From Chapel to Church –
A History of Catholics in Salisbury c.1700-c.1860

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Introduction

For many Catholics in England, the eighteenth century witnessed a growth of toleration – a welcome relief after years of persecution. However, there were still many restrictions, Mass, for example, was proscribed and priests and those who harboured them were liable to life imprisonment. Similar penalties were imposed on Catholic schoolmasters. As for those who sought to practise the Faith or have their children educated as Catholics, they were liable to a range of penalties. Catholics were also barred from inheriting and buying land. Such measures, however, were more of a threat than anything else, but they could be put into force merely by proclamation - the threat was ever-present.

Throughout the eighteenth century the principal Catholic mission in south Wiltshire was centred at Lord Arundell's estate at Wardour. Here, the family had a series of Jesuit priests as domestic chaplains who also acted as missioners to local recusants. There was a much smaller mission at Sir John Webb's estate at Odstock where there was also a succession of Jesuit chaplains until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. This mission, in common with the one at Wardour, saw to the spiritual needs of Catholics in the surrounding settlements such as those in Salisbury.

The Eighteenth-Century Returns

There were few Catholics in Salisbury throughout much of the eighteenth century, and an indication of their numbers can be gleaned from three returns during this period. The first was in 1706 when the Privy Council ordered a return to be made by the Anglican clergy of papists and reputed papists in their parishes so that: 'a more watchful eye should be had over them for the future'. Despite not being complete, and containing several inaccuracies, it is nevertheless a useful indicator of where and how many Catholics were in the area. In Salisbury's three parishes there were just twelve Catholics. In St Edmund's there were two, a tanner and the wife of a surgeon, while in St Martin's there were three including a 'gentleman' and two labourers. Most Catholics were in the city's central parish of St Thomas, where seven were recorded: the Earl and Countess of Castlehaven, a doctor, two musicians, a labourer, and a shoemaker.[1]

Another return was compiled in 1767, which showed a slight fall.[2] In St Edmund's parish there was just one Catholic, the wife of an ex-Irish soldier, and three reputed Catholics. In St Thomas's there were seven: these were undoubtedly Hon Raymond Thomas Arundell, eldest son of the 6th Baron Arundell of Wardour, his wife Mary, their chaplain James Porter SJ, and their household servants. No Catholics were recorded in the parish of St Martin.

A third return was made in 1780, when there was only one reputed Catholic in St Edmund's parish, and two in St Martin's. In St Thomas's there were thirteen papists and reputed papists.[3] Three years later, in answer to the Bishop of Salisbury's Visitation Queries, there were still sixteen Catholics in Salisbury, but all were recorded as being in St Thomas's parish.[4]

The returns were made by the Anglican clergy for each of their parishes. The last return, however, seems to be at variance to the number that was reported in 1781 to Bishop Walmesley, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, when it was noted that there were '40-50 communicants [in Salisbury] but fluctuating as strangers come and go'. Walmesley also carried out the Sacrament of Confirmation on fourteen candidates at Salisbury in 1781 and nine in 1788.[5] This apparent discrepancy may be because Walmesley's figure included Catholics from the surrounding region, places such as Odstock, where in 1780 there were 'five or six' Catholics, and Downton, where there were only two, as well as 'strangers'. There were also two reputed Catholics, carpet weavers, at Wilton in 1783, and 'one gentleman' at Newton Tony.[6] It is also noteworthy, and rather ironic, that the returns show that although the number was relatively small, the largest concentration throughout the eighteenth century was in St Thomas's parish, and most were either living within, or at least in sight of, the Anglican Cathedral precinct.

The Later Eighteenth Century

Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, there does not appear to have been a resident priest in Salisbury although Jesuits occasionally met at one of the coaching houses in the city, the White Hart Inn.[7] It seems almost inconceivable that the opportunity would not have been taken to celebrate Mass at a Catholic residence, or even the White Hart, during these visits. It is also noteworthy that there were at least two priests hiding places within the Cathedral Close, which presumably would have been used during the more draconian penal times. One was in a house near St Ann's Gate and the other in a house further along North Walk.[8]

From 1765-1794 there was a succession of four Jesuit priests who were chaplains to the Hon Thomas Arundell's household in the Close, presumably ministering as well to Catholics elsewhere in the city. Their ministry increased following the sale of Odstock Manor to the Protestant peer Lord Radnor when the two missions merged. Bishop Walmesley noted that Richard Turner (*vere* Murphy), who was Arundell's chaplain from 1774, 'has undertaken to take care of the Congregation of Odstock',[9] thus confirming his increased, wider, pastoral responsibilities as well as his duties to his patron.

The French Revolution was a defining moment for Catholics throughout much of northern Europe as large numbers of Clergy and Religious fled France and Flanders seeking refuge elsewhere. At least 7,000 arrived in England, and in 1793 two French émigré priests were resident in Salisbury, Nicholas Bégin, and Jean-Baptiste Marest.

Nicholas Bégin was the most noteworthy since he became the missioner in Salisbury for thirty-three years until his death at the age of 65 in 1826. He was born at Honfleur in Normandy and ordained in 1788 when he was appointed the vicar of Gonneville-sous-Honfleur. Here he remained until June 1791. A year later, on 30th August, he was arrested at Le Havre for trying to sail to England without a passport; however, five days later he, along with thirty-four other 'ecclesiastiques', was granted a passport and set sail for England where he took up residence in Salisbury in 1793.[10]

The second priest was Jean-Baptiste Marest who was born in 1769, and ordained at Winchester by the Bishop of Rodez. In 1793 he moved to Salisbury where he later became the chaplain to Mary Arundel before moving to Wardour in 1801. He remained at Wardour until 1817 and then became the chaplain at the Carmelite convent at Canford in Dorset.[11]

Another French priest who later came to Salisbury was Joseph Meffre. He was a *vicaire* from the diocese of Toulon and arrived in Southampton in 1794. A year later he was in Salisbury, where he found lodgings first at a Mr Crower's house in Castle Street, and subsequently at Mr Knight's house along the more prestigious St Ann's Street.[12] His time in Salisbury was not long since his private life was brought into question when, in 1795, "his naughty behaviour in Salisbury 'scandale publique en cette ville, one April day – embraced a young lady on a 'chaise'".[13] He was still in Salisbury in 1796 when he, along with Bégin and Marest, took the Oath of Allegiance. In June 1798, he seems to have had a change of heart, since he renounced his Catholic faith in Winchester Cathedral. He later became an Anglican priest and served as the chaplain at the Huguenot Hospital in London from 1829 until his death in April 1846.[14]

French priests were not the only religious who sought refuge in England during these turbulent years. English convents and seminaries in France and Flanders, many of which had been established in the early seventeenth century, were abandoned as their communities joined the throng of French émigrés. Three monastic communities settled in rural areas near Salisbury. The first to arrive were the English canonesses from St. Monica's Convent at Louvain. They leased a mansion house, Amesbury Abbey, from 1795-1800 before moving to Spetisbury. In 1796, Lord Arundell settled the community of English canonesses from Liège at Dean House and French Carthusian monks at Combe Farm in Donhead St Mary.[15] Although there were no exiled monastic communities in Salisbury itself, one of the two confessors to the nuns at Amesbury, Fr Catrow, was a frequent visitor and acted for the Bishop on at least one occasion.

Salisbury's Private Chapels

There was a private chapel in the garret of Thomas Arundell's house along Rosemary Lane in the Cathedral Close by at least 1768.[16] Thomas was the second son of Henry Arundell, the 6th Lord Arundell of Wardour, and the older brother of James Everard Arundell, who was later prominent in the Catholic community in Salisbury. Following Thomas's death in 1768 his widow, Mary (d.1799), continued to maintain the chapel. The writer and diarist Fanny Burney visited Salisbury in 1780 shortly after witnessing the Gordon Riots in Bath and remarked that 'There is no Romish chapel in the town; mass has always been performed for the Catholics of the place at a Mrs Arundell's in the Close …'.[17] The house was undoubtedly No. 23 (otherwise known as 'Loders'). The Peniston family, a leading Catholic family in the city, went to Mass here from at least 1784. John Peniston, son of Thomas Peniston, remarked in his *Reminiscences* that the house was at the end of Rosemary Lane and that it was later occupied by a Mr J Loder.[18]

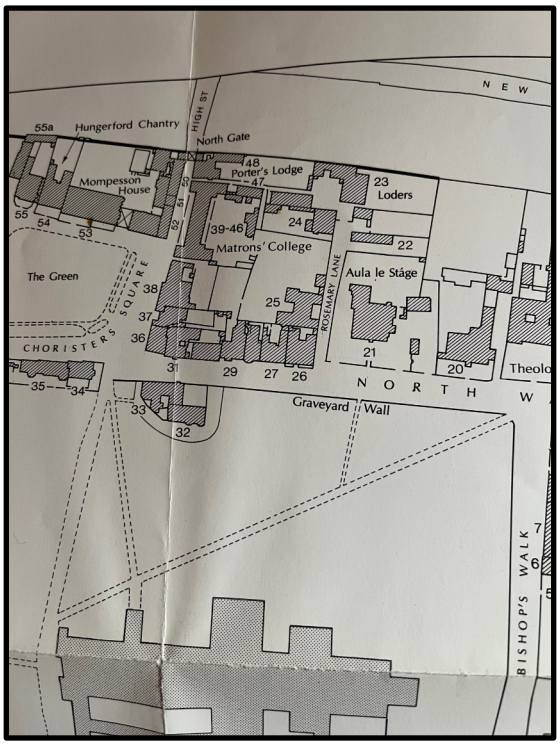

Figure 1. Plan of the Cathedral Close showing the location of 'Loders' at the north end of Rosemary Lane, and Thomas Peniston's house, which was No. 48, Porter's Lodge (after RCHME 1993, Salisbury: The Houses of the Close).

Although Catholics appear to have been tolerated and were generally on good terms with their Protestant neighbours, they were still viewed with suspicion. The main approach to the house was along Rosemary Lane, but another less conspicuous approach would have been along the narrow lane leading from the Porter's Lodge by the Close Gate. A service staircase at the back of the house led directly to the upper floors and the chapel in the garret, thus ensuring a modicum of privacy for the Arundell household (fig. 1).

