

SOME two hundred years ago, in July, 1779, Thomas West, topographer, priest and Jesuit, died at Sizergh in Westmorland. It seems fitting that the bicentenary of his death should not go unnoticed.

Details of the lives of priests in the days before the Catholic Relief Acts, even as late as the eighteenth century, are often hard to come by, and this is especially true of those Jesuits who were alive in 1773, because in that year Pope Clement XIV, in response to heavy pressure from the Bourbon powers, suppressed the Order, which was not restored until 1814. As a result Jesuit records just ceased to be kept during those years and many of the older records were lost. The story of Thomas West's life has to be reconstructed from the records that survive.

His name, apparently, was not West but Daniel and he used the latter in his early years as a Jesuit on the continent, but was known as West before leaving England and after his return except for a year or so, when he appears to have gone by the *alias* of Watson.¹ There is uncertainty about the year of his birth. Some records say 1st January 1720, while others prefer 1716 or 1717.² It is known that he was a Scot born in Inverness, as he himself stated, and had his early education at the public schools of Edinburgh.³ For a time, we are told, he was a "mercantile traveller" and this may have involved him in journeys on the Continent.⁴ At any rate, in about 1749 he went over to Flanders to the college of the English Jesuits at Saint-Omer (St Omers College) to repeat his studies no doubt with a view to becoming a priest.⁵ After his death it was written of him that "he is supposed to have had the chief part of his education abroad . . . He had seen many parts of Europe . . ." and in one of his letters he mentioned that he had had a foreign education.⁶

In September, 1751 he entered the novitiate of the English province of the Jesuits at Watten near Saint-Omer.

Some light, important in view of his later achievements, is thrown on his life before he went to St Omers College by the records of the Society of Antiquaries of London. The minute book of the Society shows that Thomas West of Deptford 'well skilled in several curious parts of antiquities' was desirous of becoming a member of the Society and was duly recommended by four Fellows, Sir Peter Thompson, James West, Dr Charles Chauncey and the secretary, Joseph Ames. This was in October, 1750, by which time he must have been at St Omers College, and he was elected in 1752 when he was a Jesuit novice.⁷

During the next few years Thomas West (to give him the name by which he was more usually known) prepared for the priesthood at Watten and at the English Jesuit house of divinity studies at Liège.⁸ Ordained priest about 1757, he remained at Liège for another year⁹ and is next found in the Jesuit records for 1761 described as a missionary. Some writers believe that he was stationed for a time at Swynnerton in Staffordshire¹⁰ but there is clearer evidence of his being at Holywell in North Wales in 1761. In a draft of a letter of

later date he refers to his stay there – “. . . any remarks or notices I had collected at H(oly) W(ell) were neglected or lost on my removal . . . the only library I had access to is Mr Davies’ at Llanoch & Ld Bulkeley’s in Anglesey but had not time to reap any advantage from them . . .”.¹¹ Another undated draft mentions a visit to Douglas in the Isle of Man, but it is not possible to say that he was there for any length of time.¹²

In 1763 he was back on the Continent and remained there until 1765. In the latter year, on April 1st, he wrote a petition to the Parlement (of Douai, probably) claiming a pension to which he was entitled as a result of the enforced closure of the Jesuit colleges in France which was completed in 1765.¹³ It is likely that he returned to England in 1765 and it is also likely that he was appointed to Dalton in Furness in that year or early in 1766 as a letter of October 1766 which mentions him shows that he was already there and he himself in a draft of a letter dated October 1773 wrote that he had then “resided for upwards of seven years in Furness”.¹⁴

For the next ten years or so he lived at Tytup or Titeup Hall near Dalton, a house which had for about a century been tenanted by the Matson family of ironmasters and which was conveyed by William Matson to trustees for the use of Ann, one of his daughters, until she became twenty-one or married; she became twenty-one in 1766 and she married Thomas Morland or Moreland of Court Lodge, Kent.¹⁵ Thomas West was allowed lodgings in this house and rent-free, as he himself wrote, adding that there were very few Catholics in the neighbourhood and that it was the best house in Low Furness and “in the very centre of my little flock”.¹⁶ Of the house a more modern account reads “It is believed that this fine example of a moderately sized gentleman’s house of the period replete with handsome wainscoting and other internal embellishments was originally called Orgrave Hall.”¹⁷

