THE DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF BEVERLEY 1878, 'A DISTASTEFUL AND PAINFUL AFFAIR'

by MARGARET TURNHAM

The decision by the Holy See in 1878 to divide the diocese of Beverley into two smaller dioceses was unwelcome initially to many Catholics of the region, who felt it was unbalanced and unfair. This was a particularly long-held perception within the new diocese of Middlesbrough, which was comprised of the more rural areas of Yorkshire together with a new but often uneconomical industrial conurbation on the River Tees. The article examines whether this was an honest perception by scrutinising the logistics of the division, its geographical implications and the consequences for the future of the diocese in terms of the presbyterate and growth of mission.

The geographical county of Yorkshire is historically the largest county in England and Wales, although for administrative purposes, until the boundary changes in 1972, it was subdivided into three 'Ridings' a name derived from the Viking word 'Thriding' meaning three parts. Within the terms of Catholic Church administration Yorkshire had remained as a complete entity from the time of the Reformation. From 1685 when England was formally organised into four Districts, each under a Vicar Apostolic, Yorkshire was part of the Northern District, but when in 1840 the original four Districts were reorganised into eight, Yorkshire became a District in its own right under the leadership of Bishop John Briggs, the former Vicar Apostolic of the North. In 1850, when the Hierarchy was restored, Yorkshire remained as one unit under the title of the diocese of Beverley. However, the changes brought about by industrialisation meant that while the nature and economy of the North and East Ridings remained largely rural (with the exception of its northern boundary on the River Tees); that of the West Riding became centred on manufacture. As a result many new large towns grew out of the small villages that had once dotted the landscape, bringing in their wake a vastly increased population. This in turn forced all the Christian denominations to look again at their provision of spiritual care and begin programmes of expansion. Catholicism was no exception and by the time John Briggs died in 1861, it was felt by the authorities in the Holy See that the diocese of Beverley would need to be divided into two smaller dioceses at some point in the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

near future since the current boundaries made the diocese too large and unwieldy for effective pastoral care and administration by one man. This was communicated to the new bishop, Robert Cornthwaite, upon his appointment as the second bishop of Beverley. He began the negotiations with *Propaganda fide*, which would take several years to complete, to find the best way of effecting the division. The final decision was delayed by the events in Italy that began during the time of the First Vatican Council (1870) and was finally announced in February 1879, although the papers authorising the division had been signed in Rome the previous November. Amid all the emotion and turmoil that the announcement of the division caused, a perception arose within the diocese of Middlesbrough, which was the smaller of the two new dioceses, that it was an unfair and unbalanced division. This later hardened into a belief that it had affected the development of the diocese particularly during the episcopate of Richard Lacy, its first bishop (1879–1929). It had its origins in the Appeal that was sent to the Holy See by the local gentry who listed their objections to the division that was adopted. These included the number of small and poor rural missions in the new diocese of Middlesbrough that depended on the poor mission fund for survival; the lack of major commercial centres apart from Hull and Middlesbrough, the latter of which was in economic decline; the general poverty of the whole area and finally the division of the city of York which had resulted from the proposal.[1] The clergy too, were unhappy at the proposed division arguing that it was unbalanced in terms of priestly numbers, numbers of missions and general population.[2] This article examines the truth behind those assertions as well as appraising the immediate repercussions of what Bishop Robert Cornthwaite termed 'a distasteful and painful affair'.[3]

The Logistics of the Division

Prior to his appointment as bishop, Robert Cornthwaite had little knowledge of the diocese of Beverley. He was a Lancastrian by birth and had trained for the priesthood at Ushaw in Durham and the Venerable English College in Rome. On his return to England in 1845, he served in the Northern District, which subsequently became the diocese of Hexham. During the years 1851–1857 he was back in Rome as Rector of the *Venerabile* and then returned to the diocese of Hexham. His appointment to Beverley in 1861was welcomed by Cardinal Wiseman and his fellow Ultramontane supporters for 'he was a good man and thoroughly Roman, which nowadays is a very necessary qualification.'[4] This had the corollary of Cornthwaite being well-versed in the thinking of the Holy See, he knew therefore that it preferred to set boundaries along the course of rivers or existing civil boundaries. The use of rivers was not unique to the Catholic Church; they had been used for determining political boundaries and defending countries since the beginnings of civilisation. The