In the closing decade of the eighteenth century there were probably no more than 15-20 Catholics in Salisbury. Fifteen took the Oath of Allegiance in 1792, which was required by the Catholic Relief Act of the previous year; these included Mary Arundell, her chaplain Richard Turner, and her servants. There were also Thomas and Elizabeth Peniston; three spinsters, Maria Haylock, Mary Ann Lane and Lucy Joy; a fishmonger, John Joy (possibly related to Lucy); a Dutch silk dyer, John Vandenhoff, and James Wilmot, a victualler from West Harnham.[19]

There were, however, some notable absences from the Salisbury list. One was James Everard Arundell (1721-1803), the brother-in-law of Mary Arundell, who took the oath at Marlborough in 1778[20], and at Lacock in 1791. He was married to Ann Wyndham and they lived for part of the year at their mansion house at Ashcombe in Berwick St John, and for the rest of the year at No.59, The Close (today known as Arundell's) in Salisbury, which had been their home since 1759. The latter was regarded as their 'winter house'. Ann was a Protestant and their daughters were raised as Protestants whereas their sons were raised as Catholics. Being a mixed religious household, it would appear that there was no Catholic chapel at

Ashcombe, nor at their house in the Close, and whenever they were in Salisbury James would presumably have attended Mass at his sister-in-law's chapel a couple of hundred metres away.[21]

Another absence from the list was William Weeks who, along with his wife and children, was part of the congregation from at least 1784.[22] Weeks was the proprietor of the White Hart Coach Company, a family business that he established in 1772. By 1809 the company was known as the Weeks's Coach Company and its premises were advertised as being 'opposite the White Hart Inn'. As well as the coach business, William owned three tenements in Brown Street and a stable in Ivy Street.[23] Finally, there was 'a lame woman who procured a livelihood by carrying about and vending Pies and Cakes, whose family had lost all in the service of the Stuart family and left with nothing but her religion and a hearty abhorrence of the Hanoverians.'[24]

Some-time later Mary Arundell vacated her house in the Close and moved to one in the 'Square', possibly St Thomas's Square. Here, nearly the whole length of the attic was converted into a chapel, with a confessional and accommodation for her chaplain.[25]

What form of worship was undertaken in the private chapel is unknown, but it was probably similar to many private Catholic chapels throughout the country. Evidence would suggest that it would have been largely confined to a Low Mass and Vespers on Sundays with perhaps monthly devotions and private devotions, all at the behest of the patron.[26] The liturgy was probably quite understated and subdued, particularly given the locations of the chapels in the Cathedral Close and near St Thomas's Church.

Mary Arundell's chaplain, the former Jesuit Richard Turner, died in May 1794. He was clearly highly regarded in the local community and by the Anglican clergy having spent nearly twenty years living for much of the time in the Close. The local paper recorded that: 'Last Wednesday died, at his lodgings in this city, after a lingering decay, the Rev Mr Turner, aged 77 years; a very respectable clergyman of the Roman Church, and many years resident here'.[27] He was buried on the east side of the cloister in Salisbury Cathedral where a tablet to his memory was erected.[28] It is perhaps ironic that a Catholic, particularly a priest, and one who may well have been a former Jacobite 'escaping both the field and the scaffold'[29] was commemorated in this manner, but it was by no means unique. In Staffordshire, for example, presumably due to the influence of a gentry family, two vicars apostolic were buried in the chancel of the Protestant church at Brewood as well as a chaplain to the Gifford family.[30]

Nicholas Bégin, who had assisted the elderly Turner in his final year, became Mary Arundell's chaplain and also took on the care of the small Salisbury congregation. His ministry was apparently greatly appreciated, apart from some of Mary Arundell's servants who thought he should spend more time with them in the evenings. Bégin was later replaced by Marest, although he continued to use the chapel. The relationship between the two priests, however, was fraught and caused a great deal of unease in the congregation, some of whom were refused admittance to the chapel. In a letter to the Bishop, Fr Catrow, the Confessor to the nuns from Amesbury commented that '… they seem to run in each other's way and cause much talk and disturbance, as Mr Weeks informs me. Mr Marest seems now to wish to have

the whole care fall upon him, which Mr Weeks will never hear of, and he is the person who has done most in the affair …'.[31]

In December 1796, Mary Arundell decided that due to her infirmity and the fluctuating number of visiting Catholics, including Irish soldiers and French émigrés, she did not want to continue having her chapel used as a public chapel anymore. She therefore told Bégin that he 'should not say prayers in her private chapel for more than 8 days longer,' and that the few Catholics who attended should look for another chapel, thus leaving Marest to continue serving unimpeded as her chaplain.[32] Despite objections from James Everard Arundell and Nicholas Bégin, she would not relent.

The Public Chapels.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was a significant period for Salisbury's Catholics. It was a period that saw the arrival of émigré priests as well as a gradual loosening of the gentry influence that was replaced by the rise of middle-class involvement in the mission. The Catholic Relief Act of 1791 permitted Catholics to have public chapels (but without bells or steeples) provided they were registered with the civil authorities and as long as they took the oath of allegiance; they were also free from persecution and able to visit and live in London. Salisbury Catholics initially continued to 'go to prayers' at Mary Arundell's private chapel but, following her decision, Nicholas Bégin, who was lodging at Mr Peniston's property at the expense of Lord Arundell, offered to establish a small chapel in the house. This was accepted by James Everard Arundell and 'with great zeal [he] accomplished it to our mutual satisfaction'.[33]

Mr Peniston's House

The first public chapel in Salisbury was therefore instituted by Bishop Walmesley on Christmas Day 1796, and certified for public worship in 1797 with Nicholas Bégin being named as the missioner.[34] The chapel was at No. 48, The Close, where Thomas Peniston was the tenant (fig 2).[35] The two-storey building, part of which is medieval, lies on the east side of the Close Gate which opens out onto the High Street, and had been let to him by the Cathedral Dean and Chapter.[36] Although it was quite a spacious property, it would appear to have been in a state of disrepair for much of the later eighteenth century. It comprised an entrance lobby, a central hall with a parlour, and a dining room to the south. On the northern side of the hall was a kitchen range, a small dining room, and yard.[37]

The chapel may well have been in a room on the upper floor of the house in a similar manner to many private chapels. Following its establishment, Bégin wrote to one of his congregation saying, 'I think it my duty to inform you there is now a Public Chapel in one of my apartments at the house of Mr Peniston'. He went on to outline the weekly services:

> 'The Divine Office begins on Sunday next (particularly for the benefit of those who are under my care) and it will be punctually from that day henceforward at the following:

Sundays & Days of Obligation
From Easter Sunday till the Feast of All Saints Mass will begin at half past eight and from the Feast of All Saints till Easter Sunday at nine o'clock, The Last Mass always at ten o'clock. Vespers at two o'clock precisely.
Work Days.
Mass will be said regularly three times. Viz. Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and Days of Obligation that occur during the week. During Advent, Lent, and the Octave of Pentecost, Mass will be said every day, the hour will be commonly nine o'clock.'[38]

Figure 2. John Peniston's house in the Close

Two months after the chapel was instituted, in February 1797, Bishop Walmesley wrote to Bégin renewing his faculties and approved what he called 'the new kind of chapel', but ever-mindful of the previous troubles at the mission he concluded by saying 'take care that union and concord prevail among all Catholics; that those belonging to you and those belonging to Mr Marest, all live in peace together; that there be no *schismata'*, and quoting from 1 Cor1:12-13 he concluded, 'no saying, *ego sum Apollo, ego autem sum Cephas*'.[39] Bégin re-iterated the bishop's wishes in his letter about Mass-times by saying that 'it is highly necessary that the whole congregation unite there'. Thus, for the first time in over 200 years, the days of 'catacomb concealment' for Salisbury Catholics appeared to be finally over.[40]

It is unlikely, however, that having this chapel would have been seen as anything other than a temporary measure until more suitable premises were found. A private chapel at Mary Arundell's house within the ambit of the Cathedral Close seems to have been tolerated by the Cathedral authorities, particularly given her status, but the almost daily comings and goings of worshippers to a public chapel, and to a house belonging to the Dean and Chapter so close to the pre-eminent centre of Protestant worship, undoubtedly would have caused angst and frustration. The congregation's concerns were well founded since, not long after the chapel was established, notice was given by the Dean and Chapter that 'they would not permit a house belonging to one of their assistants (a verger) to be used for such a purpose and that if

they persisted we [the congregation] must turn out'.[41] Although the chapel was closed, the widow of John Peniston and her family did not actually vacate the premises until December 1801.[42]

Chapel House in Brown Street

Establishing a new chapel following the 'wilderness' years of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could be fraught with difficulties in a sometimes-bigoted environment. Catholics were essentially starting from scratch and, unlike the Anglicans, their places of worship were largely funded by a wealthy patron and voluntary contributions. On 3rd February 1797, following their eviction from the Close, James Everard Arundell wrote to Bishop Walmesley seeking his approval for a chapel in Salisbury and for an appeal to be made to the wider Catholic community in the country for subscriptions in order, 'to take a large room for the accommodation of the congregation, which, by taking out a licence, may [also] admit occasional strangers as there are often some passing and repassing and many Irish soldiers when in Sarum petition to come to prayers, but as there is no public chapel, many of course lose that blessing'.[43]

Five days later, Walmesley replied saying that he agreed to the proposal, and by the end of May subscriptions amounted to a little over £47 had been received. Over time there were further subscriptions, including a gift of £20 from Lady Shaftesbury, daughter of the late Sir John Webb of Odstock. Donations were also received from Lord Arundell, Mary Arundell, and James Everard Arundell.[44] Although the gentry continued to support the Mission, it is noticeable that the list of subscribers, and later lists, show an increasing number of the newly-emergent middle classes and artisans providing funds and significant support, in the early days people such as William Weeks, Thomas Peniston, and Mr Joy. Subscriptions were, and continued to be, a major source of income for the support of the fledgling Catholic chapels well into the nineteenth century, including from the Jesuits and Arundell family.