About the local people Thomas West was later to write “The people of Furness in general and of Ulverston in particular are civil and well-behaved; to strangers hospitable and humane . . . At Church and market the appearance is decent and sobriety is a general virtue . . . The women are handsome and the men in general robust . . .”.¹⁸ Furness was to remain his home; he liked it and liked living at Titeup – “the most remote place of the county I know, nothing but private life in the strictest sense . . . my principal comfort to be of some service to a few people . . .”.¹⁹ And in the draft of a letter of probably 1766 he wrote to an unnamed correspondent “I have fixed nothing as yet; the people I wait upon are a few poor paddies from Cork employed here at the Iron Mines; 2 farmers come to settle and more expected. If I can settle ‘tis a very agreeable spot upon the great road from Whitehaven to Lancaster . . .”.²⁰

He was not penniless. Before and after the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 he had the income from three small farms in Furness (of which more later) and also an annuity paid on a sum invested for him in 1765 – perhaps his own life savings or the pension claimed by him from the Parlement.²¹

He is said to have moved to Swarthmoor Hall nearer Ulverston in 1776, a house famous for its association with the Quaker, George Fox, which had belonged to the Fell family until they sold it in 1759, and in 1777 into Ulverston, to what was known as the First House in Fountain Street, and then, apparently, into Ellers which was presumably the road of that name.²² He died in 1779 at Sizergh on July 10th, whether after going to live there or on the occasion of a visit is not clear, and was at his own request interred just outside the door of the Sizergh chapel in Kendal parish church.²³

A large collection of Thomas West's miscellaneous papers – medieval deeds, notes, letters received and drafts of replies to letters – is in the Lancashire Record Office. When he died, his executor, the Reverend Thomas Butler of Hornby, removed his effects and the papers long formed part of the Hornby Presbytery collection remaining there until some few years ago. The letters to him, when dated, are seen to be of every year from 1769 to 1779 and are almost all addressed to him at Titeup or Ulverston.

Some of these letters are from former Jesuit colleagues – William Aston at Liège (with news of the English Academy there), William Molyneux at Stonyhurst (on financial business), Nathaniel Elliott in London, William Strickland at Alnwick (congratulating him on *The Antiquities of Furness*), John Jenison and Nicholas Sewall at Preston, Thomas More in London (on financial matters) and with news of the former English Jesuit College at Bruges and of the opening of the Academy at Liège) – and from other priests – John Lindow in London and James Tyrer or Tিরer of Lancaster.²⁴

Among the drafts of Thomas West's letters, often written on blank sides or pages of the letters he received, are many about his antiquarian interests, mostly written to individual correspondents but on occasion to *The Whitehaven Pacquet*, and a few about more personal matters. In a letter to the Chancellor of Carlisle the doctrine of Indulgences is explained.²⁵

The bulk of the correspondence is concerned with antiquities – family pedigrees, archaeological finds, comments on Dr Priestley's "book on Philosophy", local Roman roads, early manuscripts, the history of Furness Abbey, technical aspects of the products of the local slate quarries, the cleaning of Roman coins, St Winefrid's shrine at Holywell in North Wales, Roman inscriptions, medieval charters, local place names, the beneficial results for the archaeologist of the improvement of land, Celtic remains, the decline in the value of money, iron mining, a medieval leper hospital in Kendal, the Druids, the tombs in Cartmell church, details about the printing and publication of his books and appreciations of the same. He also showed interest in the *aurora borealis*, local weather records and the fishing around Furness.

His correspondents included such figures in the world of antiquities as Dr Richard Burn, Chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, F.R.S., Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, John Whitaker, F.S.A., Thomas Pennant, F.R.S., Charles Townley and Richard Townley who wrote to him from Cambridge of the interest taken in one of his discoveries by Dr Richard Watson, F.R.S.²⁶ There are also letters from the Hon. Edward Clifford of Quernmore Park and Marmaduke Tunstall, F.R.S., F.S.A. and from representatives of the families whose pedigrees he traced in *The Antiquities of Furness*.²⁷