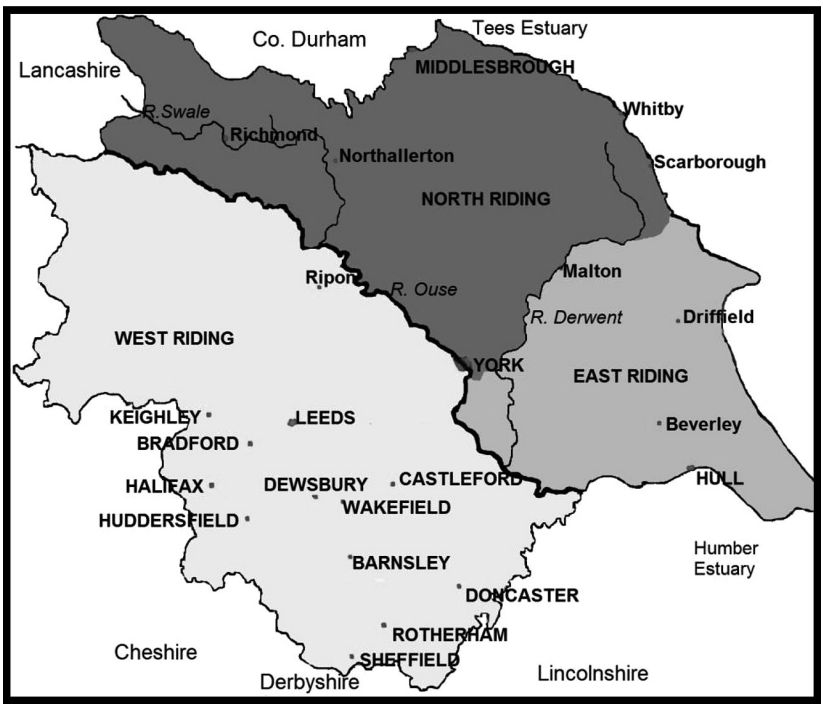

Figure 1. The division of the Diocese of Beverley as proposed by Bishop Cornthwaite 1874–1878

civil boundaries of the three Ridings of Yorkshire had also been delineated in this manner using the Rivers Ouse and Derwent. The Yorkshire – County Durham border was the River Tees, and in the South the rivers feeding into the Humber formed the boundaries with neighbouring counties. Consequently the division of the diocese of Beverley favoured by Bishop Cornthwaite was one that he would have felt confident would be accepted by the Holy See. It used the existing administrative boundaries of the three Ridings: the industrialised West Riding would form one diocese centred upon Leeds, the more rural North and East Ridings would form the other diocese.

There was opposition from his own clergy however, articulated through the Chapter. They felt that a North/South divide, with a line drawn from Scarborough on the east coast to the border with Lancashire just outside Todmorden (Fig. 3) and using railway lines as boundary markers, would be the most equitable way forward. The evidence that they put forward does support this as the table in Fig. 2 illustrates.[5]

In 1879, as part of their petition to the Holy See, the laity put forward a similar plan, one which had been independently drawn up. In both plans the southern area would consist of the East Riding, the city and Ainsty[6] of York, and a portion of the West Riding that was delineated in terms

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

		Number of Missions	Number of Mass Stations	Number of secular priests	Number of borrowed priests	General population
	Total in Diocese of Beverley	79	25	95	12	128,198
Cornthwaite proposal:	Diocese of Leeds	54	15	59	7	94,446
	Diocese of Middlesbrough	35	10	36	5	33,752
Chapter proposal:	Northern Division	47	16	48	7	70,821
	Southern Division	42	9	47	5	57,377