Under the direction of Lord Arundell, James Everard Arundell and William Weeks set about finding more suitable premises, 'a proper place where we were not likely to be soon disturbed'.[45] Eventually, after much trouble and extensive enquiries, a house in Brown Street was found and leased for fourteen years. It became known as Chapel House, and was certified for public worship in 1798.[46]

Nicholas Bégin again offered his services, which were readily accepted by James Everard Arundell and William Weeks; however, there were certain conditions: He was not to be the sole resident, but instead the house was to be divided between the priest and a boarder. In his part of the house, which was rent-free, Bégin had a bed chamber and parlour as well as the use of the kitchen and garden. The other part of the house was to be let to a Catholic, and the money raised would go towards paying the rent. Finally, and rather tellingly, if an English missioner was found he could replace Bégin. The boarder was a Mrs Wright who Arundell described as 'a more respectable religious woman cannot be found'. The arrangement, however, did not last and soon Bégin had sole possession – but he now had to pay rent.[47]

The chapel was situated on the first floor of the building 'forming a most excellent chapel' and where 'neat ornaments for the altar' were purchased.[48] An inventory in 1803, presumably

initiated following the death of James Everard Arundell in that year, gives a flavour of the chapel (appendix 1-3). There was a sanctuary, vestry, and the body of the chapel. James Everard Arundell provided many of the items, some clearly from an Arundell chapel such as 'four solid silver flower stands with the family arms on them', and six solid silver altar candlesticks. Some items were of questionable quality such as a very old veil to be used during Benediction, and an old chalice and paton. William Weeks provided a framed altar-piece; a picture depicting 'Taking from the Cross'; and a picture of 'Our Saviour before Annas and Caiaphas' which was positioned at the 'end of the chapel'. He also provided two Missals. Finally, Nicholas Bégin equipped the sanctuary with a tabernacle, crucifix and other items for the altar. In addition, he furnished the chapel with seats and kneelers and provided items for the vestry. William Weeks appears to have been the driving force behind the setting up of the chapel since, when Fr Catrow wrote to Bishop Sharrock in May 1798, he commented that 'the chapel [in Brown Street] is finished and does great honour to Mr Weeks'.[49]

Apart from subscriptions and donations, another source of income came from hiring seats, otherwise known as bench or pew rents. The charges incurred were dependant on the location of the seat. Mr Allam, for example, paid £3 3s for his seat for the year and Mrs Wright paid the same 'for herself and a separate place for her servant'. Mr Hussey paid £1 6s 3d for half a year and 5s 3d for Miss Haylock (presumably his servant) 'in a separate place'. The annual income from these rents was £32 16s 6d.[50] How long this practice persisted is unclear, but given that it was controversial elsewhere in the country it is likely that it didn't last long.

Money was also collected from the 'box', presumably an offertory box. In 1798 and 1799 it amounted to £4 4s, but for the next four years it was generally a little over £1 apart from 'a French gentleman' who gave £7 7s.[51]

St Martin's Lane Chapel and Property

Chapel House had been leased for fourteen years in 1798, and therefore before the end of the lease steps were being taken to find alternative premises. In 1811 a former inn, the World's End Inn, and two cottages in St. Martin's Lane (formerly Bugmore Lane), were purchased and a chapel and house were built, partly at the expense of Lord Arundell, son of the late James Everard Arundell (fig. 3).[52] The cost was £1,200, half of which came from funds administered by Lord Arundell and Bishop Peter Collingridge (Collingridge succeeded William Sharrock as the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District in 1809). This fund was an endowment for the mission from Lady Anastasis Mannock, who was resident in Salisbury for a few years during the early nineteenth century.[53] The remaining £600 was raised by a mortgage. Three years after the purchase of the properties, in 1814, the chapel was mentioned for the first time in *Laity's Directory* where it was described as being 'at the top of St Ann's Street' with Mass at 10 o'clock on Sundays and Holy Days of Obligation; in the afternoon there was a service at 2.00pm. During the week Mass was at 9 o'clock on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.[54]

Figure 3. Chapel in St Martin's Lane, viewed from Churchill Way. It is currently used as student accommodation (With kind permission of Salisbury Museum©).

A few years later, probably in 1818 or 1819, Bégin purchased a house adjoining the chapel for £540 8s 8d.[55] In 1824, John Peniston carried out a survey of the whole chapel property. It comprised 'the house now inhabited by Mrs Hodson, the two cottages adjoining, and part of the garden … worth £1,000. And that the Chapel and the house inhabited by Mr Bégin with the offices attached and the remainder of the garden is of the value of £900.[56] The property was later described as '… a very comfortable house and chapel adjoining, with a handsome garden and there are two other houses [cottages] belonging to the mission forming altogether a property which Lord Arundell assures me will be worth £90 a year to the incumbent'.[57] This was presumably the same property that was let in 1840 to 'a Catholic family' and described as 'a capital dwelling place consisting of a drawing and dining-room, four bedrooms, and a suite of commodious attics, a kitchen and brewhouse, with convenient offices, and a large and productive garden attached to the same'[58] - clearly a well-appointed, spacious dwelling.

The chapel property, its buildings and land, is depicted on two plans, one dating to c.1814 and the other 1850 (figs. 4 and 5).[59] On the western side of each plan is the outline sketch of the chapel properties. The northern one, the largest, is L-shaped and represents the chapel, while the others are of a house and two cottages.

The chapel and adjoining dwellings are also depicted on a woodcut dating to c.1850. It shows the buildings viewed from the garden side of the chapel land (fig. 6).[60] The larger building to the right comprises two properties separated by the central chimney stack and an almost central projection. Given that this projection has a chimney stack, it seems likely that it is accommodation, possibly the priest's accommodation. There may also have been a stair-well providing access to a gallery in the chapel. The building to the right of the central chimney is undoubtedly the chapel. It measures c.20m x 6m internally with a projection on the right. This projection is clearly a later addition since it does not appear on either of the earlier plans. On the upper floor of the chapel there are four small arched windows lighting what would have been a gallery.[61] Below these windows can be seen the top of two larger windows.

Figure 4. Plan of Chapel Property dating to 1839. The feint outline of the buildings can be seen along the western (bottom) side, and corresponds to the outline of the buildings on figure 5. The chapel is the dark green building, which presumably included the priest's accommodation and 'offices' referred to in Peniston's survey. The light green area denotes the chapel garden (WSA: 415/194).

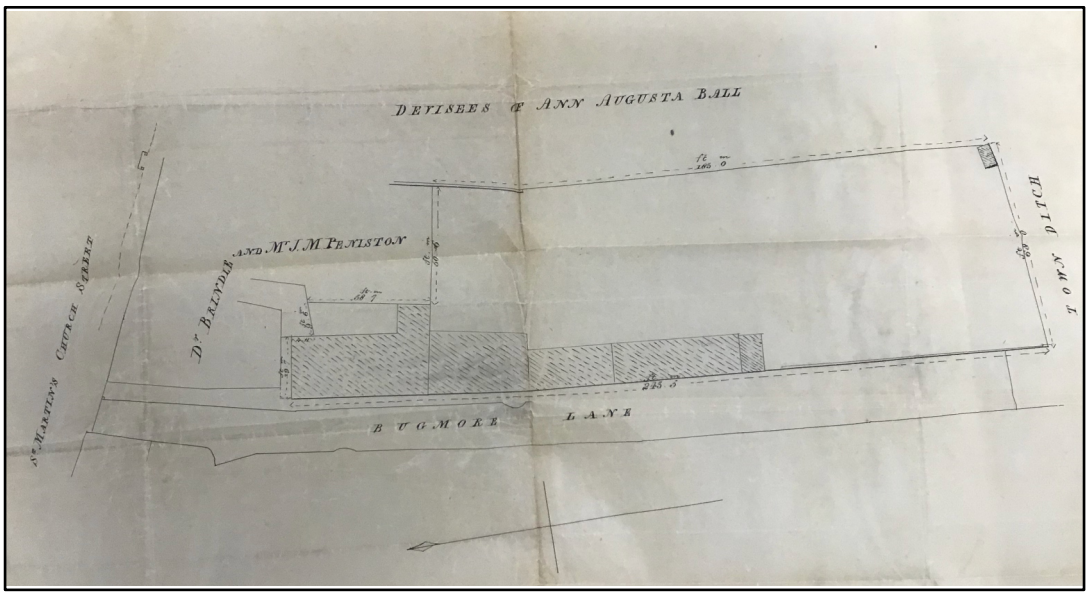

Figure 5. Plan of Chapel property dating to c. 1850The buildings include the chapel on the left of the plan, and includes three other buildings (WSA: 451/144).

The building to the left of the central chimney stack comprises two large windows at ground level. On the first-floor there are four windows with three garrets in the attic roof. Two further buildings, partly obscured by trees, can be seen beyond this house. These were presumably the cottages that were tenanted in 1824.[62]

An architectural report by the RCHME suggests that the northern end of the building, the chapel, was the oldest part and built about 1810 'as a house or pair of houses'. Internally, some of the fittings, such as a fireplace surround, are thought to be contemporary (fig. 7a & b).[63] The fireplace appears to be rather ornate and intriguing given its shape and the niche above. The fireplace's chimney is the one to the right on figure 6, and probably marks the northern end of the chapel. The fireplace is situated centrally, which would suggest that it may have been part of the altar, or perhaps a platform for the tabernacle with altar in front. Examples of early chapels elsewhere, such as at St Thomas of Canterbury on the Isle of Wight, show a side chapel to one side of the altar and access to a sacristy on the other side, and it is tempting to see the chapel here as being yet another example.

Figure 6. Woodcut of the Chapel property, c.1850. The chapel is the building on the right, and extends as far as the projection in the centre. To the left is a dwelling with four windows on the upper floor. (with kind permission of Salisbury Museum ©).

Figure 7a. Fireplace of c.1810 in the former chapel

Figure 7b. Close-up of fireplace

The chapel was humble and unpretentious, and in common with many Catholic chapels of this date, was more akin to a non-conformist chapel. It was later described by Oliver as 'indifferent', while Ferrey disparagingly remarked that it was 'an ill-shaped room, having no pretensions whatever to an ecclesiastical character'.[64] However, the chapel was a product of its time, a Georgian building built with limited funds and for a relatively small congregation. It was nevertheless a place where local Catholics worshipped, and where many visitors were made welcome.

