£40	1852	1852
The Felling	£100	1849	Not Claimed. ¹

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1860.

This table of course takes no account of schools in the county which did not apply for building grant, such as the two schools at Hartlepool, and one each at Houghton-le-Spring, Durham itself, Gateshead, and Thornley. By 1860 there were seventeen public Catholic day schools in Durham, teaching some 1160 boys and 1162 girls, but of course the average daily attendance was much less.¹

It has been observed that the grants mainly sought were support grants, and the augmentation of salaries has already been mentioned as the chief source of income for Catholic schools. Nonetheless the agreement with the government did allow certain fringe benefits such as aid in the outfitting of a school, providing galleries, parallel desks and apparatus. Books and maps from the general list of the Committee of the Council could be purchased for 75% of the list price and could be renewed every three years at 55% of the list price. A grant of two shillings per head for the average number of scholars in attendance was given to help with the purchase of books. Like the building grant, acceptance of aid meant acceptance of certain conditions, and no other use of the school was allowed to interfere with the hours of school keeping.

1. IBID.

It was agreed that so long as aid was given then the government had the right of inspection in secular matters. If aid was accepted then the local managers had to provide a house, rent free, for the master or mistress, and guarantee a salary equal to twice the amount of grant. Where the teacher's salary was paid through the collection of school pence, only one half of the salary could be paid by this means, and the remainder of the pence had to be applied to the use of the school. Lastly, where scholars were apprenticed as pupil teachers, then the school had to stay open for the length of the indenture, which was five years. It is revealing to compare the state of affairs in the county before Catholic schools were applying for government aid, with the immediate years after the foundation of the Poor School Committee when many scholars were receiving supporting aid from the government. The following tables give a very enlightening picture about the state of affairs in the county before 1847, and how much they had improved by 1850.

1. STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS 1845 RETURNS. (Printed in 1849 report of
Catholic Poor School Committee.)

<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of Income.</u>	<u>Deficiency in Accommodation.</u>	<u>Children needing free education.</u>	<u>Boys attending school.</u>	<u>Girls attending school.</u>	<u>Are Boys and Girls in Separate Rooms?</u>
Esh Laude			37	19	18	No.
The Felling			938	193	187	
Hartlepoons	Donation of Mrs. Cayley of £20. Free house, rest from children and priest.		130	25	30	Yes.
Stella	Patrimony of incumbent and a few donations of 1 or 2 guineas. Pence of scholars.		100	20	20	
Sedgefield	No school for want of means.		80 + scholars.			
Stockton		If Religious order can be got little will be asked for.	95	20	30	
Sunderland	Nothing wanted.					
Birtley		School too small; would be efficient with £20 to enlarge and £20 support.	65	30	35	No.

1. STATISTICS OF SCHOOLS 1845 RETURNS. (Printed in 1849 report of
Catholic Poor School Committee.)

(Continued.)

<u>Place</u>	<u>Source of Income</u>	<u>Deficiency in Accommo- dation.</u>	<u>Children needing free education</u>	<u>Boys att- end- ing sch- ool.</u>	<u>Girls att- end- ing sch- ool.</u>	<u>Are Boys and Girls in Separate Rooms?</u>
Bishop Auckland	No school.		120			
Brooms	No school.		65			
Durham	School pence and subs.	Boys' room too small, dark, damp, low, and badly ventilated.	130	60	45	No
Darlington	Sunday school only supported by incumbent and too small for boys and girls.		60	30	30	No

From this return the figures seem remarkably high at Felling, and the total number of Catholics in the 1852 returns is only given as 950, but there was a large chemical works at Felling, employing a large immigrant population, and the 1852 figures also quote 2,948 as the Catholic population at Gateshead, so it is just feasible that there were 938 children requiring free education.

By 1850 things had taken a more professional turn and three schools in the county, Birtley, Houghton-le-Spring and Sunderland had applied for, and received, grants for the purchase of books and maps from the government. Whilst the amounts were not great, £1.16. Od. and £9.13. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. respectively, nonetheless it was a beginning, and after the examination for teachers held in 1848 the way was open for much larger support grants for Catholic schools.

STATEMENT OF GRANTS YEAR ENDED 31.10.50 to Pupil Teachers (with names and dates and current year of apprenticeship) also statement of augmentation of salaries of teachers in Catholic schools.

<u>Name.</u>	<u>Annual Grants Conditionally Awarded by Committee of the Council.</u>		<u>Date of Indenture</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Darlington	<u>Teachers' Salaries</u>	<u>To Apprentices & Teachers for them</u>	Mar.1849	D.Moore 1st J.Dodworth 1st	
	£21.10.0	£29. 0. 0.			
Durham	£20. 0.0.	£44. 0. 0.	Mar.1849	T.Bulmer 1st.	E.Donnahey 1st. A.White 1st.
Hartlepoons		£44. 0. 0.	Mar.1849	J.Knox 1st.	A.Storey 1st. M.L.Hedley 1st.
Stella		£15. 0. 0.	Aug.1849		M.J.Daglish 1st.
Sunderland St.Mary's	£25. 0.0.	£86. 0. 0.	Mar.1849	B.Scanlan 2nd. T.M'Kearnan 1st.	R.Palmer 1st. M.Shippen 1st.
Sunderland St.Augustine's	£20. 0.0.			T.Cullin 1st.	E.Mitchell 1st.

To implement this first statement of grants in support it should also be added that a further apprentice, J. Spoons, was indentured at Stella in 1851, that Houghton-le-Spring was to have its first qualified teacher J. Keen in 1851, and most noteworthy, Hartlepoons was to receive the first qualified woman teacher in the county, Margaret Hedley, the pupil teacher shown in the table. Miss Hedley qualified with a 2nd. division in the 2nd. class in 1849 and was at the head of the list of only seven candidates throughout the whole country.¹

By the time of the third annual report of the Poor School Committee, the movement for the education of the poor in Durham County was growing rapidly and could be favourably compared with the largest areas in the whole country. The movement in Scotland, London and Lancashire was to eventually surpass that in County Durham, but probably because of the quicker growth of an immigrant population rather than through failing effort.

When Saint Mary's Training College was founded at Hammersmith

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1850.

in 1850 there were already five qualified teachers in County Durham from a national total of nineteen, and Sunderland enjoyed the privilege of having the only Catholic teacher with a first class certificate of merit in the whole of England and Wales. Saint Mary's, Sunderland, was at this time unique in having the services of this teacher, and in having the first apprenticed pupil teacher in the county and in all probability in the country. Certainly in 1850 the statement of grants already printed shows that B. Scanlan was the only apprentice in the country who was in the second year of his apprenticeship. In 1850 Miss M.A. McCormack the Mistress of Organisation engaged by the Poor School Committee, helped to organise the convent school in Sunderland, but the nuns soon found that they needed little help from the national body in the matter of organisation.¹ The position of Sunderland is to some extent strange, in that it was the first place in the county where a religious order played a part in the organisation of the education of the poor. Elsewhere the dedicated lay person, perhaps originally teaching Sunday school, would eventually work his way to a position where he could qualify for augmentation of salary, take an apprentice, and then move to the book

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1851.

and map grants, and, when it became possible, to the capitation grant.

The progress of the inspected schools in the county was recorded in some detail in their early days, and besides the reports of the Committee of the Council on Education, the Catholic Poor School Committee published a magazine, "The Catholic School", which gave in full the tabulated reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors. Both sources provide a fairly accurate picture of the kind of education open to the poor and the very first reports are worth quoting in full. In 1849 Mr. Marshall was the sole inspector for Catholic schools and he began his inspection with Saint Cuthbert's, Durham, in February. Mr. Thomas Chapman was the qualified master in this school and judging from this first report, and subsequent inspections, he must have been held in very high esteem in Catholic circles.

"22nd February 1849. Saint Cuthbert's Durham. These schools, which are held in large, cheerful and well arranged rooms, present all the tokens of steady progress, and are conducted by teachers well qualified for their office. The boys' school is organised upon

the plan adopted in the Westminster Training School, where the master, who communicates his instruction with skill and judgement, and with remarkable energy, received his professional education. The proficiency of the boys in Mental Arithmetic is conspicuous, and the principles of calculation are as carefully explained to the youngest children as to the most advanced. The boys are particularly docile and well-mannered. The master has obtained the certificate of merit (and) will probably think it expedient to extend the range of instruction and to introduce a larger number of his pupils to the study of geometry and algebra. The History of England should also be more systematically studied.

"In the girls' school, where the organisation and discipline are very complete and satisfactory, the instruction is perhaps not sufficiently individualised and there is a little tendency to convey unreal knowledge. Some of the questions proposed to the children were injudicious, being clothed in hard words and seemed to afford an illustration of the proverb, "A lesson is not given until it is received." But it is certain that in both these very pleasing schools the work of education is proceeding with great vigour and success."¹

1. Report of the Committee of the Council on Education. 1849.

Mr. Marshall travelled on to Sunderland to examine Saint Mary's on 23rd. February and it is quite clear from his report on Saint Mary's as well as Saint Cuthbert's, that both these schools were flourishing and needed little encouragement to maintain their progress and their standards. There is little doubt that encouragement came from Mr. Marshall and his reports are full of the kind of praise and comment on progress that would inspire enthusiasm for the future rather than present complacency.

"23rd February 1849. Saint Mary's, Sunderland. Nothing has been neglected by the managers of these very important and flourishing schools to raise them to the highest degree of efficiency, and the results are proportioned to the efforts that have been made with this object. Two rooms arranged according to the system of the Christian Brothers are apportioned to the use of the boys, who are divided into senior and junior school. The first and second classes which compose the upper school are each sub-divided into six drafts under the charge of monitors, the whole being constantly superintended by the master, by whom the simultaneous and collective lessons are

conducted. Several of the boys have acquired an amount of knowledge rarely attained in primary schools, particularly in the elementary branches of mathematical science, which the master, who has obtained the 1st Class Certificate of Merit, and who possesses the combination of gifts so necessary in his profession, is eminently qualified to teach. The welfare of the school which appears to be highly appreciated in the neighbourhood is carefully cherished by the resident clergy, of whose ardent and enlightened zeal in the cause of education and the intelligent co-operation with the Committee of the Council, it is impossible to speak too highly. The junior boys' school which is conducted by a singularly able and devoted teacher, who also has obtained a certificate of merit, exhibits all the tokens of prudent and vigilant direction, but it may be questioned whether the organisation employed be the most suitable for children, many of whom are of tender age. The creation of an Infant school is quite indispensable to the accomplishment of the full objects of the managers of these admirable schools, who, since they evidently aim at nothing short of the highest attainable perfection, must employ all the machinery necessary to secure it.

"The girls' school which is divided into 16 classes, and superintended by a large body of teachers trained in the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy is the most interesting of all those I have had the pleasure to visit. Many of the girls appear to belong to the middle class and reflect in their whole deportment the happy influence of their teachers. The school room though very large is perhaps too crowded and a considerable number of the younger children should be removed and subjected to the organisation proper to Infants. Some of the Junior monitors appear to be inefficient and unable to command the attention of their classes. The needlework is particularly good.

