

*Your Sorrow Shall Be Turned Into Joy:*

**Cottam Chapel in Penal Times**

by

**William D. Shannon BA(Hons), MA, PhD.**

2014

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*Note: Spellings of names and places often vary in early documents, but for consistency one form has been chosen for the text – although original spellings are given in direct quotations from sources. Note also that the title Fr (Father) is used for all priests named, even though this practice was not common in England before the mid-19th century. Before the Reformation, secular priests were usually given the title 'Sir', while in Penal Times, 'Mister' or 'Doctor' was the norm.*

*Front Cover image: Cottam Chapel in 1888: From Gillon, The Haydock Papers.*

*Rear Cover image: St Andrew and Blessed George Haydock today.*

*Background image: Hennet's Map of Lancashire 1829. Cottam Chapel is marked by a 'cross pattée' symbol.*

# *Preface*



***Tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium (Your sorrow shall be turned into joy).***

*Haydock coat of arms displayed on the west wall, interior, St Andrew and Blessed George Haydock.*

It is three hundred years since some of the inhabitants of Cottam and district found themselves backing the losing side in the disastrous Jacobite Rising of 1715. It is also more than a hundred years since Fr Joseph Barker wrote his little history of Cottam, aimed at the children in the parish school, now the nursery school on Sandy Lane – of which he wrote ‘its sole purpose is to interest the children in their local traditions and surroundings’.

There is certainly much of interest, as the church of St Andrew and Blessed George Haydock is that very rare thing: a Catholic church whose origins date back to before Catholic Emancipation, back to the days when it was illegal to be a Catholic, and when the law imposed draconian penalties on those who refused to attend services in the Church of England. The purpose of this booklet is to celebrate all those people who, throughout those years, kept the faith alive on this spot. In particular it commemorates the Haydock family, without whom there never would have been a chapel here, and whose family motto provides the title for this work. It also aims to correct some of the myths which have appeared in print over the years: the account of Cottam Chapel and the Haydocks is remarkable enough without the need for additional embellishment.

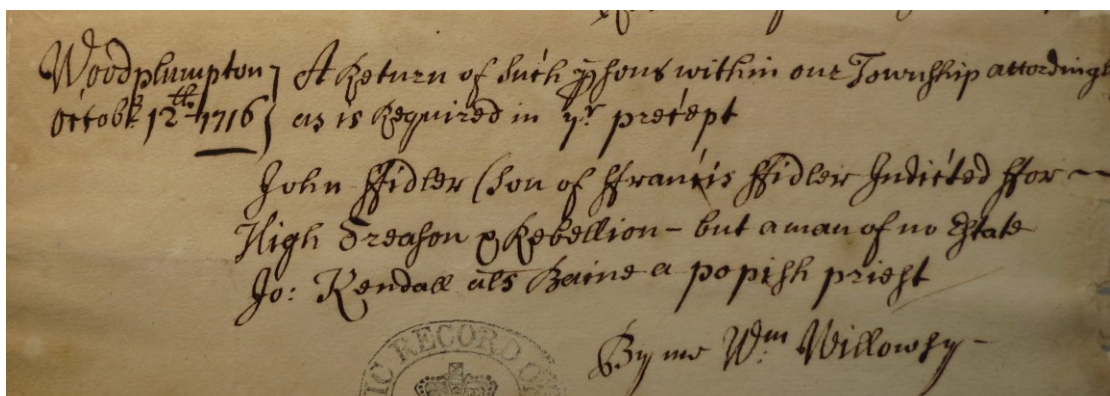
The story has been pieced together in particular from Joseph Gillow’s accounts, but checked from the published diaries of the seminaries at Douay and the English College at Rome, and other sources. A considerable quantity of published records and histories is available regarding the Jacobite Rising of 1715 and its aftermath. Some of the original records have also been consulted at The National Archives, Kew. Special thanks are owed to John Cookson, who has researched the parish history for many years, and who read an earlier draft, and added a number of useful points which had been missed regarding John Baines’ burial record at Woodplumpton, and the possible identity of ‘Mr Smith’; and to Barbara Lupton who had earlier summarised what was known on the parish website. Thanks also to Fr Adrian Towers, for his interest and encouragement.

An Appendix gives the background to Penal Times and the Battle of Preston 1715 for those unfamiliar with the period, whilst an extensive bibliography of sources consulted is given at the end for those wishing to delve further.



***Priests Resident at Cottam: extract from name-board at back of church.***

*There never was a Rev. William Haydock (although there was a monk of that name executed in 1537 for the part he played in the Pilgrimage of Grace). The first chapel was erected around 1703, and the first priest's real name was John Baines, Baynes, Baine or Bain, although he also used the aliases Kendal and Blacon. He was probably related in some way to the next priest, Henry Kendal, from Fulwood. There is no evidence that a new chapel was built at this time, and it is probable that the old chapel of 1703 was more or less on the same site as our present one, not on the other side of the road. There is also no evidence that it was attacked and burned down in 1715, nor indeed in 1745 when John Harrison was priest, although it was badly damaged in the election riots of 1768. Rev John Cowban's name was probably Colborne, though he took the alias Butler when he was admitted to Douay. Fr Harrison's successor was a Mr Smith, about whom almost nothing is known, although he was probably here in 1768 when the church and priest's house was attacked, after which there was a brief gap before Fr John Lund, arrived in 1769. Fr Lund subsequently went on to build the present church, in 1793.*



***Return of the High Constable for Woodplumpton, 12 October 1716.***

*The report, by William Willowsy, shows that there was one local man indicted for High Treason in connection with the Jacobite rebellion, John Fidler. He was 'a man of no estate' – that is, he had no property which the Crown could confiscate. There was also 'a popish priest' in the township, John Kendall alias Baine (FEC 1/719, reproduced by permission of The National Archives).*

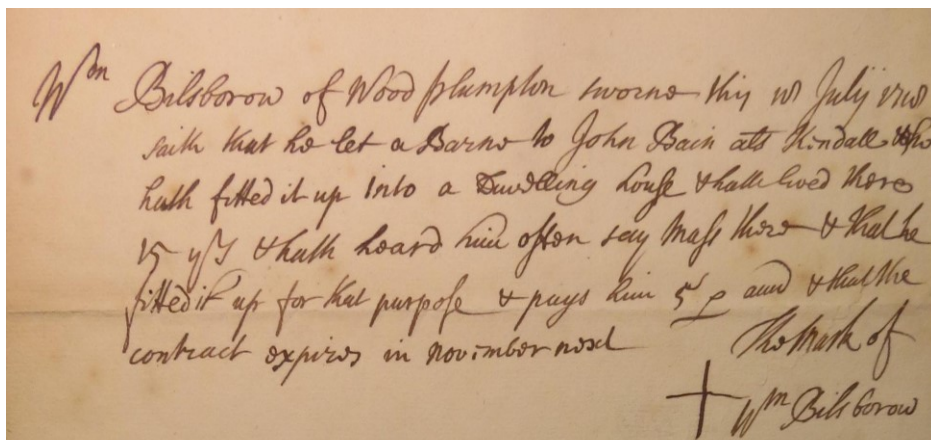
# *Kendal's Chapel*

Cottam Hall, the home of the Haydocks, was a half-timbered house, located a little to the north of where Cottam Hall Farm now stands, off Merrytrees Lane. The hall had been licenced in the fourteenth century to keep an oratory, and when it was demolished around two hundred years ago, the remains of an 'ancient domestic chapel' were noted, according to Gillow. With the coming of the Reformation, mass may have continued to have been said clandestinely there, attended by the locals, with the authorities in this generally Catholic area perhaps turning a blind eye.