One such visitor was the Archduke Maximilian, who came to Salisbury in January 1819. While he was in the city he went to Mass at the 'Roman Catholic Chapel' where he was met by Bégin and was:

> 'ushered into an apartment prepared for him, from whence in a few minutes he was conducted to the Chapel, into which he was introduced with the ceremonies usual on such occasions. The Prince was placed at the right side of the altar, within the Sanctuary, where a seat was prepared for his reception, and his Imperial Highness assisted at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with the most profound attention and respect'. [65]

Maximilian was not the only royal visitor. During an informal tour of England and Scotland in the summer of 1844, Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, came to Salisbury and stayed overnight at the White Hart Hotel. The following day, 30th June, he visited the cathedral before going to the chapel for Holy Mass at 10 o'clock.[66]

Nicholas Bégin died in March 1826. He had been the missioner at Salisbury for thirty years and, despite having debts of nearly £500,[67] was regarded as a 'remarkable man' and:

> 'highly respected by the Anglican clergy. He was in the habit of giving a Christmas party to his numerous friends, both Protestant and Catholic. Mrs Davis, the wife of the vicar of St Martin's parish, always undertook to arrange and superintend the preparation of the supper for him on these occasions. He maintained himself chiefly by teaching the French language, and succeed in obtaining a considerable number of pupils'.[68]

The local newspaper was equally complimentary, reporting that 'his unaffected piety, goodness of heart, and cheerful disposition, procured him the esteem of many valuable friends … his loss will be sorely lamented, not only by his friends, but by many of the poor, to whom he was a liberal benefactor'.[69]

In the weeks before Bégin's death, steps were being taken by the congregation to find a replacement. They were keen to have an English priest and John Peniston, who had undertaken the management of the property, wrote to Bishop Bains, coadjutor to Bishop Collingridge, expressing the wish that the mission should be '… connected to the Stonyhurst College [and] can anything be done do you think to place us under their wings '.[70] In April 1826, Baines wrote to the rector of Stonyhurst in an attempt to secure a Jesuit for the mission,[71] but none was available; however, an ailing priest, John Howard, supplied at the chapel during the Easter period. His ministry was not long, since he died in July and was buried, like Bégin, in St Martin's churchyard.[72]

Following Howard's death there was a succession of three Irish priests appointed to the mission from 1826-1835. The first was Maurice O'Connor, who was the missioner from October 1826 until he moved to Falmouth five years later.[73] During his ministry Salisbury's resident congregation had changed little since the days when the chapel was at Thomas Peniston's house nearly thirty years earlier. It was mainly made up from just five families: Peniston (7), Weeks (5), Andrews (4), Vandenhoff (4) and the Clark family (3).[74]

During the time of Maurice O'Connor, the final constraints on Catholics were lifted when the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was passed in Parliament. This Act, building on the earlier Acts, allowed Catholics to sit as MPs and take up public office; they could also own land and license a graveyard. John Peniston remarked on feeling the 'pleasure in becoming really a free man'.[75] The Act, and the years leading up to the passing of the Act, was controversial and garnered strong opposition, such as a letter to the local newspaper in 1827 when the 'undersigned inhabitants of the Vale of Avon, between Salisbury and Amesbury' petitioned the House of Commons not to grant further political concessions to Catholics.[76] Further petitions were presented in March 1829 including one from about 5,000 people in Wiltshire, and another by the clergy of the arch-deanery of Dorset.[77] Catholics did not remain silent; John Peniston, for example, organised a counter-petition against the anti-Catholic propaganda and bigotry.[78]

In the Spring of 1831, O'Connor was succeeded by James Butterfield, who arrived 'full of the ecclesiastical spirit'.[79] However, he only remained for a couple of years before moving to Swansea. Anthony McDermot, a Dominican, replaced Butterfield, but like his predecessor only stayed a couple of years.[80] He was followed In March 1835 by Charles Cooke, a Yorkshireman who had been ordained by Bishop Baines the previous year.[81]

Two years before the arrival of Charles Cooke, the architect and advocate of the Gothic Revival style of architecture, A W N Pugin, arrived in Salisbury with his second wife, Louisa. Although not yet a Catholic, he soon became involved with the Catholic community in the city, particularly John Lambert, William Weeks and John Peniston with whom he formed close friendships and occasionally dined. He was also clearly impressed by the way Charles Cooke celebrated Mass commenting that it was '… the most impressive I ever heard'.[82] Over the

Spring and early Summer of 1835 he undertook some minor alterations to the chapel in St Martin's Lane, including the altar and painting the chancel. Finally, on 6th June, he noted in his diary that he 'finished altering the chapel [and] received into Holy Catholic Church'.[83] He occasionally assisted at Mass and acted as an acolyte along with John Lambert since, in his opinion, there was 'no youth in our congregation capable of serving with becoming decorum'. He continued 'Our dresses which are handsome and quite correct were worked by the ladies of the chapel and I assure you would hardly know me when issuing from the sacristy in full canonicals'.[84] While in Salisbury, Pugin also undertook the restoration of John Halle House (the present Odeon Cinema), but his most notable achievement here was the design of St Osmund's Church.

St Osmund's Church

Thomas Lynch, a native of Galway, replaced Charles Cooke as the missioner in the summer of 1840. The Catholic population in Salisbury and its hinterland steadily increased mainly due to conversions to the Faith, and to a lesser extent from Irish immigrants (*see p.20*). Evidence for this increase can be gleaned from the earliest surviving Register that lists forty-seven conversions and eighty-one baptisms between 1840-1850.[85]

The chapel in St Martin's Lane was therefore too small for the growing congregation, and in 1846 there was a proposal that it should be enlarged; however, Dr Brindle, Vicar-General of the Western District, advised against this and instead suggested that a new church should be built. Later, on 28th October 1846, a meeting was held at John Lambert's house, Milford Hall on Castle Street, which was attended by Bishop Ullathorne, the newly appointed Vicar Apostolic to the Western District, Fr Lynch, and two other members of the congregation, John Peniston, and Revd Mr J Henry Coope, a recent convert. Plans and detailed specifications that had been prepared by Pugin four months earlier were presented and, apart from a few small modifications that the Bishop wanted, were agreed. In addition, subscriptions for the foundation were promised.[86] This meeting may well have pre-empted what was already being planned since consideration was being given to building a church as early as 1842. The *Tablet*, quoting the *Bath* Journal, remarked that 'A very handsome edifice is shortly to be erected in Salisbury by Mr Pugin, the eminent architect, as a place of worship for members of the Church of Rome residing there'.[87] In a pastoral letter delivered on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in December 1846, Ullathorne remarked that '… we have also approved and concluded arrangements for the commencement of a church in the city of Salisbury, the erection of which will be mainly owing to the zeal of one or two devout laymen'.[88]

The Church

The site chosen for the church was along Exeter Street, on property formerly owned by John Peniston. It was in a conspicuous position 'under the east window of the noble Minster of St Mary the Virgin [Salisbury Cathedral]'[89] and along one of the main thoroughfares into the city. A little over five months after the Lambert meeting, on the 8th April 1847, the 'ceremony of the Benediction of the foundation stone' was carried out by Bishop Ullathorne and attended by a congregation of about 400. The stone was positioned 'under the pillar in the nave nearest

the Lady Chapel'. In addition, Lord Arundell and the three lay members at the Lambert meeting each laid a stone.[90]

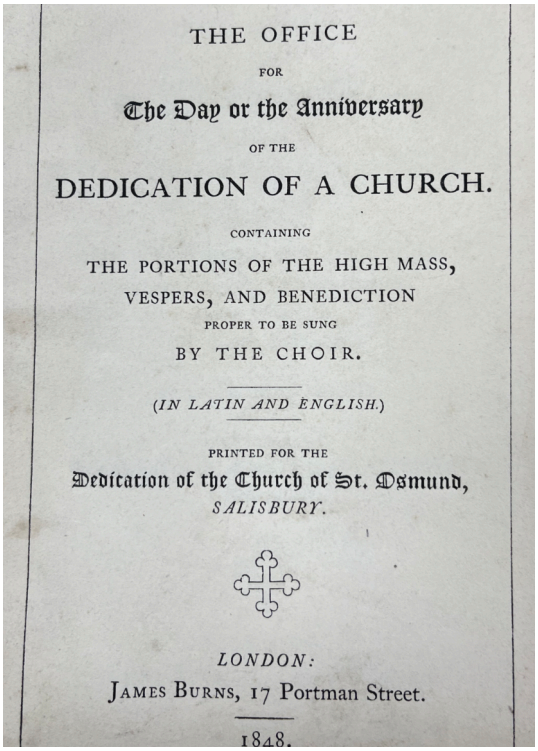
THE OFFICE
FOR
The Day or the Anniversary
OF THE
DEDICATION OF A CHURCH.
CONTAINING
THE PORTIONS OF THE HIGH MASS,
VESPERS, AND BENEDICTION
PROPER TO BE SUNG
BY THE CHOIR.
(IN LATIN AND ENGLISH.)
PRINTED FOR THE
Dedication of the Church of St. Osmund,
SALISBURY.
LONDON:
JAMES BURNS, 17 Portman Street.
1848.

Figure 8. The booklet cover for the dedication of the church.