"Upon the whole I conceive that in these schools which reflect the highest credit upon their managers and teachers, all the most important subjects which are included in any system of primary education are fully realised and that they cannot but exercise in the course of years an immense influence upon the moral and social condition of the population to whose higher interests they so essentially minister. Such schools deserve to be ranked amongst the most valuable institutions which a nation possesses."¹

1. Report of Committee of Council 1849.
Mr. Marshall's tabulated reports.

Considering this was one of the first reports on a Catholic school by a government inspector since the Catholic Poor School Committee had been set up, and an inspector appointed for Catholic schools, it falls little short of excellent. John McSwinney and John Dineen, the two teachers at Saint Mary's, had gained their certificates of merit in 1848, and their first inspection reported in 1849 must certainly have been a great source of satisfaction to both of them as well as to the managers. Excellence apart, there is much intrinsic interest in the scope and details of the report, and of all the tabulated reports published by inspectors before 1870 this is the most detailed and the most rewarding from the point of view of organisation, method and the general background to the school.

The initial reports on the Catholic school at Stella, inspected on 3rd. August 1849, and on Saint Michael's, Houghton-le-Spring, inspected on 6th. August, are fully quoted in the preceeding chapter; the only other Catholic schools to be inspected in Durham in 1849 were at Hartlepoons.

"7th. August 1849. Hartlepool. The girls' school is very defectively organised, the room being quite disproportioned to the number of children assembled in it. In other respects it is in a very active state of progress and improvement. The accent and intonation of the girls is singularly correct, chiefly owing to the intelligent care of a lady, The Honourable Miss Stourton, to whose sound judgement and patient self devotion the school owes very much of its efficiency. It is much to be wished that the noble example of this lady were more commonly followed by others who have the talent and leisure for such works of charity. The school is conducted by an extremely amiable and industrious teacher, whose past efforts have been attended with a degree of success most creditable to her zeal and assiduity. The boys' school is improving. New school rooms are much wanted."¹

As the Catholic schools throughout the country grew in number, it became necessary to divide England into districts so that the inspectors could more easily manage the problems set by rapid growth and the need for regular examination. This problem would be emphasised

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1849.

after 1862 when the revised code made schools more dependent on the results achieved by their scholars. From 1850 the published reports of the Committee of the Council tend to follow an abbreviated pattern that was a comment on school life under the headings, Books and Apparatus, Furniture, Organisation, Instruction and Discipline, Methods, Master or Mistress and Special Comments. Consequently for the full reports it is necessary to quote from the organ of the Catholic Poor School Committee, "The Catholic School", to gain a clear picture of the progress that Catholic schools were making in the county.

REPORTS FOR 1851.

"DARLINGTON 51 Boys. (Inspected 8.5.51. Master, Mr. T. McKenzie.)

The efforts of a well educated and conscientious teacher have, in this school been accompanied with decided success especially in those points in which it must be necessary and most difficult.... There are now abundant evidences of mental activity and the range of instruction has been considerably extended. The various subjects are communicated in a connected and systematic way, and the relation which

one branch of knowledge bears to another is carefully indicated. The general state of the school is entirely satisfactory and there is an evident disposition on the part of the boys to profit by the advantages which they enjoy.

"SUNDERLAND SAINT MARY'S 126 Boys. (Inspected 13.5.1851. Master was probably still Bro. Dineen but he was replaced, when he returned to Ireland, by Bro. D. Buckley.)

Much attention has been given throughout the past year to the improvement of methods to which the teacher firstly attaches the highest importance. The school continues to be conducted in all other respects in a satisfactory manner, and a large proportion of the children in attendance are extremely young and an Infant school has become indispensable; meanwhile a gallery might be erected with great advantage in the Junior schoolroom. The pupil teachers perform their duties with energy and success, and are evidently animated by the influence and excellence of the teacher. Collective teaching does not seem sufficiently employed."

"SUNDERLAND, SAINT MARY'S 149 Girls. (Inspected 14.5.1851.)

This school continues to display many of the best and most pleasing features which characterise institutions of its class; but perhaps more might be done to stimulate mental activity and the knowledge of some of the girls is not sufficiently accurate owing to a certain want of vigour and precision in the methods; the defect such as it is, may be remedied without much difficulty and the efforts necessary to that end may be confidently expected from the zeal and devotion of the teacher. An Infant school has become almost indispensable and its establishment would certainly be accompanied with the happiest results."

"DURHAM, SAINT CUTHBERT'S 66 Boys. (Inspected 16.5.1851. Mr. T. Chapman was the qualified master of this school.)

This school appears to have been raised, by the efforts of a teacher possessing remarkable talent and energy, to the highest degree of efficiency of which it is capable; the range of instruction, which is conveyed with a zeal amounting to enthusiasm, is wider than almost any elementary school with which I am acquainted, and perhaps the master, in his eagerness to communicate his own knowledge sometimes

forgets the very limited capacity of his scholars. The collective teaching which included History and several branches of natural philosophy is certainly too ambitious, but it is impossible not to admire the spirit of which such a fault is a companion. The school is a very remarkable one of its own class and in some respects quite a model. The principles of knowledge are very carefully explained and the constant aim of the master is to teach things and not words."

"DURHAM, SAINT CUTHBERT'S 86 Girls. (Inspected 17.5.1851. Taught by pupil teachers, Miss A. White and Miss A. Donahey.)

The school is about to be placed under the care of a trained and competent teacher. Their instruction in the past year appears to be wanting in vigour and method and has evidently turned too little upon things and too much upon words. Very great improvement has been made in the organisation and the discipline, and there can be no doubt that the school, which is held in an excellent building, and duly supplied by the liberality of the managers with every requisite, will become an efficient institution under a suitably qualified teacher."¹

1. "The Catholic School". October 1852. Extracts from Inspector's reports.

The report of Mr. Marshall on Saint Cuthbert's boys and their teacher is in a sense quite remarkable, for in the year 1850 Mr. Marshall inspected 99 Catholic schools throughout the whole country, accounting for 13,366 scholars with an attendance of 8,173 on the day of the examination, who were being taught by 27 certificated teachers and 167 apprenticed pupil teachers.¹ It would be difficult to find any appraisal as high as that of Mr. Chapman's ability in any Catholic school in England in 1850. Despite the rather stereotyped form of Inspector's report a certain amount of humanity, rather unexpectedly shows through and it is more than interesting to find that even in the infancy of the movement towards universal and free education, inspectors were commending schools with qualified teachers, and pressing for them where they were not present.

In April 1849 the Committee of the Council had issued instructions to inspectors in some detail, and concerning the right of inspection it was noted that where schools were erected with the aid of the parliamentary grant, then the right of inspection was conceded once and for all "and cannot be rid of under the school deed."

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1851.

In 1849 Sheffield was the only town in England that had a Catholic school where the right of inspection had been so ceded and it has been pointed out that the school at Stella was the only school in the county of Durham that received a building grant up to 1860, although Esh Laude had applied for a government building grant in 1849 to build a school for 120 scholars. In 1848 Esh Laude was receiving aid from the Catholic Poor School Committee for building, of £50, and two years later another £156, and it would appear that rather than cede the right of inspection for good, managers would rely on the Poor School Committee to come to their aid in the matter of new building.¹ However managers were also aware that when aid was given towards annual expense the right of inspection could be terminated simply by refusing aid.

The natural suspicion of managers must have been easily overcome when they found that inspection was not the bogey they feared it would be. Indeed they were quick to realise that without it many Catholic schools could not have existed. Besides, the reports from Mr. Marshall, and later from Mr. Stokes and Mr. Morell, must have given them ample encouragement to continue to apply for support grants, by the

1. Reports of the Catholic Poor School Committee. 1848-50.

considerate way in which these first inspectors of Catholic schools carried out their duties. Mr. Stokes after being the first secretary of the Poor School Committee was appointed to the inspectorate in 1854, and Mr. Morell a year later. Mr. Marshall was still the only inspector in charge of Catholic schools in 1851-52 and extracts from his reports are printed in the "Catholic School" of 1853, for the previous year. They show the same sympathy for the work of the schools as they had shown in previous years but Mr. Marshall did not consider that he was in the least partisan, and was engaged in a fairly lengthy correspondence in the Tablet, where he was quite emphatic in stating where his responsibilities lay, and he saw them first and foremost as belonging to the government even though his appointment was agreed with the Catholic Authorities.¹ His reports for 1852 (he had been ill in 1851) show the same thoroughness as they had done previously, and whilst he was generous with praise where it was due, he was nonetheless quick to point out needs and deficiencies.

"DARLINGTON, SAINT AUGUSTINE'S. 60 Boys. Mr. McKenzie.
(Inspected 28.6.1852.)

Desks and furniture good. Books and apparatus good and

1. Minutes of Committee of Council for Education 1848-9.
Correspondence 94-107.

sufficient. Organisation somewhat incomplete from the limited size of the room, writing desks round two sides of the building; classes formed in the open area, and rather crowded. Discipline apparently satisfactory. Method mixed; good in reading and spelling, dictation and grammar; fair in geography and arithmetic and history; moderate in vocal music. Master has good attainment but wants energy of manner. Fair progress appears to have been made during the past year and attempts have been made to widen the range of instruction. The reading is good and grammar has been taught with success. The first class have acquired some knowledge of the outlines of British History. The school is progressing satisfactorily."

"DURHAM, SAINT CUTHBERT'S. 80 Boys. Mr. Chapman. (Inspected 18.6.1852.)

Desks fair and sufficient. Books and apparatus fair and sufficient. Satisfactory classes formed in squares, writing desks on two sides of the school; benches arranged as a substitute for a gallery; evolutions performed with order and method. Instruction and discipline good. Methods mixed not exceptionable in most subjects. The master is capable energetic and full of zeal. This school continues to be

conducted with remarkable vigour by a teacher of whose ability and zeal I have spoken of on former occasions and whose conscientious efforts are attended with an unusual measure of success. Much progress has been made in History, English and Grammar, and Geography taught with method and skill. The general state of this school is very honourable to the master."

"DURHAM, SAINT CUTHBERT'S. 80 Girls and 31 Infants.

Desks good and satisfactory. The books are mainly of the Irish Commissioners a fourth one is wanted. Organisation is fair, classes in squares, not sufficient provision for collective teaching. The methods are of the model school Dublin. The Mistress is trained and competent. I do not observe much sign of active progress in this school since the previous examination but the instruction appears to be sufficiently judicious and the general tone is good. The influence of the pupil teachers has been less successful than in other schools of the same class and there is a want of energy in their teaching. They will enjoy greater advantages under their present mistress."

"SUNDERLAND. 100 Boys. 120 Girls. (Inspected 21.6.1852.)