Inevitably there are no records from this time, but an entry in the diary of the English College at Rome regarding a new seminarian, **John Baynes** of Woodplumpton, mentions he had been baptised by a Mr **John Hughes** in 1653, and this may well have taken place at the hall. Baynes (also spelled Baines, Baine or Bain in later documents) is said to have completed his early studies at Kirkham before arriving at the English College in 1674, where, as was customary amongst seminarians in Penal Times, John took another name, being known at the English College as **Peter Blacon**. He was ordained in 1678 and left for the English Mission in April 1681: but the next we hear of him is in the aftermath of the Battle of Preston, 1715 (see Appendix), when he is listed in the High Constable's report for Woodplumpton dated 12 October 1716, under the name of **John Kendall alias Baine, a popish priest** (see opposite). However, soon afterwards there is another reference to him, and this gives us the first reference we have to a chapel on this site.

In the official enquiries into the events surrounding the battle, large numbers of both paid informers and reluctant witnesses were required to give sworn evidence as to what they knew about houses where mass had been said. One such reluctant witness, himself a convicted recusant, was William Bilsborrow of Woodplumpton, and it is worth quoting his evidence in full.

*Wm Bilsborrow of Woodplumpton sworne this 18 July 1718 saith that he let a Barne to **John Bain alias Kendall** who had fitted it up into a dwelling house & hath lived there 15 years & hath heard him often say Mass there & that he fitted it up for that purpose & pays him 5s per [annum] and that the contract expires in November next.*



A photograph of a handwritten document on aged, yellowish paper. The text is written in a cursive script, matching the transcription above. It is a deposition from 1718 by William Bilsborrow of Woodplumpton, detailing his rental of a barn to John Bain (alias Kendall) for use as a dwelling house. The document mentions that Bain lived there for 15 years, performed Mass, and that the contract was for 5 shillings per annum, expiring in November. The document is signed 'Wm Bilsborrow' with a cross symbol.

## ***Deposition of Wm Bilsborrow, Forfeited Estates Commission, 1718.***

*(FEC 1/779, reproduced by permission of The National Archives)*

A second witness, one John Worden, agreed, while a third, John Hume, said he had 'heard Bain preach there and officiate at the Altar'. Thus we learn that around 1703, Fr Baines, now operating under the alias of **John Kendal**, had leased a barn, which would probably have been made of timber, and converted it into both house and chapel. What he had been doing in the previous twenty years on the English Mission is not known, but Gillow speculates he may have been chaplain at Cottam Hall. Again, why the Hall was no longer available is also not known: but it may be related to the fact that in 1703, the date when it is thought masses first began to be said in the converted barn, Gilbert and Cuthbert, two sons of William Haydock, had arrived at Douay, the other main English seminary, intent upon becoming priests. This would have put their father potentially in a very dangerous position; and he may have wished to avoid drawing even more attention to himself by locating the new mass centre away from his home.

Where exactly the land which Bilsborrow leased to Fr Baines was situated is not spelled out: but at that date, the boundary between the township of Cottam, in the parish of Preston, and the township of Woodplumpton, ran along the line of what is now Hoyles Lane (see p.7). A parcel of land north of that line, just outside the parish of Preston, might have been thought a safer location than one actually within Cottam itself. What is also clear from the catalogue of the Haydock family papers at Ushaw College, Durham, and from the Register of Estates of Papists, is that William Bilsborrow had leased land in the Bartle area from the Haydocks, and it may have been one of those parcels that he now let to Fr Baines. Now Bilsborrow had told the commission that his contract with Baines ran out in November 1718: but it seems likely that Baines subsequently bought the land, remaining in his barn-conversion there until his death in 1727. He was buried at St Anne, Woodplumpton, on 5 April 1727, and the burial register notes '*John Baine ... Alias Kendall a supposed Roman Priest*' (Burials 1717-1745, p.20, entry 6).

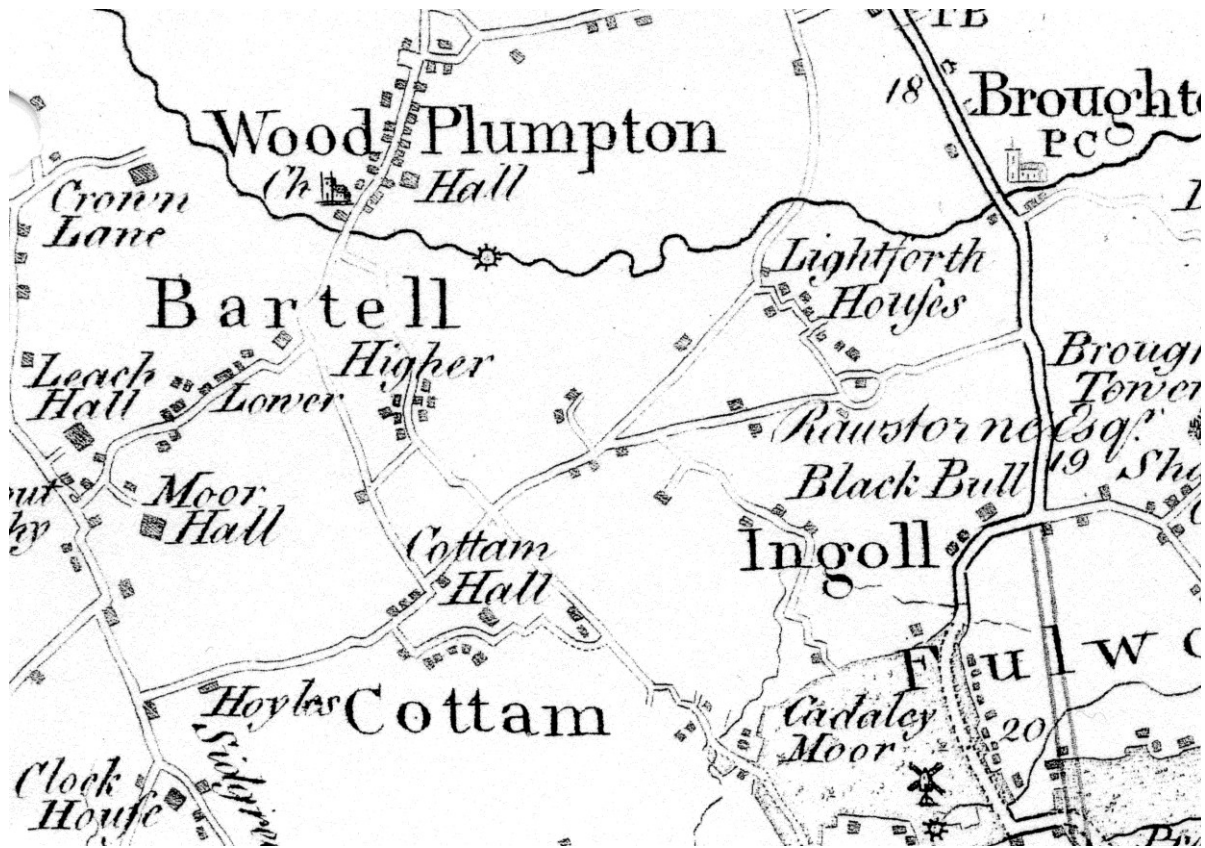
In Payne's *Records of the English Catholics* (1900) we have a transcription of a deposition dated 1716 found in the Towneley papers, which again is worth quoting in full:

*William Bring [Bryning] of the par[ish] of Woodplumpton, co[unty] Lanc[aster], labourer saith that within the parish there is a Popishe chappell with a small piece of land belonging to it, called **Kendal's chapel**. The owner of it calls himself at this time **John Kendal**, but his true name is **John Baines**, which this informant well knows, the said Baines (now Kendal) being a Popish priest as he believes, and doubts not to prove, himself and son having at different times heard him preach, and says one Anne Gregson lives at a little house in the end of the said chapel.*

Bryning went on to say that around three years previously (c.1713), Baines had bought a property in Cottam from William Haydock, in the name of James Gregson, Anne's brother, and that James' father John was now living on that property. James had been outlawed for high treason, according to Bryning, so must have been involved in the battle: and his name in fact can be found amongst those against whom information had been received after the battle: while his father John appears in the list of convicted recusants in April 1716. It may be too that at this date Fr Baines was himself in hiding.

The fact that there was a little house at the end of the chapel suggests there might now have been three buildings on the site, Anne Gregson's house, the chapel itself, and Baines' house. It may well be that when the first One Inch to the Mile map of Lancashire was made by William Yates in 1786, these, or their successors, are the three buildings marked along what is now Hoyle's Lane (see opposite).





***Yates' Map of Lancashire, 1786.***

*Cottam Hall appears just below the 'a' of 'Hall'. The three buildings on Hoyles Lane appear to the left of 'Hall'. The chapel is probably the middle of the three.*

The recent update by Clare Hartwell of Nikolaus Pevsner's *Buildings of England: Lancashire North* starts its account of St Andrew's by claiming 'three previous chapels on the site were burnt down or destroyed by mobs, the first in 1715'. She may well have noted this down from the wooden name-board on the back wall of St Andrew's. However, the 1715 story is not mentioned by any contemporary writer: instead, it seems to have originated in a history of Preston published in 1821, in which was written:

*Cottam Chapel was burnt to the ground during this carnage, and divers country people stripped of their property, and otherwise ill abused.*

This work was by a Preston printer and generally unreliable historian, Peter Whittle, who published under the pseudonym Marmaduke Tulket OSB (although not in fact a Benedictine). Gillow, himself not always the most reliable of historians, does not mention this attack in his account of Cottam Chapel, although he does say that Cottam Hall was raided at this time (see below). Surely, though, if the chapel as well as the hall had been attacked, Bryning and Bilsborrow would have referred to it in their depositions of 1716 and 1718 respectively. We therefore have to conclude it did not happen.



***Cottam Hall Farm, off Merry Trees Lane.***

*Photo taken from the site of old Cottam Hall.*

However, even if Kendal's Chapel escaped the aftermath of the battle unscathed, the immediate effect on local Catholics was nevertheless dramatic, as is shown in the Appendix. But one way or another, things soon quietened down for Catholics: and it would seem Fr Baines was able to continue his mission at 'Kendal's Chapel' until his death in 1727, at which date he was succeeded by **Henry Kendal**, one of four brothers, all priests, sons of John Kendal, a shoemaker from Fulwood, whose name can be found in a list of convicted recusants dated April 1716. Almost certainly, Fr Baines had adopted the alias of Kendal because he had some connection with this family – perhaps, as Blundell suggests in his *Old Catholic Lancashire*, his mother was a Kendal. Interestingly, the new priest did not himself seem to have felt the need to adopt a pseudonym. He had arrived at Douay in 1709, had been ordained in 1716, and had then taught at Douay for a while. It is unclear how long he remained at Cottam (Blundell suggests until 1732), but he is reported to have died in 1752, in his brother George's house in the mission at Lady Well, Fernyhalgh. He was succeeded at Cottam by **John Colborne**, who Gillow says came from Freckleton. The Douay diaries record him as **John Couban**, but also show he took the alias of **Butler** upon his admission there in 1722. He was ordained in 1728 and like Fr Kendal spent several years teaching there before, in July 1732 *missus est in vineam Anglicanam* (he was sent into the English vineyard) – possibly straight to Cottam.

At some stage he too appears to have moved on to Lady Well. He was succeeded at Cottam by **John Harrison**, son of a yeoman (substantial farmer) from Lea, who was admitted to Douay in 1729, ordained in 1741 and sent to the English Mission in 1743. He must then have gone more or less straight to Cottam, only to find himself soon caught up in the events of the second Jacobite Rising of 1745, when, according to Gillow, the chapel and priest's house were attacked and set alight by an anti-Catholic mob from Preston, and 'for two years afterwards no Mass was said at Cottam' (*Haydock Papers*). However, as with the alleged 1715 attack, there seems to be no contemporary mention of this attack either, and the story appears to originate in Baines' *History of Lancashire* (1836),



where it is reported that the chapel and house had been destroyed by a Protestant mob in 1746. However, this version only appears in the first edition (1836), while the second edition (1868) dates the attack on the chapel to 1768 instead (see below). It would thus appear that there was probably no attack either after the 1715 or the 1745 Jacobite risings.

Although the name board at the back of church says Fr Henry Kendal had built a new chapel on the opposite side of the road to the original one, there is no real evidence to suggest this: nor any good reason to suppose services did not continue quietly at the old chapel under Fr Harrison, and then under his successor, who seems to have been a **Mr Smith**, whom Gillow says was serving here in 1763, according to a document he had seen. It has been suggested that this was **Joseph Smith**, a Jesuit who at that date was rector of St Mary's Friargate, Preston. However, as Gillow notes, Cottam was a secular mission, and is unlikely to have had a Jesuit as priest. It is interesting to note that there had been a priest called **Edward Smith** resident at Rough Hey, Fulwood in 1718 according to a witness statement, but it is unlikely that he was still around more than forty years later. In trying to identify 'our' Mr Smith, it is unfortunate that the detailed Douay records cease in 1754. There is also the problem that Smith is hardly an uncommon name. However, there are a couple of possible contenders, a **Richard Smith** of London, ordained priest in 1750 or 1751, and a **John Smith** who was admitted to Douay in 1749, and who would probably have been ordained in the mid to late 1750s. The interesting thing is that, from two references in the diaries, this Smith appears to be an alias for **Salvin**, which would mean he was a member of an old Catholic family from Croxdale Hall, co. Durham. Interestingly, too, he was an almost exact contemporary at Douay of the next incumbent, John Lund, to whom we will return shortly.