The church was consecrated by Bishop Ullathorne on 6th September, 1848. The following day there was a solemn Mass of Dedication when the church was dedicated to St Osmund by the Bishop (fig. 8). It was attended by Lord Arundell with again 300-400 people in the congregation. The Mass was sung 'antiphonically by a choir of ecclesiastics in Plain Chant …'.[91] In the evening there was Vespers and Benediction. The choir included John Lambert, who composed the organ accompaniments for the Plain Chant of the Mass and Vespers, and also 'furnished a convincing proof that the supposed impossibility of adapting the organ to the Plain Chant is a mere chimera'.[92]

Eight days later, at a meeting chaired by Fr Lynch and comprising some of the principal members of the congregation, John Lambert outlined the draft Constitution of the church and how it was to be administered. This was later agreed subject to the approval of the Bishop. First, the manner by which money had been raised for building the church was covered, including the issue of the old chapel and the attached property in St Martin's Lane (the final disposal was not to be completed until 1860). In addition, the duties of the two churchwardens were discussed. The first two were Edward Vandenhoff and John M Peniston, son of John Peniston who died a few months earlier. They, along with the priest, were responsible for the appointment of the sacristan, organist, beadles, and any other 'subordinate officers' of the church such as the verger, sexton and grave digger. Bench rents were also discussed and it was decided that, generally, there should be no reserved seats since 'in the church of God there should be no distinction of persons'.[93]

The dedication of the church is particularly significant since St Osmund was the founder and builder of the cathedral at Old Sarum and compiled the Use of Sarum (the forms of liturgy used in most of medieval England); thus a continuity with the pre-Reformation church was clearly established. This continuity with the past is also illustrated in the church's east window that shows St Osmund flanked on either side by St Martin and St Thomas of Canterbury, the dedication of two of the city's three medieval churches.[94] This was a powerful statement that Catholics were now to be regarded as church-goers with legitimate links to the past rather than merely attending a chapel. Thus, they were distinguishing themselves from non-conformist communities with whom they may have been associated.

A mark of this new-found confidence is shown in more subtle ways. For example, the Mr Coope, who lived at King's House in the Close, in an effort to 'infuse a Catholic spirit, into the lifeless forms of Anglicanism, and of reviving somewhat of the ancient kindness and hospitality towards the poor', held a celebration on St George's day in 1846 for 120 poor Catholics and Anglicans. The day, which was very much a Catholic affair with familiar Catholic hymns and litanies, included a dinner in King's House of a 'good old English dinner of roast beef and plum pudding …'.[95] The choice of St George's day was probably no coincidence but rather an opportunity to emphasise that Catholics were as proud of their heritage as any other Englishman.

There was also an attitude of cooperation, certainly on the part of the Catholics, which is evident in the timings of Mass when 'the same hours are used at the Cathedral so that the bells do not interrupt the devotions either of ourselves or our neighbours'.[96]

The church comprised a four-bay nave, chancel, a south aisle with a Lady Chapel at the eastern end, and a bell tower. A sacristy with an organ loft above lies beyond the Lady Chapel. The walls are of coarse flint with stone dressings and the interior of stone.[97] Pugin, as well as designing the church, designed the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary that is positioned in a niche above the ambo, and donated a votive lamp for the Lady Chapel (fig. 9).[98]

Figure 9. Statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was designed by AWN Pugin

The Presbytery and Burial Ground

Soon after the laying of the foundation stone in April 1847, the neighbouring property was bought by John Lambert. The house, part of which dates to the sixteenth century, was initially to be divided into two dwellings for the priest and a tenant; however, it was later decided that the priest should occupy the whole house as the presbytery. As for the garden, this was to be used as a burial ground. The first burial was of the housekeeper of Mr Coope, which took place on 25th September 1847.[99] Nine months later, on 27th June 1848, the funeral of John Peniston took place, at which 'the bell of the new church tolled for the first time'.[100] The cemetery was closed by Order in Council on 11th January 1859.[101] There were, however, eight further burials after this date with the last one being in 1920, since those who already had a close relative buried here could also be interred at St Osmund's. In all, forty-seven people are recorded in the burial registers, the local press, or on gravestones, as being interred here. This included nine members of the Lambert family and five from the Peniston family. The true number, however, was probably higher since the earliest surviving register dates to 1850, three years after the cemetery was opened.[102]

Much of the cost of purchasing the church ground, building the church, and conversion of the house into the presbytery, was borne by John Lambert apart from the income derived from subscriptions, the sale of the old chapel, and collections. However, it was not until after the completion of the church that part of the old chapel property was sold, and the remainder was finally sold in 1860. During this interregnum part of the old chapel property was used as a Catholic school.[103]

The Congregation

In 1851, a religious census was taken throughout the country. This survey identified all the places of worship, including Catholic and Nonconformist chapels and churches, as well as Anglican churches and Jewish synagogues. As far as St Osmund's was concerned, the census shows that the estimated attendance at Mass on Sunday 30th March was 145 in the morning, 92 in the afternoon, and 85 in the evening; the average attendance during the year was 170. Fr Patrick Kelly, who had replaced Fr Lynch as the missioner by December 1849, remarked that 'the congregation lies scattered, and during the winter months many are unable to attend'.[104]

Five years later, in 1856, we have the first of three detailed registers of Catholics at St Osmund's, with the second being compiled in 1859 and the third in 1865.[105] They provide an invaluable insight into the Catholic community in the mid-nineteenth century. The registers, otherwise known as *Status Animarum* (State of Souls), for 1856 and 1865 are tabulated and give details such as: name, age, residence, occupation, whether they have been confirmed, been to confession, and received communion. The final column, the largest, was devoted to the priest's 'observations'. The 1859 list is slightly different in that it only gives the names (although not all), relationships, and observations.

Throughout the nine-year period of the three registers, the Catholic population remained largely unchanged at a little over 200 people.[106] The lists are, at best, estimates since in 1859 the incumbent Fr John Clarke noted an additional eight Catholics he was aware of who were not on the list, as well as those in the asylum who he 'occasionally sees and administers the sacraments'. He concluded, 'No doubt there are in Salisbury several persons who ought by birth to be Catholics but who have either apostatised or given up completely the practice …'.[107] A more accurate indication of actual church attendance, however, can be seen in the lists of Mass attendance at Easter when the average between 1860 and 1863 was 79.[108]

But who were these people in the mission? The most influential was John Lambert, or Sir John Lambert KCB PC as he later became. As we have seen, he was the driving force behind the building of St Osmund's Church. Born at Bridzor near Wardour in 1815, he was educated at Downside Abbey. Following his move to Salisbury he became a solicitor, practising here from 1836-1857 when he and his family moved to London. In 1854 he was elected mayor, thus becoming the first Catholic mayor of Salisbury since the Reformation.[109] The 1856 register, the only one in which he is mentioned, shows that he and his wife, Ellen, had five children and that his sister was living with them. Lambert also employed three Catholics, two clerks and a governess.

Other long-established Catholic luminaries included the Peniston and Vandenhoff families. John Peniston (1778-1848) was the son of Thomas Peniston whose house was temporarily

used as the first public chapel. John Peniston and his wife, Sarah, had ten children all of whom were baptised by Nicholas Begin.[110] However, only three children are recorded in 1856. John had a private architectural practice and received several Catholic commissions including a convent at Spetisbury, as well as numerous other projects in the region. He later became the county surveyor for Wiltshire. Apart from his professional life, he was also active in local affairs. For example, he was on the committee for the celebrations in Salisbury for the golden jubilee of George III. He was also an officer in the Wiltshire Yeomanry despite being a staunch Catholic. Peniston's eldest son, John Michael (1807-1858), followed his father and became an architect and served in the Wiltshire Yeomanry. Following his death, a monument was erected by his comrades in the north transept of Salisbury Cathedral commemorating his service.

John Vandenhoff (1745-1811), was an Amsterdam merchant who arrived in Salisbury sometime before 1786. He soon became an active member of the Catholic community. He and his wife Hester had seven children, six of whom were born in Salisbury. The most notable were John and Edward. John (1790-1861) was educated at the Jesuit school at Stonyhurst and became an actor in London and the provinces, and occasionally performed in Salisbury. His younger brother, Edward (1795-1872), remained in Salisbury carrying on his father's cloth-dying business on Castle Street; he also imported wine.[111] Edward and his wife Maria had five children. In 1849, two of his daughters set up a Catholic boarding school in Salisbury for 'the reception of young ladies, who will be instructed in every branch of an useful education ….[112] Every attention will be paid to their comforts and their religious education …'. How successful the school was is unknown, but by 1856 they were both governesses, one in Poland the other in Salisbury. In 1865, they were both governesses in Poland. Edward, like John Peniston and John Lambert, was active in local society. In 1846, for example, he was vice-chair of the Salisbury Free Trade Festival and was also involved with the Constitutional Working Men's Association.[113]

The Catholic community undoubtedly reflected the Salisbury population as a whole, and each person had their own story. The most prominent was Lady Herbert of Lea, a convert who lived at Wilton House and later became a major benefactor; she is first recorded in the 1865 register. Apart from Lady Herbert, there were several teachers and governesses, but also many skilled labourers and manual workers. There were also a few widows, some of whom had several children, and some described as paupers.

As we have seen, the Catholic population was swelled by the increase in conversions and baptisms during the 1840s, and to a much lesser extent by Irish immigration. This is evident from the 1851 national census, which lists sixty-one individuals in Salisbury who were Irish, most of whom were presumably Catholics, but interestingly only seven appear in St Osmund's 1856 *Status Animarum*. These included the priest, Patrick Kelly, and 19-year-old Catherine Parsons, who was described in the 1851 Census as a visitor living with her uncle in St Ann's Street, and by 1856, was a governess and the organist at St Osmund's. In 1865 her religious status was - *vaide honesta, bona ac religiosipima*, clearly someone who was highly regarded.

Another Irishman was William Walsh, who was a railway fitter on the recently opened railway line at Fisherton Street. He was married to Mary, a Protestant, and they had four children who went to a Protestant school. By 1861, William was an inspector on the railway, but died two years later. The 1865 register records his widow as being a shop-keeper, and their two eldest

sons, aged eleven and twelve, following in their father's footsteps, worked on the railway. Despite going to a Protestant school both boys, as well as one of their younger brothers, had been confirmed and been to confession.

In 1856, a little over a quarter of the congregation lived in the surrounding villages: places such as Odstock, Wilton, Winterbourne, Whiteparish, Downton, Barford St Martin, Compton, Alderbury, and north along the Avon valley at Durnford and Amesbury. However, nine years later there were Catholics only in Odstock, Wilton, Barford St Martin, and Amesbury.

The sixteen Catholics at Odstock in 1856 came from just two families. One of the families comprised a 60-year old widow and her family of six, three of whom were farm labourers, and a fourth a soldier. Although the widow was described as '*bono'* her two daughters, aged nineteen and fifteen, were both 'absent from services'; the fifteen-year old worked as 'a maid in a non-Catholic household … she is very ignorant of what religion is'.