Figure 2. Comparative table of the Cornthwaite and clergy proposals

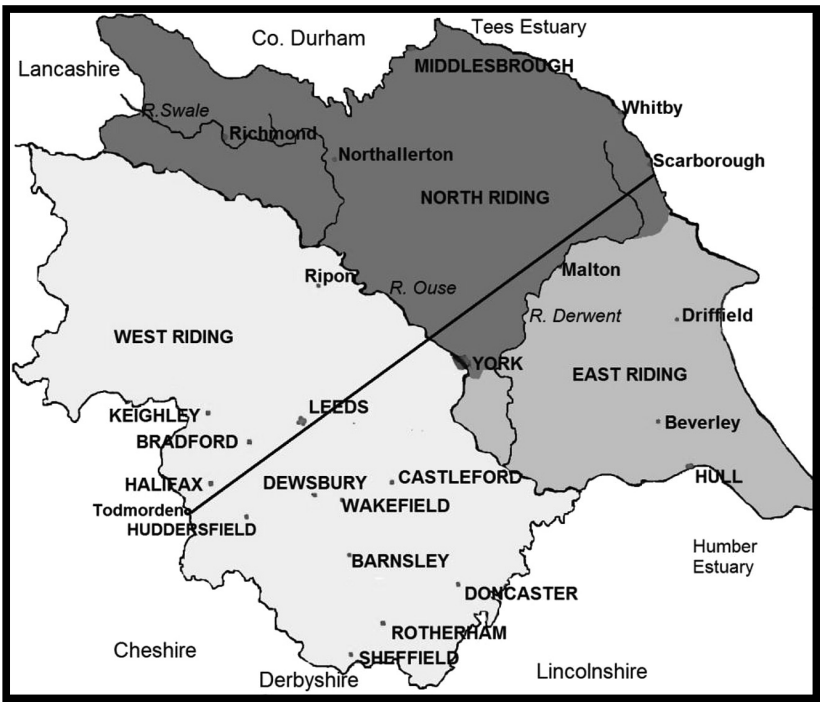

Figure 3. Map showing proposed division of diocese by the clergy

of local railway lines. The northern division comprised the North Riding and the northern part of the West Riding. The two alternative plans were rejected. This was possibly on the grounds that such a line had no permanent features – such as those granted by a river course – and could lead

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to boundary disputes in the future, particularly if the new urban conurbations continued to grow at the rate at which they were expanding in the Victorian period.

The Presbyterate

The division as adopted meant that Middlesbrough was entitled to approximately one-third of the assets of the old diocese of Beverley and that the new diocesan priesthood would reflect this in terms of numbers and age profiles. Examination of the data shows that this was not the case and furthermore that the alternative North/South division would have been more equitable (Fig. 4[7]). It does seem to indicate that Bishop Cornthwaite had ensured that more of the younger energetic priests were in the West Riding and that in these terms the division was indeed not strictly fair and just. However, the new diocese of Middlesbrough had many small rural and poor Catholic communities, whereas Leeds had mainly urban conurbations that provided better training opportunities for young priests. To bear this out the younger priests in the new diocese of Middlesbrough were also working in the three urban conurbations of Middlesbrough, York and Hull. This age profile did have consequences for the diocese of Middlesbrough, in that Bishop Lacy lost most his experienced priests in a very short time and therefore needed to take remedial measures by borrowing large numbers of priests to ensure adequate provision of Mass. Leeds, on the other hand, retained a large body of experienced priests for much longer (Figs 5 and 6).

From the old diocese of Beverley, three men became bishops: Richard Lacy became bishop of Middlesbrough in 1879, and Arthur Riddell left the diocese of Middlesbrough to become Bishop of Northampton in

The Range of Ages		
	Min	**Max**
Beverley	24	81
Middlesborough	27	81
Leeds	24	66
The Mode Age		
Beverley	28	
Middlesborough	77	
Leeds	28	
The Mean Age		
Beverley	43	
Middlesborough	52	
Leeds	38	

	Min	**Max**
Beverley	24	81
Northern Division	27	79
Southern Division	24	81
The Mode Age		
Beverley	28	
Northern Division	28	
Southern Division	28	
The Mean Age		
Beverley	43	
Northern Division	43	
Southern Division	43	

Figure 4. The age profile of the clergy 1879

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

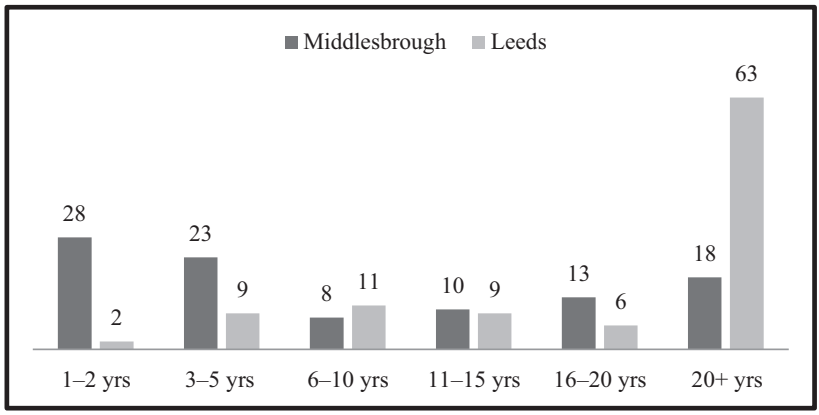

Figure 5. The length of service given to the new dioceses by the priests of Beverley serving in 1879 (by percentage)