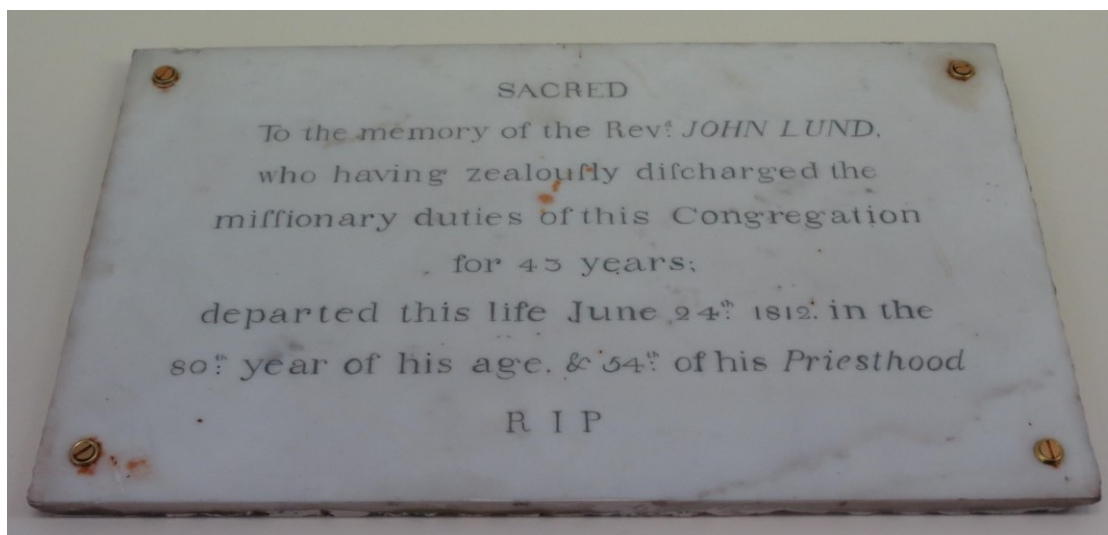


*'Kendal's Chapel', built c.1703, probably occupied the grassed-over space in front of present-day St Andrew's, between the two groups of trees.*

It is particularly unfortunate that we know so little of Fr Smith, as he would have been the priest in charge when a Preston mob really did attack the old chapel, during the Election Riots of

February 1768. The story of these riots is complicated, but in short, the only people eligible to vote in Parliamentary elections in Preston at that time were in-burgesses, and the electors routinely returned the Tory candidate put forward by the Mayor – much to the annoyance of Lord Derby, who supported the Whig cause. As the leading Lancashire aristocrat, he would have expected his man to get elected. One thing that particularly irritated the Whigs - and Lord Derby - was the fact that many Catholics were not only in-burgesses and had the vote, but also that they supported the Tories. Indeed it was claimed many Catholics had been admitted to freedom of the borough solely in order to strengthen the vote for the Tories.

As a result, according to Clemsha (1912), ‘in revenge, the mob broke into the chapel of St Mary in Friargate, and another Roman Catholic chapel at Cottam, and plundered them of their contents’. The revised (1868) edition of Baines had first reported this event, noting that Cottam Chapel and the priest’s house were destroyed in 1768 ‘and for two years afterwards the congregation were without a public minister’. Porter (1876) suggested ‘it was almost completely destroyed by an election mob’, while Gillow, probably using Baines as his source, adds that ‘after which the mission seems to have been discontinued for a short time’.



*Plaque in the porch commemorating John Lund, 1732-1812*

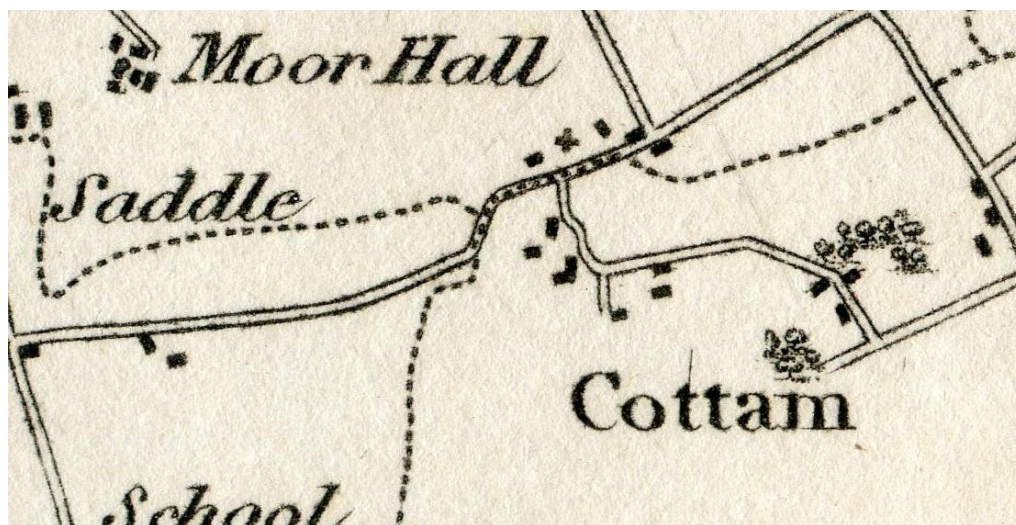
Nevertheless, normal service was soon resumed, and **John Lund**, who came from Bartle in Woodplumpton and so had probably worshipped at Cottam Chapel as a boy, moved to Cottam in 1769, where he was to remain for the rest of his long life. He had been admitted to Douay in August 1750, and was ordained in December 1759.

By the 1770s, the tide was at last turning in favour of toleration of Catholics. The ‘Old Pretender’, James III had died in 1766, and the Pope had agreed to recognise the legitimacy of the Hanoverians. An act of 1778 repealed some of the worst clauses in the Penal legislation, including the prosecution of priests. Then in 1791 a new Act was passed (31 Geo III, cap 32), allowing Catholic chapels to be built, providing they did not have steeples or bells, and providing doors were left unlocked during services.

The old chapel must at least have been patched up after the attack of 1768, but Fr Lund and the local Catholic community now responded swiftly to the change of mood. By 1793 the new St Andrew’s Chapel had been built - without steeple - at a cost of £335 5s 4½d, of which £300 was subscribed by the worshippers (Blundell says there were 190 communicants here in 1783), while



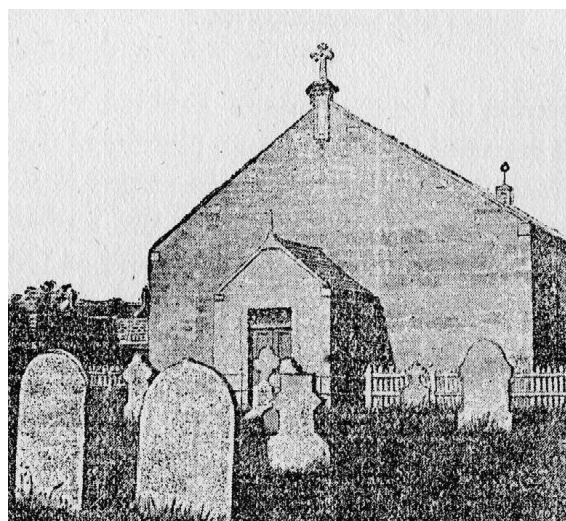
Barker tells us £65 was taken from the Endowment Fund towards the expenses. Presumably the old converted barn, which had probably stood in the grounds but a little nearer the road, was taken down at this time, although the priest's house was not to be rebuilt until 1827.