Desks moderate. Books and apparatus insufficient, a new supply to be obtained. Both these schools were undergoing extensive repairs at the date of the visit."

"STELLA. 50 Girls. (Inspected 20.9.1852.)

Buildings fair, accommodation rather limited, but it is proposed to build and a site has been obtained. Desks fair and sufficient; furniture fair; gallery wanted; playground the neighbouring lanes. Books ... apparently a sufficient supply, apparatus moderate. Organisation fair classes too much crowded. Methods mixed; blackboard not sufficiently used. Discipline good; instruction careful and minute, deficient in illustration. An exceedingly pleasing example of steady and solid progress due to the careful supervision of the clergyman and the patient industry of a laborious and conscientious teacher. The two first classes read the 5th book of the Irish Commissioners with good expression, spell accurately and write fairly, and have a good knowledge of the elements of grammar. Their progress in geography, arithmetic and history is

less remarkable although satisfactory. They have a good knowledge of vocal music and sing with good effect the admirable hymns edited by Rev. Fr. Faber. On the whole the school is in a very satisfactory condition and constantly improving. The deportment of the children is unusually gentle and very pleasing, and the school is evidently accomplishing some of the most valuable results which can be expected from such an instruction."

HARTLEPOOLS. 70 Girls. Miss Hedley. (Inspected 21.9.1852.)

Buildings moderate and in good repair but of limited dimensions. Desks fair. 7 on one side leaving a space for the formation of classes; furniture moderate; playground none, the school is on the edge of an extensive moor. Books, apparently sufficient, of the Irish National Society; apparatus meagre. Organisation moderate, 7 classes which cannot be all formed at once for lack of space. Methods mixed not remarkable for vigour, blackboard not sufficiently used. Discipline good; instruction careful and patient but not graphic and apparently deficient in animation. In several respects a very pleasing school. Progress has been made since last year in geography, history and the

reading and writing are both entirely satisfactory. Frequent dictation lessons have secured general accuracy in spelling. Nothing can exceed the unwearied patience and industry of the mistress, who has evidently gained the respect and confidence of the pupils, which she deserves. There is want of provision for collective teaching, and a fuller illustration of principle is to be desired. It is proposed to erect a gallery and to make some changes with a view to the improvement of the organisation. The zeal of the manager will accomplish whatever the resources at his disposal enable him to attempt."¹

"HOUGHTON MIXED (Inspected 22.8.1852. Mr. J. Kean.)

Buildings of good dimensions. 9 parallel desks. Furniture sufficient. Playground small. Books, fair supply. Apparatus, fair. Organisation, 10 classes, 5 boys and 5 girls, separate round room. Methods, model school, Dublin. Discipline, satisfactory. Instruction, good in Geography and History, inferior in Arithmetic. This mixed school is conducted by the certificated master with the assistance of his wife, who takes charge of the girls' needlework. It does not seem

1. "The Catholic School". October 1853. Extract from Inspector's Reports.

to me that their progress in industrial skill is so satisfactory as it might be. The duties of the master are performed with industry and fair ability. He knows how to turn the reading lesson to good account and in History and Geography has well instructed the 1st class. These subjects should be more generally taught, dictation more frequently practised and Arithmetic carefully attended to."¹

It is evident from these reports and the glimpses which they give of the way school was conducted that all the Catholic schools in the county were at least making satisfactory progress, and were justifying all the efforts that were being made to obtain adequate government assistance. . . . There can be little doubt that the effort made in co-ordinating the local needs of Catholic education by the Poor School Committee was in the main responsible for the rapid growth of Catholic schools in all the different districts of England and Wales. The number of parishes was still relatively small in the 1850's and it was possible to keep records of all the local efforts as regards grants; what amounted to a register of teachers was available when their total numbers as late as 1858 were only 254

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1853.

(92 men and 162 women) and even pupil teachers properly apprenticed numbered only some 780.¹ This is not to say that local needs were never helped from local sources; the Poor School Committee was very much in favour of self help, and in fact felt most strongly about the way in which their aid should be given, taking as their principle that help should be given first to those areas, which, by their contributions, had proved that they had the welfare and education of the Catholic poor at heart. In May 1861, in a letter to all the bishops and circulated by them in their dioceses, they pointed out that their committee was "acknowledged as the intermediary organ with the government in all that relates to education, "and that each year they assembled at great inconvenience to consider claims of the greatest importance that were brought before them. Often, they reported they found themselves unable to help, where help was most needed, "because we feel that those have no claim on the Catholic public fund who do not contribute to Catholic want." Whilst the annual collections from Durham were not outstanding they were nonetheless regular and during the first twenty years of the existence of the Poor School Committee they received regular help with buildings as well as

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee, 1858.

regular support. Despite these grants it was still necessary to make grants from diocesan funds for both support and repair, and in 1853 when the diocesan collection was very paltry, Brooms, Esh Laude, North Shields, and Stella received grants up to £15 for schools already in existence and Wolsingham received £10 grant to enlarge the building there.¹ A year later Stella received a further grant of £50 for the new schools there,² to show what must have been the greatest enterprise in qualifying for all kinds of grant, in a year when the annual collection from the diocese for the Poor School Committee amounted to only £145 from a diocese of 40,600 adults with 3,250 children receiving education.³

1. Diocesan Account Report of 10.2.1853.
Ushaw Extracts from Pastorals. No. 287.
2. Diocesan Accounts 1854.
Ushaw Extracts from Pastorals. No. 291.
3. Pastoral Letter. 13.6.1854.
Ushaw Extracts from Pastorals. No. 295.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE THE REVISED CODE

Up to 1853 Catholic schools in the county had managed to exist on the support grants from the government, which augmented the salaries of teachers and their apprentices, and which helped them to buy books and maps. Some schools relied for financial help on the generosity of private donors, or on occasional grants from the Poor School Committee or the local Bishop, and the only constant source of income was school pence. One avenue of government grant remained to be explored by Catholic schools and this was the capitation grant, which had been earned by no Catholic school in the country before 1853. The capitation grant resulted from a minute of the privy council for supporting schools in agricultural districts and unincorporated towns (i.e. those with no more than a population of 5000). The minute resolved that any school admitted might receive a grant towards the expenditure of the previous year at the following rate:¹

1. Minute of Committee of Council on Education. 1846.
From Report of Catholic Poor School Committee for 1854.

<u>Number of Scholars</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Under 50	6 sh. p.a.	5 sh. p.a.
50 - 100	5 sh. p.a.	4 sh. p.a.
Above 100	4 sh. p.a.	3 sh. p.a.

If the numbers in a school increased so that it moved to another group, it was provided that there would be no actual loss of grant through the increased numbers.

The conditions for qualifying for this grant were fairly stringent, both as regards the income of the school and the academic attainment of the scholars, and it was 1854 before any Catholic school in the country qualified for the grant, when 12 such schools in England and Wales satisfied all the requirements. Three of these were in County Durham, at Stella, Thornley and Houghton-le-Spring. Evidently the Poor School Committee thought this a notable step forward and said, "it is fitting to make honourable mention of those schools which, by obtaining this grant have given assurance that they are doing all which is in their power to help themselves as well as to

improve the quality of the education which they give." The grants in themselves were not large, £8.10. Od. to Thornley, £10.19. Od. to Stella and as little as £1.16. Od. to Houghton. Yet it was an advance, and before long practically all the Catholic schools with certificated teachers were applying for and receiving this important grant.¹

Any school applying for, and receiving, the capitation grant was striving for more than just financial solvency, for to try to measure up to the conditions laid down must have been extremely difficult for many schools. The committee of the Privy Council laid down that before attendance and attainment were taken into account, the income for the previous year must have been 14 shillings for boys and 12 shillings for girls, of which 1d. per week could be paid by parents or guardians, but not more than 4d. Scholars qualifying for the grant had to show an average attendance of 4 days each week for 48 weeks, but 192 days could be reckoned as the requisite attendance. Registers of attendance and accounts had to be kept as directed by the committee, and the school had to have a certificated master or mistress, with the

1. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee. 1854.

stipulation that seven tenths of the income of the school had to be applied to the salaries of the master and his assistants. When the numbers in the school were more than 120 these provisions as to salary also included the payment of pupil teachers.

Even with a government grant every school had to be in some way self supporting, and the word 'augmentation' underlined the fact that teachers' salaries could not be met in full by the government. Before 1862 the augmentations of salary were paid to individuals, and pupil teachers as well as assistants received their stipend as individuals through the post office,¹ but their salary had to be made up to the appropriate level by means of the school pence of the children, and a comparison of the amounts that Catholic children paid in school pence with the payments of their non catholic companions, not only illustrates the acute poverty of the Catholic community, but underlines the problem managers would have to face in making up salaries to the level of twice the government grant. Only half the school pence could be appropriated for salary purposes, and one must reluctantly draw the conclusion that some managers were forced to avoid paying the salary as

1. Curtis. 148.

laid down. The following table abstracted from the Reports of the Committee of the Council (Table XI) of 1853 indicates the difficulty of self support that the managers must have experienced.

CHILDREN PAYING:-

	1d. and less than 2d.	2d. to 3d.	3d. to 4d.	over 4d. per week.
Catholics	65.11%	25.5%	5.49%	1.4%
Non-Catholics	35.5%	40.66%	14.38%	4%

These are of course figures for the whole country and not just for Durham, but they must have some validity for almost any district in the country. Over 90% of Catholic children were paying less than 3d. per week school money, and the reports of the inspectors show that there had been little improvement in this situation by the time of the Revised Code, when the unsuccessful school as far as the tests laid down in each standard were concerned, would find it increasingly difficult to meet

the charge for teachers' salaries then laid upon the managers' shoulders. The position by 1862 was that 87.74% of Catholic children were paying less than 3d. school pence.¹ In inspected schools in the middle 1850's there were, in Durham, between 800 and 900 children in regular attendance, and applying the national figures for the fifteen departments examined in, say 1855, the total amount of school pence per week for inspected schools in the county could not have come to more than £10. In 1866 there were more than twice as many children in regular attendance bringing in a weekly total that could have been as low as £15, and would certainly not exceed £17.10. Od., when the places with schools under inspection totalled 15, but in an extreme case such as the Hartlepoons there could be five departments to support. What then was the average wage that a teacher could expect to earn in Durham in the 1850's? Appendix 2 gives a comparison of average salaries for masters and mistresses as compared with the rest of the country and it is sufficient to point out here that in general a Catholic schoolmaster earned only about three-quarters of his non-catholic counterpart whilst a Catholic schoolmistress earned something closer to the national average.

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education (Table 4) 1862-63.