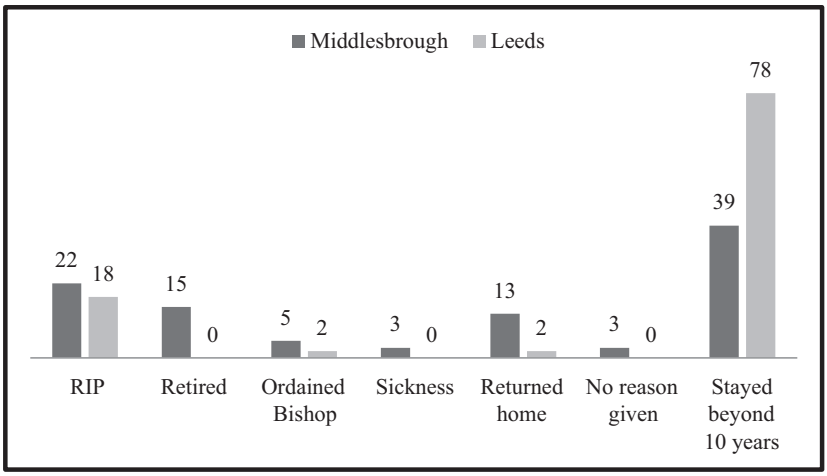

Figure 6. Reasons given for priests leaving the new dioceses 1879–1889 (by percentage)

1880. In 1890 William Gordon of Leeds became Bishop of that diocese in succession to Bishop Cornthwaite. Amongst the priests who returned to their home diocese were four German priests who had fled from their home country as a result of *Kulturkampf*. They returned there after 1884 when it was safe to do so. Three served in Middlesbrough and one in Leeds. The greatest loss to Bishop Lacy was that caused by the age of his priests from Beverley, of whom 37% either died or retired during the first ten years. Support of the retired priests was also a strain on the resources of the new Diocese, which had few wealthy people to help it financially. This was exacerbated by the fact that the one-third share of the assets of Beverley due to the diocese were not handed over by Bishop Cornthwaite until 1884.[8]

From the statistical evidence it does appear that the division of the diocese of Beverley was unfair and unjust in terms of the new diocese of Middlesbrough. However, there is nothing in the Cornthwaite papers which suggests that he had anticipated the problems the division would cause the diocese of Middlesbrough in terms of the presbyterate. However, when the age profile became obvious during 1879, a year in which he administered the diocese, there is a question of whether he should have tried to redress the balance.

The Geographical Implications of the Division

Perhaps the most devastating result of the division for many people was the fact that the boundary line, which followed the course of the River Ouse, ran through the middle of York and split the city between the two new dioceses. This problem would have been averted had the alternative proposal been implemented. Making matters more complicated was the fact that both Catholic churches in York, St Wilfrid's and St George's, lay within the territory of the diocese of Middlesbrough despite being in the smaller portion of the city divide, especially when the Ainsty was included. Hospitality was offered to the Catholics living on the Leeds side of the boundary by the Bar Convent, which was also sited on that side of the divide until a new school-chapel could be built in 1889. There can be no doubt however, that it was extremely painful for the Catholic community of York suddenly to become two communities and for the people of one of those communities to lose their spiritual homes. It was also one of the reasons why York was not chosen as one of the See towns. This was despite the fact that from the Restoration of the Hierarchy, in 1850, first St George's then, from 1865, the rebuilt St Wilfrid's had the status of a pro-Cathedral of the diocese of Beverley together with St Anne's Leeds. There is little doubt was that it did hinder the mission in York and the matter was not fully resolved until 1982, when the boundary line was moved to place the city and Ainsty fully within the diocese of Middlesbrough.

Another result of the geography of the divide was the spread of towns and cities between the two dioceses and the potential they gave for the two dioceses to become economically viable units. From the map in Fig. 1 it is clear that the West Riding was more industrialised in comparison with the North and East Ridings, which were predominately rural. The former would also form a more prestigious diocese, for the greater concentration of Catholics was in the West Riding, and it also had the better financial support of wealthy Catholics, such as the Duke of Norfolk who owned large swathes of land around Sheffield. One of Cornthwaite's earliest decisions as Bishop of Beverley was to move his residence from York to Leeds as the latter was a better hub for the rail network. Letters within the Tate-Slater correspondence held at Ushaw College suggest

that the reason for this move was because York had diminished in standing both as a city and as a Catholic centre.[9] But knowing that a division of the diocese was under consideration Cornthwaite may also have been ensuring that he would be in situ for appointment to the more prestigious diocese. The extensive urbanisation of the West Riding brought its own problems namely poor housing conditions with its corollary of overcrowding and lack of adequate sanitation, intemperance caused in part as a reaction to poor living and working conditions, and the resulting high level of petty crime and violence committed under the influence of alcohol. There was also a need to provide more places of worship and schools. But the local economy of wool, textiles coal and steel remained relatively buoyant, which helped the new diocese of Leeds to prosper in economic terms.

The same was not true for the diocese of Middlesbrough. Within its boundaries was the growing industrial sprawl in the Teesside area, a number of small, but ancient market towns, such as Beverley, isolated rural settlements on the bleak Moors and Wolds, and the fertile plains of the Vale of York. (Fig. 7).