During his early years at Titeup Father West was preparing his first book – *The Antiquities of Furness or An Account of the Royal Abbey of St. Mary . . .* which appeared in 1774 in London, printed for the author by T. Spilsbury and sold by J. Johnson, J. Ridley and S. Leacroft. It was dedicated to "The Right Honorable Lord George Cavendish, First Uncle to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire". The author's name is not on the title page but the dedication is signed "Thomas West, Titeup in Furness, 1774".²⁸

The site of Furness Abbey, together with other lands, was purchased probably by John Preston of Preston Patrick and Levens in the county of Westmorland in the time of James I.²⁹ Towards the end of the seventeenth century, his descendant, Sir Thomas Preston, Bart., after the death of his second wife and of his only son, went abroad in 1674 and entered the Society of Jesus. He died, a Jesuit, in 1709 without ever (for reasons of health,

it seems) being persuaded to accept orders. Most of his property he settled on his two daughters, Mary and Anne, but some of that in Furness he wished to be used for religious purposes and this was challenged in the courts by Thomas Preston of Holker, of a younger branch of the family, on the grounds that it was a gift to superstitious uses.³⁰ After much litigation he acquired this Furness property except for three small farms, Goldmire and Stonedyke in the parish of Dalton and Stainton in the parish of Urswick, which somehow escaped and remained in the hands of trustees for the Jesuits, the revenue being used for the support of a priest and for the benefit of the Catholics in Ulverston and district, as was the money realised by their sale early in the nineteenth century.³¹ The remainder of the Furness property passed to the Lowther family as the result of a Lowther-Preston marriage and, two generations later, to the cousin of the last Lowther owner, Lord George Cavendish.

Lord George Cavendish was friendly with Father West and showed interest in his antiquarian investigations in general and in the history of the abbey in particular. Thomas West wrote to him quite early in his researches – perhaps as early as 1769 (the draft of the letter is not dated) – explaining his object in writing about the abbey and begging that the remains should be carefully preserved.³² Lord George is said to have offered him a crypt in the abbey as a chapel for the local Catholics, but at that date the offer could not be accepted,³³ and he also played a considerable part in seeing this first book through the press. “I am glad Lord George has taken up your book to be fitted for the press” wrote Edward Clifford in December, 1772, and Father Thomas More reported from London in February, 1773 “Lord George has not sent me the other part of yr work as you told me he would do when he came to London”.³⁴

The list of subscribers included peers, members of Parliament, the President and about fifteen Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of London, libraries, Fellows of Colleges, Fellows of the Royal Society, professors and clergy, a Jesuit colleague Father William Strickland then at Alwick, Northumberland, Thomas Moreland of Court Lodge, Esq., and his sister-in-law Miss Matson of Kendal and Richard Gillow, cabinet-maker of Lancaster.

After a descriptive view of Furness the author gives an account of the history of the abbey from its foundation in 1127 till its surrender to Henry VIII on 9th April 1537. There is much about the customs of Furness and mention of the other two religious houses in Low or Plain Furness – at Conishead and Bardsea. Then follows the “Synopsis of the Furness Families” in the writing of which Thomas West received much help from members of those families as his letters and papers show.

His colleague, William Strickland of the Sizergh family, wrote to the author on November 22nd, 1774 “. . . I have read the Antiquities of Furness with attention and . . . I shall give you my opinion of the Work with sincerity. It contains, I think, a greater fund of knowledge in our antiquities than is to be met with anywhere else . . . But in case of a future edition, I could wish to see your own Reflections and Dissertations a little amplified. They are just and accurate but they rather raise the Reader’s curiosity than satisfy it . . .”.³⁵

In 1778 the second of Thomas West’s books was published – a book which went through twelve editions in the next forty-five years. This was *A Guide to the Lakes; Dedicated to the Lovers of Landscape Studies and to All who have visited or intended to visit the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire*. By the author of *The Antiquities of Furness*. It was published by Richardson and Urquhart of London.