The financial conditions attached to the earning of the capitation grant were stringent enough for Catholic schools, but these were only a beginning, for the grant had to be earned on a payment by results basis. It was not sufficient to gain local financial support or to maintain a good attendance record; the pupils had to attain the standards as laid down by the committee of the council. Three quarters of the scholars in three different age groups, 7-9, 9-11 and 11-13 were required to pass an examination as laid down in the minutes.¹ Whilst some degree of latitude was allowed to inspectors with regard to a school claiming the grant where there was an uncertificated teacher in charge, no latitude was allowed in the matter of attendance, and the full 192 days were required from the scholar with sometimes 16 absences allowed for bona fide reasons. In any case uncertificated teachers had to pass the certificate of merit within 12 months of the grant being paid to the school. The examination, as could be expected, was conducted along very formal lines. In the 1st division i.e. 9-11 years old, the inspectors had to find out by examination how many children could read a simple narrative with intelligence, work from dictation a simple sum in the four rules of

1. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee. 1854.

number, and lastly how many could write on a slate, with correct spelling, a simple sentence read to them twice consecutively, and then word by word. In the 2nd division (the 11-13 group) the children had to be tested to see how many could read books of general information fluently, and work from dictation a sum in one of the first four compound rules of number. With regard to dictation they were required to be a little more advanced than their juniors, and write on paper two or three sentences, and in addition they were required to point out parts of speech orally in the same sentences. They were asked their tables of weights and measures orally, and finally questions were asked on subjects of useful information particularly those being studied in school.¹ Despite all the conditions, by 1856 all the Catholic schools in the county which had a certificated teacher, were applying for and gaining the capitation grant. This meant that seven schools from a total of fourteen places where schools existed gained the grant, the smallest amount being at Houghton, £4.11. Od., and the largest being at Sunderland, £13.12. Od. These seven schools were of course the only ones with certificated teachers in the county possessing between them seven masters and three mistresses.

1. IBID. Instructions to Inspectors from R. R. W. Lingen, Secretary to Committee of Council on Education.

Mr. D. Buckley	Sunderland
Mr. T. Cassin	North Shields
Mr. R. Heaphy	Stella
Mr. J. Kean	Houghton-le-Spring
Mr. T. McKenzie	Darlington
Mr. T. Chapman.	Durham

and an unnamed master at Hartlepool (possibly M.C. Traynor, Qual. 1851).

Miss M. Hedley	Hartlepoons
Miss R. Palmer	North Shields
Miss Sarah Ann Fitzsimmons	Sunderland ¹

These schools qualifying for the capitation grant comprised 12 departments and employed 10 male apprentices and 11 female, and after they had first qualified for the grant were regularly examined for its award. In 1857 in these schools 551 children were presented for inspection and grants were made totalling £48.10. Od.²

1. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1856.
2. IBID. 1857.

CAPITATION GRANT

1856.

Darlington.....£5.11. Od.

Durham.....£11.16. Od.

Hartlepool.....£8.19. Od.

Houghton-le-Spring.....£4.11. Od.

Stella.....£9.18. Od.

Sunderland.....£13.12. Od.

 £54. 7. Od. ¹

1857.

Darlington.....£6.18. Od.

Durham.....£11.10. Od.

Hartlepool.....£10. 0. Od.

Houghton-le-Spring.....£4.11. Od.

Stella.....£4.15. Od.

Sunderland.....£10.16. Od.

 £48.10. Od. ²

The initial efforts of Catholic schools in seeking the capitation grant were feeble but at least the efforts made before 1862 did prepare the way for the managers of Catholic schools to ensure that their particular school was ready for a system of government grant that depended entirely on results. If the local efforts in Durham seem poor in the 1850's the national picture was little better, the average capitation grant per school having reached just over £17 by 1858. The table below gives a fair idea of the relative position of Catholic schools in the earning of the capitation grant in 1858, the midway period between Catholic schools first earning the grant, and the Revised Code.

	<u>Catholic Schools.</u>	<u>All Schools.</u>	<u>Proportion.</u>
Schools	158	3,513	1 in 22.
Amount earned.	£2,348. 6. 10d.	£49,522. 13. 7d.	1 in 21.
Scholars allowed grant.	10,145	195,492	1 in 19.
Average attendance.	26,779	505,344	1 in 19. ¹

1. IBID. 1858.

Apart from the twelve months grace allowed to a school claiming grant with an uncertificated teacher, the continuous earning of the grant depended upon schools having qualified staff. Up to 1856 the only certificated teachers in Catholic schools, with few exceptions,¹ were those who had gained their certificates of merit before Her Majesty's Inspectors. The foundation of three Catholic normal schools after 1850 meant that students who had completed their apprenticeship could apply for places in these colleges, and enter for the examinations which would make them Queen's scholars and entitle them to an award depending on their success. The Catholic Poor School Committee had played a prominent part in the founding of the training colleges and had realised from the start that it was not sufficient simply to encourage teachers to take their certificate of merit; they must needs be properly trained in a college specifically founded for this purpose. In 1848 a meeting of the Catholics of the London district with Dr. Wiseman in the chair heard a resolution moved by Rev. J. O'Neal and seconded by C. J. Pagliano Esq., "That since the efficiency of the school depends mainly on the quality of the teachers, and therefore good schools can never be obtained without well trained

1. Mr. T. Chapman of St. Cuthbert's, Durham, had attended the Westminster Training School.

masters and mistresses this meeting feels the paramount importance of establishing one or more Normal or Training Schools in populous neighbourhoods and pledges itself to raise special funds for the purpose".¹ By 1850 the Poor School Committee had raised enough money for this purpose and they were able to acquire the property for Saint Mary's Training College, Brook Green, near Hammersmith. The property was placed in trust to a committee made up of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Honourable Charles Langdale, and Mr. Towneley. The training school at Brook Green, complete with a practice school, was organised in the same year with the Rev. J. M. Glenie, B.A., late of Saint Mary's Oscott as its first principal who laid down the following conditions of entry.

1. Entrants had to be between the ages of 18 and 23.
2. Those accepted had to pay £25 on entering but the principal would consider partial or even entire exemption from this fee, in special cases.
3. Candidates for admission needed the elements of a good English education.

1. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1848.

4. A certificate of good health was needed.
5. A certificate had to be provided from those under whom the candidate had been instructed.
6. A certificate of conduct had to be obtained from the parish priest.¹

Apart from the financial conditions it would be reasonably true to state that these are no more than the conditions that would be applied to the candidate for entry today, except to say that the educational qualifications would be more specifically stated. Before 1856 there were in existence two further training colleges both for women, at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool and at Saint Leonard's-on-Sea, both of which were organised by nuns, the Sisters of Notre Dame and the Sisters of the Holy Child respectively. There must have been a growing realisation through contact with the Poor School Committee, that in the main, entrants would be drawn from those pupil teachers who had completed their apprenticeship, and Father Glenie's conditions of entry as laid down in 1857 fully reflect this point of view. Pupil teachers who had completed a satisfactory apprenticeship and could produce the

1. IBID. 1850.

requisite testimonials from their parish priest and the school managers, were eligible for entry to the college. To gain entry it was required that they take the examination for Queen's Scholarship and if successful the award from the Privy Council was considered sufficient to pay for the education, board, lodging and laundry of the students. All expenses for travelling, clothes and pocket money had to be provided by the student, but books proper to the course could be sold to the student at a reduced rate. Students were admitted each December for two years with facilities for a third year, and preference was given to those who were prepared to stay for the full two year course. There were only 25 scholarships available each December, and those which were not taken by pupil teachers were open to general competition.¹ There was still a very strong element of national policy for students completing their training, for Father Glenie in the conditions of entry for St. Mary's points out that on completion of the course students could secure their posts only through the agency of the Catholic Poor School Committee. These conditions must have been similar to those laid down in the women's training colleges, for the financial side of accepting students was much the same, with success in the Queen's Scholarship examination

1. Conditions for entry to St. Mary's, Brook Green.
Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1856.

being the factor that decided admission for competent apprentices who had completed their training in school.

It was not until 1858 that the number of trained teachers leaving college showed any tendency to increase and even then the number was only 15 and was to stay at that figure for the next two or three years.¹ The grand total for the years between 1855 and 1860 was only 63 trained teachers, but of the four sent out in December 1855 one was from County Durham, William Finnigan. Although the rule stated that the course was for two years, there seems to have been nothing to stop a student taking his certificate of merit, which after all was a practical teaching examination as well as one of academic attainment, after only one year and then seeking a post in a school. From Saint Mary's, Brook Green, Mr. Finnigan took a post at Saint Cuthbert's, Durham, and was still teaching there in 1860, the very first teacher in the county to take his training course at a recognised training college. The most distinguished of the early students of the training colleges was the second entrant from the North East, William Moore, an apprentice from Saint Cuthbert's, North Shields,

1. Returns of Students.
Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1859.

where he went back to teach after completing his training.¹ In his examination for the Queen's Scholarship he gained a first class award carrying with it an annual grant of £23 with a personal award of £4. Most students seemed to qualify for a Privy Council grant fairly easily, but few were able to be so successful as to win personal allowances, and qualified for what really amounted to a simple bursary. Three women from the county were amongst the earliest training college students; Anne Keating from Durham who entered Mount Pleasant in 1856, and stayed for one year, and Mary Jane Daghish and Anne Harrison who entered college at the same time but stayed on for the full two year course.² In 1857 two further qualified teachers were added to those already in schools in the county when Mary Jane Daghish and John Curran left college to take posts at Durham and Sunderland respectively.³ By 1860, allowing for teachers who had taken posts elsewhere, there were seven qualified men teachers and ten qualified women teaching in the various schools that had been qualifying for grant.

Whilst the flow of students was not a flood, nonetheless there was a fairly steady recruitment sufficient for local conditions

1. Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1856 & 1860.
2. IBID. 1857 & 1859.
3. IBID. 1858.

where the number of schools was still not high, and where the actual recruitment had to come from the apprentices in the schools. In 1857¹ Mary Ann Malone became the first student from the county to attend the Training College at Saint Leonard's-on-Sea and in the same year John Healey from North Shields entered Saint Mary's, Brook Green. Hannah Rowe and Mary O'Neil started their training at Mount Pleasant in 1858 and in 1860 George Dugsmore of Stella became another Queen's scholar at Saint Mary's.² Some of them like Hannah Rowe, who took a post at Houghton, and Mary O'Neil who became a mistress at South Shields, were to take up posts in their own county but even in these early days of Catholic education there was a fair amount of movement of staff. R. Heaphy of Stella had taken a post in Wigan and one of Mr. Chapman's former apprentices at Durham did not take a post in the county on qualifying, but instead went to Thurnam. In his report for 1854 Mr. Stokes commented, "I would beg leave to introduce to favourable notice the names of those schools where apprenticeship has been brought to a successful close," and in listing several places and the names of apprentices includes the fact that Mr. Bulmer had completed his course at Durham and was now a teacher at Thurnam.³ This school was inspected

1. IBID. 1858.

2. IBID. 1859 & 1860.

3. "The Catholic School". No. IV. Vol. III. Mr. Stokes' report 1854.

on March 7th 1855 and received a favourable report; "This village school reflects credit upon Mr. Bulmer the young master who has conducted it throughout the past twelve months", and of course Mr. Chapman of Durham who trained him.¹ Sunderland had of course seen a big change in that the Sisters of Mercy were now running the girls' school and J. McSwinney and J. Dineen had returned to Ireland, to be replaced by John Curran and D. Buckley. Despite the various changes, the schools seem to have had fairly stable staffing conditions and it would seem to be the case that once a school was qualifying for grants for salary and for the capitation grant, they were loathe not to have a qualified teacher, the one way of ensuring that government grant would continue.