Socially, the diocese reflected the growing overcrowding in its major urban centres of Hull, York and Middlesbrough which, because of a combination of immigration and the depopulation of rural areas such as Swaledale, also had problems with poverty as acute as in the towns. Agricultural workers enjoyed no guarantee of employment from week to

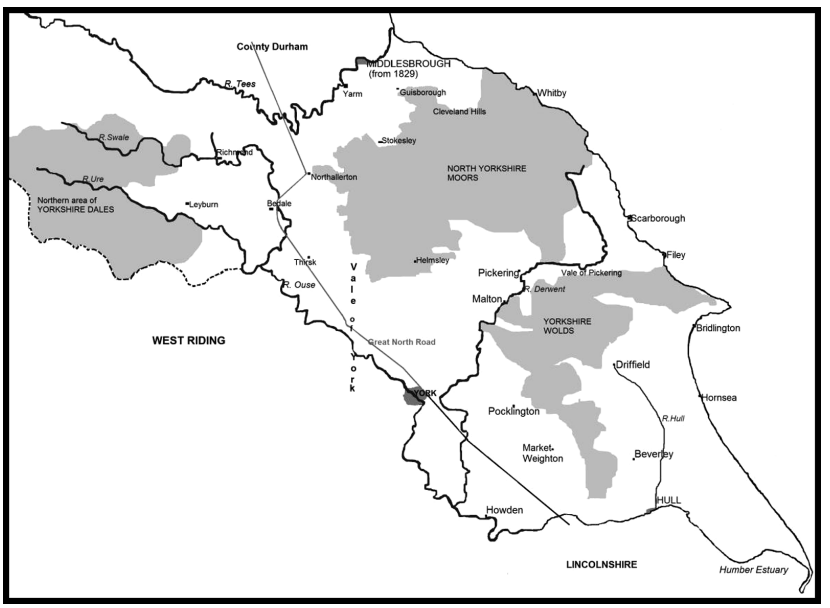

Figure 7. The physical terrain of the North and East Ridings in the mid nineteenth-century

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

week, particularly if the weather was bad. As a result people moved into the towns in search of regular work. It has already been noted that York's standing as a city had declined and, despite its position as a regional hub for the railway system, the economic basis for the town depended essentially upon its position as a centre for local agriculture and family-run manufacturing businesses, particularly in the area of cocoa-processing and confectionery.

In 1872 Hull was identified by Hugh Heinrick in *The Nation* as

> the only town I have known where whole families have separated themselves in idea and sentiment from their kindred and, renegades to Faith and Fatherland have ranged themselves on the side of England and infidelity. The general condition of the town is low.[10]

Hull did have a close-knit Catholic population. One that was made up in the most part of Irish immigrants attracted there by the docks and who lived in the most deprived part of the town. But it was a relatively small community because within the borders of the new diocese, half the total Catholic population, again largely of Irish origin lived on Teesside, which was in economic decline.

Its centre and origin was the town of Middlesbrough, founded in 1829 as a small port for the transport of coal from the South Durham Coalfield. Discovery of usable iron-ore in the Cleveland Hills in 1850 gave rise to a flourishing pig-iron industry, but by 1878 this was in serious decline. This was due, in part, to increased competition from abroad and in part to the development of the Bessemer process that converted low phosphorus iron into steel, thus providing a cheaper alternative to the wrought iron manufactured in the town and used by the railway and ship building industries. Unlike the ore used in the steel industry of the West Riding, the ore at Middlesbrough was high in phosphorus and therefore unsuitable for the Bessemer process. It was not until 1879 that an alternative process was developed to convert Middlesbrough's ore; it was slow to gain the market's confidence and Middlesbrough never regained the buoyancy of its iron-making days.[11] Economic uncertainty was also exacerbated by the necessary reliance on the coal industry to provide the fuel for the furnaces. The growing militancy of the miners, especially in the South Durham coalfield which served Middlesbrough, meant that their industrial action resulted in the enforced shutting down of the furnaces and consequent periods of unemployment for the iron workers.

Examination of the geography of the division, like the statistical analysis, highlights the inherent problems it caused for both dioceses, in particular the fate of York, and the long-term viability of the diocese of Middlesbrough. Cornthwaite must have been aware that York would be divided and this is one reason why he called the division distasteful and painful for some. But he also failed to understand the emotional attachment of Yorkshiremen to their county town with its long history in both

political and ecclesiastical terms, and, by his action in moving his residence to Leeds he demonstrated to them his belief that York was of little account. Neither, in the years preceding the division, did he ensure that those York Catholics who would be in the Leeds diocese would have a spiritual home after the division, indeed it took ten years to give them one. Again, there is no evidence to suggest that he anticipated problems of viability for the diocese of Middlesbrough, but it begs the question as to whether such short-sightedness was a characteristic of the nineteenth-century Catholic Church in general or simply of Cornthwaite in particular.