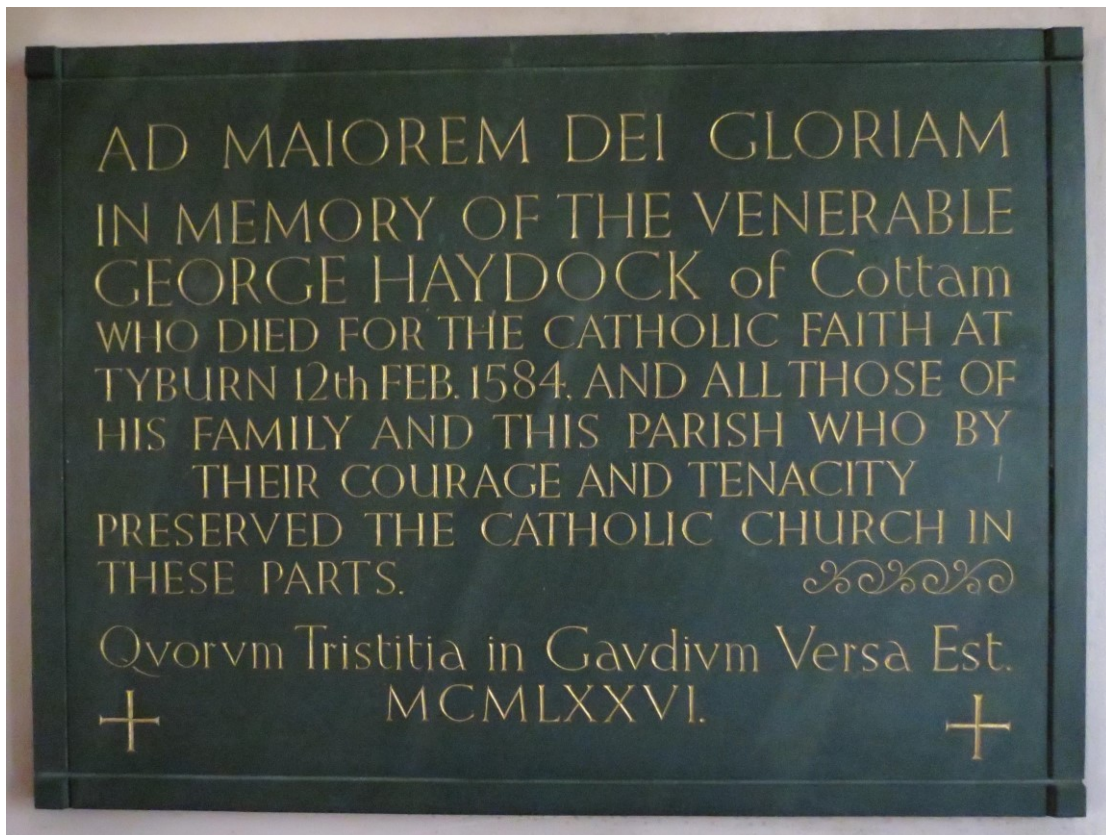
***Greenwood's Map of Lancashire 1819.***

*The new chapel appears, indicated by a cross, something unthinkable just a few years previously. Cottam Hall is the building to the right of the lane leading from the chapel, with trees to the north. The dotted lines show the township boundaries, with the chapel just in Woodplumpton, while Cottam Hall is in Cottam and Lea lies to the west.*

The Catholic Church of St Andrew and Blessed George Haydock today is basically Fr Lund's church of 1793, as modified around 1860, when the apsidal sanctuary was added; while the photo of c.1888 on the front cover and below shows the church before the further modifications which took place prior to the centenary in 1893, including the addition of the 'wheel' windows on the west wall.



## *The Haydocks of Cottam*



### ***Plaque commemorating Bl George Haydock, Martyr, 1557-1584.***

*The Latin phrase reads 'whose sadness has been turned to joy' – a reference to the family motto (John 16:20) and its associated myths. George was referred to as 'Venerable' until he was made 'Blessed' in 1987.*

The story of the Haydocks was written as long ago as 1888 by Joseph Gillow, a descendant of the family, in *The Haydock Papers*, a work which has been much quoted from ever since, and which was based largely upon Gillow's researches in the archives of Ushaw College. Often, though, he neglected to say what his sources were, meaning that many of his claims cannot now be independently checked. Regrettably too Gillow, in many ways a most conscientious historian, gave equal credence to family myth and wishful thinking, as for example when he tells how William Haydock bred the horse that threw William III causing his death, a story which is most unlikely to be true, despite its being repeated by Barker. Nevertheless, we owe a great debt to Gillow for the pioneering work he did in uncovering the history of Lancashire Catholicism during Penal Times.

The Haydocks had probably been at Cottam since the thirteenth century, a typical minor gentry family who played little or no part on the national stage. However, in 1537, **William Haydock**, a Cistercian monk at Whalley Abbey, and brother of the then lord of the manor of Cottam, was hanged for treason at the Abbey for the part he had played in the Pilgrimage of Grace, a doomed attempt to prevent the Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII. Gillow says the body was taken down from the gallows and removed to Cottam, to be buried in the chapel there.



Like many other Lancashire families, the Haydocks kept to the old faith after the Reformation: and in 1573, **Vivian** (also known as Ewan or Evan) Haydock, then lord of the manor of Cottam, on the death of his wife headed for Douay together with two of his four sons, with the intention of becoming priests. Vivian was ordained in 1575, and returned to England. **Richard** followed soon after, in 1580, as one of a batch of twenty-eight priests sent over that year, six of whom were martyred, although Richard himself was only briefly imprisoned. The youngest son, **George**, was not ordained until 1581, but on his arrival in London was soon betrayed and arrested. After imprisonment in the Tower, he was condemned to death for treason, and was executed on 12 February 1584, aged about twenty-seven. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 1987.

The family's motto was *Tristitia vestra vertetur in gaudium* (Your sorrow shall be turned into joy). This is a quotation from St John's Gospel, chapter 16, verse 20, in which Jesus after the Last Supper refers to His forthcoming Passion and Resurrection.

This in turn echoes a verse from the Prophecy of Jeremiah, chapter 31, verse 13, *tunc laetabitur virgo in choro iuvenes et senes simul et convertam luctum eorum in gaudium et consolabor eos et laetificabo a dolore suo* (Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, the young men and old men together: and I will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them joyful after their sorrow).

Today, that verse can be seen painted high up above the nave of St Andrew's, half on the north wall and half on the south, as a conscious tribute to the Haydock family. Part of the inscription, as seen from the choir gallery, is shown below.





Unfortunately, though, a number of myths have become attached to the original motto, with Gillow in his *Bibliographical Dictionary* claiming that when George was born, his dying mother, with the baby in her arms, pointed to the family motto before falling back dead. Gillow goes on to claim that a vision of the severed head of his son, repeating those words, appeared to Vivian at Halloween 1582. Needless to say, neither of these stories appear in Bishop Challoner's life of the Martyr (1741), which is the main source for nearly all we know about Blessed George's life and death.

Gillow also reports that the Martyr's head was obtained by a relative, taken initially to Cottam Hall, and subsequently to Mawdesley – although he also says that Bishop Goss (1814-1872) had formed the opinion that the skull there was more likely to be that of William Haydock, the monk of Whalley, rather than George.

In Barker's account of Cottam, it is suggested that a nearby place called Holyhead Fold may once have served as a chapel, and that 'the head of George the Martyr would probably be kept there until it was sent to Mawdesley, and thus account for the name Holyhead'. More realistically, the First Edition Six Inch Ordnance Survey map (1845) records this farm as Hollinhead Fold, a name preserved now in the road names Hollins Grove and Hollinhead Crescent in Ingol, the first element of which refers to holly trees, not martyr's heads.