Though Catholic teachers were being trained and government grants were being earned, the education of the Catholic poor had tended to make relatively slow progress probably because of the distinct separatist tendencies of the Catholic authorities. The hierarchy were always conscious of their duties to safeguard the rights of Catholic schools and conduct them strictly in accordance with Roman Catholic

1. IBID.

principles, and probably the exercise of this pastoral care, as interpreted by the bishops, meant that Catholic schools tended to lag behind somewhat in gaining their fair proportion of government grant. One of the stumbling blocks in the award of the certificate of merit had been the question of the actual religious knowledge of the teacher, and it became agreed practice that Roman Catholic candidates should be examined only in secular affairs. To counteract this lack of religious requirement in the certificate of merit the Catholic Episcopate determined, at a provincial council held at Oscott in 1852, to appoint diocesan inspectors of schools, "whose duty it will be to examine scholars in their religious portion of their education, to grant certificates and to award prizes for proficiency in it; and to so give anyone who aspires to be a teacher of Catholic children the means of proving himself morally fitted for the office, and prevent the unworthy from obtaining so serious a trust."¹

In 1858 a system of awards was established for good results in the religious examinations and pupil teachers could be awarded silver medals and scholars could gain a bronze medal. The first awards

1. Report of Catholic Poor School Committee 1855.

were made in the year of inception and 60 medals were awarded in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle as compared with 220 in Westminster, and 160 in Liverpool. The actual administration of the examination became the responsibility of the diocese and was the one educational activity divorced from the activities of the Poor School Committee. No grant in support of the examination was forthcoming from the Privy Council, but the results gained by the pupil teachers were credited for religious knowledge in the certificate of merit examination.¹ It is interesting to note that teachers who are trained today in Roman Catholic colleges are required to pass a teachers' religious certificate and most diocesan inspectors require that all full time teachers in Catholic schools shall at least have passed the prospective teachers' religious examination.

No doubt the exclusive attitude towards the teaching of religion had some part in the exclusion of any Catholic representative on the Newcastle Commission, and the commission was thus regarded by the Bishops as being unfair to Catholics. It was quite natural that Anglicans were represented on the commission, but as dissenters were

1. IBID. 1857.

represented the addition of one Catholic member was requested, but this was refused. What was apparently resented very much by the hierarchy was the fact that the Royal Commission appointed a number of sub committees to inspect schools of every religion, including Roman Catholic, when not one member of these committees was a Catholic. In a pastoral letter on education, promulgated in 1859, the Bishop reported to parish priests that the sub-committees were instructed "to ascertain exclusively as a question of fact, what are in practice the difference(s) between the course(s) of religious instruction afforded by different religious denominations; what (if any) are the recognised formularies adopted by them, and how far these formularies are taught in such a manner that the pupils have such perception of their meaning as children of an early age and of average intelligence may be expected to acquire. "This instruction the Bishops pointed out made acquiescence difficult, especially as it had been made a condition of acceptance of grant by Roman Catholic schools that only Roman Catholic inspectors be appointed to them, and even these were not appointed for religious inspection. The Bishops observed that it seemed that Protestants were now to assume both the

function of lay inspectors and religious inspectors, and as it was optional to admit such inspectors, the hierarchy refused their admission to Catholic schools.¹

By the end of 1859 the Bishops were acting in some ways as intermediaries between the Catholic schools and the Newcastle Commission and requested the parish priests to return the printed questions sent out by the royal commission, by the end of the month.² In this way honour was satisfied on both sides and the hierarchy were able to give a measure of co-operation to the commission without sacrificing their agreed rights on religious inspection. It became inevitable after the revised code that non-Catholic inspectors would eventually have to be admitted to Catholic schools, but the rights of the Catholic church with regard to the teaching of religion and the inspection of religious teaching have been jealously guarded to the present day. The safeguarding of these rights has been one of the principles that has determined the existence of the dual system in English education, and perhaps the chief reason why most Catholic schools within the state system continue to be voluntary aided schools.

1. Bishops' Pastoral on Education 12.3.1859. Ushaw Collection No. 329.
2. Bishops to Managers of Schools 3.10.1859. Ushaw Collection No. 331.

ROMAN CATHOLIC EDUCATION 1862 - 1870.

The Committee of the Council on Education had been set up in 1839 by an act of royal prerogative in an attempt to bring some order to education, particularly in the large industrial towns where both dame schools and private schools were quite unable to cope with the problems posed by a growing population. By 1856 the committee was raised to the status of an Education Department and was represented in the House of Commons by its vice-president, and a year later Sir John Pakington secured the appointment of a Royal Commission under the Duke of Newcastle "to inquire into the present state of education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of people." The report of the commission was not issued until 1861 and in general it was stated that it was happy with the voluntary bodies who were running the educational system, but said quite categorically that universal education was neither

desirable nor attainable. The commission was very unhappy about the state of attendance for elementary education, and even in inspected schools this amounted to only 76.1% of those on the roll, and only 41% of children in such schools attended for 176 days during the year, the minimum period for qualifying for grant. Large numbers of children were attending uninspected schools, and only about one quarter of those attending schools received what could be termed as satisfactory education. The suggestions made by the committee that were to have far reaching effects on the immediate development of education were mainly concerned with the grants paid in support. The recommendations made by the commission fully reflected this attitude, and whilst it was the wish of the commissioners that there should be no interference with the religious instruction given by the different denominations concerned with education, they nonetheless put a grave burden on the school managers by recommending that all grants should be paid to them and that they should pay their teachers.¹

In consequence the amount of money that seemed to be paid to schools after 1862 in annual grants would appear to be more from the

1. Curtis S. J. History of Education in Great Britain p.141-3.

point of view of recorded amounts, but as will be seen later, when one considers that the augmentation of salaries was no longer paid, it was a good deal less, with serious repercussions on the supply of teachers and pupil teachers. The future of the grant was to be dependent on the attendance of pupils, the fulfilment of certain conditions by managers and subject to a satisfactory report from the government inspectors. The global sum for education was to be paid from general taxation. In addition it was recommended that one other type of grant be paid namely one based on the results of an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic conducted by examiners appointed in counties and county boroughs and paid from local rates. During the sessions of the Newcastle Commission there had been complaints from Mr. Lingen, one of the commissioners, that the regulations concerning grant were not readily available, and consequently Mr. Robert Lowe, who had been appointed vice-president to the Committee in 1859, collected the regulations together and had them issued as the code of 1860. When Lowe submitted the estimates for education for 1861 he proposed to cancel the code of 1860 and substitute a revised code which was laid before parliament in July 1861.

In this code the recommendation of the Newcastle Commission concerning the establishment of borough and county borough boards with powers to make rate aid to education was rejected, and Lowe concentrated on the main educational shortcomings mentioned in the report, faulty attendance and the low standards in the three R's. For the future all grants were to be paid to managers on a system of payment by results; thus were inaugurated the standards that children are sometimes still divided into today. Despite overwhelming protests concerning the Revised Code, protests which invoked parliamentary criticism and the postponement of its issue, the code was published with some modification in 1862. Henceforth there would only be two conditions for grant, namely attendance, and the results of examinations. An attendance was to be reckoned as two hours instruction in the morning or afternoon, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the evening for those over twelve. A sum of 4/0d. would be paid per scholar according to the average numbers in attendance throughout the year, and a grant of 2/6d. per year would be paid for scholars attending evening sessions. Children classed as infants would receive a grant of 6/6d. per year, providing there was a satisfactory report from the inspector. For the rest,

the grant was to be paid on the results of the examinations; each scholar who attended either 200 morning or afternoon sessions and passed the prescribed examination would receive a grant of 8/0d. with a deduction of 2/8d. for each subject that was failed. Evening students who attended not less than 24 sessions and who passed the examination would receive 5/0d. with a penalty of 1/8d. for each subject failed.¹

Children were to be classified and grouped into six standards and if a child failed to reach the required standard then he was not allowed to take the examination a second time. The standards themselves do not look particularly exacting. In standard one children had to be able to read a story containing monosyllables, form small and capital letters from dictation on a board or slate, name at sight figures up to 20, write on their slates from dictation the same figures and add and subtract figures up to 10 orally from blackboard examples. At the other end of the scale in standard six, children had to be able to read a short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or some other modern narrative, and had to be able to take a piece of

1. Curtis. p.150-151.

dictation of similar standard and be able to work out "a sum in practice or bills of parcels."¹ The headteachers of inspected schools had to be certificated and pupil teachers could be responsible for 30 children and assistants for 60. This regulation concerning the qualification of headteachers was carried forward into the 1870 Act and the regulations for grant in the Education Codes of 1870 and 1872 specifically lay this down; it is worth mentioning here that a new school in Durham built after 1870 at Burnopfield, with an average attendance of 45 was refused grant under these regulations.² If this condition had been in operation in 1856 then schools such as Thornley Saint Godric's, or Hartlepool St. Bega's would have been unable to qualify for the grant, which certainly helped them along if it did not support them.

The important national effects of the Revised Code were a substantial reduction in expenditure on education and an inevitable increase in the size of classes. The grant in aid had reached £813,441 in 1862, and by 1865 this had fallen to £636,806, and amounted to a loss in state aid of about £190,000 a year. Other consequent

1. IBID.
2. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1873/74.

effects were a reduction in the number and quality of pupil teachers, and the lowering of standards in schools and training colleges and a reduction in the salaries of teachers. On the credit side the code certainly produced a better attendance and duller children were catered for if only for examination purposes. There was an increase in the number of night schools, not simply because of the grant but because after 1862 teachers were able to teach in night schools as well as day schools, which they were not previously allowed to do.¹ We must now examine how the Revised Code affected the development of Catholic schools in County Durham before the Act of 1870.

In the year that the code was introduced Mr. Lynch, the inspector for Catholic schools in the county, reported that there were 13 departments, which had presented 1,744 children for examination. The average attendance had been 1,171 out of a total on the books of 1,843. The effect of the code on Catholic schools in the county must have been very much the same as throughout the country; "since the introduction of the revised code and discussions upon it I have found generally prevalent an erroneous idea that

1. Curtis. p.153.

the education department desires to discourage the teaching of any subject beyond reading, writing and arithmetic." Thus wrote Mr. Lynch, who was also finding teachers were apologising when presenting their classes for examination in geography, history or grammar. He was no doubt correct in saying that he found that those schools in which the senior children showed a fair elementary knowledge of grammar, geography and history "were invariably those schools in which the elementary subjects were taught with most success."¹ Yet one can hardly think that this was a realistic point of view, despite the optimism that Mr. Lynch continued to show in his reports. The educational facts of life were such that a teacher's very bread and butter depended on the success that he attained in the subjects which the government had detailed for grant. One can see that his optimism was becoming tempered with a little realism in 1863 when he wrote, "I have no doubt whatever that teachers have already been stimulated to greater exertions by the knowledge that their success in the case of each individual child would affect the amount of aid given to their school."²

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education. 1862-63.
Mr. Lynch's General Reports.
2. IBID. 1863-64.