The work is just what the title says – a guide; how to get to places, what to look for, the marvels of nature, Roman and medieval sites, iron and copper mines, slate quarries, interesting houses; it gives the heights of mountains and distances in miles from Lancaster. The lakes in their beauty are described, but not all of them, because some could not be approached conveniently owing to “the badness of the roads”, and also the more important towns and villages. In the second and third editions, published in 1780 and 1784 after Father West’s death, certain new matter was introduced, part of it collected by himself, part by “a friend of the publisher’s” and part by other “esteemed writers”. Among the additions was a note left by the author on “the annual fall of timber . . . and frequent removal of picturesque trees . . . these accidents as they cannot be prevented must be allowed for by the candid traveller”.³⁶

The introduction to the second edition tells the reader how the *Guide* came to be written. “Having in the latter part of his life much leisure time on his hands he frequently accompanied genteel parties on the tour of the Lakes and besides consulting the most esteemed writers took several journeys on purpose to examine the lakes and to collect such information concerning them from the neighbouring gentlemen as he thought necessary to complete the work . . .”.

In the June of 1778 Henry Maire of Lartington Hall who already possessed *The Antiquities of Furness* “which I value much” wrote “Having seen advertized in ye Papers ye title of a publication concerning ye Cumberland Lakes I make bold to trouble you for a copy of ye same . . .”. Thomas West replied (on 10th July 1778 just a year before he died) “. . .the places where the *Guide to the Lakes* is sold are in London and Kendal. As soon as I can procure a copy it shall be . . . forwarded from Kendal to Barnard Castle”, and he continued “If the *Guide* prove an inducement to visit the wonderful romantic scenes therein described, the author will be happy to meet you at Lancaster and accompany you through all the region of wonders . . .”.³⁷

In addition to his two books Father West made other contributions to antiquarian studies which have survived in print. One was a communication made by Mr Lort in 1776 to the Society of Antiquaries of London which was read on May 5th. The paper was entitled “An Account of Antiquities discovered in Lancaster in 1776, by Thomas West, F.A.S.” (i.e. F.S.A.) and was about some Roman remains discovered under Church Street “where the judge’s lodgings used to stand”.³⁸ A second surviving contribution was a letter written from Bath in October, 1776 to Mr Lane, F.R.S., which was read to the Royal Society on December 12th and published in that Society’s *Philosophical Transactions*. Thomas West submitted for inspection some lava “brought back from my tour of Scotland” taken from a hill near Inverness. Its presence suggested to him that there must have been at one time volcanoes in Scotland.³⁹

It is not without interest that Father West was clearly quite widely accepted as an authority on antiquities in the days before the first Catholic Relief Act when religious prejudice, though perhaps beginning slowly to die, still existed, despite the fact that it must have been known that he was a priest. Lord George Cavendish certainly knew and the Chancellor of Carlisle and Sir Joseph Ayloffé and others cannot have been ignorant of it; William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary was aware of it, writing of him as “the good father” in a letter to Richard Townley.⁴⁰ Edward Jackson, Vicar of Colton, corresponded with Thomas West and knew him to be a priest – “June 25th, 1775, Breakfast with Father West”, he noted in his diary.⁴¹

A contemporary opinion of Thomas West's standing as an antiquary came from William Cole – "I am greatly obliged to you for the copy of Mr West's letter to you, whose answer to your enquiries is admirable and shows great reading as well as insight in those matters . . ." ⁴² he wrote to Richard Townley who sent Father West a copy of the letter. Another view, rather more critical, was that of the compiler of the preface to the third edition of *A Guide to the Lakes*; after mentioning that Thomas West had been partly educated on the Continent, he continued "whence it will appear, that though, upon some account or other, he had not acquired the habit of composing correctly in English, he must nevertheless have been a man of learning". Dr. Oliver, the historian and priest at Exeter, was also somewhat critical ". . . An ecclesiastical antiquary having access to the stores of original documents in the possession of his friend and patron (Right Hon. Lord George Cavendish) should have embodied a larger fund of information" ⁴³