Unsurprisingly, many Catholics in the villages worked either as farm labourers or servants, although there was at least one farmer, and a few were unemployed. One such person on the 1856 register was Jacob Gilbert, who lived at Great Durnford and was described as a 'poor man, no occupation'. Three years later he was recorded as 'an old man past work lives with his daughter and son-in-law, Protestants. A staunch Catholic himself, but too infirm to come often to Salisbury'.

There was also the occasional tradesman, such as Robert Rutley who lived with his family in Amesbury. In 1865 Robert, a widower and by trade a baker, was 45 years old. He was described as *probus antique Religiosus*. In his household were his two daughters aged 11 and 10. The older girl was described as *bono*. They also had a housekeeper, a 60-year-old widow named Jane White who was also a 'good Catholic'.

Liturgy and Music in Chapel and Church

For much of the eighteenth-century, services in Salisbury were held in a private chapel in the home of Thomas and Mary Arundell. The timings and format would have been largely at the behest of the patron, but later, in the late-eighteenth century when a public chapel was instituted, services were put on a more regular footing with Mass being celebrated on a Sunday morning and Vespers in the afternoon; there was also Mass on some weekdays. The gentry's influence on the Church, however, was coming to an end and replaced by the clergy and leading laity. The Service rubrics remained much the same until the congregation moved to St Osmund's. In a letter written in 1848 by John Lambert to Bishop Hendren, the newly appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, he describes in detail the liturgy at the chapel and at St Osmund's and this, together with an inventory of the Church furniture in 1856, gives an insight into religious practices.[114]

At the chapel, the Sunday service began at 10 o'clock when the priest entered and sang the prayer, 'Come let us adore'. This was followed by Acts of Faith, Prayers for Peace and Charity, and finally a Litany. There was then a Low Mass with some singing by the choir, which was

positioned in the gallery at the back of the chapel. After Mass the *Te Deum* was recited, *de Pro Fundis*, a prayer for the Queen, and for the sick. This was followed by a short period of Instruction or a Sermon. Most of the Service was in English.

On Sunday afternoon Sung Vespers was at 2 o'clock and, on the first Sunday of the month, this was followed by Benediction. After Vespers on the other Sundays of the month the Litany of Loretto was sometimes sung in Latin. Occasionally there was Compline, which was recited in English. At the Conclusion, unless there was Benediction, the priest read a short Lesson, which was followed by Catechism and some instruction.

Mass was also celebrated twice during the week at 9.30.

At St Osmund's, the Sunday morning service began at 10.30 when the priest, acolytes, and choir of men and boys entered the church from the sacristy. The choir then chanted the Proper antiphon while the priest processed around the church giving the *asperges*. When he returned to the foot of the Altar he sang the Proper versicle, which was responded to by the choir; he then sang the Prayers. His cope was changed for a chasuble, thus marking the beginning of the Mass.

At first, only a Low Mass was celebrated. The choir, postioned in the chancel, sang the *Kyrie*, the Offertory, *Sanctus*, *Agnus*, and *Communio*. The priest gave a sermon after the Gospel, and during the Offertory a collection was taken for the support of the priest and church. After Mass, the choir chanted the *Domine Salvum Fac* (Lord, save our Queen), which was sometimes followed by the *Te Deum* in Latin. During the week, there was Mass on three days, but there were no Devotions or Instructions at other times.

On Sunday afternoons, at 3 o'clock, Solemn Vespers was chanted. This was followed by the Proper anthem of the Blessed Virgin Mary. After the anthem there was a Lesson followed by a collection and Benediction.

An inventory of church furniture taken in 1856 gives a hint of worship in the Church (appendix 4). The liturgical books included a new Missal, the Mechlin 1848 edition. Significantly, a priest from the diocese of Mechlin in Belgium, the Rev C P De Maeyer, was at the consecration of the church, thus emphasising the link between St Osmund's and Mechlin. The choir of men and boys had copies of the Graduals, Vesperals, Vesper books, and Tenebrae books in Latin and English. During Passiontide, not only were crucifixes and statues covered, but there was also a large purple curtain covering the East window and another one between the chancel and Lady Chapel. This would have had the effect of making the light in the chancel subdued, lit principally by candles on the altar and the sanctuary light.

During the 'Ceremony of the Benediction of the foundation stone' in April 1847, the '… same form of words, in the same language [Latin], and even with the self-same chants as those employed by Bishop Poore in the Benediction, six hundred years ago …'.[115]

At St Osmund's, therefore, we see the re-establishment of the ritual that had been lost during Penal times. No longer were services constrained and subdued as they had been during the early years of the mission, but full use could now be made of the sacred space. The transition

from chapel to church also witnessed a change in the liturgy with a renewed emphasis on Gregorian chant. John Lambert played an important part in this revival of the Mechlin practice, not only at St Osmund's, but also in the wider Catholic Church in England, most notably at St Chad's, Birmingham, and Belmont Abbey, Herefordshire.[116] He was a gifted musician, especially interested in medieval church music, and later compiled several books on church music and organ accompaniments to the Mechlin chants. These chants at St Osmund's were later superseded by those from Solemnes.[117]

At the chapel, English prayers had been introduced during a time of persecution when Catholicism was suppressed and the vernacular was adopted for much of the Service. This had, according to Lambert, the effect that the congregation saw the English prayers as being the principal component of worship and the Mass as subordinate; this was contrary to all continental practices as well as practices here before the Reformation and what was happening elsewhere in the country.

Lambert advocated several changes such as the introduction of 'pious English devotions' during the week. He also thought sermons, which in the Chapel were generally short and repetitive, should be longer; also, both the Epistle and Gospel should be read. As for the afternoon Instruction, he thought that it should be more explanatory of the rites and ceremonies of the Church. Lambert offered to acquire books and, with the agreement of Fr Lynch, 'take a class of young men, and find a room where I [John Lambert] could meet and instruct them once a week'. Finally, but equally important, he thought that the catechism should be 'well impressed upon the children'. There were clearly difficulties in abandoning long established practices, 'but now is the time of beginning upon a sure basis, if good order and spirit of the Church are to be kept alive'. He concluded by saying '*ecce nunc tempus acceptale. ecce nunc dies salutis*''.[118]

Restoration of the Hierarchy

In 1850, twenty-one years after the Catholic Emancipation Act, Pope Pius IX restored the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, and twelve dioceses were created from the eight former Districts (the four original Districts were divided into eight in 1840). Salisbury, which up until this point had been part of the Western District, became part of the newly created Clifton Diocese. Bishop William Hendren was therefore the last Vicar Apostolic of the District (1848-1850), and the first Bishop of Clifton (1850-1851). However, despite the restoration, the Church in England and Wales remained under the aegis of the Vatican office of *Propaganda Fide* as a missionary territory until 1908, and priests continued to describe themselves as 'Missioners Apostolic'. It was not until 1918, when the new Code of Canon Law as enacted, that ordinary parishes came into existence, although during the intervening decade priests began to refer themselves as parish priests.

The strong opposition to the granting of greater freedoms to Catholics during the early years of the nineteenth century, which had played out in meetings and petitions to Parliament as well as in both national and local press, was nothing compared to the anti-Catholic rhetoric

and demonstrations following the restoration of the hierarchy. This unrest gravitated to the streets of many towns and cities throughout the country, including Salisbury, where effigies of the Pope and episcopate were burnt in ceremonies.

Before Salisbury's procession, which took place in Salisbury on 22nd November 1850, John Lambert wrote to the mayor highlighting the possibility of it degenerating into acts of violence, especially towards Catholics. He also noted that St Osmund's Church might be singled out as 'an especial object of execration' and, since it had been 'duly registered as a place of Religious worship for the City on 20th October 1848 so it is now placed under the protection of the law … and that proper precautions be taken and the local authorities to protect our Church and our property from any insult or violence'.[119] He may well have had in mind the Gordon Riots in nearby Bath and elsewhere some seventy years earlier, and wanted to ensure the safety of Catholics and their place of worship. The mayor replied, assuring Lambert that the procession would not pass St Osmund's, and where practicable, avoid passing any Catholic residence. The mayor was true to his word, and as Lambert later noted 'not an angry word, and […] a bigoted expression was used against us, and the church stands whole and undefaced as on the day of its dedication'.[120]

The procession was clearly a large event with, according to the Tablet, upwards of 7,000 people from the city and surrounding area.[121] It included a band, torch bearers, and effigies of the Pope, Cardinal Wiseman, Bishop Hendren and the other Catholic bishops. Lambert noted: 'the evening was very wet, and the people dispersed very early. His Holiness, your Lordship and the other Bishops burned very well, but his Eminence the Cardinal would not ignite at all, and in a fit of desperation some of the religious public with sticks threshed the figure into pieces. Some of the poor were sadly puzzled to account for this *contratempi* and thought it a bad omen.
If there be any good men left in Anglicanism, what must they think of their own clergy, and the diabolical artifices resorted to for the supposed maintenance of their religion? Surely these things must work great good if we are patient. In *patientia profitibitis animas vestra*'.

The anti-Catholic rhetoric witnessed during the procession was by no means the norm since there were also sympathetic letters.[122] One expressed 'painful regret …', and another argued that the civilised public meeting at Winchester would have avoided such an 'unchristian demonstration' which forms 'a blot in the annuls of Sarum'. John Lambert also responded to the procession, and thanked the local authority and the 'intelligent and well-disposed inhabitants of this city for their conduct and kindness'. He recognised that many Protestants disagreed with him over what they saw as the Pope's 'encroachment' in proposing the new dioceses but that they still condemned the methods used.

Although prejudices and bigotry persisted into the twenty-first century, and is still evident in some quarters today, they were by no means universal and, as The Tablet reported in 1880, 'the truth is that increased familiarity with Catholicism upon the part of the people of this country has, to a great extent, robbed it of its terrors for them'.[123]

Appendix 1.

Inventory of Articles belonging to Revd Mr Bégin in the Publick Catholic Chapel [Brown Street] at Sarum

In the Sanctuary.
First – the whole Altar, viz. Tabernacle, Crucifix, Steps, Altar-table, and frame, Antependium and every other necessary article, as well as ornament (except the candlesticks) such as the Exposition surrounded with artificial flowers; four mahogany stands with the flowers; three Altar-Curtains with gilt frames; three others in mahogany frames. A desk on the Altar. A stand and triangular candlestick for Tenebrae. A reading desk.
On the sides of the Altar: two cruet stands.
Two pairs of brass gilt sconces.
Two forms for kneeling, and every other fixture.
Pulpit and stool.