The next notable religious member of the family was **Dom Robert**, who became a Benedictine monk in Spain, but moved to London in 1607 to found a new Benedictine mission, of which he became prior, dying in Staffordshire in 1650. Otherwise the family appears to have kept a low profile during the reigns of James and Charles I, Civil War and the Restoration; but in 1707, **William Haydock** inherited the estate from his father, also William. Born around 1671, he had three younger brothers and three sisters – and all three of his brothers went to Douay, although only two of them actually became priests. It would appear from a reference in O'Hanlon's *Old Cottam Hall* that the estate had been mortgaged prior to Haydock's death, possibly as a ploy to keep it out of the hands of the authorities. However, William may have been struggling and needed the money to meet the costs of keeping his three brothers at Douay and on the English Mission.

On 4 August 1714, William's friend Thomas Tyldesley recorded in his diary (published by Gillow & Hewitson) that 'Esq. Hadocke ... brought the news that Queen A. dyed, Sunday morning betwixt 7 and 8'. Like other Catholics, Haydock would clearly have been concerned about the implications of Queen Anne's death (see Appendix): but there is no evidence he personally took any active part in the rebellion, despite Gillow's claim that he was outlawed, and indeed his suggestion in the *Haydock Papers* that William may have died from wounds received at the Battle of Preston.

An extensive search through the considerable documentation which arose after the battle has failed to show William in the lists of rebels, either those convicted or those outlawed. He does not appear even in the list of convicted recusants, and neither was his estate forfeit. The fact that he was unmarried, and wrote his will in 1713, when he was aged only around 42, might suggest he was not in good health. Either way, there is no good reason to think his death in 1717 was related in any way to the battle.



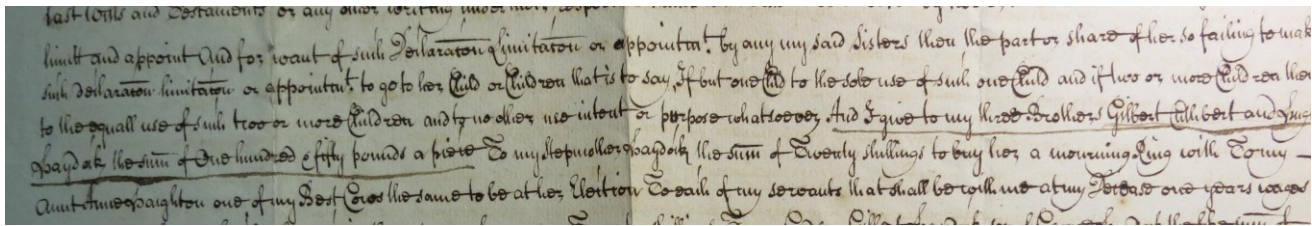
*The Ancient Oak, Merry Trees Lane, near the site of 'Catch Field'.*

Nevertheless, it does seem likely that Cottam Hall, as a known Catholic establishment, was raided immediately after the battle, as indeed was nearly Westby Hall - and it appears that William Haydock's brother, **Gilbert**, who had been ordained at Douay and had joined the English Mission in 1709, was taken prisoner at the Hall some time after the battle. Gillow recounts a story that Gilbert was captured in a field in Cottam called 'Catch Field': and indeed a field of that name is shown on the tithe map, just north of Cottam Hall, near where the Ancient Oak now stands, the name of which commemorates another myth, recorded by Barker but unlikely to be true, that 'a priest was gibbeted thereon in penal times'. However, Gilbert appears merely to have been briefly imprisoned, and before long he had left the country, suggesting he was not seen as a major threat by the English authorities. By 1716 he was serving as chaplain to the Augustinian nuns at Louvain (now Leuven, Belgium), where he remained until his death in 1749.

At the time of the battle, another brother, **Cuthbert**, was at Douay, and had just been ordained, while a third brother, **Hugh**, had arrived in Douay but for reasons that are not spelled out in the Douay diaries, he was sent home, presumably in disgrace, in December 1716, having not progressed beyond Minor Orders. Despite the fact that the editor of the Douay Diaries notes that Hugh later married and lived abroad, Gillow nevertheless preferred the family myth, and reported in the *Haydock Papers* and elsewhere that all three brothers were priests.

In his will written in 1713, William had instructed that the estate should be sold, and £150 given to each of his brothers from the proceeds (as well as various bequests to others). A copy of this will was given to the Forfeited Estates Commission by one William Heighton of Woodplumton,

who drew the attention of the authorities to the fact that this money was going to support the two priests, and thus was liable for confiscation under the legislation regarding money or estates set aside for 'superstitious purposes'. Someone at the time underlined the relevant part of the will, which now resides in The National Archives (see below).



***Extract from a copy of William Haydock's will of 1713.***

*From the Forfeited Estates Commission records. Note that the legacies to the three brothers, two of whom were priests, has been underlined (FEC 1/655: reproduced by permission of The National Archives).*

By the date of this enquiry, 1718, William was dead but the legacies had not yet been paid out. An order was therefore sent to the executors ordering them to pay the money to the Forfeited Estates Commission rather than to the priests- although the records at Ushaw suggest the legacies may in fact subsequently have been paid out to the brothers.

William Haydock was the last of the family to live at the Hall, although other family members continued through into the nineteenth century to live at The Tagg, the family dower house, which was located where Tag Farm Court now stands, off Tag Lane in Ingol (see map on front cover, where it is called Taggs Cottage).



***Cottam on Saxton's Map of Lancashire, 1577.***

*At the date when this map was printed, Vivian Haydock, former lord of the manor of Cottam, had just been ordained, while two of his four sons (one of whom was George, the youngest son who was later martyred) were studying for the priesthood at Douay and Rome.*



## ***Appendix: Penal Times and the Battle of Preston 1715***

When William, later Cardinal, Allen was born at Rossall, near Fleetwood in 1532, England was a Catholic country. As he grew up, he would have been aware of the break with Rome and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, but the mass was still being said in the parish churches. By the time he graduated from Oxford in 1550, Edward VI was imposing a radical Protestantism on the country, and the mass had been abolished: but by the time Allen got his MA in 1554, Mary was on the throne, the breach with Rome was being repaired, and England was Catholic once again.



***Queen Mary I, reigned 1553-1558: The last monarch of Catholic England.***  
*(from Cosmographia, by Heinrich Petri, printed in Basle in 1578)*