"He was a strange kind of man" wrote a Jesuit priest in 1831 who as a young man must have known Thomas West at least slightly; ⁴⁴ according to Dr Kirk he was "much beloved and respected where known" ⁴⁵ One may suspect that he was probably a rather lonely man, isolated in Furness, known to few except for his small flock and to those whose interest in antiquities was similar to his own. In a draft of a letter dated March 30th (1774 probably) he wrote to Dr Burn at Carlisle "Antiquity has ever been my favourite amusement, tho' it never was any part of my studies. I never has (*sic*) more time to dispose of in fav^r of such entertainment, nor was ever worse situated for gratifying myselfe in that point than since I came into this neighbourhood. Till now I have not been so happy as to find anyone . . . with whom I could exchange a thought in words or writing on any subject distant but a few centuries upwards from the present time; I therefore congratulate with myselfe on the occasion of this correspondence which on my part I shall endeavour to cultivate on any literary subject . . . upon such philosophical principles as are worthy of such a correspondent . . ." ⁴⁶ In turn his correspondents, as the letters show, clearly valued his friendship and his learning; he was recognized as an authority during his lifetime and afterwards. The editors of Dugdale (1817) quoted largely from *The Antiquities of Furness*, and Thomas Dunham Whitaker frequently referred to his findings and wrote of his "zeal and industry" ⁴⁷ His books, papers and letters are an indication that he used the time at his disposal well and conscientiously and he is regarded to this day as an authority.

Notes

¹ Sewall's Letters, f. 267 (25th November 1831); Annual Catalogues of the English province of the Jesuits; H. Foley, MSS. 3/350. All in the archives of the English province of the Jesuits – (AEPSJ).

² Preface to *A Guide to the Lakes* . . . by the author of *The Antiquities of Furness* . . . (London, 3rd edn., 1784); a petition to the Parlement of Douai (?) in 1765 in which Thomas West wrote that he was born in 1716, in MW/4 in AEPSJ.

³ The petition mentioned in note 2; Sewall's Letters, f. 267; Foley, MSS. 3/350; *D.N.B.*

⁴ Foley, MSS. 3/350.

⁵ St Omers College Accounts, D.1.3 and D.1.12 (Stonyhurst College MSS).

⁶ Preface to *A Guide to the Lakes*; *RCH*, West Letters, 1769-79, in the Lancashire Record Office, letter 40. These letters to Thomas West, or drafts of letters sent by him, are deposited in the Record Office and I am indebted to the Record Office for making copies of letters available to me, and to Bishop Foley of Lancaster for permitting me to quote from them. The drafts of letters are not usually dated and they (and the letters received) are referred to in these notes by the number allotted in the Record Office list.