Chapel
Six seats complete with the forms for kneeling, covered with green baize.
Three frames for the Regulations of Divine Office and seats.
The box for collection at the door.
Five little cushions with purple covering.

Vestry
A large wardrobe, and every other fixture with all the articles of Vestment and Linen (such as albs, amice, altar-cloths and coverings, napkins for the Blessed Stone, Corporals, Purificators, and Surplice and two Communion cloths excepted), Cassocks, books; a veil to give Benediction with bordered gold lace and fringe, and a Glory of gold embroidery in the middle.
Chalice and Paten.
A small silver pyx, for conveying the Blessed Sacrament to the Sick.

The under-written acknowledge the above articles to be the property of the Reverend Mr Bégin.
Sarum 22nd July 1803

James Everard Arundell
W Weeks
Approved same day
Bégin

Appendix 2.

Articles belonging to Mr Weeks in the Publik Catholic Chapel at Sarum [Brown Street]

Altar-piece - the taking from the Cross with the frame.
Picture at the bottom of the Chapel - Our Saviour before Annas and Caiaphas
Two Missals

We the under-written acknowledge the articles above specified to be the property of Mr Weeks, Sarum, 22nd July 1803.

James Everard Arundell

Bégin
Approved the same day.
W Weeks

Appendix 3.

Inventory of the Chapel [Brown Street] things belonging to the late Honourable Mr Arundell trusted to the care of the Reverend Mr Bégin.

Two white vestments with gold lace, used for high feasts
A veil of the same to give Benediction with.
Another very old white one for the same purpose.
Three other vestments for common Sundays, one red satin with silk lace; another white satin with the same lace; and a black velvet one with silk binding.
Three Altar upper cloths, two of them good, the other very bad.
Three under ones indifferent.
Two napkins to cover the Blessed Stone.
Two communion cloths, one good the other worn out.
Three albs and a surplice all very indifferent.
Nine amices, five of them without strings and very bad.
Six purificators
Eight bindings for the stoles.
One dozen of little napkins for the Cruets.
Three small corporals.
Six Altar solid silver candlesticks.
Four solid silver flower stands with the family arms on them.
An old Chalice with a Paton.
One Ciborium.
One Holy Oil box, solid silver.
A small pyx with a purse, to carry the Blessed Sacrament to the Sick in, for the use in the publick Chapel.
A pair of very old cruets with a small plate solid silver; for use likewise in the Chapel.
A little silver cup to put the Ablations in at Christmas.
Two little irons to cut the bread at Mass.
Three framed small pictures: one of them representing the vocation of St Andrew, the other the Flight of Joseph and Mary into Egypt: and the other one emblematical.
A rather large framed picture representing the Ascension of Our Lord.

We under-written acknowledge the above articles to be the property of Everard Arundell Esq
Salisbury the 22nd July 1803.
Bégin
W Weeks
Approved same day, James Everard Arundell

Appendix 4.

Church Furniture belonging to St Osmund's Church, Salisbury, April 1856

1 Chalice
2 Ciboria
1 Pyx
1 Monstrance
1 set of Holy Oil stocks
1 Canopy for Benediction
2 Brass Crucifixes for Altar
1 Processional Cross
2 other Crosses
2 Brass Branches for Benediction
2 Brass Candlesticks for Acolytes
8 Silver Candlesticks
7 Brass Candlesticks for Roods
6 Brass Candlesticks for High Altar
1 Pascal Candlestick, I Paschal Candle
1 Triangular Candlestick for Tenebrae
4 Brass Candlesticks for Choir
2 Reflectors for Choir
2 Brass Branches adjoining Statue of B V M
1 Brass Branch for Pulpit
3 Copes, White, Violet, & Black
2 Plain Albs
1 Tigurce [?] Alb
7 Amices
3 Girdles
2 Surplices (Priests), 1 Cassock
6 Surplices (Singing Men's), 6 Cassocks
10 Surplices (Singing Boys), 7 Cassocks
2 Communion Cloths
1 Complete Set of Vestments (Medieval Pattern)
1 White Vestment for Festivals
Corporals

Mundatories
17 Lavabos
3 Tigurce [?] Altar Cloths
2 Plain Altar Cloths
6 Under Cover Altar Cloths
I Purple cover for Tabernacle
1 white cover for Tabernacle
1 white cover for Tabernacle in Lady Chapel
2 Tabernacles. 1 ark for Holy Thursday
3 Antependia [Altar frontal]
1 Set Glass Cruets
1 Set Altar Cards
1 Cover for High Altar (Red)
1 Cover for Lady Chapel (Blue)
Purple Covers for Lent
1 Large purple Curtain for East Window during Passion time
1 Purple Curtain hung in Passion time be the chancel & Lady Chapel the Chancel & Lady Chapel
3 Cushions
1 Cushion for Pulpit
2 Rugs for High Altar
1 Rug for Lady Chapel
1 Brass Lamp for High Altar
1 Silver Lamp for Lady Chapel
1 Brass Holy Water Vessel & Brush for Asperges
4 Brass Vases for Flowers
5 China Vases for Flowers
2 Censors, one brass the other silver
1 Boat for incense
1 Brass Bell for Mass
1 Pall & 1 Bier

Books
1 Missal, Mechlin Edition, 1848
8 Graduals for Choir
8 Vesperals for Choir
8 Vesper Books for Choir
8 Tenebrae Books Choir, Latin & English
8 Books (Latin) containing Office for the Dead & Burial Service
2 Large Book Holders

2 Plain covers for Credence Table
3 Tigurce [?] covers for Credence Table
2 Statues of Our Lady
Varnished Benches, kneeling Boards and Cushions
42 Prie Dieus
10 Forms
2 Small Forms in Chancel
1 Stool covered with horse hair
1 Wooden stool covered with horse hair
1 large ladder
1 step ladder
1 Turk's head (Brush)
Brushes
2 stoves, one in sacristy the other in Church
2 Boxes for Alms, one of stone with iron cover, the other of wood for the Altar

Abbreviations

CDA – Clifton Diocese Archives
HEA - Historic England Archive
TNA – The National Archives
SCA - Salisbury Cathedral Archives
SOA – St Osmund's Church Archives
SM - Salisbury Museum
SWJ – Salisbury and Winchester Journal
WRO – Warwickshire Record Office
WSA – Wiltshire and Swindon Archives

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Endnotes

[1] WSA: D1/9/1/2; Anthony Williams 1963, 'Wiltshire Catholicism in the Early 18th Century: Diocesan Returns of 1706' in *Recusant History* Volume 7, No.1 pp.11-20; J. Anthony Williams 1968, *Catholic Recusancy in Wiltshire 1660-1791*
[2] WSA: D1/9/1/3
[3] WSA: D1/9/1/4
[4] Mary Ransome (ed.) 1972, *Wiltshire Returns to the Bishop's Visitation Queries 1783*
[5] CDA: Letter Book 1772-1788, ff. xxvii
[6] The Newton Tony 'gentleman' was presumably Thomas Bradshaw, who lived at Wilbury House; he later had a French émigré priest serving as his chaplain.
[7] Williams 1968, p.167; T G Holt, SJ 1986, ''An Establishment at Salisbury': Some Letters Concerning Catholicism in the City, 1795-1834', in *Recusant History* Volume 18, p.106
[8] Squiers, Granville 1934, *Secret Hiding Places*, p.230-1
[9] The priests were: James Weldon (1765-1767), James Porter (1767-1769), John Edisford (1769-c.1774), and Richard Turner, *vere* Murphy (c.1774-1794). CDA: Letter Book 1772-1788 ,(1781), ff. xxvii
[10] SOA: Box 1, E14
[11] Catholic Record Society Volume 43, p.124
[12] CDA: Letter Book 1795 ff. 30 & 64, Letters Marest – Walmesley 14 Feb 1795 & 9 May 1795
[13] CDA: Letter Book 1795, ff. 57; also cited in Bellenger, Dom Aidan 2015, *Fearless Resting Place*, pp.175-6
[14] Bellenger, A., 1986, *The French Exiled Clergy in the British Isles after 1789*, p. 40; Bellenger, 2015, p.175
[15] Trappes-Lomax T B 1956, 'Roman Catholicism', in R B Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (eds.) *A History of Wiltshire,* Volume 3, p.94
[16] WSA: 451/401; Holt, T G 1986, p.103
[17] Lewis Gibbs (ed.) 1972, *The Diary of Fanny Burney 1752-1840*, p.57
[18] WSA: 451/401; RCHME 1993, *Salisbury: The Houses of the Close*, p.131, states that the house was named Loders after a medieval prebendal mansion that stood nearby.
[19] Williams 1968, pp. 219, 249-52
[20] The 1778 Catholic Relief Act repealed the legislation that limited Catholics right to property. If they took the oath they were granted freedom from harassment, and allowed them to legally purchase land. Priests and schoolmasters were free from persecution.
[21] Barry Williamson (ed.) 2017, *The Account Books and Papers of Everard and Ann Arundell of Ashcombe and Salisbury 1745-1798*, p. xxii, Wiltshire Record Society Volume 70
[22] WSA: 451/401
[23] Cutler, S 2015, 'Veterinary Surgeons of Salisbury', in *Sarum Chronicle* Volume 15, pp.77-91
[24] Williams 1968, pp. 219; WSA: 451/401
[25] WSA: 451/401
[26] Leo Gooch 2013, *Persecution without Martyrdom: The Catholics of North-East England in the Age of the Vicars Apostolic 1688-1850*
[27] SWJ 19 May 1794, p.4
[28] Oliver, G., 1857, *Collections Illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucester*, p. 424. Foley, H 1875-1883, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Volume 7, Part 1, p.534
[29] WSA: 451/401
[30] Michael Greenslade 2006, *Catholic Staffordshire*, p.194-5
[31] CDA: Letter Book 1798, ff. 4. Undated letter Catrow – Sharrock
[32] CDA: Letter Book 1798, ff. 4. Undated letter Catrow – Sharrock; Letter Book 1801, ff. 81 letter Arundell-Sharrock, Aug 1801
[33] CDA: Letter Book 1801, ff. 81 letter Arundell-Sharrock, Aug 1801
[34] WSA: 451/391; WSA: 451/401; TNA: RG 31/7, p.97 n.13
[35] SCA: Cyril R Everett's Notebooks (DP/CE/1/1), Box 0118, Notebook B1, No 63. Holt and Raleigh St Lawrence erroneously place the chapel near Harnham Gate, Holt, T G 1986, p.104, Raleigh St. Lawrence 1997, p.5
[36] RCHME 1993, pp.157. The house was known as the Porter's House until 1900, although it had been let from the seventeenth century and the porters lived elsewhere.
[37] ibid. p.158
[38] CDA: Letter Book 1796-1797, 1797 ff. 55, undated letter Bégin – Madam
[39] CDA: Letter Book 1796-1797, 1797, Letter Walmesley – Bégin 26 Feb 1797
[40] 'Catacomb concealment' was a phrase used by Brian Little to describe the use of public chapels following the Reformation. Brian Little, 1966, *Catholic Churches since 1625*, p.59.
[41] WSA: 451/401. See also J Anthony Williams 1961, 'Catholicism in Salisbury: Mr. Peniston's Reminiscences (1784-1826)', in *The Month* pp. 298-301
[42] WSA: 451/317. Thomas Lush succeeded Thomas Shillingford as Porter in June 1800 (SCA: Chapter Act Book 1796-1813, p. 35). In 1807, Thomas Peniston was living at No. 27, The Close, which he extensively rebuilt. Peniston's heirs retained the property until 1862 although they had sub-let it from 1829. RCHME 1993, p.137
[43] CDA: Letter Book 1797 ff. 9 Letter Arundell-Walmesley 3 Feb 1797
[44] WSA: 451/391. Lady Shaftesbury was the surviving daughter of Sir John Webb, who died in 1796
[45] CDA: Letter Book 1801 ff. 81. Letter Arundell-Sharrock Aug 1801