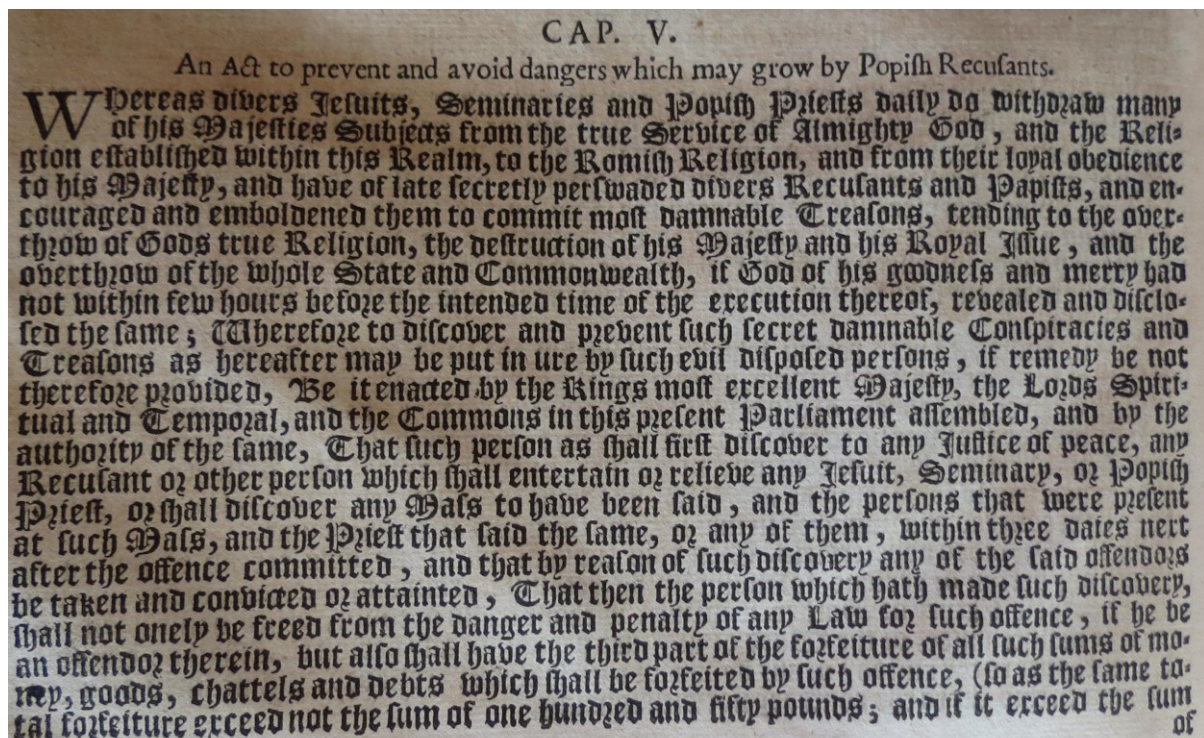
That interlude did not last long, and when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, Allen, not yet a priest, refused to take the Oath of Supremacy which would have required his acknowledging Elizabeth as the Head of the Church in England. Over the next few years he spent time abroad: and in 1568, concerned that there was no-one to replace the old 'Marian' priests, he set up a seminary at Douay (today Douai), in northern France, with the aim of training young men as priests for the English Mission.

Up to this date, Elizabeth had been largely tolerant of Catholics as long as they remained loyal, famously declaring 'I would not open windows into men's souls': but things began to change after the failed Rising of the Northern Earls of 1569, which had sought to replace Elizabeth with her cousin the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots. The situation worsened after Pope Pius V issued the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* in 1570, which declared Elizabeth a heretic, and absolved English Catholics from any allegiance to her. From 1574, the first of the Douay priests began to arrive in England, and in 1577 St Cuthbert Mayne became the proto-martyr of the seminaries when he was executed at Launceston in Cornwall. Meanwhile, as Douay went from strength to strength, in 1575 Fr Allen set up a second seminary, the English College at Rome.

In 1587, on the eve of the Armada, and with Mary Queen of Scots executed, William Allen was made Cardinal. Had the Armada succeeded in overthrowing Elizabeth, no doubt he would have become Archbishop of Canterbury: but the immediate effect of its defeat was to step up the penalties against ordinary lay Catholics. The word ‘recusant’ had been first used in an act of 1581 (23 Eliz, cap 1) when a penalty of £20 per month had been introduced for all those who refused to attend the services of the Church of England – at a time when a small farmer might make around £10-20 a year. Now, in 1593 (35 Eliz, cap 1), anyone attending a religious service other than Anglican could be imprisoned, anyone not conforming was required to go into exile, and anyone convicted was to have all their land and property confiscated (although it could be returned to their heir after their death, provided the heir conformed to the Church of England).

A second act in the same year (35 Eliz, cap 2), made it an offence for any ‘Popish Recusant’ to travel more than five miles from his home without the licence of a Justice of the Peace, under penalty of confiscation of all his lands and goods.

Catholics hoped for some relief when James I ascended the throne in 1603, but were disappointed, leading some hot-heads led by Robert Catesby to conspire together to blow up the King and Parliament – the Gunpowder Plot. This in turn led to a tightening up of the legislation, with two new acts, 3 Jas 1, cap IV (An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants) and cap V (An Act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by Popish Recusants). The latter, amongst other things, banned recusants from coming within ten miles of London.



***The opening paragraphs of the Act (3 Jas 1, cap V).***

*... Whereas divers Jesuits, Seminaries and Popish priests daily do withdraw many of His Majesties Subjects from the true Service of Almighty God, and the Religion established within this Realm, to the Romish Religion...*



However, as time went on, and as James' son, later Charles 1, married a Catholic, the legislation came to be largely ignored. Then during the Civil War, Catholics generally supported the Royalist side, as a result of which many had their estates sequestered, and were only able to recover them with the Restoration of 1660, when Charles II returned as king.

With Charles II on the throne, a new era of tolerance of Catholics seemed possible – and when he died in 1685 without any children, and was succeeded by his Catholic brother James II, the end of the Penal Laws seemed in sight. Unfortunately in 1688, James was overthrown by England's ruling Whig party in the so-called 'Glorious Revolution', and the Protestant William of Orange, married to James's Protestant elder daughter Mary, was crowned instead, signalling the introduction of a whole new batch of Penal Laws.

The Toleration Act of 1688 exempted Nonconformists from the penalties of the old legislation, but Catholics were still barred from public office, from owning land, and from keeping schools, while Catholics were forever disbarred from becoming the monarch, or marrying the monarch (bans which are still in place today). The nearest Protestant relative of any Catholic who refused to take the oath was entitled to take over his lands, while a reward of £100 was to be given to anyone whose information led to the apprehension of a priest, or the conviction of someone who had sent their child abroad to be educated in the faith.