- ⁷ For James West, Dr Chauncey and Joseph Ames see *D.N.B.* (Sir Peter Thompson is mentioned in the notice on Ames). The catalogue of Fellows gives Thomas West's name as Daniel or West and describes him as a Jesuit. I am grateful to Mr J. Hopkins, the Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries, for assistance in investigating this.
- ⁸ Annual Catalogues.
- ⁹ Annual Catalogues; preface to *A Guide to the Lakes* (3rd Edition).
- ¹⁰ e.g. J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, (London, 1885), II, 15-16.
- ¹¹ West Letters, 34; Foley, MSS. 3/350; Sewall Letters, f. 279; introduction by J. Gillow to the Catholic Registers of Ulverston in volume XX of the Catholic Record Society (C.R.S.) 9-11; St Omers and North Wales papers (in AEPSJ), f. 92 (a note to Mr Thomas Watson at Holywell dated 24th September, 1762). Some of Thomas West's letters and notes were published in *The Lancaster Observer* in 1891 and 1892 and among these were copies of two depositions taken in Holywell in 1761 and witnessed by Thomas Watson.
- ¹² West Letters, 12.
- ¹³ The petition is in MW/4 in AEPSJ. See too H. Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst* (London, 1962), 332.
- ¹⁴ College of St Aloysius District Accounts, 1700-1849 in AEPSJ, f. 99; West Letters, 13.
- ¹⁵ For the history of Titeup and the Matson family see CW2 lxxv (1975), 258-61. In his will (1774) Thomas Morland left Titeup and other properties to his wife in trust.
- ¹⁶ West Letters, 11. The Catholics numbered about twenty – see College of St Aloysius papers, R-W (AEPSJ), f. 145.
- ¹⁷ See *Antiquities of Furness* . . . App. xi where Thomas West writes about Titeup and the Matson family; the more modern account is by J. Gillow in volume XX of the C.R.S. ser. (1916), 9.
- ¹⁸ *The Antiquities of Furness*, xv.
- ¹⁹ West Letters, 11.
- ²⁰ West Letters, 12.
- ²¹ West Letters, 52 (T. More to T. West, 14th December 1773); College of St Aloysius papers, R-W, f. 68 and Accounts, 1754-68 (1st December, 1765) in AEPSJ.
- ²² C.R.S. ser. XX, 9; *VCH of Lancashire*, VIII, 348, 354-6.
- ²³ Preface to *A Guide to the Lakes* . . . (3rd edn.); *D.N.B.*; C.R.S., ser. XX, 9-10 and XXXII, 46 (Catholic Registers of Kendal, 1762-1840 – introduction by J. R. Baterden); Foley, MSS 3/350. July 10th appears to be the date although the authorities differ about the month.
- ²⁴ When the Jesuit colleges were closed in France in the early 1760s by order of the government the English college at Saint-Omer was moved to Bruges; on the suppression of the Jesuits by the pope in 1773 it moved again, to Liège where it was known as the English Academy. In 1794 it was established at Stonyhurst in Lancashire. Three letters of 1779 (West Letters, 8, 17 and 49) are from James Collinson, Notary Public and Proctor in the Spiritual Court at Lancaster enquiring about Thomas West's state of health during the last months of his life.
- ²⁵ West Letters, 4, 25, 36, 37.
- ²⁶ For these correspondents see *D.N.B.*
- ²⁷ West Letters, 6, 57, 70. For Marmaduke Tunstall see *D.N.B.* and Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary* . . . , V, 558.
- ²⁸ The copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London bears on the title page the inscriptions 'From the author to the Antiquaries' Library' and 'Presented to the Society of Antiquaries, 22nd Dec^r 1774 from the Author by Sir J. Ayloffe, Bart.'.
- ²⁹ *The Antiquities of Furness* . . . 136, 139, 254.
- ³⁰ *The Antiquities of Furness* . . . 139-140, 257; T. E. Gibson, *Lydiat Hall and its Associations*, (1876), 47.
- ³¹ College of St Aloysius papers, R-W (AEPSJ) ff. 70-72; C.R.S. ser. XX, 2-3, 8 ff.
- ³² West Letters, 26.
- ³³ Gibson, *Lydiat Hall* . . . 47.
- ³⁴ West Letters, 6, 22, 59; More to West in MW/4 (AEPSJ).
- ³⁵ West Letters, 18. Letter 23 includes a copy of a letter from Henry Norris of Woodford in Essex taking exception to Thomas West's remarks about the suppression of the monasteries.
- ³⁶ *A Guide to the Lakes*, (3rd edn.), 88-9. The preface to the second edition mentions the "speedy sale" of the first edition.
- ³⁷ West Letters, 62. For Henry Maire see Sir Henry Lawson in Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, . . . IV, 166-68.

- ³⁸ *Archaeologia*, V (1779), 98-100. Mr. Lort was presumably Michael Lort, F.R.S., F.S.A. (see *D.N.B.*). Further references to Father West's interest in Roman finds in Lancaster and the neighbourhood may be seen described in CW2 lxxi (1971), 23-5, and in *Roman Lancashire*, by W. T. Watkins, (Liverpool, 1883), 85, 167-9, 171-2, 175-7, 183-4, 215-6, 250.
- ³⁹ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1777, part 4, 385-7 which the present writer was allowed to consult by the kindness of the staff of the library of the Royal Society. Another work undertaken by Thomas West was the preparation in manuscript of abstracts of 228 Standish deeds; a calendar of the Standish deeds preserved in the Wigan Public Library including these abstracts (the 228 deeds are no longer in the collection) was published in 1933. See *General Catalogue of Printed Books*, British Library s.v. West, T. and Standish, family of.
- ⁴⁰ Quoted in a letter of Richard Townley – West Letters, 20. For William Cole see *D.N.B.*
- ⁴¹ “Diary of Edward Jackson”, in CW2 xl (1940), 14. West Letters, 25 is from Edward Jackson.
- ⁴² West Letters, 20.
- ⁴³ *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members, S.J.* (Exeter, 1838), 25.
- ⁴⁴ Sewall's Letters, f. 267 (letter of November 25th, 1831) in AEPSJ.
- ⁴⁵ J. Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1909).
- ⁴⁶ West Letters, 16.
- ⁴⁷ *A History of Richmondshire . . .* (London, 1823), II, 385.