The Implications for Mission and Administration

The reason for dividing Yorkshire into two dioceses was to make the mission and administration of the Catholic Church there easier and to give more effective oversight. But by using natural features to delineate the boundary, the authorities failed to take into account the history and make-up of the area, in particular that contained within the diocese of Middlesbrough, the smaller, more rural and poorer diocese.

The North Riding, had a venerable recusant history illustrated most famously by St Margaret Clitherow of York executed in 1586 and Blessed Nicholas Postgate hanged at York in 1679. But there were large swathes in the East Riding, in particular in its northern half, where there is no evidence of Catholic activity after the Reformation until a mission was founded by Bishop Richard Lacy at Driffield in 1880. (Fig. 8) The reasons for this discrepancy between the two Ridings lay partly in the haphazardness of priestly provision in the Mission field before the first Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1779. Although understandable, it probably accounts for the wide variation in numbers of Catholics in different areas of the two Ridings. It seems self-evident that where a priest could provide regular masses, teaching and the sacraments, faith would be maintained and grow, and where there was no provision faith would wither and die. The Catholic gentry were central to such provision, and in the area between Gilling Castle and Everingham they simply did not exist.

It can be considered a fair assessment of his work that when Robert Cornthwaite was Bishop of Beverley and began the negotiations for the division, the financial support of missions and the spiritual health of Catholics in the North and East Ridings were already being compromised. Between 1864 and 1878 nineteen new missions were founded in the West Riding, but none in the remainder of Yorkshire. In York, so little money was forthcoming from the diocese and local Catholic gentry, because of the uncertainty, that Canon Render decided to make personal appeals in Ireland for money to build the new church of St Wilfrid, which replaced the chapel in Little Blake Street in 1865. Although long promised, rebuilding had become a necessity as Little Blake Street was

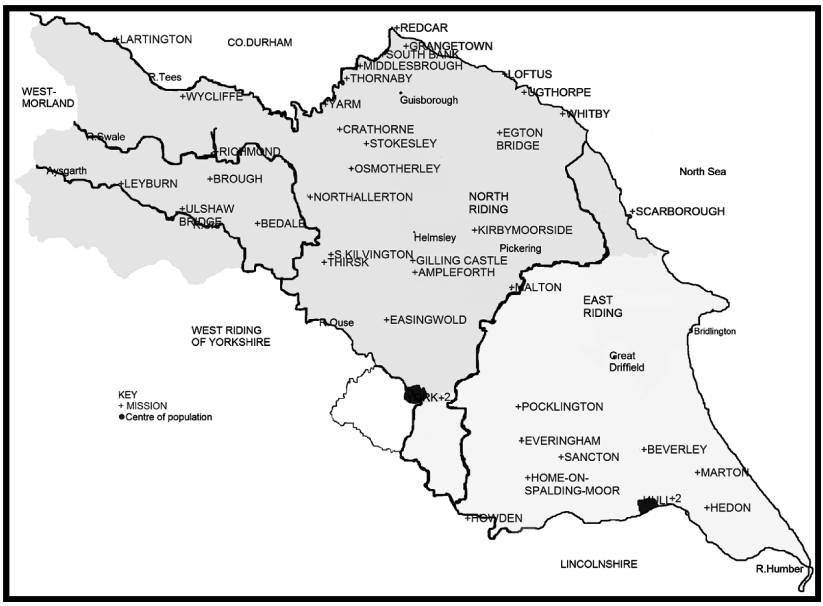

Figure 8. The diocese of Middlesbrough 1879

subsumed into a more imposing approach to York Minster at the behest of the Dean and Chapter. As noted above, neither was any provision made for Catholics living in the south and west of the city.

One of the major administrative tasks facing Lacy, as we have seen, was the need to finance the diocese amidst the overwhelming poverty of its Catholics. The problems were exacerbated by the fact that the one-third share of the assets of Beverley due to the diocese were not handed over by Bishop Cornthwaite until 1884, a year after Lacy had told him that the diocese was in serious financial trouble and that he needed settlement within six months.