The immediate effect of the Revised Code as regards attendance was negligible, and one year after it was imposed Mr. Lynch could report that there were "fourteen departments attended on the days of my visits by 1,513 children with an average attendance of 1,417 and having on the books 2,284 children." The number of children on the books of Catholic schools in the county was certainly up by about 400 but the average attendance was about the same. The boys' school at Durham had been closed and this was noted by the inspector as being a "step in the contrary direction" to progress, but on the credit side a new school at Washington, "where a suitable building" had been erected, and the opening of night schools at Houghton, Sunderland and Hartlepoons were thought to be real moves forward. What was virtually at a standstill in the schools in the county, and not only in the Roman Catholic schools, was the matter of staffing. In the 14 departments there were employed, 2 certificated masters, 8 certificated mistresses, 3 assistant mistresses and 19 pupil teachers.¹ When it is remembered that in 1850, Sunderland alone was employing 8 pupil teachers it can be realised that the effects of the cheap grant were being immediately felt in Roman Catholic schools. In 1856 there had been the same number

1. IBID.

of certificated teachers, but in the rather different proportion of 7 men and 3 women, and there had been in all 22 pupil teachers. From the point of view of numbers of children this was not very satisfactory; a rough estimate of the child population attending Catholic schools in 1848 would be about 800, and not all of these were in inspected schools, and though the average number in attendance by 1863 was just about doubled, the staffing position had greatly worsened. One can only attribute this to the way that the grant was now paid. The maximum grant that could be earned from the point of view of proficiency and attendance was 12/0d., and the average in the northern district in Catholic schools was 9/0d., a figure taken over 43 schools. In night schools the average was 5/3d. per child from a full grant of 7/6d., this figure taken over 15 night schools.¹ The more efficient departments must have been forced to open night schools to make up a little of the money that they must have lost once the augmentation of salaries by the government came to an end, and even a new school like Washington Saint Joseph's was taking night pupils, 41 in all, by 1866.

It is fairly hard to judge the effect that the Revised Code

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1863/64.
Mr. Lynch's General Report.

had on salaries in an area as small as Durham, but there is no doubt that when the salaries of 1863 are compared with those of ten years earlier, the overall impression, apart from certificated men of whom there were only two, is one of reduction, with the uncertificated teacher being the hardest hit. In 1853 the uncertificated women had been earning almost £44 in Durham, and this had fallen to £25 in 1863. By 1866 this had corrected itself somewhat, and an uncertificated mistress was receiving an average of £38.18. 8d., but the qualified woman was only earning just over £50 per annum, about £10 less than ten years previously.¹ There was some overall general improvement by 1867 but the Revised Code had driven many people out of teaching and this drain on resources was commented on by Mr. Stokes when he presented his report on Catholic normal schools for 1868. "Several schoolmasters", he wrote, "keep stationer's shops, one is a druggist, another a pawnbroker ... school is not their only business." It wasn't only serving teachers that were affected by the lower salaries, the actual supply was threatening to dry up, and in 1867 there were only 15 men and 72 women in residence at Catholic training colleges. In effect this meant that only 7 or 8 recruits were entering the male ranks each

1. IBID. Reports of 1863 and 1867.

year and very few Roman Catholics were gaining their certificate of merit by 1867 without passing through training school. Indeed every student, male and female in residence in 1867 had been a pupil teacher. This was such a serious state of affairs that the Catholic Poor School Committee was prompted to arrange for the admission class to training school to be free of charge to young people. Students were given free travelling expenses in the summer and a scale of personal allowance previously adopted by the Committee of the Council. In Catholic schools too, the recruitment drive was extended, and masters who were successful in training candidates for admission to training schools were offered gratuities.¹ This met with some success and in 1867, 25 such trainees passed the entrance examination for training school. Between 1854 and June 1867, 195 students had been trained as teachers in Catholic normal schools at Hammersmith and Saint Leonard's on Sea, of whom 134 were still acting as teachers. Ten of these had come from County Durham, three each from Durham and Sunderland and 2 each from Stella and Darlington, emphasising in one more way the fact that the early starters were proving to be the most efficient.²

1. Report of the Committee of Council on Education on Normal Schools 1867/68.
2. IBID.

How efficient all the schools in the county were can be seen by abstracting the figures given with regard to annual grant, and if averages are worked out the comparative efficiency of all the Catholic schools can readily be seen. Only one more school had been added to the grant aided list by the end of 1865, namely Saint John the Baptist's, Felling, started in 1861, and it is reasonable to take the year 1866/67 as the year when there had been a fair reflection of the results of the Revised Code, this in preference to the previous year when Mr. Lynch did not present a report, having received permission from the Committee to be absent on private business. Sixteen departments were inspected in the county, and these departments employed 3 certificated masters, 9 certificated mistresses, 3 assistant mistresses and 14 pupil teachers. One hesitates to contemplate what a full attendance would mean for this number of teaching staff, for there were 2,363 on the books in 1865, almost 80 per member of staff. The average roll was 1,601, well over 50 per head, including pupil teachers, and it is this that is perhaps the worst effect of the Revised Code.

ANNUAL GRANTS 1866 (GRANTS TO 31.12.66)

<u>SCHOOL.</u>	<u>AVERAGE ATTENDANCE.</u>	<u>GRANT.</u>	<u>AVERAGE PER PUPIL.</u>
Barnard Castle	58	£33. 0. 2.	11/4½.
Birtley	Received only the grant to help buy books and apparatus.		
Brooms	Received only the grant to help buy books and apparatus.		
Gateshead	Received only the grant to help buy books and apparatus.		
Durham St. Cuthbert's	163	£75.17. 2.	9/3.
Darlington St. Augustine's	150	£59. 6. 8.	8/11.
Felling St. John the Baptist	163	£75.12. 2.	9/11.
Hartlepool St. Bega	121	£57.15. 4.	10/1.
Hartlepool St. Hilda	115	£50. 8. 6.	9/4½.
Hartlepool St. Joseph's	Was receiving the grant for books and apparatus.		
Houghton St. Michael's	139	£57. 0. 2.	8/2½.
South Shields St. Bede's	186	£35. 7. 5.	3/9.
Stella	95	£47. 6. 2.	9/10½.
Sunderland St. Mary's	324 and 26*	£159. 8. 2.	9/1. (includes night scholars.)
Thornley	Was receiving book and apparatus grant.		
Washington	134 and 41*	£86. 8. 0.	9/3½

* Night Schools.

Some general conclusions can be drawn before comparing this table of grants under the Revised Code with the one for the following year. It is fairly evident that Sunderland Saint Mary's of the old foundations, and Washington of the new, were making a vigorous attempt to increase their grant by conducting night schools, and consequently their average grant in overall comparison with the rest of the schools in the county is the most respectable with regard to payment by results, as the evening scholars could earn no more for the school than 5/0d. each, as compared with the 12/0d. of the day scholars. The average at Barnard Castle certainly catches one's attention. By 1861 Barnard Castle had earned only £12.18. 4d. in annual grants. Now in 1866 the school shows the highest per capita grant in the county, but one would not have to look farther than average number in attendance to see the reason for this state of affairs, without detracting the credit from the teacher. For the remainder, two of the old schools show a surprisingly low average, that is under 9/0d., but the amount at Houghton would seem to reflect the mediocre type of report that had from time to time been customary. Saint Bede's, South Shields, does of course show a remarkably low average in comparison with the rest of

the Catholic schools, and perhaps the fact that children from Jarrow were attending this school, and that the numbers were particularly large for a school only recently open to inspection had a great deal to do with this. In general though, the rates of grant were above the national average of 8/11d. per child for Roman Catholic and Anglican children, and compared quite favourably with the higher average of 9/2½d. for Wesleyan children.¹

With a system such as the code that depended solely on results, it was inevitable that there would be fairly wide divergences from year to year that would be consequent on the variation in numbers as well as standards in the school. Yet it is still surprising to find that a school such as Washington late on the scene would raise its average grant by almost 3/0d. per child. What is more surprising is the general lowering in results that the reduction in average grants seems to indicate. (V. App. 3. for tables for 1867 and 1869.) Night schools must have been regarded not so much as educational advance, but simply as another means of earning grant. Certainly desperate measures were needed to cover the expenses of running a school if it were to

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1866/67.
Table of Annual Grants.

cover the costs of salary alone. No princely sum was needed to pay a teacher, just over £77 for a man and barely £50 for a woman, and from £10 to £12 less for an unqualified teacher, but schools having an average attendance of more than 89 were compelled in consideration of annual grant to maintain a minimum number of pupil teachers, where previously the augmentation grants had covered the whole cost of their maintenance.¹ Under the old system the managers would have few scruples about pressing the government for the maximum number of pupil teachers, and where, for example, an average of 130 was maintained, then 2 or 3 pupil teachers would be allowed, and in 1850, 6 pupil teachers were serving apprenticeships at Sunderland. Whilst there are no specific figures for the 1860's for individual schools, the record shows that only one year after the Revised Code Mr. Lynch was able to examine only 10 (6 at Hartlepool and 4 at Darlington), for the whole area. It was a general practice that pupil teachers should be excluded from schools simply to keep down costs for the managers, and this was a national feature for all denominations after the Revised Code. In 1865 and 1866 the number of male apprenticeships being served in Catholic schools had decreased from well over 200 to 194 and 197

1. IBID. 1865 p. x - xix.

respectively, at a time when the number of Catholic schools was increasing at something a little higher than the rate in County Durham. For women apprentices the situation was better as regards actual numbers; in 1866 the number had fallen to an all time low for the period of 455, and even by 1868 the number had not risen to the figures for 1861.¹ Under the new system an average attendance of 90 would necessitate the employment of one pupil teacher to qualify for grant, and as the numbers increased so did the compulsory numbers of apprentices, but one would have to say that the tables of grants made to Catholic schools in the county do not show any deliberate policy of arranging attendances to suit running costs. This must be to the credit of the Catholic managers, especially when one considers that about 88% of Roman Catholic children paid less than 3d. in school pence. If anything it seems as if the rapidly growing numbers was the factor in Durham which dictated policy. Reviewing development of Catholic schools after the Revised Code, Mr. Lynch reported to the Committee of the Council in January 1869 that "New buildings, in which three departments have been formed supply the place of a very indifferent mixed school at South Shields." Not a very complimentary statement to the managers

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1869-70.

and to the teaching staff, but South Shields Saint Bede's had raised the average attendance from 186 during 1866, to 375 by the end of 1867. and in the process had raised the average grant per child from 3/9d. to 8/3d.,¹ which is a considerable achievement, especially when this state of affairs was improved on progressively. (v. App. 3 Table of Grants for 1867 and 1869.) If it was an indifferent mixed school, it was a very full one, where to say the least standards for examinations were improving.