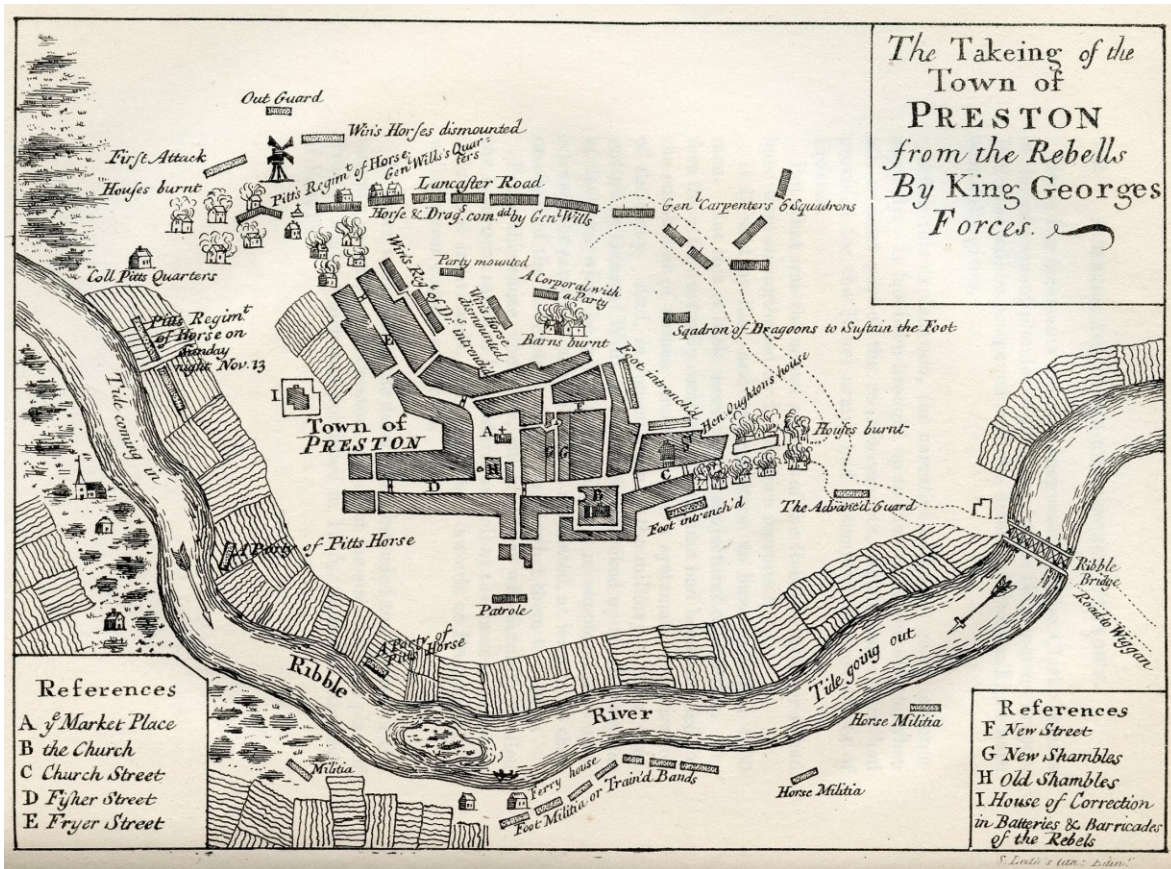
Perhaps it was little wonder that some Catholics in Lancashire plotted to overthrow the new regime, and to reinstall James II. These men were called Jacobites from *Jacobus*, the Latin word for James. Things came to a head in 1714 when Queen Anne, younger sister of and successor to Mary, died with no living children. The nearest in line to the throne was James II's son by his second marriage, James, the Prince of Wales – but he had been brought up as a Catholic, and the 1701 Act of Settlement had barred Catholics from the succession. The Whig party scoured Europe for a Protestant heir – and ended up offering the throne to George Ludwig, Elector of Hanover, who was actually 56<sup>th</sup> in line, the other 55 all being Catholics.

The appointment of this foreign, but Protestant, king was supported by anti-Catholic Low Church Anglicans and Presbyterians. On the other hand, having a king with such a tenuous claim to the throne outraged the High Church Tories, for whom the hereditary principle of kingship was sacrosanct. It was also unacceptable to many Scots, who supported the House of Stuart - and of course English Catholics were equally opposed to the Hanoverian king.

A rising began in Scotland in August 1715 led by the Earl of Mar, followed by a rising in Northumberland, led by the Earl of Derwentwater, a Catholic peer. Despite his lack of experience, command of the combined rebel army was given to Thomas Forster, a Protestant, and MP for Northumberland. On 31 October the army crossed the border near Longtown, heading for Lancashire where they were convinced not only would Lancashire's Catholics flock to join them, but also the Manchester High Church Tories, who, we are told by Ware in his *Memorials of the Rebellion* (1845) had assured the rebels that there would be 'a general insurrection of at least twenty thousand men'.

On 9 November the advance party of the rebels reached Preston, where they were joined by large numbers of Catholics, but no Tories. At this time, it was estimated the rebel army was perhaps as much as 4000 strong, of whom maybe 1600 had joined at Preston.

Unfortunately, time which should have been spent fortifying the town seems to have been spent on socialising, and when the government army under General Wills arrived on 12 November, the rebels were unprepared. An eye-witness account by one Peter Clarke survives, published by Ware. From this and other accounts we learn that two days of street fighting resulted in perhaps two hundred deaths on the government side but fewer than twenty on the rebel side. Nevertheless the odds were hopeless, and Forster surrendered.



### ***The Battle of Preston November 1715.***

*From Ware, Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion (1845). This print is a copy of a plan of the battle first published in 1715, and shows how the rebels had barricaded Church Street, Fisbergate and Friargate. The government forces under General Wills had encircled the town, having crossed the undefended Ribble bridge from the south and had set alight houses at the ends of both Church Street and Friargate.*

More than fifteen hundred prisoners were taken, although many of the local rebels quietly slipped away from the town once it was clear what the outcome would be. On 24 February 1716, the Earl of Derwentwater paid the price of rebellion when he was beheaded on Tower Hill, London, and many other rebels were executed in London and elsewhere, while many hundreds of prisoners were transported for life to the American colonies. However, as regards the inhabitants of Cottam and Woodplumpton, the court records tell us of only two local men convicted of High Treason for their part in the rebellion, both named Fidler. John who lived in Woodplumpton and Joseph from Cottam were possibly brothers or cousins, and are variously described as husbandmen (small farmers) or labourers. What happened to them afterwards is not known, but they were not among the 41 prisoners who were executed in Lancashire. Instead they are included in the list of Lancashire Catholic rebels who were outlawed, so they may have got away safely.



Of the Lancashire executions, twelve took place in January 1716 at Gallows Hill, Preston, where English Martyrs church now stands. In 1818, John Taylor, in his *Description of Preston*, reported that when the new road had been cut through at that spot the year before, two coffins containing headless bodies were found, which he supposed belonged to ‘Rebel Chiefs’ whose heads had been exposed outside the Town Hall.



***Preston from the North (W. Westall, 1829)***

*The recently improved turnpike road from Preston to Lancaster (North Road/Garstang Road) is shown, at the point where it had been cut through Gallows Hill. The Church of St Thomas of Canterbury and the English Martyrs now stands on the hill to the left*

It has been suggested that once the first wave of executions was over, juries, horrified by the brutality of the sentences, became reluctant to convict: and several of William Haydock’s circle were tried for treason but acquitted, such as Hugh Barton, who was married to Elizabeth Haydock, William’s sister: and Edward Tyldesley, son of Thomas Tyldesley of Myerscough, a friend of Haydock’s. However, the entire property of at least 24 Lancashire Catholic rebels was confiscated, while ‘on 10 April 1716, 2655 Lancashire male Catholics were convicted as popish recusants at Quarter Sessions’ (Blackwood, 1994). These men had not necessarily had anything to do with the rebellion, but new legislation had been rushed through, requiring all Catholics to register their estates, with a view to future taxation or confiscation. Some 1100 estates were registered in Lancashire, and these extensive records survive in The National Archives, telling us much about Catholicism in these parts at this time.

James Stuart, known as James III, had not landed in Scotland until November 1715, by which time his cause was already lost. Thirty years later, when his son Prince Charles Edward (Bonnie Prince Charlie) landed in Scotland in another attempt to seize the throne, Lancashire Catholics wisely did not get involved. Then from the 1770s, things began to ease for Catholics. Catholic Relief Acts were passed in 1778 (18 Geo III, cap 60) and 1791 (31 Geo III cap 32). Finally in 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Act (10 George IV, cap 17) was passed, albeit more to do with the campaign of Daniel O’Connell regarding the situation in Ireland rather than with any concern over English Catholics. This Act removed nearly all the penal clauses, although still requiring a ‘Roman Catholic Oath’ to be applied to anyone seeking to sit in Parliament or take up any office of state. This was repealed in 1871 (34 & 35 Victoria, cap.48).

Today, the only prohibitions on Catholics in England relate to the monarchy.



*The interior of St Andrew and Blessed George Haydock, from the gallery. Although much of the original chapel of 1793 remains, an apse was added c.1860, while the interior was further remodelled, including installing a new altar and adding the Lady Chapel, in time for the Centenary Year of 1893.*

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