> I would be grateful if Your Lordship would make arrangements to hand over the entire balance to Middlesbrough within say, six months.[12]

Before that however, the new diocese had to pay its share of the liabilities incurred by Beverley. A glimpse of the problems faced by Middlesbrough, in contrast to the situation in Leeds, can be seen in the accounts of the Diocesan Mission Funds published in the first Lenten Pastoral Letter produced by the new Bishop.[13] This Fund helped priests to live and maintain their churches where the income was insufficient. For the year 1879, the Fund had continued under the administration pertaining to the Diocese of Beverley, whilst legal niceties for the establishment of two separate Funds were put in place. The money was rigorously divided in terms of income and grants. However, the printed accounts clearly show the deficit between income and grants in Middlesbrough (Fig. 9). Little

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034193200014229 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Income	
Diocese of Leeds	£293.5s.9d
Diocese of Middlesborough	£97.17s.0d
Grants to Missions	
Diocese of Leeds	£160.6s.8d
Diocese of Middlesborough	£216.3s.2d

Figure 9. Diocesan Mission Fund Accounts 1879

wonder then, that less than a year later, Lacy had to write to his priests in the following terms:

> I am reluctantly compelled to make an early and extraordinary appeal to the Faithful, Clergy, and Laity of this Diocese, on behalf of the Diocesan Mission Fund. Many missions as you are well aware largely depend on this Fund, and some there are whose existence depends on it. I grieve to say, that at the present moment that Fund is completely exhausted, and we have absolutely no means wherewith to meet the demands usually made upon it at this time of the year. The cause of this state of affairs is easily explained. The Beverley Diocesan Mission account was from time to time overdrawn, and necessarily so, to meet pressing wants. On the division of the Diocese, whilst we received one-third of the monies collected throughout the whole Diocese of Beverley, we also had to bear our share of the liabilities, viz., also one-third: a fact which explains our present state. Could we have started free from liabilities, we should have been able to meet the demands of the year without asking for any special aid.[14]

Even if the alternative division had been accepted, the barrenness of the East Riding would have remained a problem because it would have formed a major part of proposed Southern division. It remains true, however, that the actions of Cornthwaite, first in neglecting the needs of the Catholics in the North and East Ridings, and in his tardiness in dealing with the assets due to the diocese of Middlesbrough, made the changeover period more difficult than it need have been.

The Reaction to the Division

It is fair to say that the Catholics of Middlesbrough, who by then numbered about half the total Catholic population of the new diocese, were naturally the most enthusiastic about the elevation of their town to See status, a joy that was shared by its general population and put into words by the editor of the local paper:

> The scene changes! Yesterday we are told that the 'iron capital' is doomed, and unworthy of further notice. Today another voice is heard, and we are told that Middlesbrough is destined to become greater in the earlier future than it has been in the brilliant past. Another prophet has risen, and one that will be listened to with some deference and awe. Middlesbrough has been raised to the dignity of

> a Cathedral town, with a bishop, and becomes the centre of a wide ecclesiastical district…[15]

As noted in the introductory paragraph, objections were raised by the members of the old Catholic families led by the Hon. Charles Langdale of Houghton Hall, Market Weighton. They were hurt both by the division of Yorkshire, which to them represented a continuation of an unbroken Catholic tradition, and by the loss of the title 'Beverley':

> The Diocese of Beverley as fixed at the time of the establishment of the Hierarchy was identical with the See of York as it existed when England was Catholic and our faith has been animated by its glorious traditions.[16]

In fact they were mistaken in this belief, for the North-western corner of Yorkshire had been traditionally part of the diocese of Chester until 1836, when it became part of the new Anglican diocese of Ripon. But it does demonstrate the loyalty of Yorkshire Catholics to their heritage and love of the county.

The gentry also felt that Middlesbrough was unsuitable as a title for a diocese since the town 'owing to the depression of trade is not likely even to retain its present position according to the opinion of those best able to judge.'[17] One went further in doubting that Bishop Cornthwaite realised 'How much these East Riding gentlemen of old Catholic family and name disliked the idea of such a dirty low hole as Middlesbrough being chosen as the name of their Diocese.'[18] Cornthwaite had anticipated some unhappiness regarding his proposition that Middlesbrough be made the title of the new See and he addressed it in his Pastoral Letter of February 10th 1879. All three major towns had been considered, he told them, but he felt that Middlesbrough had the strongest claim. In the case of York: its position as a railway centre that allowed good lines of communication was acknowledged, but its location within both new dioceses, the fact that it was isolated in terms of surrounding missions and priests, and, most importantly, the fact it was an Anglican Primatial See were reasons for rejecting it. Hull, similarly, was considered to be too isolated in terms of neighbouring missions and priests to be a favourable ecclesiastical centre, and its railway links to the rest of the diocese were poor. On the other hand Middlesbrough had good transport links with all parts of the new diocese; it had a considerable number of priests in the locality and the largest Catholic population. Finally, in 1878, despite the economic recession a large new church had been opened, the largest in the diocese, and which was ideal to become the Cathedral church. For these reasons the Holy See had agreed with Cornthwaite that Middlesbrough should become the See town. Notwithstanding the reasons given, the Catholics of York were doubly hurt by the division, not only did they become a split community but they also lost the status of having a pro-Cathedral. In the ensuing debate most of the original signatories eventually apologised to Bishop Cornthwaite for their 'hasty ill-thought out actions' when

it was clear that he did not support them.[19] Cornthwaite had held firm and the division went ahead as he had planned.