Mr. Lynch's report on development gives only the bare outlines of progress made in Durham between 1860 and 1869 but does show that the Catholic authorities were dealing with a situation that must have been a constant source of worry to them as the Catholic populations rapidly increased. It seems strange that some modernisation was going on at the same time as new foundations were being made, some of which are unfortunately still with us today, but this was indeed the case. Mr. Lynch wrote, "The old buildings at Darlington have been enlarged and improved. At West Hartlepool a mixed school has been opened under a master. At Blackhill commodious suitable schools have been built and

1. IBID. 1866/67.

are now taught in two departments At Gateshead new buildings have been erected and are now occupied by a mixed school and an Infants department. A well arranged Girls' school has been built at Saint George's Sunderland. At Durham a new school Saint Godric's has been placed under a certificated teacher. At Sacriston a small mixed school has been opened. At Washington a large and well arranged mixed school has been built at the Felling large and suitable schools have been built."¹ Some consolidation and not a little progress were being made and all the schools mentioned obtained grant in 1869. In this connection Gateshead was notably successful, gaining £220. 5. 3d. for 414 pupils in the day school, an average of 10/7d., and the sum of £48. 3. 9d. in the night school, an average of 6/3d. One does not like to judge success by financial emoluments but the standards imposed leave this as the only guide. By these standards Gateshead had come up to date with an enormous flurry of activity; with no organised education of any kind in 1853 we find two flourishing parishes ten years later, Saint Joseph's and Our Lady Immaculate at Blackhill, where the schools mentioned by Mr. Lynch were placed under inspection for the first time in 1868, receiving £149.18. 6d. for 262

pupils. Schools at Sacriston, Monkwearmouth Saint Benet's, Jarrow and another school Saint Patrick's at Darlington were the only other Catholic schools to come under inspection before the Education Act of 1870, and with the exception of Jarrow, where the grant was only £50.10. 2d. for 234 children, all met with moderate financial success. Within three years Jarrow had expanded to two schools with 217 and 392 pupils respectively, each school running a night school and comparing well in average grant with schools of much longer standing.¹

Whilst the majority of schools in the county were being staffed by laymen and women, there is no doubt that the nuns played a large part in the development of education in Catholic schools. Their long and fine tradition at Sunderland has already been mentioned, and in 1870 they were educating some 1,512 children at the four schools there, as well as 100 more in Saint Bede's,² which was the mother convent and a private school. In addition to this work they ran an orphanage in connection with the convent, and in appealing for funds in 1857 and 1858 requested donations "towards the completion of the convent and chapel. Owing to the generosity of kind benefactors the

1. Reports of Committee of Council on Education 1868-70.
2. Watson. Voluntary Schools in the Educational System.

Sisters of Mercy have succeeded in getting up a portion of the building; but their funds are now exhausted and unless assisted by the charity of those who interest themselves in the training of youth and the religious instruction of the poor, the sisters will be obliged for the future to suspend the enlargement of their convent, so much needed for the accommodation of the children and adults under their care."¹

Whilst their main work was quite obviously in Sunderland the nuns had taken over the teaching at the new school, Saint Godric's in Durham City, as well as at Saint Augustine's in Darlington. In addition another order, the Sisters of Charity, were in charge at the school built in Crook and not placed under inspection and opened sometime between 1857 and 1860. Sunderland was, of course, (and for that matter still is) a stronghold for schools in which the sisters taught and it is certainly much to their credit that there were four schools under inspection in Sunderland as early as 1873, with Saint Mary's having a history and tradition comparable with any other charity school in the diocese.

By the end of 1869 there were 3,845 children in regular attendance at Catholic schools in Durham in a total of 19 inspected

1. Catholic Directory 1857 and 1858.

schools,¹ (v. App. 3 for places and figures of attendance) and with the opening of a second school at Darlington the number was increased by almost 100 a year later. That these schools were being maintained and increasing in strength appears almost surprising if one considers the poor supply of teachers that even the setting up of Catholic training colleges had not rectified from 1860 onwards. The figures for men are in a way the more alarming, and by 1869 only 211 male teachers had been trained at Hammersmith since it had been opened, and of these only 127 were teaching in inspected schools in 1869. Evidently a fairly close check was kept on the whereabouts of teachers, and of the 211 trained only 9 could not be accounted for. Some 24 were dead and another 9 had emigrated, but even making allowances for these men, there was still a very high wastage rate amongst male teachers, which to a great extent was the fault of the Revised Code.² (v. App. 5 for full figures 1862-68.) In 1863 there were only 2 certificated masters teaching in the county in Catholic schools when only six years earlier there had been 6, Messrs. D. Buckley, (Sunderland) T. Chapman, (Durham) R. Heaphy, (Stella) J. Kean, (Houghton) and T. Mackenzie, (Darlington).

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1869.
2. Report of Committee of Council on Education 1869-70.
S. M. Stokes, H. Renouf and L. Coward on Training Colleges.

After 1870 the detailed information that inspectors had given for Catholic schools diminishes, for with the setting up of the School Boards it ceased to be the practice for Roman Catholic schools to be examined separately, but the table of annual grants does indicate that the progress made before 1870 was being maintained. Whilst there was no Catholic school big enough to be included in the ten largest boys' or girls' school Jarrow was the ninth largest mixed school in the county and in his report Mr. Oakley the new Inspector gives a breakdown of numbers and success in the examinations. This school in Jarrow was in Jarrow east, and was by no means the largest Catholic school taking overall figures, but separate departments were the order of the day and thus Jarrow with 174 boys and girls was the largest mixed school. Mr. Oakley reported that there were in regular attendance 160 children of 7 and over, of whom 95 had been examined in reading, writing and arithmetic, with no extra subjects offered. 83.2% had passed in reading, 74.7% had passed in writing and 57.9% had passed in arithmetic.¹ This had merited a grant of £98.10. Od. not much more than would support one teacher, but another £12.17. Od. was earned in the night school.² Despite the changes that had been made by the Revised Code, Catholic

1. IBID. 1873.

2. IBID. Table of Annual Grants.

schools had continued to open, and the Act of 1870 had allowed six months grace for the provision of voluntary education. Voluntary schools had to be efficient and had to accept undenominational inspection; and despite a conscience clause as to the attendance at religious teaching, Catholics and Anglicans were spurred on to renewed efforts. In Durham, schools like Stockton that had not been placed under inspection before, were now forced to open their doors to Her Majesty's Inspectors, but strenuous efforts must have been made in every parish of size for at least eleven new Catholic schools were opened in the county. Darlington opened a third school Saint Williams, and schools at Hebburn, Consett, Stanley, Seaham Harbour, Tudhoe and Wingate were amongst those who strengthened the position of Catholic voluntary education in the county, and laid the foundations for the provision of both primary and secondary education for Catholic children and the consequent problems that attend that education today.

APPENDIX 1.NUMBERS ATTENDING INSPECTED SCHOOLS IN DURHAM IN 1849.

	Age								<u>Ordinary Attendance.</u>
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
<u>Durham.</u>	14	8	10	8	9	8	6	8	55
<u>Sunderland.</u> 204 Boys and 196 Girls present.	81 133	24 48	26 75	29 74	17 45	13 38	5 30	5 12	200 208
<u>Darlington.</u>	21	9	8	10	7	4	3	3	58
<u>Stella.</u> Boys Girls	15 22	5 3	5 7	2 4	2 4	4 0	0 3	3 0	31 35
<u>Houghton</u>	Sixty nine present for examination								90
<u>Hartlepoons.</u> Boys Girls	26 33	15 14	8 9	7 5	11 8	2 6	2 8	2 8	60 80

The figures for Sunderland Girls' school are quite remarkable for attendance on the day of inspection, 455, compared with an ordinary attendance of 208 indicating the major reason for the fairly rapid advances made in Sunderland.¹

1. Report of Committee of Council on Education.
This Table extracted from Mr. Marshall's Report of 1849.

APPENDIX 2.AVERAGE SALARIES PAID TO TEACHERS IN 1853.

Extracted from Table X Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1853.

1. Certificated Masters.

£76.11.10d. was the average salary paid to a Catholic schoolmaster in the Northern Counties, Wales and Scotland when the overall average was £90. 1. 7 $\frac{5}{4}$ d. The average was worked out by taking the gross salaries for 24 teachers in the areas named. Of the 24, 9 were living in rent free school houses.

2. Uncertificated Masters.

The average salary for an uncertificated master in Durham has to be calculated on the same basis as that of a certificated master, and amounted to £51. 4.11d. when the national average was £59. 7. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. 11 were living in rent free houses and the average was arrived at from the gross salaries of 36 uncertificated masters.

3. Certificated Mistresses.

The national average was £60.11. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and a certificated mistress in Durham would be earning in the region of the area average of £59.16. 4d., but only 4 were living in rent free houses.

4. Uncertificated Mistresses.

There were 20 uncertificated mistresses living in rent free houses in the area and the local average, if it came near the area average, exceeded the national average by more than £10; £43.14. Od. as compared with £33.10. 9³/₄d.

5. Infant Mistresses.

In the whole of the area covered by the inspector there was only one Infant schoolmistress living in a rent free house and earning £75.18. Od. per. annum, almost as much as a man. For uncertificated infant teachers the local average was under £30..

APPENDIX 3.

TABLES OF GRANT 1867 AND 1869.

Grants paid during the year ending 31.12.1867.

Abstracted from Report of Committee of Council on Education for 1867.

Average grant per head is calculated on the number given in the table of grants, as being on the roll of the school.

<u>School</u>	<u>On Roll</u>	<u>Nos:at Night School</u>	<u>Amount of Grant</u>	<u>Average per Head.</u>
Darlington St. Augustine's	198		£87.19. 0.	8.10.
Durham St. Cuthbert's	160		£47.17. 4.	5.11.
St. Godric's	164		£53.16. 0.	6. 5½.
Felling	117		£38.17. 6.	6. 7.
St. John the Baptist.		8	£1. 0. 0.	2. 6.
Gateshead	301		£114. 8. 2.	7. 7.
		94	£30.13. 1.	6. 2.
Hartlepoons		48	£9. 9. 1.	3.11.
St. Bega's	124		£59. 6. 7.	9. 6.
St. Hilda's	137		£54.18. 8.	8. 0½.
St. Joseph's	120		£55.19. 0.	9. 3½.
Houghton-le-Spring St. Michael's	102		£69. 5. 0.	13. 7.
South Shields St. Bede's	375		£154.19. 4.	8. 3.
Stella	164		£84.19. 0.	10. 3.
		54	£21. 5. 0.	7.10.
Sunderland St. George's	127		£69.12. 0.	10.11.
St. Mary's	244		£169. 3. 7.	13.10.
		51	£29. 3. 9.	11. 7.
Thornley	No Figures			
Washington St. Joseph's.	152		£92.17. 4.	12. 1.