[46] TNA: RG 31/7, p.97 n.15
[47] CDA: Letter Book 1801, ff.81. Aug 1801, letter James Everard Arundell – Sharrock; WSA: 451/391, Rent received by James Everard Arundell and Mr W Weeks from Mr Begin in 1805 and 1809 for house in Brown Street
[48] WSA: 451/401; CDA: Letter Book 1798, ff. 4. Undated letter Catrow-Sharrock
[49] CDA: Letter Book 1798, ff. 56. Letter Catrow-Sharrock, 1 May 1798. Bishop Sharrock became Vicar Apostoloic of the Western Division following the death of Bishop Walmesley in November 1797
[50] WSA: 451/391. Statement No.1
[51] WSA: 451/391, Statement No.4
[52] CDA: Salisbury Box. Lambert 1881, unpub. mss. Salisbury History of the Mission, p.1
[53] SWJ 1 Jul 1811; Lady Mannock was the widow of Sir George Mannock, and a relation of the renowned Catholic Stonor family from Oxfordshire. She was a remarkable woman and a great benefactor contributing to the establishment of the chapel in Poole. Closer to home, she was also the third largest contributor to George III golden jubilee celebration in the city in 1809, Bence-Jones, M 1992, *The Catholic Families*, p. 62; SWJ 11 May 1818
[54] Laity's Directory 1814
[55] CDA: Salisbury Box. Lambert 1881 unpub. Mss; WSA: 451/194, Mr Begin in Account with the Trustees of the Catholic Chapel at Salisbury
[56] WSRO: 451/58, letter Peniston-Arundell 4 Oct 1824
[57] Holt, 1986, p.107
[58] *Tablet* 24 Oct 1840, p. 392. An inventory of Mr Begin's property in the house, which was taken following his death, also mentions a greenhouse, tool-shed and arbour, WSA: 451/391
[59] WSA: 451/194; 451/144
[60] SM: SBYWM: 2009R.1.1349, Laundry and Catholic Chapel c.1850
[61] CDA: Salisbury Box. Lambert 1881 unpub. Mss mentions 'a gallery at the back [of the chapel]'
[62] WSA: 451/194
[63] HEA: RCHME Investigator's notes (Jan 1972) for Monument 285; RCHM(E) 1980, Ancient and Historical Monuments in the City of Salisbury, p.122
[64] Oliver 1857, p.73; Ferrey Benjamin 1978, *Recollections of A N Welby Pugin, and his father, Augustus Pugin; with notices of their works*, p.102. First published 1861
[65] SWJ 11 Jan 1819
[66] SWJ 6 Jul 1844
[67] Michael Cowan 1996, *The Letters of John Peniston, Salisbury Architect, Catholic, and Yeomanry Officer 1823-1830*, 622
[68] Gillow, Joseph 1885, *A Literary and Biographical History, or, Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present*, Volume IV, p.107
[69] SWJ 20 Mar 1826
[70] WSA: 451/58, letter Penton - Baines, 15 Mar 1826
[71] Holt, 1986, p.107
[72] Holt, 1986, p.108; Oliver 1857, p.328
[73] Oliver 1857, p.269
[74] WSA: 451/194
[75] Cowan, 1996, p.xvi
[76] SWJ, 19 Feb 1827, p.4
[77] SWJ 16 Mar 1829; SWJ 23 Mar, 1829
[78] Cowan 1996, 990
[79] Oliver 1857, p.257
[80] ibid., p.350
[81] ibid., p.269
[82] Belcher, Margaret 2001, *The Collected Letters of A W N Pugin* Volume 1, 1830-1842, p.47, n2
[83] Wedgwood, A 1985, *AWN Pugin and the Pugin Family,* p.32
[84] Stanton, P 1971, *Pugin*, p.23; Wedgewood 1985, p.32
[85] SOA: B21, Salisbury Catholic Register of Baptisms & Conversions 1840-1850
[86] CDA: John Lambert 1881, *Salisbury: History of the Mission*, unpublished Mss; WSA: 4058/9 Specification of work to be done in the erection of St Osmund's Church, Salisbury, 5 Jun 1846
[87] *Tablet* 26 Mar 1842, pp.72 & 200
[88] *Tablet* 19 Dec 1846, p.810
[89] *Tablet* 9 Sep 1848, p.579
[90] CDA: Salisbury Box, Lambert 1881; SWJ 10 Apr 1847
[91] SWJ 9 Sep 1848. Although Bishop Hendred was the new Bishop of Clifton following the translation of Bishop Ullathorne to Birmingham; however, Hendred had yet to be installed and therefore Ullathorne consecrated St Osmund's
[92] *Tablet* 9 Sep 1848, pp.579-80
[93] SOA: Minutes of the Vestry 14 Sep 1848, Book B22
[94] Hill, R 2007, *God's Architect: Pugin and the building of Romantic Britain,* p.3743
[95] *Tablet*, 9 May 1846, p.298
[96] CDA: Salisbury Box, letter Lambert to Bishop Hendren 23 Oct 1848. Bishop William Hendren was Vicar Apostolic from 1848-1850, and then the first Bishop of Clifton (1850-1851)

[97] Elliott, J 2014, *St Osmund's & Catholicism in Salisbury*, provides a detailed description of the church
[98] CDA: Salisbury Box. Letter 25 Sep 1881 Lambert-Clifford ff.26; SOA: Minutes of the Vestry 9 Apr 1849, Book B22
[99] Tablet, 25 Sep 1847, p.619
[100] SWJ, 1 Jul 1848
[101] WSA: 4058/10 gives the date of the Order in Council as 13 Nov 1858; CDA: Salisbury Box. John Lambert 1886
[102] SOA: SOA: Book B23. The Salisbury Catholic Registry of Baptisms, Marriages & Deaths March 23 1850, Patrick Kelly Pastor of the Congregation. The book also contains the list of members of the 'Salisbury Congregation – April 1859'
[103] CDA: Salisbury Box, Lambert 1881, p.9. The total cost was £4,039 16s 2d of which Lambert paid £3,367 12s 10d. Balance from the sale of the old chapel was £292 and subscriptions amounted to £380 3s 4d
[104] TNA: HO 129/264/9
[105] CDA: Salisbury Box. Salisbury Catholic Congregation 1856; SOA: Book B23; SOA: Book B24, Liber De Statu Animaum Ecclesiae S. Osmundi Sarisburiensi 1865
[106] SOA: Book B23 lists 205 people in March 1856, whereas the tabulated list in CDA: Salisbury Box, lists 203
[107] SOA: Book B23
[108] ibid.
[109] Matthew, H C G and Harrison, B 2004, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Volume 32, p.326
[110] WSA: 451/403; Michael Cowan 1986, 'The Penistons: a Salisbury Family of Catholic Architects and Yeomen 1770-1911', in *Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Magazine*, Volume 80, pp.184-191
[111] Matthews, H C G and Harrison, B 2004, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Volume 56, p. 87; SWJ 6 Jun 1836; SWJ 30 May 1861
[112] *Tablet* 15 Dec 1849, p.768
[113] SWJ 22 Aug 1846; SWJ 27 Jan 1872
[114] CDA: Salisbury Box. Letter Lambert - Bishop Hendren, 23 Oct 1848
[115] Tablet 17 Apr 1847, p.247
[116] Muir T.E., 2008, *Roman Catholic Church Music in England 1791-1914, a handmaid of the Liturgy?*, especially chapter 5, 'Plainchant Reinterpreted'; Bennett Zon, 1999, *The English Plainchant Revival*. Especially pp.202-211, on John Lambert's contribution to the use of chant. I am grateful to Andrew Robson for alerting me to these references
[117] Solemnes Missal in SOA. Dom Guéranger from Solemnes Abbey in France, was a leading advocate of Gregorian chant in the mid-nineteenth century
[118] SWJ 22 Aug 1846; SWJ 27 Jan 1872
[119] CDA: Salisbury Box. Letter Lambert - Mayor of Salisbury, 20 Nov 1850
[120] ibid
[121] *Tablet* 30 Nov 1850, p.756
[122] SWJ 23 Nov 1850
[123] *Tablet* 8 May 1880, p.583