In her brief account of the division, Jennifer Supple-Green felt that this controversy finally established the authority of a bishop over both his clergy and the laity in the decision-making of the English Catholic Church.[20] This may be true, but the evidence is overwhelming that Cornthwaite was in fact mistaken to pursue the course that he did and that in so doing, he sowed the seeds of the problems that have plagued the diocese of Middlesbrough throughout its existence. Firstly, it is not a large diocese and it has never been financially stable. Its first two bishops had to borrow heavily and find innovative ways of paying the loans back. Both its major commercial areas have undergone more periods of economic decline than periods of buoyancy during the years of the diocese's existence, a pattern that was already established in 1879 and has since added to the problems of financial viability. It was only in the twentieth-century that the diocese became self-sufficient. The boundary divide within the city of York was not settled until 1982. This undoubtedly had a serious affect upon the progress of Catholicism in the town and left logistical problems that are still not resolved. It is understandable that Cornthwaite preferred the use of natural features to set the boundaries – it was after all the time honoured way of settling such things. However in so doing, was it arrogance that prevented him from accepting that in the case of Yorkshire it was an unjust and unfair division? He described the division as distasteful and painful for many. If he had recommended the alternative division to the Holy See, could he have made the division of the Catholic Church in Yorkshire less distasteful and painful, and created two dioceses that were equitable and fair in assets and potential? It is a question that can never be answered, but its consequences have been and are still being felt today by Catholics in Yorkshire.

ABBREVIATIONS

LDA Leeds Diocesan Archives
MDA Middlesbrough Diocesan Archives

NOTES

[1] LDA W144. Division of Diocese of Beverley 1879. *Petition of the Laity of the County of York to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda*.
[2] Information taken from Carson R., *The First Hundred Years* (Diocese of Middlesbrough, 1977), ii–xi, replicating material held in LDA.
[3] LDA. Cornthwaite Pastoral Letters, *Pastoral Letter 10.02.1879*.
[4] F.J. Cwiekowski, *The English Bishops and the First Vatican Council*, p. 52.
[5] See note 2.
[6] The Ainsty was the area that surrounded York to its west and bounded by three rivers. It was originally a wapentake of the West Riding but from 1449–1836 was controlled as a rural area by York Corporation.

[7] The data for this study has come from the following sources. For Middlesbrough: MDA *The Catholic Directory* (Various years) and *The Diocese of Middlesbrough Year Book* (Various years). For Leeds: Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801–1914* (1993 Downside Abbey) *The Catholic Directory* (various years). The data collected was for all secular priests who served in the Diocese of Beverley in 1879 and included the year of birth and ordination and the year in which the priest ceased to exercise an active ministry and the reason for this.
[8] LDA. Cornthwaite Correspondence. *Letter from Lacy to Cornthwaite 13.09.1883*.
[9] Ushaw College Archives: *Tate-Slater Correspondence* 1.10.1862.
[10] Heinrick, Hugh 'The Irish in England' in *The Nation* 1872.
[11] Stubley, P., *Industrial Society and Church. Middlesbrough 1830–1914* (Woodfield Publishing, 2001) provides a fuller analysis of the industrial problems in relation to Middlesbrough during this period particularly Chapters 1 and 2.
[12] LDA. Cornthwaite Correspondence. *Letter from Lacy to Cornthwaite 13.09.1883*.
[13] MDA Lacy: *Lenten Pastoral letter 06.02.1880*.
[14] MDA *Letter to Clergy from Bishop Lacy 17.01.1881*.
[15] *North Eastern Daily Gazette 10.02.1879*.
[16] LDA, W144. Division of Diocese of Beverley 1879. *Appeal of the Laity of the County of York to the Pope*.
[17] LDA, W144. Division of Diocese of Beverley 1879. *Petition of the Laity of the County of York to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda*.
[18] LDA. W144. Division of Diocese of Beverley 1879. *Letter of P Radcliffe to Cornthwaite 04.03.1879*.
[19] See Carson for excerpts of some of the letters, p. 48.
[20] Supple-Green, J., 'The Catholic Revival in Yorkshire 1850–1900' (1990) *Leeds Philosophical and Literary Association* Vol. XXl:3 pp. 203–295.