Table of Annual Grants 1.1.1869 to 31.12.1869.

<u>School.</u>	<u>On Roll.</u>	<u>Nos:at Night School.</u>	<u>Amount of Grant.</u>	<u>Average per Head.</u>
Barnard Castle St. Mary's	87		£41.10. 0.	9. 6.
Birtley*				
Blackhill St. Mary's	259		£187.17. 1.	14. 6.
Brooms†				
Darlington	208		£91.14. 0.	8. 9.
Durham St. Cuthbert's	95		£47. 8. 4.	9. 7.
		41	£11. 4. 2.	5. 6.
St. Godric's	213		£133.11. 5.	12. 6.
Felling	183		£118.18. 7.	12.11½.
Gateshead St. Joseph's	414		£220. 5. 3.	10. 7.
		154	£48. 3. 9.	6. 2.
Hartlepool St. Bega's	127		£62.12. 2.	9.10.
St. Hilda's	155		£68.10. 2.	8.10.
W. Hartlepool St. Joseph's	101		£50. 9. 6.	10. 0.
Houghton-le-Spring	123		£74.12. 0.	12.1½.
Monkwearmouth St. Benet's	174		£75.12. 2.	8. 8.
Sacriston	67		£37.15. 6.	10.11.
Jarrow	234		£50.10. 2.	4. 3. (1870 7.10.)
South Shields	371		£245. 6. 0.	15.10.
Sunderland St. George	102		£71.19. 2.	14. 1.
St. Mary	281		£147.19. 6.	10. 6.
		47	£17.12. 6.	7. 3½.
Thornley**				
Washington St. Joseph's	169		£85.12. 6.	10. 1½.

* Books and Apparatus grant only. + School sold. ** No Return.

APPENDIX 4CATHOLIC MASTERS, MISTRESSES AND PUPIL TEACHERSIN RELATION TO OTHER DENOMINATIONS.1. Masters.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Non-Roman Catholic</u>	<u>% of Roman Catholics</u>
1861	118	5229	2.23%
1862	127	5445	2.27%
1863	128	5729	2.19%
1864	150	5980	2.45%
1865	160	6307	2.47%
1866	171	6725	2.48%
1867	194	6905	2.73%
1868	208	7313	2.84%

2. Mistresses.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Non-Roman Catholic</u>	<u>% of Roman Catholics</u>
1861	224	3598	5.9%
1862	287	3763	7.1%
1863	304	3975	7.1%
1864	330	4375	7%
1865	360	4583	7.3%
1866	389	4974	7.2%
1867	410	5328	7.1%
1868	445	5728	7.2%

3. Female Pupil Teachers.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Non-Roman Catholic</u>	<u>% of Roman Catholics</u>
1861	548	7293	7%
1862	529	7176	7.6%
1863	591	6523	8.3%
1864	517	5919	8%
1865	491	5523	8.1%
1866	455	5484	7.7%
1867	504	5808	8%
1868	543	6760	7.4%

The same lack of uniform increase for male pupil teachers also reflects the effects of the Revised Code. In 1861 there were 204 male pupil teachers but in 1865 and 1866 there were only 194 and 197 respectively. Admission Rates for Hammersmith and Liverpool Training Colleges show the same effect with the figures for male entrants to the admission examination being the most alarming.

Hammersmith Training College.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entrants to Admission Examination.</u>	<u>Entrants to Non-Roman Catholic Colleges.</u>	<u>% Roman Catholic.</u>
1862	27	865	3%
1863	11	680	1.6%
1864	21	497	4.1%
1865	10	511	1.9%
1866	6	415	1.3%
1867	25	429	5.5%
1868	18	437	4%
1869	34	663	4.9%

Liverpool R.C. Women's Training College.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entrants to Admission Examination.</u>	<u>Entrants to Non-Roman Catholic Colleges.</u>	<u>% Roman Catholic.</u>
1862	64	829	7.2%
1863	40	751	5.1%
1864	58	752	7.2%
1865	43	741	5.5%
1866	45	811	5.3%
1867	35	671	5%
1868	36	754	4.6%
1869	42	837	4.7%

All the above figures are abstracted from the report on the Training Colleges at Hammersmith and Liverpool by Messrs. Stokes, Renouf and Coward for the year ending 31st December, 1869.

It is fairly easy to see that throughout the country the Revised Code had a profound effect on the supply of teachers and caused a shortage of pupil teachers in a growing educational world. The prospects for men after the Revised Code are amply reflected in the strange figures given for the entrants to Hammersmith. Appendix 5 taken from the same source attempts to trace employment and career of all Catholic male teachers trained at Hammersmith up to 1869.

APPENDIX 5.CAREERS OF TEACHERS TRAINED AT HAMMERSMITH UP TO 1869.

211 were trained, 6 were dismissed, leaving 205 to account for:

Teaching in inspected schools.....	127
Dead.....	24
Emigrated.....	9
No details.....	9
Schoolmasters in government prisons.....	3
Teachers in middle schools.....	2
Assistants to Her Majesty's Inspectors.....	1
Holy Orders.....	3
Teaching Brothers.....	3
Out of Employment.....	6
In the Civil Service.....	2
Medical Student.....	1
Journalist.....	1
In the Army.....	1
In business as clerks, etc.....	13

205

DETAILS OF THOSE IN INSPECTED SCHOOLS127 Teachers.

44 representing 34.65% were still in the same school.
36 representing 28.35% had made one change of school.
30 representing 23.62% had made two changes of school.
12 representing 9.45% had made three changes of school.
3 representing 2.36% had made four changes of school.
2 representing 1.57% had made five changes of school.

The overall average length of service for these 127 was $5\frac{1}{2}$ years.

All figures are abstracted from Her Majesty's Inspectors' report to the Committee of the Council on Catholic Training Colleges, 1869.

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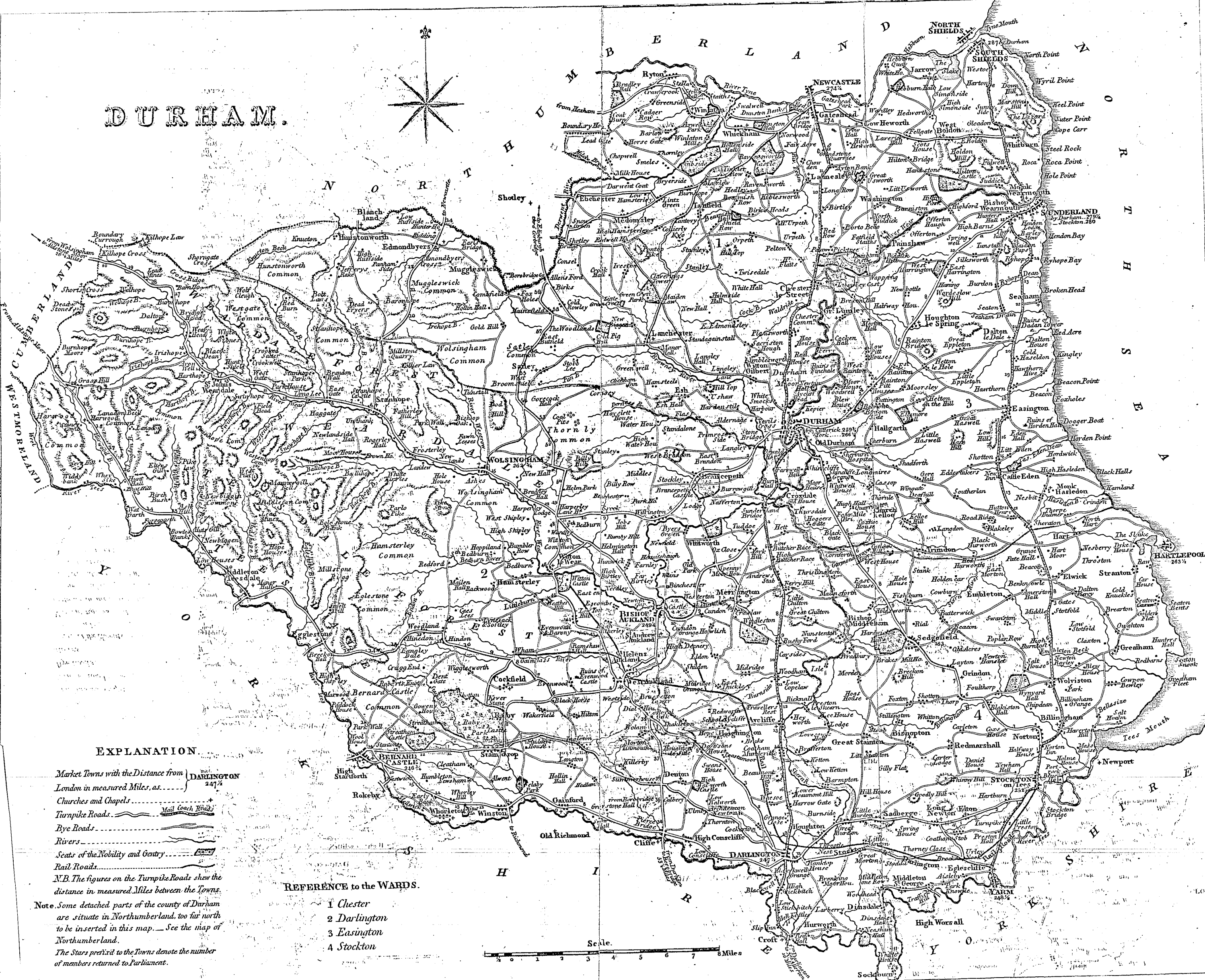
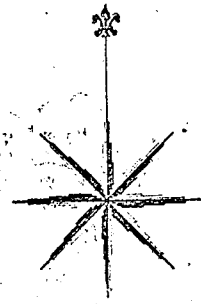
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DURHAM.



EXPLANATION.

- Market Towns with the Distance from **DARLINGTON** 24 1/2 Miles, as
 - Churches and Chapels
 - Turnpike Roads
 - Bye Roads
 - Rivers
 - Seats of the Nobility and Gentry
 - Rail Roads
- N.B. The figures on the Turnpike Roads shew the distance in measured Miles between the Towns.

Note. Some detached parts of the county of Durham are situate in Northumberland, too far north to be inserted in this map.— See the map of Northumberland.
The Stars prefixed to the Towns denote the number of members returned to Parliament.

REFERENCE to the WARDS.

- 1 Chester
- 2 Darlington
- 3 Easington
- 4 Stockton

Scale. 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Miles